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

REPORT
BY THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINetiETH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

CONTENTS

Foreword ................................................................. 1
Chapter I. Origins of Vietnam Week ................................ 5
Chapter II. The Chicago Conference ............................... 22
Chapter III. Student Mobilization Committee .................. 44
Chapter IV. Conclusions .............................................. 53
Index .......................................................................... 1

MARCH 31, 1967
(INCLUDING INDEX)

Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
86-890 O
WASHINGTON: 1967
During recent years, certain themes have been given major emphasis in Communist Party documents, in speeches of party leaders, resolutions adopted by the Communist Party, and also in statements and declarations emanating from Moscow.

Four of the themes which have received such emphasis are:
1. The U.S. must get out of Vietnam; the war there (i.e., resistance to Communist aggression) must be ended.
2. "Peace" agitation and propaganda must be increased; the "peace movement" must be broadened.
3. Communist parties must devote more time to youth work.
4. In all activities, Communists must make increasing use of the "united front" strategy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Communist Party would have us hold that the First Amendment prohibits Congress from requiring * * * [disclosure of the operations and membership of] organizations substantially dominated or controlled by the foreign powers controlling the world Communist movement and which operate primarily to advance the objectives of that movement; the overthrow of existing government by any means necessary and the establishment in its place of a Communist totalitarian dictatorship * * *.

We cannot find such a prohibition in the First Amendment. So to find would make a travesty of that Amendment and the great ends for the well-being of our democracy that it serves. (Communist Party v. SACB, 367 U.S. 1)

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

Failing to disclose "special interest" affiliations, while attempting to influence the American people, is considered so damaging to the general welfare that it has been made a prison offense by various statutes which the courts have consistently upheld as constitutional.
To preserve free speech and keep strong our first amendment rights, we as a nation must do what we can to insure the integrity of speech. This is the basic purpose of many of the laws of the type I have referred to. It is a duty and a purpose of the Congress and of this committee.

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

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

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

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

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

March 31, 1967.

Edwin E. Willis, Chairman.
CHAPTER I

ORIGINS OF VIETNAM WEEK

THE COMMUNIST CALL FOR A NATIONWIDE STUDENT STRIKE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These people directed the activities of the DCA founding convention;

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

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

The Communist Party has furnished speakers and lecturers for DCA meetings and other functions;
The Communist Party has conducted classes in Marxism for DCA members and has supplied DCA with literature for the education of its members in Marxism-Leninism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This school year, for example, she has it in mind to spearhead a student revolution which will hopefully lead to what she calls the “erosion of the democratic form of government” and eventual establishment of Kremlinlike leadership in the United States.
"It's coming," she insists: "The nation is disgusted. One day the people will go to the polls and throw both the Democrats and Republicans out of office."
And elect whom?
"Communists! Who else?"

WHY THE COMMUNISTS WANT A NATIONWIDE STUDENT STRIKE

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

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

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

BETTINA STARTS ORGANIZING

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

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

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

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

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

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

She also made a boast to the following effect:

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

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

We are also proposing four extended workshops which will discuss specific ideas around opposition to the war in Vietnam... These will be on 1) PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE...
The final item on the agenda read as follows:

PROPOSAL TO THE NATIONAL ACTION ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND THE DRAFT:
WE CALL FOR A NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE TO DEMAND AN END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

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

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

After urging the idea of a national student strike on the DCA members attending the Washington assembly, she traveled to Clear Lake, Iowa, to address the national convention of Students for a Democratic Society (August 27 to September 1, 1966). There she called on the 300 delegates attending the convention “to accept Communist Party Members freely into their ranks,” adding, “We feel that S.D.S. can help us, but it is not a one-way street. We feel that we can also help them in arguing certain positions.”

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

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

THE CALL FOR A STRIKE-PLANNING CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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

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

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

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

**NATURE OF A STUDENT STRIKE**

The measure of success for a strike would be the cumulative effect of students (and faculty) all over the country responding on the same day to act against the war. Therefore, the success of the strike is not the absence of people from the university, but the active and positive actions of students and others in the academic community. If 'only' 10% of the students participated in the strike - i.e. 550,000, it would be, I think, a tremendous success. When was the last time that anything approaching that number of people from one community nationally has been moved to act in unison? The tactics for each area and/or college should be devised by the local coalition planning the action, and tactics would be as varied as the level of political development differs nationally. We could expect to run the gamut of tactics from a teach-in, to a referendum to a picket-line etc. A group of colleges close to each other might decide to have one joint protest. There are many possible combinations. The strike should allow for maximum flexibility and initiative by local groups.
The emphasis of the political content of the strike should be on the war as it affects the university and education which of course goes to a dialogue on the nature of this particular war. This is merely a suggestion, and demands and programs should be formulated by a meeting representative of all endorsing and sponsoring organizations. However, the strong feeling it seems to me on a whole number of campuses is on questions of war research projects, CIA undercover operation and projects, military recruiting, ROTC training, the draft, and the general militarization of educational institutions.

SPONSORSHIP, ENDORSEMENT, PARTICIPATION

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

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

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

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

Submitted by

Bettina Aptheker, University of California, Berkeley
Initial Sponsors for the Student Strike

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BETTINA APTEKER - University of California, Berkeley

JACQUELINE GOLDBERG - University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

DAVID HARRIS - President, Associated Students, Stanford University

CARL OGELSBY - Former president, Students for a Democratic Society

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

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

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

CLYDE E. GRUBBS - National Board, Student Religious Liberals

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

MICHAEL ROSSMAN - Former member F.S.M. Steering Committee, Graduate Student at the University of California, Berkeley
COMMUNIST ORIGIN AND MANIPULATION OF VIETNAM WEEK

EXHIBIT No. 1-C—Continued

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

LORRI KILLOUGH - Staff member, North Nashville Project

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOWARD ZINN - Professor, Department of Government, Boston University

HENRY KAHN - Harvard Medical School, Boston Student Medical Conference

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Incorrectly spelled "Oglesby" on the list of initial sponsors, Exhibit 1-C.*
At the time she approached the 32 other initial sponsors, Bettina Aptheker was probably the most widely known Communist in the United States—having received far more press coverage as such in recent months (as a result of her Free Speech Movement activity and subsequent proclamation of party membership) than party leader Gus Hall himself.

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

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

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

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

THE HOST ORGANIZATION

The Chicago Peace Council, organized in the summer of 1965, is run by a mixed group of Communists (both the Moscow and Trotskyist variety), pacifists, and individuals from the so-called New Left. The building in which it has its headquarters (located at 1608 West Madison Street) is owned by John Rossen, formerly an official of the Communist Party and of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. In its operations the council follows a “united front” course, cooperating and participating in projects with Communist, pacifist, and front organizations.
A "Student Strike Conference Bulletin," dated December 19, 1966, and signed by Marjorie Kinsella "For the Preparations Committee," revealed, among other things, that the length of the conference had been extended one day (to include December 30). It also revealed that a preparations committee had been organized and had sent letters to the following organizations, requesting that they send representatives who would compose the temporary steering committee for the conference: (See Exhibit No. 5, pp. 20, 21.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name ________________________________ Phone ____________________
Address ________________________________
Organization ________________________________
School ________________________________

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

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

TOWARD ENDING UNIVERSITY PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR EFFORT...

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

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

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

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

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

INITIAL SPONSORS
for the
Conference to plan a National Student Strike for Peace
(organizational and university affiliation used for identification)

ROBERT HEJNER
President, Community Forum
City College (Uptown), New York

JAMES MOORE
Chairman, Philadelphia High School Students for a Free Society

ARLENE KLEIN
Student Government Representative
City College (Uptown), New York

ALIX C. SCHREIBER
President, Student Action for Democratic Change
City College (Uptown), New York

SUE GLASSER
Co-Chairman, SDS
City College (Uptown), New York

MARK FEINSTEIN
Student Government Representative
City College (Uptown), New York

JACOB BLUM
Director of Student Action for Democratic Change
City College (Uptown), New York

JERRY HORNSTEIN
Student Action for Democratic Change
City College (Uptown), New York

PAUL MAMET
Student Action for Democratic Change
City College (Uptown), New York

BRUCE A. LEIBEDELMAN
Chairman, SDS
City College, New York

NORMAN LIPTON
Coordinator, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

BRIAN MILLER
Executive Director, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

MAURICE KOSHNER
Executive Director, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

CARY GUMLEB
Co-Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

MAXINE SCHREIBER
Student Government Representative
City College (Uptown), New York

ROBERT HENRY
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

JAMES HENRY
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

BRUCE ABRAHAM
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

JOHN MILLER
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

ARLENE KLEIN
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

JUDE MILLER
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

PAUL POSEY
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

JACK MILLER
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

SAM LEIBER
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

MARK LEIBER
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

ROBERT GERSHON
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

RICHARD GREEN
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York

DANIEL ALTMAN
Chairman, March on Albany for Free Higher Education
New York
Exhibit No. 4

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

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

Jeff Albert, Co-Chairman SDS Bard College, New York
Rudy Andrews, Southwest Co-Coordinator, DuBois Club, Univ. of New Mexico
Lindc Arnow, Pres., Philosophy Club, Hunter College, New York
Quentin Bassett, SDS Boston
G. Beatty, SDEF, Coordinator
Andrew Berman, Former Chairman, SDS, Queens College, New York
Reverend James Bevel, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Lawrence Billick, Former Chairman, Hunter College, New York
Lauren Brody, Secretary, DuBois Club, City College
Dorothy Brenner, NSA Delegate, Queens College
Linda Cargill, Portland State College, Oregon
Stokely Carmichael, Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Robert E. W. Davidson, SDS, CADA, Rutgers University
Sonia Chakkin, City College, New York
Carlos Santa Colonia, City College, New York
Frank Gonaway, Department of English, Portland State College
Steve Dush, City College, New York
Terri Davis, Co-Chairman, SDS, Borough of Manhattan Community College
Kipp Dawson, Exec. Comm., Vietnam Day Committee, San Francisco State College
John M. Donlan, Visiting Assistant Professor, Dept. of Philosophy, Univ. of Chicago
Daniel Estersohn, Pennsylvania State University
Paul Fischer, Editor-in-Chief, Hunter Arrow, 1965-66, Hunter College, N.Y.
Kenneth A. Fisher, SDS, Dept. of Germanic Languages, Univ. of Texas, Austin
Carl Frank, Steering Comm., Vietnam Day Committee, Berkeley, Calif.
David Frankel, SDS, YSA, Queens College, New York
Michael Friedman, Former Co-Chairman, Comm. to End the War in Vietnam
Paul Friedman, New York University
M. Gaull, Professor, Dept. of English, Temple University, Philadelphia
Frank S. Glazer, Department of Philosophy, Portland State College
Pat Gilder, Student Council Representative, Class of 1969, Hunter College
Rose Gordon, Treasurer, Class of 1969, Hunter College, New York
Byron Halbers, Dept. of Philosophy, Portland State College
John L. Hammond, Dept. of Philosophy, Portland State College
David Harris, Pres., Associated Students, Stanford University, California
Ace R. Hayes, Portland State College
Barbara Hodges, News Editor, Hunter Arrow, 1965-66, New York
Jon Johanning, Dept. of Philosophy, Portland State College
Lawrence Jones, National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance
Douglas A. Jung, Portland State College
Phyllis Kalb, News Editor, Brooklyn College, Student Voice, New York
Peter Kellman, University of Maine, Orono
Michael Kinsler, Student Government Representative, City College
Martha Kransdorf, V.Pres., Student Union for Civil Liberties, Hunter College, NY.
Craig Lawson, Yale University
Elliot Lichtman, V.Pres., DuBois Club, Hunter College, New York
Henry Bloch, Hunter Park
Neil Marks, Student Senator, Queens College, New York
Paul McKnight, Exec. Comm., Vietnam Day Committee, San Francisco State College
John E. Moritz, Dept. of History, University of Texas, Austin
Tom Morgan, Portland State College

(over)
EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

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

(organizational and university affiliation for identification only)

Donald R. Moore, Dept. of Philosophy, Portland State College
Donald Moore, Chairman, DuBois Club, Madison, Wisconsin
Ronne M. Moore, New York
Peter Nichols, Portland State College
Neil Oten, Campus. Sports Editor, City College, New York
Bonnie Orth, Portland State College
Dan Passell, Dept. of Philosophy, Portland State College
Sidney M. Peck, Professor, Dept. of Sociology, Western Reserve Univ.
Gilda Peress, Hunter College, New York
Diane Perlmuter, President, Student Union for Civil Liberties, 1965-1966, Hunter College, New York
Donald A. Petersch, Department of English, University of Texas, Austin
A. Pinkney, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Hunter College, New York
Jane Posoff, Chairman, School of General Studies, Hunter College, 1965-1966, New York
Robert Shereff, Student Council Representative, Hunter College, N.Y.
Richard Reinold, Staff Writer, Vanguard, Portland State College
Edward Rimer, Hunter College, New York
Larry Rothfelder, Former President, SDS, City College, New York
Claire Salop, Activities Counselor, San Francisco State College
Julianne Sausuch, Department of History, University of Texas, Austin
Diane Spreng, Student Government Council, Class of '66, City College
Bryna Schwartz, SDS, City College, New York
Gene Sherman, Former News Editor, Observation Post, City College, N.Y.
Robert Shereff, Chairman, Student for Peace, Hunter College, N.Y.
William Simon, Yale University
Melissa Singer, New York University
Richard Solomach, Vice-President Class of June, 1969, Hunter College, N.Y.
Stuart Springer, Chairman, School of General Studies, Hunter College, N.Y.
Phillip Steidt, Long Island University
Alex Stein, Former Chairman, SDS, San Francisco, State College
Steve Strum, Chairman, Campus Americans for Democratic Action, Long Island University
Don Styron, Chicago, Young Socialist Alliance
Anna Taylor, DuBois Club, Madison, Wisconsin
Paul Elias Taylor, Carpenteria, California
John P. Varnhuyning, Portland State College
Peter Wease, Chairman, Campus Americans for Democratic Action, Rider College
Morris A. Webb, Department of History, Portland State College
Barry M. Winograd, Department of Sociology, University of Calif., Santa Barbara
STUDENT STRIKE CONFERENCE GATHERING MOMENTUM

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

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

SPONSORS LIST FOR CONFERENCE GROWS

During the last month, 20,000 copies of the Conference Call containing the names of almost 200 sponsors, have been mailed to groups and individuals throughout the United States. The list of sponsors on the Call is only a partial one and since the printing many, including the following people, have become additional sponsors:

- Rev. James Bevel, SCLC
- Stokely Carmichael, SNCC
- David Harris, President, Associated Students, Stanford University
- Dr. John M. Dolan, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Chicago
- Dr. Sidney Peck, Professor, Department of Sociology, Western Reserve University
- Jeff Alberts, Co-Chairman SDS, Bard College

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

PREPARATIONS WELL UNDERWAY

A Preparations Committee has been formed to organize the physical arrangements for the Conference. Committees have been set up to handle housing, food, registration, finances, the press, and to man the office at 1608 W. Madison. In addition, the Preparations Committee has sent letters to seventeen organizations requesting them to send representatives to form a temporary steering committee for the Conference.

These organizations are: NSA, SDS, YSA, AFSC, SSOC, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, Chicago Peace Council, DuBois Clubs of America, Young Christian Students, WEUCW, Spring Mobilization Committee, the Inter-University Committee for Discussion on Foreign Policy, the Methodist Student Movement, Midwest Faculty Committee, and the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. Several representatives from the Preparations Committee will also be on the Temporary Steering Committee.

TEMPORARY STEERING COMMITTEE TO MEET

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

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

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

WHEN YOU ARRIVE

When you arrive in Chicago, whether it be by car, bus, plane or hitchhiking, come to room 201 at 1608 Madison Street (Madison and Ashland) in Chicago. If you can’t find your way or have questions, please call 733-1155. If not answering try 525-0595.

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

CONTRIBUTIONS URGENTLY NEEDED

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

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

Your contributions are urgently needed.

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

For the Preparations Committee,

Marjorie Kinsella
Marjorie Kinsella, Secretary
Chicago Peace Council