#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOI/PA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET FOI/PA# 1360161-0

```
Total Deleted Page(s) = 38
Page 22 ~ Duplicate;
Page 26 ~ Duplicate;
Page 79 ~ Duplicate;
Page 80 ~ Duplicate;
Page 85 ~ Duplicate:
Page 93 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 94 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 95 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 96 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 97 ~ b3; b7E;
Page 112 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 113 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 114 ~ b7E;
Page 115 ~ Referral/Consult:
Page 116 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 117 ~ b7E;
Page 118 ~ b7E;
Page 119 ~ b7E;
Page 120 ~ b7E;
Page 121 ~ b7E;
Page 122 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 123 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 132 ~ Duplicate;
Page 134 ~ Duplicate;
Page 135 ~ Duplicate:
Page 136 ~ b7E;
Page 144 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 145 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 146 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 171 ~ b3; b7D; b7E;
Page 183 ~ b7E;
Page 185 ~ b7E;
Page 191 ~ b7D;
Page 222 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 233 ~ Duplicate;
Page 234 ~ Duplicate:
Page 235 ~ Duplicate:
Page 236 ~ Duplicate;
```

 This document is made available through the declassification efforts and research of John Greenewald, Jr., creator of:

## The Black Vault



The Black Vault is the largest online Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) document clearinghouse in the world. The research efforts here are responsible for the declassification of hundreds of thousands of pages released by the U.S. Government & Military.

**Discover the Truth at: http://www.theblackvault.com** 

### UNITED STATES G

## emorandum

DIRECTOR,

DATE: November 25, 1960

SAC. DETROIT (100-28695)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS HAYDEN

SECURITY MATTER - C Attached hereto is an article clipped from "The Michigan Daily" of November 13, 1960, under the name of

captioned individual, who is the editor of the publication. "The Michigan Daily" is the student newspaper published by

the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The above publication is subscribed to by mail by this office but delivery is very erratic, often being delayed as much as a week or more.

Captioned Subject is identical with TOM HAYDEN mentioned in San Francisco teletype to Director and SAC, Detroit, dated August 5, 1960, and titled "CPUSA International Relations", IS -  $\bar{C}$  (Bufile 100-3-81).

The above is being submitted for the information of the Bureau.

C.

2) - Bureau (REGISTERED) (Enclosure/ - 1)

1 - Detroit

WRB:TJ

(3)

**REC-89** 

12 NOV 28 1960

SUBV.pop

1 22.15	v. 1-22-60)
4-22-(116	Federal Bureau of Investigation
	Records Bran
	4 2 a.
	10-17
	N C II-it D C
<u> </u>	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527 Service Unit - Room 6524
<del></del>	Forward to File Review
<del> </del>	Attention / others
1	Return to Franklin 1252
	Supervisor Room Ext.
Type of	References Requested:
T YPC OI	Regular Request (Analytical Search)
:	All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
	Subversive References Only
	Nonsubversive References Only
	Main References Only
	<u>'                                    </u>
Type of	Search Requested: Restricted to Locality of Let Much, Cal
	Restricted to Locality of the Maria, Social
1	Exact Name Only (On the Nose) Buildup Variations
<u> </u>	Buildup Variations
· <u> </u>	
Subject	Mornas Hayden
Birthda	te & Place
Address	s
	The state of the s
Localit	ies
	Searcher Afri
R #	Searcher Aff
	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31 54311  25 3 30510
R #	Date Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31 54311  25 3 30510
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31 54311  25 3 30510
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31 54311  25 3 30510
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31 54311  25 3 30510
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 1997  FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31-54371  25-320570  44-1-5038-209  Uppy 25 Mob Out M Loc.  Not hotely  1000,  11-1036-3
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31 54311  25 3 30510
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 19/10 - 434264  52-13703  31-54371  25-33-570  44-1-503-8-2-3-9  Uppy 25 Mah Out M Loc. Not hot. 20  11-1036-3  48/15  18/15/777 DYMMed
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 1997  FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100 - 434264  5 2 - 13703  31-54371  25-320570  44-1-5038-209  Uppy 25 Mob Out M Loc.  Not hotely  1000,  11-1036-3
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 19/10 - 434264  52-13703  31-54371  25-33-570  44-1-503-8-2-3-9  Uppy 25 Mah Out M Loc. Not hot. 20  11-1036-3  48/15  18/15/777 DYMMed
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 19/10 - 434264  52-13703  31-54371  25-33-570  44-1-503-8-2-3-9  Uppy 25 Mah Out M Loc. Not hot. 20  11-1036-3  48/15  18/15/777 DYMMed
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 19/10 - 434264  52-13703  31-54371  25-33-570  44-1-503-8-2-3-9  Uppy 25 Mah Out M Loc. Not hot. 20  11-1036-3  48/15  18/15/777 DYMMed
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 19/10 - 434264  52-13703  31-54371  25-33-570  44-1-503-8-2-3-9  Uppy 25 Mah Out M Loc. Not hot. 20  11-1036-3  48/15  18/15/777 DYMMed
R #	Date 12/1 Searcher Initials 19/10 - 434264  52-13703  31-54371  25-33-570  44-1-503-8-2-3-9  Uppy 25 Mah Out M Loc. Not hot. 20  11-1036-3  48/15  18/15/777 DYMMed



## The Michigan Daily

Seventy-First Year

Edited and Managed by Students of the University of Michigan under authority of Board in Control of Student Publications Student Publications Bldg. • Ann Arbor, Mich. • Phone no 2-3241

Editorials printed in The Michigan Daily express the individual opinions of staff writers or the editors. This must be noted in all reprints.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1960

NIGHT EDITOR: MICHAEL BURNS

# Student 'Dupes,' Adult 'Patriots' And the Communist Menace

THIS MONTH'S COPY of Nation's Business features an article, entitled "New Communist Plot Points Up Need to Develop Knowledge of Americanism," which adds more intensity, if not profundity, to the recurring worry over Communist infiltration of student action circles.

Although Nation's Business, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and other men, groups and journals of similar "Save America" inclinations would indignantly disagree, one can soundly and legitimately argue that their anti-Red phobia seriously undermines, rather than preserves, the ideals of a democratic America.

AN EXCERPT from the article reads: "The plot against young Americans is as subtle as it is sinister. Communists know that the overwhelming majority of U.S. teen-agers and college students are patriotic and would not be vulnerable to direct appeals from the party itself. They concentrate instead on undermining religion, love of country and the competitive free enterprise system.

"The resolution on youth adopted by the American Communist Party at its latest convention leaves no doubt about its aim. 'Our participation in (young American's) struggles will help unite youth against the enemy of all monopoly capital,' it declares. The implication business, whose future employes' attitude are at stake, is obvious."

DETROIT DIVISION
Detroit, Mich.

Detroit Free Press Editor: Lee Hills

) Detroit News

Editor: Martin S. Hayden

( ) Detroit Times

Editor: John C. Manning

Spichigan Daily

Editor: Opones Hayoles

Editor: Ohores Hayeles

Date: 11-13-60 Edition; (Rocal F

Page: L\_ Col: Lynn

Title of Case:

100-438281-X

THE NET RESULT of such charges is not the annihilation of the Communist Dragon, but unfortunate perpetuation of our badly-formulated alternatives: As we set in opposition free enterprise vs. welfare statism, nuclear disarmament vs. nuclear war, so we also tend to polarize the American Way of Life with Atheistic, Materialistic Communism, when in fact no such distinctions exist. Nor do they contribute to the health of a society supposedly premised on the belief in honest appraisal, analysis and consensus.

If Hoover and the American people would look more closely at the San Francisco incident, they might find something of greater significance than a simple Communist plot. They might discover what the student "dupes" in California really think of their alleged inspirer, Communist Archie Brown, or their alleged infiltrator, 18-year old Douglas Wachter—joking songs are sung about boisterous, long-shoreman Brown ("House Committee come to town, so we turned to Archie Brown . . "), and Wachter has little, if any, influence among the several students who planned and led the May 13 demonstration.

IN OTHER WORDS, Hoover and other Americans might find, instead of subversive dupes, young men and women fed up with repressive police, legislative and judicial tactics cloaked by the banner of Anti-Communism. They might find young men and women who honestly believe that where the public is sovereign, it must have free access to all opinions which will allow it to exercise such sovereignty with some measure of wisdom.

In fact, Hoover and others might be forced to re-evaluate their simplistic question of who's a dupe and who's a patriot.

> —THOMAS HAYDEN Editor

MAJOR PORTION of the article centers on the still-controversial turbulence in San, then the student is an obvious Red. Francisco May 13 when a student-police conflict ended in beatings and hosings. The students had been protesting the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Nation's Business article, like Hoover, claims the student demonstrations were Communist instigated.

Such allegations are indicative of a threatening American malaise which exposes itself in various, related, ways:

-Harry S. Truman calls the southern sitins "Communist-inspired."

-The Saturday Evening Post, in a July editorial entitled "Those Mobs Are Part of the Kremlin's Master Plan," links student uprisings. around the world and the San Francisco demonstration as part of a vast, well-organized conspiracy. It claims that the student newspaper at the University of California even printed directions for the riots, so the students could function in unity.

Hoover, in alliance with the House Committee, publishes his report on "Communist Target-Youth," which again wraps together student demonstrations around the world as Communist inspired. Most of Hoover's report deals with the San Francisco action, in which he argues that the poor students were duped.

The House Committee begins national circulation of a nicely-edited film of the San Francisco demonstrations, showing how all the poor students were fooled by Red agitators.

ALL THESE ACCUSATIONS bear an absurd implication: That if one human being agrees, even partially with another human being, they must agree on everything else or are even members of the same organization. To illustrate, in Hoover's terms, if American Citizen X and Communist X believe mass action is a legitimate means to work towards civil rights, then Citizen X is either a Communist dupe or an factual Party member. Or if Student X and

Communist X oppose the House Committee

Such confusion of positions is alarming. Not even Hoover seems capable of recognizing that in opposing the House Committee or segregation, the Communist and the democrat are not necessarily working for the same thing. The Communist may be seeking the fastest means to a social upheaval, while the student is seeking recognition of the intrinsic value of free speech and equal opportunity.

NOT ONLY is such confusion alarming, but it is a tremendously serious threat to the preservation of a democratic social order, since it tends to inhibit both freedom of action and of speech. We once believed this country, and all the institutions therein, could only be preserved by the free tension of ideas:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; of abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances."

But the words of the 18th century are hardly heeded today by the men who babble about preserving "The American Way of Life." Instead their concept of preservation has involved the use of force in the case of the South, innuendo by congressional investigating committees, and sometimes the blatant, public accusation, as in the case of student editor Peter Steinberg who has been called communist-oriented by the President of College of New York.



DOB POB: Height:

Weight Hair

Eyes

Complexion

Employment

12/11/39

Detroit, Michigan

5!10岁"

145 - 150 lbs.

Black

Brown

Medium

Free lance writer, League for

Industrial Democracy, Mademoiselle Magazine,

Graduated University of Michigan;

no military service.

Sources Atlanta, Ga., are unable to advise whether THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, formerly of 560 Moreland Ave. and now of 112 E. 19th St., NYC, is contemplating a trip abroad this summer.

#### NEW YORK.

New York is requested through sources or pretext interview, attempt to ascertain whether captioned individual is planning to go to Helsinki, Finland, for Youth Festival.

Additional information regarding HAYDEN was furnished rhead memorandum dated 5/25/62, captioned, "STUDENT NY in letterhead memorandum dated 5/25/62, captioned, NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, RACIAL MATTERS."

#### ATLANTA

Additional inquiry contemplated Atlanta to determine if HAYDEN is planning summer visit to Helsinki, Finland.

Information copies furnished Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee as these offices have outstanding investigation.

38281-2 SAC, Atlanta<sub>9</sub> (100-6296) July 2, 1962 Director, FBI (160-436224) 1 - Mr. Kitchens 1 - Mr. Rosack

THOMAS ENMETT HAYDEN INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReATairtel 6-21-62 Captioned "Thomas Emmett Hayden, IS-C; The United States Festival Committee, Inc., (Eighth World Youth Festival) setting forth information regarding Hayden.

		For	the	info	<u>rmation</u>	of	<u>ali</u>	<u>offices</u>	receiving	<u>copies</u>	
cf	this	commun	icat	cion,							

Atlanta, therefore, should prepare a letterhead memorandum containing information regarding Hayden suitable for dissemination. This memorandum will include pertinent background data and information regarding Hayden's participation in racial disturbances. No mention should be made in the memorandum of the fact that Hayden has been in contact with This memorandum should be submitted by return mail.

1 - Chicago (100-37056)

1 - Detroit

1 - Milwaukee

1 - New York

Tolson

ele. Room

1 - Washington Field

Belmont Mohr \_ TPR:b1w/(10)Callahan Conrad. DeLoach Evans <u></u> Malone Rosen. Sullivan . Tavel .

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT



b3 b7E

b3 b7E

### F B I

		Date: 6/21/62
	t the following in _	
Via	AIRTEL	AIRMAIL
		Jul 3
TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (10	00-436224)
FROM:	SAC, ATLANTA (100	0-6296)(RUC)
SUBJECT		YDEN
3167.772	IS-C	
		S FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC.
	(EIGHTH WORLD YOU	PENTIVAL)
	έ κ	LTON I
6/15/62		l captioned as above dated
\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	On 6/19/62 Miss (	CONNIE CURRY
renzese	, advised	that THOMAS HAYDEN, a for Democratic Society!
(SDS),	112 E. 19th St., New	York, New York, and who, Ga., was planning definitely
on goin	g to the Youth Festir	val During Summer, 1962. She
first n	ame of "AL" who is a	lso going but understood  the Festival with TOM
HAYDEN.	No additional data	regarding ROSS was known was also probably connected
with SD	S.	REC. 9 WFD 43838/
	eau (RM) cago (100-37056)(RM)	REC. 9
1 - Det	roit (Info.)(RM)	
l - Mil	York (RM) waukee (Info.)(RM)	TOMPE DITTO
2 - WFO 2 - Atl	anta (100-6296)(EIGH	TH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL) 7. COFUT
M La/MAT		THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)

AT 100-6296

Miss CURRY stated that THOMAS HAYDEN did not have sufficient money of his own to finance this trip to the Youth Festival but believed that he would be assisted financially by SDS even though he was traveling on his own as an observer and not as an official representative of the SDS.

She futher advised that from 6/11/62 to 6/15/62 HAYDEN was in Michigan attending an annual conference of the SDS. HAYDEN is due to appear in State Court, Albany, Ga., on 6/25/62 in connection with an arrest resueting from Racial Disturbances.

No letterhead memo being prepared, Atlanta, as subject resides in NYC and all pertinent background data previously furnished that office.

#### WFO:

#### AT WFO:

Check records to determine if THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN has obtained a Passport and furnish to SAC, New York so that appropriate letterhead memo may be submitted by that office.

For the information of WFO, THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN is described as follows:

Race White Sex Male DOB 12/11/39 POB Detroit, Michigan 5110를" Height Weight 145 pounds Hair Black Eyes Brown

AT 100-6296

He previously attended the University of Michigan and has participated in many racial demonstrations in the South during the past year.

### UNITED STATES GOARNMENT 1emoran<del>u</del>um



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224) 100-438281

DATE:

7/3/62

FROM

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN 102/13 to per file

SUBJECT:

(OO:ATLANTA)

Re Atlanta airtels to NY, 6/15-21/62, captioned "The United States Festival Committee, Incorporated" (8th World Youth Festival), and Bulet to Atlanta, 7/2/62.

Sources NY indicate that the address left with Postal authorities Atlanta is the organizational address of the "League for Industrial Democracy" (LID). The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is the youth affiliate of the LID. There is no indication that subject resides at this address listed as 112 East 19th St., NYC.

In view of reBulet, 7/2/62, NYO is conducting no additional investigation, UACB.

2-Bureau (100-436224) (RM) 2-Atlanta (100-6296) (RM) 1-NY 100-148904

EB:ume

**REC- 28** 

100-438281-3

## noran<del>u</del>um

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE:

7/12/2

SAC, WFO (100-40690) (P)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

IS - C

(OO:NY)

ReATairtel dated 6/21/62, to the Director and other offices.

On 7/9/62, Mrs. VERDE CRENSHAW, Passport Office, Dept. of State, advised IC DAVID L. DE WEESE that there was no identifiable record for subject in the files of the Passport Office.

Since information is available indicating that subject will attend the Eighth World Youth Festival, WFO will recheck periodically and promptly submit letterhead memo when a file is located.

- Bureau

**- (1-100-436224)** 

- Atlanta (100-6296) (Info)

- New York

- WFO

RAN:pjh

**(7)** 

11 JUL 13 1962

5 3 JUL 24 1962

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Optional Form No. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224)

SAC, ATLANTA (100-6387) (RUC)

DATE: 7/17/62

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

(OO: New York)

Re Atlanta airtels dated 6/15/62 and 6/21/62, Bureau letter dated 7/2/62 and New York letter dated 7/3/62.

Enclosed herewith are 12 copies of a letterhead memorandum for the Bureau and one each for other interested offices.

Agents interviewing HAYDEN in Atlanta, Ga., on 10/12/61 regarding incidents at McComb, Miss., were SA's CHARLES T. HAYNES and RICHARD O. HAMILTON.

Source #1 is a pretext interview conducted on 8/4/60 by SA DONALD E. JONES of the San Francisco Office as set forth in San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 8/5/60, captioned "CPUSA Internal Relations, IS-C."

Confidential Source #2 is

Confidential Source #3 is

Confidential Source #4 is

**REC- 52** 

25 JUL 18 1952

2-Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM) 1-Chicago (100-37056) (Enc. 1) (RM)

1-New York (100-148904) (Enc. 1) (RM) 1-WFO (Enc. 1) (RM)

1-Detroit (Enc. 1) (RM) 1-Milwaukee (Enc. 1) (RM)

2-Atlanta (1-100-6296) (Eighth World Youth Festival)

AFM/ghb **(9)** .

Copy to Atate Legal Don to routing sin to Dead Puris, 200 shoudon

info action

b3 b7E

CLASSOCIATE OF SCHOOL

AT 100-6387

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed in this memorandum and their identities were concealed only in those instances where the source must be protected.

This enclosed memorandum is being classified confidential since data reported from Sources 2, 3 and 4 could reasonably result in identification of a confidential informant of continuing value, the disclosure of which could be detrimental to the national defense.

New York is carried as origin in this matter as subject no longer resides Atlanta area and has left a forwarding address in New York City where his wife is presently employed by the YWCA.

DECLASSIFIE

- 2 -

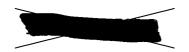


In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICI

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia July 17, 1962



#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

On June 19, 1962, Miss CONNIE CURRY, advised that THOMAS HAYDEN, a former resident of 560 Moreland Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia, and presently residing in New York City, as well as a representative of "Students for Democratic Society", 112 East 19th Street, New York City, was planning definitely to attend the Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, in July, 1962. She further identified HAYDEN as being closely identified during the past six months or so with student "sit-in" movements designed to eliminate racial discrimination in the South.

Miss CURRY advised that HAYDEN had done some free-lance news writing, but did not consider this livelihood as of sufficient monetary means to pay in entirety for a trip to Helsinki, Finland. She advised that HAYDEN was going to the Festival with one BOBYROSS, not otherwise known, and was apparently being assisted financially by the "Students for Democratic Society," even though he was travelling on his own as an observer and not as an official representative of any organization. She further identified HAYDEN as having been assaulted in McComb, Mississippi, in connection with student demonstrations.



COPIES DESTROYED 354 OCT 12 1970.



ь6 ь7с

#### RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

On October 12, 1961, THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, 560 Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia, advised representatives Moreland of the FBI that as a free-lance writer covering civil rights stories in the South, he on October 11, 1961, at McComb, Mississippi, was physically assaulted by a white citizen of that community. HAYDEN stated that he was in McComb, Mississippi, because of the extremely volatile racial situation there, the lack of accurate news coverage and from a reportorial viewpoint this area was highly significant to study race, particularly as to voter registration. HAYDEN advised that he was threatened, and otherwise harassed by white citizens of McComb, Mississippi, in addition to the assault. On this occasion HAYDEN furnished the following descriptive and background data regarding himself:

> Sex Male Race White Born

December 11, 1939, Detroit, Michigan 5'10불"

Height

145 to 150 pounds Weight

Hair Black Eyes Brown Complexion Medium Build Medium

Occupation Free-lance writer, League for Industrial Democracy.

Mademoiselle Magazine

Education Graduated from University

of Michigan

Military Service None Scars and Marks None

Marital status Married, no children

Residence 560 Moreland Avenue, N.E.,

Atlanta, Georgia

An article appearing in the "Oberlin Review," Oberlin, Ohio, issue of April 24, 1962, by STANLEY ORNSTEIN, reported that TOM HAYDEN, 22 year old field secretary of "Students for a Democratic Society," stressed the union of morality with action in the Southern Student Civil Rights It was reported HAYDEN considers himself more of an analyzer and reporter of the Student Movement than an active participant, and asserted moral aspiration alone cannot accomplish social change due to the traditionally

RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

entrenched attitudes of the South in the whole political and institutional fabric of Southern society. He compared the South as the closest thing in the United States to a fascist system and reported that the condition of the Southern Negro has not yet improved perceptibly.

According to Chief of Police LAURIE PRITCHETT, Albany, Georgia, one TOM EMMETT HAYDEN, 1217 East Fourth Street, Royal Oak, Michigan, born December 11, 1939, white, male, was arrested December 10, 1961, Albany, Georgia, charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic and failure to obey an officer in conjunction with an incident at the Albany, Georgia, railroad station that day. The incident involved the arrival of nine passengers on the train, who then used a white waiting room at the station, and upon leaving the station were greeted by some 150 demonstrators. The crowd was ordered to disperse from the middle of Roosevelt Avenue, and HAYDEN was one of the group who refused to disperse from the street. Final disposition of these charges has not been made.

Confidential Source Number 1 advised on August 4, 1960, that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN indicated at the time he was Editor of the Michigan "Daily" and a senior at the University of Michigan he was National Co-ordinator of the Non-violence Movement in connection with Hiroshima Day, and there was no official organization connected with this movement. Source 1 stated HAYDEN indicated there was a national theme "No More Hiroshimas - Youth Wants Peace." According to Source Number 1, HAYDEN said he was not connected officially with the Communist Party, but he has many similar sympathies.

On January 31, 1962, Confidential Source Number 2 furnished information that among individuals definitely expected to attend the Eighth World Youth Festival in Helsinki, Finland, during the summer of 1962 is TOM HAYDEN.

On August 11, 1961, Confidential Source Number 3 advised that on August 10, 1961, a meeting sponsored by the Students for Democratic Society and a new organization known as Students for Travel to Cuba (SFTC) was held in New York City. One of the founders of the SFTC was listed as TOM HAYDEN, University of Michigan.

#### CONFIDENTIAL

RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

On August 11, 1961, Confidential Source Number 4 advised that the SFTC wanted to stay clear of supporting Cuba. The SFTC was defunctual of December, 1961, and no information was received that SFTC implemented its program.

All sources utilized in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



## ${\it 1}emorandum$

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281) DATE: 8/9/62

SAC, WFO (100-40690)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN IS - C (OO: NY)

ReATlet, 7/17/62, to Director and other offices.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies, for New York two copies and for DE and AT one copy each of a LHM containing results of a review of the files of the Passport Office on 7/27/62 by SA JAMES J. FARRELL.

A copy has been made of the photograph appearing on subject's passport application and it will be forwarded to NY by R/S when processed.

One copy is designated for the Detroit Office since subject listed his permanent residence at 1217 East Fourth, Royal Oak, Michigan. One copy is designated for Atlanta for info.

3-Bureau (Enc.13) (1-100-436224)

1-Atlanta (Enc.1) (100-6387) (RM) (Info)

1-Detroit (Enc.1) (RM) (Info)

2-New York (100-148904) (Enc.2) (RM)

1-WFO

RAN: jmo/mmf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

ENCLOSURE

**REC- 50** 

ÊX-1002-

78 AUG 10 1962

801-X3

N

Ç.

UNTREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

57 AUG 30 1962



### UNLED STATES DEPARTMENT OF FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

AUG 9 1962

#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

The file maintained for captioned individual at the Passport Office, United States Department of State was reviewed on July 27, 1962 and contained the following information:

Passport Number C-490318 was issued to Thomas Emmett Hayden on June 25, 1962. This passport was not valid for travel to Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea, and Viet-Nam under communist control.

The application for this passport was dated June 22, 1962 at New York, New York and contained the following:

Thomas Emmett Hayden was born December 11, 1939 at Detroit, Michigan. His permanent address was 1217 East Fourth, Royal Oak, Michigan. His mailing address was Room 405, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York, in care of Students for a Democratic Society.

His parents were show as:

John F Mayden, born 1907 at Milwaukee, Father:

Wisconsin, and is a citizen of the United States.

Mother: Genevieve Garity, born 1909 at Oconomowoc, Wisconsin, and is a citizen of the United States. Mich

MRS JOHN FX HAYDEN He indicated that he was last married on October 1, 1961 to Sandra Cason Hayden who was born This marriage has not been terminated and

his spouse is residing with him at the above address.

He indicated that he intended to depart from the Port of New York via air on July 14, 1962 for a stay abroad of undetermined time. The proposed itinerary was shown as: France and Finland.

The purpose of the trip was shown as "Attendance at Helsinki Youth Festival."

5-7 0-9 ay Bam Jandon, Paris **AGENCY** COPIES DESTROYED ENCLOSURE GHE FORW. 11-20-62 354 OCT 12 1970

b7E

b6

b7C

## RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

He was described on application as follows:

Height:
Hair: 5'10"
Eyes: Black
Marks: Brown
Occupation: None
Student

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is leaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224)

DATE: 7/19/62

(100-436225)

(100-

FROM:

SAC, DETROIT

SUBJECT:

EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL.

HELSINKI, FINLAND

7/28 - 8/6/62

IS - C

(OO: NEW YORK)

(Detroit file: 100-29826) (P)

THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE. INC.

IS - C

(OO: NEW YORK)

(Detroit file: 100-29950) (P)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

IS - C'

(OO: NEW YORK)

(Detroit file: 100-28695) (RUC)

ReBulet to Chicago, dated 5/29/62, captioned "THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC. (EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL), INTERNAL SECURITY - C"; Atlanta airtel to Bureau, dated 6/15/62/ captioned "THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN. IS - C" and "THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC. (EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL), IS - C"; and Bulet to Atlanta dated 7/2/62.2captioned "THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, IS - C".

Referenced Bureau letter dated July 2, 1962, indicated that THOMAS HAYDEN referred to in Bureau letter dated May 29, 1962, has been identified as identical with THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, referred to in Atlanta airtel dated June 15, 1962, and is going to attend the Eighth World Youth Festival.

/- Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)

- Atlanta (REGISTERED MAIL) (ENC. 4)

(1 - 100-6367 THOMAS E HAYDEN)

(1 - 100-6396 USFC)

100-142451 USFC) 3 - New York (REGISTERED) (ENC 4)

CLS:CAB

(15)

NOT RECORDED 183 JUL 23 1962

3 - Detroit

100 - 14245.

DE 100-29826 DE 100-29950 DE 100-28695

Detroit furnished background information to the Bureau concerning THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN in letterhead form by letter dated April 7, 1961, captioned "RACIAL SITUATION FAYETTE COUNTY, TENNESSEE, RACIAL MATTERS".

For information of the Atlanta and New York Offices, two thermofax copies of the cover letter and letterhead memorandum containing background information on THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN are being furnished these offices.

No further action being taken by Detroit.

(3) - Bureau (RM) 2 - Newark (100-48095) (RM) 1 - Chicago

CNF: mec (6)

REC-21 /00- 13828/8/1964
EX-117 DEC 11 1964

58 DEC 17 196/

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

ent \_\_\_\_\_M Per

Per

FBI

Date:
-------

10/22/64

Transmit the following in	AIRTEL	AIRTEL
Transmit the following in	(Туре	in plain text or code)
Via	REGISTERED	MAIL
		(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC. NEWARK

RE: NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, aka.

RACIAL MATTERS
OO: Newark

(Newark file 157-1608)

CIRM IS - C

00: Newark

(Newark file 100-48052) (Bureau file 100-442429)

Re Newark airtel and letterhead memorandum. 10/19/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning BAYARD RUSTIN's visit to Newark, New Jersey, on 10/20/64.

Copies of the letterhead memorandum are furnished to offices receiving copies of this airtel.

Bureau (enc.-10) RM
(1 - 100-436224) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)

3 - New York (enc.-3) RM (1 - 100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN)

5 - Newark

(1 - 157 - 1608) (1 - 100 - 48052)

(1 - 100-48095) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)

(1 - 100<u>-47717)</u> (BAYARD RUSTIN)

(1 -

OAC:MJ (14) 100-438281-000 NOT RECORDED 29 OCT 29 1964

| MICLOSULE

58 NOV 3 1964

Sent \_\_\_\_\_M Per \_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED BY 157 1860

b7D

NK 157-1608 NK 100-48052

memorandum	The first source used in enclosed letterhead is, who furnished the information A OLIVER A. CHALIFOUX.
	The second source is
	The third source is
	The fourth source is (by request.)
confidenti in identif	Enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified al because data reported by could result ication of a confidential source of continuing compromise his future effectiveness.
	One copy of the letterhead memorandum is being to Secret Service locally.
	Declassified  La. 24 91.  And

b6 b70 b71 DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
THE AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-10-2021 BY:



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
No rrk, New Jersey
October 22, 1964

NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, Also known as The Newark Full Employment Project RACIAL MATTERS

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A source advised on October 21, 1964, that Mrs.

Louise Patterson of

a Negro woman active in neighborhood improvement work in the
Clinton Hill area of Newark, had recently stated that the
students of the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) had invited
Bayard Rustin to visit them in Newark on October 20, 1964.

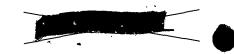
Mrs. Patterson said that Rustin arrived in Newark, New Jersey,
about 4:00 PM, October 20, 1964, and went straight to the NCUP
offices at 155 Ridgewood Avenue, where he met some of the students
who then took Rustin to the home of Mrs. Patterson.

Following his visit to Mrs. Patterson, Rustin was escorted by the students through parts of Clinton Hill and was shown various slum areas there. After this tour Rustin returned to Mrs. Patterson's home for supper and an open meeting for the public. The source did not know what transpired at the meeting.

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of August 14, 1963, page 7, column 1, contains an article captioned "Thurmond Assails a Leader of March." The article stated that, in answer to charges by Senator Strom Thurmond, Bayard Rustin admitted joining the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. Rustin also reportedly stated that he broke completely with the YCL in June, 1941.



100-438281\_



#### NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

The YCL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" issue of February 25, 1957, page 1, column 1, contained an article which stated that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was one of eight non-communist observers at the Communist Party National Convention in 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

In addition, the source said Louise Patterson spoke of the recent arrest of Tom Hayden of the NCUP. According to Patterson, a Negro landlady in Newark was found to have violations of city regulations in an apartment that this landlady rented to a 72-year-old Negro woman. Hayden and some of his group spoke to the landlady about these violations, but the landlady refused to correct these conditions, so the NCUP reported the landlady to the City of Newark. Also, Hayden and one or more friends went to see the landlady who agreed to repair the premises she was renting to the elderly woman. The agreement was made in a formal statement and signed by those concerned. Thereafter, one day about 2:00 in the morning, the landlady appeared at the apartment rented to the old lady and told her to vacate the apartment by 8:00 AM the same day. The old lady went to the NCUP and complained. Hayden then went to the landlady to show her the terms of the agreement. The landlady said she would not honor the agreement and asked for Hayden's copy. Hayden refused to give it to her, whereupon the landlady attempted to take it from Hayden, striking him and hurting her hand in the process. Louise Patterson claimed that Hayden only raised his hands to protect himself. Hayden went to file a complaint against the landlady, but in the process met the landlady, who had just filed a complaint against him. The landlady pointed Hayden out as her assailant, whereupon the police arrested Hayden. Patterson said a lawyer has been obtained to defend Hayden.



#### NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT

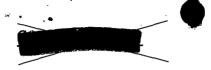
#### COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

The source said that Louise Patterson did not mention the names of the landlady, her elderly tenant, or the lawyer obtained to defend Hayden.

A second source advised on December 23, 1963, that Thomas Emmett Hayden, born December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan, can be characterized as a "crusader" who possesses a passion for unpopular causes. The source believed that Hayden was completely loyal to the United States.

A third source advised on August 6, 1960, that Thomas E. Hayden, then an undergraduate at the University of Michigan, was a campus leader during the fall semester of 1960. This source stated that Havden was a member of the Student Government Council of the University of Michigan; was a University of Michigan delegate to the National. Student Congress, and during the summer of 1960, visited campuses throughout the United States regarding National Student Association affairs. source described Hayden as a responsible, aggressive, student leader whom he regards as completely loyal to the United States. This source said that Hayden's work was crusading, and Hayden possessed inexhaustive energy which takes him to leadership capacity. source said that Hayden supported the Student Government Council's endorsement of "sit in" demonstrations in the South and he has worked on integration matters. This source said that Hayden's activities were based on sincere personal conviction, and the source said he has never known Hayden to be a member of, or sponsor of, any student organization at the University of Michigan known to the source as containing communists or communist sympathizers.





## NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

i dia Habitan A fourth source advised on September 3, 1964, that Tom Hayden had become the main leader of the NCUP, formerly known as The Newark Full Employment Project.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Course, Her Julies

Collins III. 1974

INTER CHARTE

Title

CARREST TO A SECTION OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR

MACRAL CUSTOM

Character

THE TALL CHANGE OF G

Reference

importation dated and captioned to alove, at linearly, Den terroy.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FBI

		Date: 10/16/64	
Trans	smit the following	g in	
rram	Billi the lollowin	(Type in plain text or code)	
Via _	AIRTEL	REGISTERED MAIL	
		(Priority or Method of Mailing)	
M	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI	~
	FROM:	SAC, NEWARK	
	SUBJECT:	"CHANGED" NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, aka The Newark Full Employment Project Newark 157-1608 RACIAL MATTERS  CIRM; IS-C OO: NEWARK Bufile 100-442429 Newark 100-48052	
1 8/5 6/25/76,	Project".  to reflected new name of	Re Newark tel and LHM 7/28/64 and Newark letter rk 9/25/64 captioned "The Newark Full Employment The title of this case is being marked changed the current name of the organization. Then appears on throwaway handbills being distributed ganization.	
A FREEZE AND WAS AND SOLVE	2 - Atlan 2 - Detro	u (Enc. 9) (RM) 160-436224) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN) ta (Enc. 2) (RM) it (Enc. 2) (RM) ork (Enc. 2) (RM)	
	(1 - 1)	100-47808) (CARL WITTMAN) 100- ) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN) 100-46920) (DAVE NEEDLEMAN)	<b>Ь</b> 7D
NOTICIES OF L	OAC/raz (19)	100 - 4/3828/ OCT 23 1984	o
/ `\∟		The state of the s	

Sent .

Per.

68 OCT 291964

Ápproved:

NK 100-48052 NK 157-1608

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning captioned matter.

Copies of this communication are being furnished to Atlanta, Detroit and New York offices for information. Chicago letter to Newark, 10/6/64, captioned "THE NEWARK FULL EMPLOYMENT PROJECT", furnished information concerning THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN (bufile 100-436224) and advised that HAYDEN is known to the Atlanta, Detroit and New York offices. Offices receiving copies of this communication are requested to advise Newark of the office of origin of this case captioned THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, dob 12/11/39 at Detroit, Michigan, in order that Newark may obtain all pertinent info on HAYDEN.

Newark has been attempting to locate and interview Mrs. MAMIE HAYES the complainant in the assault case against HAYDEN. These efforts will be continued. Newark will follow and report on the disposition of HAYDEN's case in Municipal Court, Newark.

information from NK T-1, T-2 a	of continuing value and compromise	<b>6</b> 7D
One copy of this LHM Secret Service locally. The following sources	is being furnished to swere used in LHM:  DECL 6.21.	IED
NK T-1 NK T-2 NK T-3	Dec 6.21.	ь70
NK T-4	(by request)	
NK T-5	(by request)	೯೬ ಅನ್ಯ

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

# UN ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



Newark, New Jersey October 16, 1964

NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, also known as The Newark Full Employment Project RACIAL MATTER

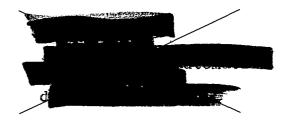
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On October 14, 1964, Lieutenant Peter Dunn, Newark, New Jersey, Police Department Headquarters, advised that Newark Police on October 14, 1964, arrested one Thomas Emmett Hayden, 194 Ridgewood Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, white male, born December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan. According to the Newark Police report, Central Complaint Number 56740, dated October 14, 1964. Hayden was arrested on a complaint filed by charging Hayden with Assault and Battery. Complainant stated she had been physically assaulted about the head, arms, and shoulders and her thumb and hand were injured during the assault. The Newark Police arrest report noted that complainant claimed that she had been constantly harassed by Hayden.

The police report further stated that complainant claimed she was forced to sign a notarized agreement under threat of violence to her. and under threat of picketing her property at \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ and her residence at \_\_\_\_\_\_ and one Carl Wittman. Complainant stated these two men told her that if she did not comply with their wishes, they would spread her name all over the city and disgrace her.

On October 16, 1964, Inspector Robert Donelly and Detective Edward Fox, Fifth Precinct, Newark, New Jersey, Police Department, made available 2 copy of the following agreement:

100-438281\_



ь6 ь7С

ь6 ь7с Term of Agreement for 123 Rid wood Avenue

Landlady: Mrs. Mamie Hayes, 105 Snanley Avenue Tenant: Mrs. Palestine Watkins, 123 Ridgewood Avenue

We, the undersigned, do agree to the following:

- 1. Mrs Hayes, as soon as possible, shall:
  - a. repair the windows
  - b. paint the closet in Mrs. Watkins? room c. not rent to more than six units for use of the second-floor bathroom
  - d. repair walls in kitchen
  - e. make additional lighting in the kitchen
  - f. make the cooking areas, sanitary
  - g. supply towels weekly
  - h. post a license is instruct first-floor tenents not to use second-floor pathroom
  - j. replace stove by November 8
  - k. make arrangements for keeping Mrs Watkins food safely
- 2. Mrs. Hayes agrees there will be no abusive language to Mrs. Watkins on her part or on the part of her agent
- For the two-week period, September 30-October 14, and until all the above repairs are made, except for those in the kitchen, Mrs. Watkins shall pay no rent. After that time, Mrs. Watkins shall pay \$8 per week until the kitchen is repaired and open for use. After that, Mrs. Watkins shall pay \$10 per week rent.
- 4. The Newark Community Union Project, through its representatives Thomas Hayden and Carl Wittman, agree to suspend all legal proceedings, demonstrations and mass leafletting against Mrs. Haye's. The suspension will remain in effect so long as the above agreements are being carried out in good faith.
- 5. If Mrs Hayes desires to evict Mrs Watkins for any reason, or if the above agreements are violated in the opinion of any of the undersigned parties, there shall be an immediate meeting of the undersigned parties before any action is taken.

Munit Hafer

Mamie nayes ...

Pullustine watering

Okomas Karden Thomas Hayden

194 Ridgewood Ave.

ail Wittman Carl Wittman

Palestine Watkins

The above named persons having speared Defore me a l'un sente this 6th day of Catabar 1964

alles Miller all Rocery Prollo of New Jerbey. Cosm exp May 1962 1969



# NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT

# COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

NK T-l advised on December 23, 1963, that Thomas Immett Hayden, born December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan, can be characterized as a "crusader" who possesses a passion for unpopular causes. The source believed that Hayden was completely loyal to the United States.

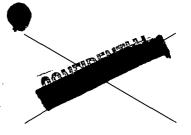
NK T-2 advised on August 6, 1960, that Thomas E. Hayden, then an undergraduate at the University of Michigan, was a campus leader and news editor during the Fall semester of 1960. This source stated that Hayden was a member of the Student Government Council of the University of Michigan, was a University of Michigan delegate to the National Student Congress, and during the Summer of 1960, visited campuses throughout the United States regarding National Student Association affairs.

NK T-2 described Hayden as a responsible, aggressive, student leader whom he regards as completely loyal to the United States. NK T-2 said that Hayden's work was crusading, and Hayden possessed inexhaustive energy which takes him to leadership capacity. This source said Hayden supported the Student Government Council's endorsement of "sit in" demonstrations in the South and he has worked on integration matters. NK T-2 said that Hayden's activities were based on sincere personal conviction, and the source said he has never known Hayden to be a member of, or sponsor of, any student organization at Michigan University known to the source as containing communists or communist sympathizers.

NK T-5 advised on September 3, 1964, that Tom Hayden had become the main leader of the Newark Community Union Project, formerly known as the Newark Full Employment Project.

NK T-3 advised on February 27, 1964, that several days previously one Carl Wittman of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, had stated that he was planning to hold a seminar on Marxism in the Spring of





# NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT

# COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

1964 at Swarthmore College. Wittman felt he was competent to lead the seminar. Wittman identified himself with the orthodox pro-Soviet position regarding Marxism and stated that he is from the background and tradition of old line Marxists. Wittman stated he was respectful of the thinking of Lenin during his generation and of Mao Tse Tung in the present generation.

The Newark Police report also noted that complainant had stated that the assault by Hayden was caused when he sought to retrieve the copy of the agreement which complainant had in her possession. When she refused, she said that Hayden assaulted her.

Detective Fox advised that he learned from Mamie Hayes, the complainant, that Hayden had threatened to kill her. It was the intention of Newark Police Department to arrest Hayden on October 16, 1964 (following his court appearance) on a charge of "Threatening to Kill". Detective Fox advised that this charge would require that this matter be brought before the Grand Jury. Fox advised that Hayden was free on bail awaiting court appearance on October 16, 1964, in Municipal Court, Newark, New Jersey.

According to Inspector Donelly and Detective Ed Fox who were contacted October 16, 1964, Hayden failed to appear as scheduled in Municipal Court, Newark, on October 16, 1964. Fox advised that the case will be carried over and in the event Hayden does not appear in court in the next several days, a warrant for his arrest will be obtained.

NK T-4 advised on October 15, 1964, that a group of nine Negroes, seven men and two women, met with Newark City Councilman Lee Bernstein on the evening of October 14, 1964, to discuss the details of Hayden's arrest, and to determine how Hayden could be released from jail. NK T-4 said that the group was very critical of Bernstein, was very sympathetic to Hayden, and was infuriated by the failure of city authorities to honor Hayden's counter-complaint against Mamie Hayes, which Hayden tried to file at the time of his arrest. This source said that the group told Bernstein they would hire a lawyer for Hayden's defense.

# NEWARK COMMUNITY TION PROJECT

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS



This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.





# UNIOD STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE

### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Newark, New Jersey

October 16, 1964

TITLE

NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT,

aka

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN

RACIAL MATTERS

CHARACTER

RACIAL MATTERS

REFERENCE

Letterhead memo dated and

captioned appelove at Newark, New Jersey.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

NK T-5 with whom contacts have been insufficient to judge their reliability.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SAC, Newark (100-48095)

12/15/64

Director, FBI (100-436224)

REC 61

1 - Mr. Pettit

THOMAS EMMITT HAYDEN SECURITY MATTER - C - ZX-101

Reference is made to your airtels dated December 3, 1964, and December 9, 1964, captioned as above.

The information furnished by your office regarding the subject indicates that he is very active in civil rights matters; however, there is no indication that he is affiliated with any communist organizations or espouses communist causes.

For your additional information, one Thomas Hayden born December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan, was one of the individuals attending the Eighth World Youth Festival

tuted

b3 b7E

It is not desired that investigation be instituted by you under the Security Matter - C character.

BGLP:baf (4)

Wof

Mohr DeLoach Casper Callahan Conrad Evans Gale Rosen Sullivan Trotter Tele. Room Holmes Sant DEC 2 1 Moorgon TeleType Unit

Tolson \_ Belmont

> MAILED 25 ÜEC1 1 1964 COMM-FBI

MA W

(11) Let - Newark 10/15/6 4

HEREIT IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISH

CLASS & EXT. BY - CSK 100 REASON - FCIM H 1.24.2 DATE OF REVIEW 2 13 84 CANCELLE COMPLETE THE CO

Pivas

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_

M Per

100-48095

did not recall name of girls but provided following description of them:

# UNSUB #1

Sex Race Hair Height

Age Weight Build Appearance Characteristics Female White

Blond, medium length

Approximately 5 feet 6 inches

(in high heels)

20-21

120-130 pounds Slim, petite Very attractive

No unusual characteristics

or marks.

# UNSUB #2

Sex Race Hair eight

Age Weight Build Appearance Characteristics Female White Brunette

Approximately 5 feet 6 inches

(in high heels) Approximately 23 120-130 pounds Slim, petite Very attractive

No unusual characteristics

or marks.

Detroit sources have described HAYDEN as "crusader" who possesses passion for unpopular causes but loyal to U. S. Sources so far have not reported HAYDEN as COMMUNIST PARTY member or under COMMUNIST PARTY control.

U. S. Post Office, Swartmmore, Pa., (protect, by request) reported, 2/27/64, CARL WITTMAN of Swarthmore College had stated WITTMAN planning to hold seminar on Marxism in spring, 1964, at Swarthmore College; and WITTMAN identified himself with

ь7С

ь7р



NK 100-48095

orthodox pro-Soviet position regarding Marxism, stating he is from background and tradition of old line Marxist; and he was respectful of thinking of LENIN during his generation and of MAO TSE TUNG in present generation.

Newark files indicate WITTMAN's parents, Paramus, N.J., are communists.

BARRY KALISH, school teacher, arrested this summer, Detroit, for contributing to delinquency during demonstration there.

Newark has leads outstanding to develop background on HAYDEN and KALISH.

HAYDEN closely associated with WITTMAN in NCUP activity since August. \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ previously advised HAYDEN replaced DAVE NEEDLEMAN as head of NCUP. NEEDLEMAN is son of ISIDOR GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, COMMUNIST PARTY lawyer and suspected Soviet espionage agent. At this time, Newark has no information reflecting close relationship between HAYDEN and NEEDLEMAN but assume they are acquainted through interest in NCUP.

b7D

Detroit requested expedite furnishing Newark with all available information on THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, especially relatives, in effort identify HAYDEN's cousins.

Chicago and Detroit requested furnish Newark with all available information THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN. Newark's file indicates these offices have information on HAYDEN.



FBI

Tran	smit the follow	ing in		ļ	
		g	(Type in plain text or code, REGIST		
Via	AIRTEL		(Priority)	ERED	
<del>-</del>				<del>-</del>	<del></del>
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100	F D ス 1 7 5 %		
	FROM:	SAC, NEWARK (100-4	18095)	spromper	
	SUBJECT:	THOMAS EMMETT HAYE SM - C	DEN MEDELN IS US	#260,152	19 000
	week-end	Attached for the P visit by subject to of 12/4-7/64. Atta of atton.	o Jackson, Missi	pies of a LHM issippi, over	
		Sources used in a	ttached LHM are:		) b6
9	•	NK T-1	1 034	K	67C 67D
1/52/9		NK T-2 00 de	(Protect by	y request)	PAU DECORDED
10: M. P. C.		u (Enc. 11) (RM) 1007242529) (CIRM)	PSI		HNKE
OFFICES A	(1 - )	157- ) (NEWARI	K COMMUNITY UNIO SSIPPI FREEDOM DI (RM)		1
	(1 - Newar	157- ) (MISSI: k	SSIPPI FREEDOM D	EMOCRATIC PARTY)	VIII-
DILL THE SOF DESCRIPTION	· (1 -	157-1608) (NCUP) 157-1720) (MFDP) 100-48052) (CIRM)	160 -4	38281 JOH	- b7D
17	OAC:jah	The second second	25C- 11	DEC +0 196	4
	(10)	C. C. Wich	,,,	V	
	ADMONTE:C	Special Agent in Charge	Sent	SOBA CONTRA	

### NK 100-48095

NK T-3

NK T-4



Newark has no characterizations of NCUP or MFDP.

For the information of Jackson, subject has not been identified as a CP member, but information in Newark's file shows subject in close association in the NCUP with CARL WITTMAN, described by a Philadelphia source as a self-admitted Marxist. Atlanta letter to the Bureau dated 11/20/64, entitled, "NCUP, RACIAL MATTERS", indicated one TOM HAYDEN was in association with CARL and ANNE BRADEN in 1962, CP members at Louisville, Kentucky.

Attached LHM classified confidential because the unauthorized disclosure of data reported by above sources could result in identification of these sources and compromise their future effectiveness.

2



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey

November 9, 1964

DECEMBER

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SECURITY MATTER -C

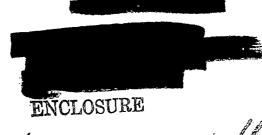
STANDON DECIDASSIFIED BY STAND

NK T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 7, 1964, that Tom Hayden of the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) had left Newark for Jackson, Mississippi, to observe the activities of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and write articles about it for the NCUP.

NK T-2, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised on December 7, 1964, that Tom Hayden of the NCUP left Newark, New Jersey, on December 3, 1964, for Jackson, Mississippi, to observe the activities of the MFDP, and Hayden was scheduled to return to Newark on December 7, 1964.

NK T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 23, 1963, that Thomas Emmett Hayden, born December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan, can be characterized as a "crusader" who possesses a passion for unpopular causes. This source believed that Hayden was completely loyal to the United States.

NK T-4 advised on August 6, 1960, that Thomas E. Hayden, then an undergraduate at the University of Michigan, was a campus leader and news editor during the Fall semester of 1960. NK T-4 stated that Hayden was a member of the Student Government Council of the University of Michigan, was a University of Michigan delegate to the National Student Congress, and during the Summer of 1960, visited campuses throughout the United States regarding National Student Association affairs.



100-438284 -10

DEC 16 1964



NK T-4 described Hayden as a responsible, aggressive student leader whom he regards as completely loyal to the United States. NK T-4 said that Hayden's work was crusading and Hayden possessed inexhaustive energy which takes him to leadership capacity. NK T-4 said Hayden supported the Student Government Council's endorsement of "sit in" demonstrations in the South and he has worked on integration matters. NK T-4 said that Hayden's activities were based on sincere personal conviction, and the source said he has never known Hayden to be a member of, or sponsor of, any student organization at Michigan University known to the source as containing communists or communist sympathizers. NK T-4 has furnished reliable information in the past.

NK T-1 advised on September 3, 1964, that Tom Hayden had become the main leader of the NCUP, formerly known as the Newark Full Employment Project.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

# "UNITED STATES G ERNMENT : Memorandum

TO

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM - C (OO: NEWARK)

Re Newark letter to Detroit dated 11/27/64, (10), and Newark airtel to Bureau dated 12/3/64 a

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224)

SAC, DETROIT (100-28695) (RUC)

# At Ann Arbor, Michigan

NANCY KREMKUS, Supervisor, Alumni Records Office, University of Michigan (U of M), advised SA JOHN L. MC GIRR on 1/11/65, that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, born December 11, 1939, Detroit, Michigan, entered this University's College of Literature, Science and Arts in September of 1957. received an A.B. degree on 6/17/61, having majored in the field of English.

JOHN FAILTEXNEN

Subject identified his parents as Mr. and Mrs. J.F. HAYDEN, 3333 Parker, Royal Oak, Michigan.

This file contains clippings from the "Michigan Daily", a University of Michigan campus newspaper, identifying HAYDEN as the Editor and Chief of this publication for the academic year 1960-1961. Genevievel

A clipping from the "Ann Arbor/News 10/11/61, reports that HAYDEN and another officer of the National B. Applit 1907 Student Association were dragged from their cars as they drove beside a Negro anti-segregation march in Mc Comb, Iconowach with Mississippi. 4th St. Royalock, Mich. MYS. John Francis Hayden

BONNALYNN HECK, Registrar's Office, University of Michigan, advised SA MC GIRR on 2/2/65, that HAYDEN returned to this University's Horace Rackham School of Graduate Studies in September of 1962, majoring in journalism. completed 40 hours of study, leaving in May of 1964. advance degree had been conferred for this graduate study,

2 Bureau (RM)

 $\approx (1 - 100 - 48095)$ 

(1 - 157 - 1608)

1-Detroit

LMC/dd (5) 8 MAR 5

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Newark (RM) (Enc. 21)

8 FEB 25 1965

In the course of the above investigation, the files reviewed contained no indication of the identity of subject's cousins.

# At Detroit, Michigan

Records of the Detroit Department of Health, 2 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, reviewed by SA LAWRENCE M. COOPER, JR. on 12/17/64, contained certificate of birth number 26198 pertaining to THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN. This birth record indicates that THOMAS EMMET HAYDEN was born on 12/11/39 at Women's Hospital, Detroit. His father was JOHN FRANCIS HAYDEN, 5826 Iroquois, Detroit, age 33, race white, born Milwaukee, Wisconsin and employed as an accountant at the Fort Shelby Hotel, Detroit. His mother was listed as GENEVIEVE GARITY, age 32, race white, address 5826 Iroquois, Detroit, occupation housewife, and born at Iconomowac, Wisconsin.

Voters' Registration Cards, Detroit Election Commission, 2 Woodward, Detroit, reviewed on 12/17/64 by SA COOPER, contained a Voters' Registration Card for JOHN F. HAYDEN, these Voters' Registration Cards are negative concerning THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN and GENEVIEVE HAYDEN.

The Voters' Registration Card for JOHN F. HAYDEN, born in 1900, reflected that he registered to vote on 10/4/52 at the address 605 Edison, Detroit. This card indicated that he last voted in Royal Oak, Michigan. This record indicates that he was born on 5/9/06. His Voters' Registration Card was cancelled on 8/5/64, inasmuch as he moved to Warren, Michigan.

	On I	L2/23/64	ł, Mrs	. JOHN	F.	HAYDEN,	14842	Crai	g
Court, W	arren	, Michig	an, v	vas con	tact	ed teler	ohonica	allv	by
SA COOPE	R, ut	ilizing	the 1	<u>retext</u>	of				l

b7E

b7E

On 12/28/64, records of the Wayne County Clerk's Office, Detroit, were reviewed by SA COOPER and found to contain no record of a divorce action between JOHN F. HAYDEN and GENEVIEVE HAYDEN.

Records of Local Board 66, Selective Service System, Royal Oak, Michigan, were reviewed by SA COOPER on 1/19/65, and found to contain a record of the subject under Selective Service Number 2066391388. This record indicated that HAYDEN registered with the Selective Service on 12/19/57. His date of birth was listed as 12/11/39 at Detroit, and his residence as 710 Capalta, Royal Oak, and his mailing address was room 7214 Ban Tyne Hourse University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The address of the person who would always know his whereabouts was Mrs. J. F. HAYDEN, 710 Capalta, Royal Oak, and his occupation was a student at the University of Michigan. These records indicate that he had changes of addresses noted as follows:

112 E. 19th Street, N.Y., N.Y. Effective 8/9/61

1217 E. 4th Street, Royal Oak, Michigan Effective 2/9/62

715 Arch, Ann Arbor, Michigan Effective 9/7/62

This Selective Service record indicates that the subject had no brothers or sisters and indicated that he was married to SANDRA CASON in Texas on October 1, 1961. This record indicates that the subject is presently classified ly.

On 1/21/65, Miss BETTY ADAMS, Dondero High School, 709 N. Washington, Royal Oak, Michigan, advised SA COOPER that the subject had attended Dondero High School from September of 1954 until June of 1957, at which time he graduated. He was enrolled in the college preparatory course and resided at 710 Capalta, Royal Oak.

On 1/21/65, Mr. TERRY R. HOOD, Counselor, Dondero High School, Royal Oak, Michigan, advised SA COOPER that he recalled the subject during the time he had attended school there. He advised that HAYDEN had been editor of the high school newspaper and was a very intelligents tudent, but that HAYDEN refused to recognize authority and to accept discipline at the school, and was therefore, a source of some trouble to the school administration. He advised, however, that he had no reason to question the loyalty of the subject and further advised that he was acquainted with the subject's mother, Mrs. GENEVIEVE HAYDEN, who was an employee of the Royal Oak School Board. He advised that the subject's parents were divorced and that the subject had resided with his mother while attending high school. Mr. HOOD advised that he was not aware of any relatives of the subject, other than his mother and father; knew that HAYDEN did not have any brothers and sisters, and did not know if he had any other close relatives. He advised that he did not know if the subject's mother had any brothers or sisters residing in the Royal Oak area.

Records of the Royal Oak, Michigan Credit Bureau and the Royal Oak Police Department were reviewed on 12/30/64 by IC RAY GILBERT and were negative concerning THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN. The records of the Royal Oak Credit Bureau reviewed on 12/30/64 by IC GILBERT contained a record for GENEVIEVE HAYDEN, which indicates she resides at 1217 E. 4th Street, Royal Oak, Michigan, is divorced from JOHN F. HAYDEN and previously resided at 166 Tennyson, Highland Park, Michigan, and 710 Capalta, Royal Oak, Michigan. This record indicates

that GENEVIEVE HAYDEN is employed by the Royal Oak Board of Education and the record contains no unfavorable information concerning her.

Records of the Merchants Credit Bureau, Detroit, and the Credit Data Corporation, Detroit, were both reviewed on 12/30/64 by IC CLARENCE H. WILLIAMS and the files contained the record concerning JOHN FRANCIS MAYDEN, wife, ESTHER, residing at The records of both these agencies indicate that JOHN FRANCIS HAYDEN is employed by Chrysler Corporation, Highland Park, Michigan, and previously resided at 605 Edison, Detroit. The records of these agencies contained no unfavorable information concerning JOHN FRANCIS HAYDEN.

On 2/5/65, Mrs. GENEVIEVE HAYDEN, 1217 E. 4th Street, Royal Oak, Michigan, was interviewed by SA COOPER by means of a suitable pretext. The pretext utilized was that an investigation was being conducted concerning the apparent false Selective Service registration of an individual using the name of THOMAS J. HAYDEN, who apparently had utilized some of the background information which pertains to THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN while making this false registration with Selective Service. Mrs. HAYDEN was assured that this investigation did not concern her son in any manner, but that it was necessary to obtain some background information concerning him in order to obtain information concerning the false registration of THOMAS J. HAYDEN.

During the course of this pretext interview with Mrs. HAYDEN, it was determined that her son, THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN had graduated from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and that he had attended graduate school there. She advised that he is presently in Newark, New Jersey; that he is married and has no children, and that he is presently engaged in civil rights activities. In connection with these civil rights activities, Mrs. HAYDEN advised that her son is completely different from herself and other members of her family, in that he is very idealistic, and always concerns himself with some type of an idealistic project in behalf of underprivileged groups and classes.

ь6 ь7с DE 100-28695 Julie AtVorect

Mrs. HAYDEN advised that the subject has two cousins who presently work in Washington, D.C., and reside in Arlington, Virginia. She advised that they are the daughters of her, Mrs. HAYDEN's, sister, and both of them work in the Pentagon. She advised that the name of one of these girls is JULIE VORECK, and the name of the other is MARY SUE WORECK.

In view of the nature of the pretext contact, further identifying information concerning these cousins of the subject could not be obtained without endangering the veracity of the pretext. It is noted that the 1964-65 Virginia Suburban section of the Washington, D.C. Telephone Directory on file at the Michigan Bell Telephone Office, Detroit, was reviewed on 2/8/65, and it contains a listing for one JULIE A. VORECK,

This individual is probably the subject's cousin referred to in referenced Newark airtel to Bureau dated 12/3/64.

For the information and assistance of Newark, the following serials are being forwarded to Newark:

Memorandum to Los Angeles from SA FRANK L. BELSANTE dated 8/22/60.

Memorandum to San Francisco from SA JAMES G. CARLISLE dated 8/24/60.

Detroit letter to Bureau dated 11/25/60 with enclosure.

Detroit letter and letterhead memorandum dated 4/7/61, captioned "RACIAL SITUATION, FAYETTE COUNTY, TENNESSEE, RACIAL MATTERS."

Atlanta airtel to Bureau dated 6/21/62, captioned, "THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, IS-C, The United States Festival Committee, Inc. (Eighth World Youth Festival.)

b6 b7C

b6 b7C

Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 7/2/62, captioned "THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, IS - C"

Bureau letter to Chicago dated 5/29/62, captioned, "THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC. (EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL) INTERNAL SECURITY - C."

Atlanta letter to Bureau with letterhead memorandum dated 7/17/62, captioned, "THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, IS - C."

Washington Field Office letter to Bureau with letterhead memorandum dated 8/9/62, captioned "THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, IS - C"

Memorandum of SA WALTER A. BOYLE dated:10/19/62, captioned "CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS, IS - C."

Chicago letter to Detroit dated 7/12/63, captioned "HAYDEN, TOM, 715 ARCH, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN."

New York letter to Milwaukee dated 12/27/63, captioned, "STUDIES ON THE LEFT, INC. IS - C."

Xerox copy of Atlanta airtel to Bureau dated 6/15/62, captioned, "THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, IS - C."

Xerox copy of Atlanta letterhead memorandum dated 5/25/62, captioned, "STUDENT NONVIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE CONFERENCE, APRIL 27-29, 1962, ATLANTA, GEORGIA."

Xerox copy of clipping from the Michigan Daily, University of Michigan Student Publication, dated 10/24/61.

Xerox copy of Memphis airtel to Bureau with letterhead memorandum dated 1/31/61, captioned "RACIAL SITUATION, FAYETTE COUNTY, TENNESSEE, RACIAL MATTERS."

Memphis airtel to Bureau with letterhead memorandum dated 2/3/61, captioned, "RACIAL SITUATION, FAYETTE COUNTY, TENNESSEE, RACIAL MATTERS."

San Francisco teletype to Bureau dated 8/5/60, captioned "CP USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, IS - C."

Xerox copy of airtel from Detroit to Bureau dated 8/6/60, captioned 'CP USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IS - C."

Xerox copy of a clipping from the "Michigan Daily", University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, dated 10/24/62.

Xerox copy of Detroit airtel to Bureau with letterhead memorandum dated 10/25/62, captioned "CUBAN DEMONSTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, OCTOBER 24, 1962, CUBAN CRISIS - 1962."

In addition to the foregoing information concerning the subject, the files of the Detroit Office contained a letter from Milwaukee to Detroit dated 10/8/63, captioned "WISCONSIN SOCIALIST CLUB, IS - C." This letter indicates that the 10/1/63 issue of the "Daily Cardinal", University of Wisconsin, reported that TOM HAYDEN, a former "Michigan Daily" editor, was a guest speaker of the Wisconsin Socialist Club at Madison, Wisconsin, on 9/29/63. He was also identified as a former President of the Students for a Democratic Society. It is noted that Detroit files do not contain a characterization of the Wisconsin Socialist Club.

The following description of the subject was obtained from Selective Service records and during the course of the pretext interview with his mother:

Name Race Sex Height Weight Eyes Hair THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
White
Male
5'10"
140 Pounds
Brown
Black

Complexion Marital Status Wife

Fair Married SANDRA HAYDEN, nee CASON

Mrs. Thomas Emmett Attayder

NIJ, Texas 7-00 PM URGENT 1-16-65 PJK
TO DIRECTOR 2 /100-123974/
FROM NEW YORK /100-80532 /

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STRAUGHTON LYND, THOMAS HAYDEN.,
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIET NAM, MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT,
LOGAN ACT, CONSPIRACY.

REBUAIRTEL TO NY JANUARY ELEVEN SIXTY-SIX.

SPECIAL AGENT
SA PERSONNEL FBI ATTENDED PUBLIC MEETING IN MANHATTAN CENTER,
NEW YORK CITY
NYC, HELD DURING AFTERNOON OF SUNDAY, JANUARY SIXTEEN, SIXTY-SIX.

AT THIS MEETING APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN GAVE "EYE-WITNESS REPORT
FROM HANOI." THIS MEETING ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY THREE THOUSAND
PEOPLE. CHAIRMAN A.J.MUSTE INTRODUCED SPEAKERS AND STATED MEETING
NEW YORK
HELD UNDER AUSPECIES OF THE FIFTH AVENUE PEACE PARADE COMMITTEE, NYC.

APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN IN SPEECHES DESCRIBED THEIR TRIP TO
NORTH VIETNAM. THEIR ITINERARY WAS PRAGUE, MOSCOW, PEKING AND HANOI.

THEY DESCRIBED EXPERIENCES IN NORTH VIETNAM AND INTERVIEWS WITH

VARIOUS PEOPLE IN NORTH VIETNAM. ALL SPEAKERS WERE CRITICAL OF U.S.

POSITION IN NORTH VIETNAM. ONE POINT EMPHASIZED BY SPEAKERS, BASED ON
UNITED STATES
INTERVIEWS WITH GOVERNMENT PEOPLE WAS THAT COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S.

END /PAGE ONE

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

100 - 438281 -

WILL FILED IN

Mr. Tolson

Fried Gardy

THE THE DISC

PAGE TWO

FORCES FROM VIET NAM IS NOT A PRE-CONDITION FOR NEGOTIATIONS..

HOWEVER EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL IS DEMANDED AS WELL AS NO OCCUPATION BY

U.S. FORCES. MEETING TERMINATED APPROXIMATELY FIVE PM. DETAILS OF NEW YORK OFFICE.

MEETING WILL BE INCORPORATED IN REPORT BEING PREPARED BT NYOT

END;

WA. . MSE

FBI WS WASH DC

Oc. Mr. Succession

# united states gramen Memorandum

TO

FROM

RUB

MU217 PONIS 100-436224)

DATE: MAR 2 1965

KM 3mm

SAC, NEWARK (100-48095) (C)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM - C

OO: NEWARK

RE:

Detroit letter to the Bureau, 2/23/65, captioned as above. 100-43828/-//
Bureau letter to Newark, 12/15/64.

Referenced Detroit letter furnished information obtained by Detroit to the Newark Office regarding HAYDEN. For the information of the Bureau, Newark sources advise that HAYDEN continues to work for the Newark Community Union Project, a civil rights and tenants group in Newark, N.J. The Bureau has previously been advised of this activity of HAYDEN. Referenced Bureau letter to Newark, 12/15/65, advised that the Bureau did not desire that investigation of HAYDEN be conducted.

In view of instructions in referenced Bureau letter, this case is being placed in a closed status in the Newark Office.

21 MAR 4 1965

2)- Bureau RM

2 - Newark

(1 - 157-1608) (NCUP)

DRS: grw

(4)

 $\Delta R~1~0~13$ Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Special Agent in Charge

NK 100-48095

NK T-4

Instant LHM

In retel WFO was requested to make a check of Passport Office, Dept. of State for information on passport secured by HAYDEN. For assistance of WFO the following is a description of HAYDEN:

Name:

Race:

Sex:

POB:

Height: Build:

Weight: Hair:

Eyes: Complexion:

Residence:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

b7D

White Male

12/11/39

Detroit, Michigan

5'11" Slender 150 Black

Brown Sallow

227 Jellif Ave.,

Newark, N.J.

# LEADS:

# Washington field

# AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Will review records of Passport Office, Dept. of State, and determine information concerning subject's passport request it being noted subject traveled on Passport F-1027114.

Will furnish Newark photograph of subject from Passport Records.

# NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, N.Y. Will, through appropriate sources determine subject's return to the United States and advise Bureau and Newark.

NK 100-48095

# NEWARK

AT NEWARK, N.J. Will report subject's return to the U.S.

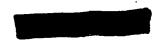
No additional investigation, other than set out above, will be conducted by Newark in view of instructions set forth in Bulet to Newark dated 12/15/64, in captioned matter.

# UN ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Newark, New Jersey Secret December 21, 1965



THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SECURITY MATTER - C

NK T-1 advised on December 13, 1365, that Herbert Aptheker of New York and Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale University, would be departing from the United States for Hanoi, North Vietnam traveling via Brussels, Belgium, Purpose of the trip was not determined.



NK T-2 advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA at its 17th National Convention held December 10-13, 1959.

ر(لازِ

Staughton Lynd was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 13, 1953, during which time he stated that though he had never been a member of the Communist Party, he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the fall of 1946, on the campus at Harvard University. He said that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947. Lynd further advised that while at Harvard University he had been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He said that approximately one year during this period he had served as secretary of the John Reed Club.

( い )

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(ل)

CLASSIFIED BY 4417
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2,3
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

S54 OCT 12 1970

100-438281-13 ENCLOSURE



# THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

A characterization of the John Reed Clubs of the United States is contained in the appendix attached.

(u)

The records of Sabena Airlines, New York City, as checked on December 15, 1965, revealed that Herbert Aptheker and Staughton Lynd had reservations on Sabena Flight 543 to leave John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, on Sunday, December 19, 1965, at 8:30 pm en route Brussels, Belgium. At Brussels they would board Flight OK 536, December 20, 1965, en route Prague, Czechoslavokia.

NK T-3 advised on December 13, 1965, that Thomas Hayden, not further identified would accompany Aptheker and Lynd on the above flights.

(v)

On December 19, 1965, it was determined that Sabena Airlines Flight 543 to Brussels, Belgium on December 19, 1965, had been cancelled. Thomas Hayden was observed by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to have departed John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, aboard Air India Flight 116 at 9:00 pm on December 19, 1965, en route to London. Hayden was thereafter to make connections at London with British European Airlines departing London at 11:00 am, December 20, 1965, for Prague, Czechoslavokia.

 $\cup$ 

On 12/19/65, Passenger Agent Ricardo Argentieri, Air India Airlines, John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, verified Hayden's departure stating that Thomas E. Hayden, 227 Jellif Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, traveling on Passport F-1027114, had departed on Air India Flight 116, on December 19. 1965.

 $\cup$ 

On December 20, 1965, NK T-4 advised that he learned from Corinna Faller of the Students For A Democratic Society in Newark, New Jersey, that Thomas Hayden had left on December 19, 1965, for a visit to North Vietnam.

U

The "National Guardian" of November 13, 1965, page 2, stated that Tom Hayden was among the guests on the dais at the 17th Anniversary Dinner of the "National Guardian" held November 5, 1965, at the Hotel Americana,

( v)

SECRET



# THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

New York City. The November 13, 1965 issue of the "National Guardian" described Hayden as organizer since 1964 of the Newark Community Union Project and one of the original organizers of the Students For A Democratic Society.

(U)

A characterization of the "National Guardian" is contained in the appendix hereto.

(U)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



# Appendix

# JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

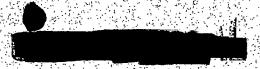
The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES:

"1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the COMMUNIST PARTY is clear beyond dispute."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 10.)"







SECRET

# "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961; to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., reflects the following on Page 193 regarding the "National Guardian":

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

APPENDIX







# In Reply, Please Refer to File No. NK 100-48095

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF INSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Newark, New Jersey
December 21, 1965

Title

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character

SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference

Newark airtel and letterhead memorandum dated December 21, 1965

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Mrc. Tolkom... Mr. DeLoach -Mr. Mohr... Mr. Casper.... Mr. Callathara Mr. Convad -TELETYPE UNIT Mr. Pett. Mr. Cale .... DEC 1 398 Mr. Rosen.... Mr. Sullivan. Mr. Tavel.... ENCODED MESSAGE Mr. Trotter... Mr. Wick\_ FBI NEW YORK Tele. Room. Miss Holmes. URGENT 12-18-65 515 PM Miss Gandy. TO DIRECTOR. ENCODED (100-438281) FROM NEW YORK (100 - 148904)THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, SM-C. RENEW YORK AIRTELS TO BUREAU DECEMBER FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE ENTITLED "HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER. to state, cra, NK, NH + LY treed ADVISED DECEMBER THIRTEEN NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE THAT HERBERT APTHEKER, DIRECTOR OF AMERICAN INS TITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES. AND PROFESSOR STAUGHTON LYND OF YALE UNIVERSITY, WOULD BE DEPARTING SHORTLY FROM THE UNITED STATES FOR HANOI, NORTH VIET NAM. TRAVELING VIA BRUSSELS . BELGIUM. CLASSIELED BY OF THIS TRIP WAS NOT DETERMINED EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY RECORDS. SABENA AIRLINES. FIFTEEN NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE THAT HERBERT APTHEKER AND HAVE RESERVACIONS ON SABENA FLIGHT FIVE FOUR EIGHT TO LEANE 6JOSAG F. SIXTY FIVE AT EIGHT THIRTY PM, EN ROUTE BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, AT BRUSSELS, THEY BOARD FLIGHT OK FIVE THREE SIX. DECEMBER TWENTY NINETEEN SIXTY

PAGE TWO



FIVE ... EN ROUTE PRAGUE CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

ANOTHER CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED DECEMBER EIGHTEEN NINETEEN

SIXTY FIVE. THAT THOMAS HAYDEN (NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED) WILL ACCOMPANY

APTHEKER AND LYND ON ABOVE FLIGHTS, IT IS PRESUMED HAYDEN WILL ACCOMPANY

PANY THESE INDIVIDUALS TO HANOI. THOMAS HAYDEN PROBABLY IDENTICAL WITH

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, NEWARD SUBJECT, WHO HAS BEEN AFFLIATED WITH STUDENT

NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE. WASHINGTO FIELD OFFICE CHECK

PASSPORT RECORDS ON THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, WFO FILE ONE HUNDRED FOUR

ZERO SIX NINE ZERO, FOR CURRENT INFORMATION REGARDING USE OF PASSPORT

FACILITIES ON PART OF HAYDEN, NEWARK ASCERTAIN THROUGH INFORMANTS AND

SOURCES, WHETHER THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN HAS PLANNED TO TRAVEL ABROAD

AT THIS TIME. NEWARK TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED, COPIES REGISTERED MAIL NEWARK

AND WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE.

ELR

FBI WASH DC

. •	Federal Bureau of Investigation
	ec Branch .
	- Dec. 18
<del></del> -	
· [_	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
<u> </u>	Service Unit - Room 6524
<u> </u>	Forward to File Review
	Attention Lengus
<u>L_</u>	Return to <u>Letty Cigart 800 K</u> l SuperAsor Room Ext.
1 ype o	of References Requested: Regular Request (Analytical Search)
	All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive
	Subversive References Only
	Nonsubversive References Only
	Main References Only
Type o	of Search Requested:
<u> </u>	Restricted to Locality of
=	Buildup Variations
Subjec Birthd	t Thomas Emmett Hayde
	ss
Addres	
.ocali	ties
	ties
	ties Date 12-18-Searcher
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Searcher Initials
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Searcher Initials
R #	Date 12-18-65 Searcher Initials
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Searcher Initials
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Initials  FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100-438281  44-18407
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL 100-438281 44-18407 62-109555-18
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Searcher Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL  100-438281  44-18407  62-109555-18  62-109555-20,21
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,21     100-3-81-9130
₹#	Date 12-18-65 Initials FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,21     100-3-81-9130
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407   62-109555-18   62-109555-20,21   100-3-81-9130   100-427723-48
₹#	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20 2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-247
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407   62-109555-18   62-109555-20,21   100-3-81-9130   100-427723-48
₹#	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20 2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-247
₹#	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20 2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-247
₹#	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20 2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-247
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,2      100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527     157-6-28-139     157-446-2
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20 2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-247
₹#	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,2      100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527     157-6-28-139     157-446-2
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,2      100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527     157-6-28-139     157-446-2
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527 157-1850-5,10     22
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527 157-157-1850-5,10     226006-2     44-18747     62-22005-2
R #	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20, 2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527 157-157-157-1850-5, 10     222005-2     62-109555-62
₹#	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20,2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527 157-157-1850-5,10     226006-2     44-18747     62-22005-2
	FILE NUMBER SERIAL    100-43828     44-18407     62-109555-18     62-109555-20, 2     100-3-81-9130     100-427723-48     100-436224-249     100-439048-527 157-157-157-1850-5, 10     222005-2     62-109555-62

NUM POUR REFERENCE	
NOW DO BEFERENCE	
SEARCH SLIP	,
Subj: Thomas Currell Hayola	ju
SupervisorRoomR	
R#Date 12-18 Searcher Initial	
Prod.	
FILE NUMBER SERIAL	
Thomas C.	
157-6-28-139	
157-467-1	
Thomas	_
44-19646-31 EP#265	
62-110048-445	
b	3 7E
100-15252-118 EP#183	, 12
100-399830-51 1470	
100-436224-386EP#	 :
398 CIP#	<u>`</u>
100 13901 C C27P#	
115	<i>ZC,</i>
100-1-29 0/8-250 CISPA	
100-439048-350,615 89	
10,20,21,6	3
I I	7E
	—

#### FBI

12/23/65 Date:

Transmit the following in	(Type in plain text or code)
Via AIRTEL	·
	(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

FROM: SAC. WFO (100-40690)(P)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SM - C

ReNYtel to Bureau, dated 12/18/65.

Records, Passport Office, U.S. Department of State (USDS), as checked on 12/22/65, revealed that HAYDEN has passport C-490318, which could be renewed. No renewal application has been received as of this date. Information regarding above passport was submitted by WFO on 8/9/62.

Officials, USDS, advised that renewal application may have been submitted in some other city and one to four weeks elapse before the renewal reaches the files in Washington, D.C.

WFO will recheck in 1/66 for information concerning renewal of the above passport.

😘 🕳 Bureau

2 - New York (RM) (1-100-148904)-- (1-100-80532) resident

1 - Newark (100-48095)(RM)

1 - WFO

GTT:sch **(7)** 

AIRTEL

	Date: <b>12/29/65</b>
ransmit the follo	owing in(Type in plain text or code)
γiα AIRTE	
	(Priority or Method of Mailing)
TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100=436224)  DIRECTOR, FBI (100=436224)  DIRECTOR, FBI (100=436224)
FROM:	: SAC, WFO (100-40690)(P)
SUBJE	ECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SM - C
two f	Enclosed herewith are 11 copies for the Bureau, for New York and one for Newark, of LHM setting forth el plans of subject.
is to	Information included in LHM describes issuance of sport to the subject for proposed travel to Europe. It be noted that recent newspaper articles reflect that EN was traveling to Hanoi with Professor STAUGHTON LYND MERBERT APTHEKER.
C by	end state Regat  or Gyr  pareling elip for monila  action monila  Tym / Camer
3 - B 2 - N	Sureau (Encl.11)  New York (Encl.2)(RM)  Newark (Encl.1)(RM)
GTT:S	REG- 133 100 - 438281-16
AIRTE	18 <del>DEC</del> 30-1965
	DEC 30 00 EN . 02 SUBM PO TIROTA
Approved: 4	Das De Musiki, Sent M. Per

50 JAN Specimagent in Charge



# UNNED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D, C.

December 29, 1965

#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, reviewed by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on December 29, 1965, disclose the additional information that Thomas Emmett Hayden was last issued Passport F-1027114 at New York City on December 16, 1965, for proposed travel for one month to Belgium, England and France for the purpose of writing. In his application, dated December 14, 1965, at New York City, he stated his intention to depart from New York City via Sabena Airlines about December 17, 1965, not by organized tour. He stated that he had not made any trips abroad in the previous twelve months and that he expected to take another trip abroad within the next five years. This passport was limited in validity to expire on June 15, 1966, and stamped that it was not to be extended without the express authorization of the Department of State. This passport was valid for travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Viet-Nam under communist control.

It appears from his file that this passport was restricted inasmuch as he reported the loss of his previous 1962 passport. The file contains a certification by him dated December 14, 1965, at New York City, stating, "I received a passport in about July, 1962, for a European trip which later was called off. The passport was left among files in my Ann Arbor, Michigan, home. It was left there when I shifted my residence to Newark, New Jersey, in July, 1964. Recently, I've planned again to go to Europe, and I called the people with whom I lived in Ann Arbor, asking them to send the passport. Several days of searching still have not turned it up. The Ann Arbor police have been notified, and they report no record of the passport."

100-438281-16

COPIES DESTROYED
354 OCT 12 1970

ENCLOSURE

#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Mr. Hayden, who stated that he was born on December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan, gave his permanent residence as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, and arranged to pick up his passport in New York City. Head indicated that his marriage on October 1, 1961, to Sandra Cason Hayden had been terminated by divorce on April 1, 1963. In the event of death or accident, he requested that Connie be Brown, a friend, be notified at

The file contains a notation that he identified himself with New Jersey driver's license H0954-74065-12392, dated December 30, 1964.

The following description of Hayden appeared in his passport file:

Height: Hair:

Eyes:

Occupation:

5 feet, 10 inches

Black Brown

Community organization

specialist

This document contains notice? The contained of the contained of the contained of the contained to the agency; if one is a contained to the contained to the distributed outside your agency.

(30) 100-438281

1 - Liaison

1 - Mr. Mack l - Mr. McNiff

Date:

January 24, 1966

To:

Office of Special Investigations

Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

Prom:

John Edgar Hodygr, Director

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN Subject:

SECURITY MATTER - C

For your information, captioned individual has two cousins Mary Sue Voreck and Julie Voreck, sisters, who until recently resided in the Virginia area and who until December 17, 1965, were both employed by the Defense Communications Agency of the Air Force at the Pentagon. At the time of leaving the above employment, they furnished a forwarding eddress of

Also enclosed for your information are two memoranda from our Mewark Office dated December 21, 1965, containing information concerning Hayden.

Enclosures >

TJM:sss )

NOTE:

ば JAN 25 1966

Subject is not on Security Index but a current investigation of him is being conducted by the Newark Office. He is a former National President of the Students for a Democratic Society who departed the United States in December, 1965, with Herbert Aptheker and Staughton Lynd en route to Hanoi, North Vietnam, on a "peace mission." This group returned to the United States on January 9, 1966.

EX-102

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Upon removal of classified material this letter

Casper Gale

TELETYPE UNIT

Holmes Gandy

b7C

BY COURIER SVC.  $\alpha$ ು

DeLoach Mohr -

> Callahan Conrad Felt.

Rosen Sullivan Tayel.

Tele Room



Office of Special Investigations Air Force

#### NOTE CONTINUED:

Above enclosures are Newark letterhead memorandum and reliability memorandum setting forth details of subject's trip to North Vietnam. Newark letterhead memorandum is classified "Confidential." Instant letter is classified "Confidential," as unauthorized disclosure of information contained in enclosed Newark letterhead memorandum could reasonably result in identification of valuable sources and thus be prejudicial to the defense interests of this country.

SEGNET

100-39691*6* 

1422

December 21, 1965

Director'

Burena of Intelligence and Resoarch Denustment of State

John Edgar Hoover, Director Prom: .

: Footduck REFERENCE AFFIRMA : Internal security - c

> STATISTICS CRAIG LYND SECIELLY MATTER - C

TICHAS HAVOUS STRUCK HATTER - C

This is to confirm information telephonically furnished by Special Agent Noward W. Little of the Federal Bureau of . Investigation on the evening of December 18. 1965, to Duty Officer 33 3. Kelly of the State Department and to the effect that Merhert Aptheker,

Staughton Lynd, and one Thomas Mayden (not further identified) were schoduled to depart New York City at 8:30 p.m. on December 10, 1065, on route to Brussols, Bolgium. From Brussels they would continue on to Prague, Czechoslovakia, on December 20, 1965.

It has been proviously ascertained that the destination of Apthober and Lynd is Manoi, North Vietnam. The purpose and final destination of Mayden's trip is unknown at this time.

CLASSIFIED BY

- l Manila (see note page two) 4 - Paris (seamte page two)
- EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGOR
- 2 New York (see note page two) 100-15293
- 2 Newark (see note page two)
- h Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

1/-100-438281 (Hayden) TJM:baf

(22)

ANTE-335 ROSEONET

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

128 DEC 22 1965

I - Liaison

1 - Mr. Shaw IMr. Franck

- Mr. McNlff



Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

Copies of reports pertaining to Aptheker and Lynd have been previously furnished to you. Information concerning hayden will be furnished to you immediately upon its receipt. The Legal Attache in Paris has been advised of the proposed travel on the part of the above individuals.

1 - Director

Attention: Deputy Director.

b7E

ATTENTION: SAC, NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN AND NEWARK, AND LEGATS, PARIS AND MANILA

New York submit in form suitable for dissemination verification of the departure of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden from New York on December 19, 1965. Furnish New Haven and Newark with copies of above.

New Haven verify departure of Lynd and furnish complete information in accordance with instructions relating to security subjects traveling abroad.

Newark determine if the above Thomas Hayden is identical to the Thomas Emmett Hayden, subject of your file 100-48095. If identical, furnish complete information in accordance with instructions relating to security subjects traveling abroad.

Legat, Paris, alert your sources so as to receive any pertinent information regarding the travels of Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden. You should specifically attempt to determine if these three individuals continued their travel together from Belgium to Czechoslovakia. For your information, Herbert Aptheker was born July 31, 1915, Brooklyn, New York, and resides at 32 Ludlam Place, Brooklyn, New York. Aptheker is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America. Staughton Lynd was born November 22, 1929, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and resides at 26 Court Street, New Haven, Connecticut. Lynd in an interview with Special Agents of the FBI in August, 1953, described himself as a socialist and pacifist. He admitted membership in the American Youth for Democracy at Harvard College 1946-1949; attended meetings of the Independent Socialist League during the summer of 1949; {U}





Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

and was a member of the Socialist Workers Party for about six weeks in the summer of 1949. He reportedly has continued his association with members of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party to this date. Both Aptheker and Lynd are on the Security Index. Thomas Emmett Hayden was born December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan. He is a subject of the Newark Office, but he is neither on the Reserve Index or the Security Index. He has been active in the civil rights movement and has been affiliated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

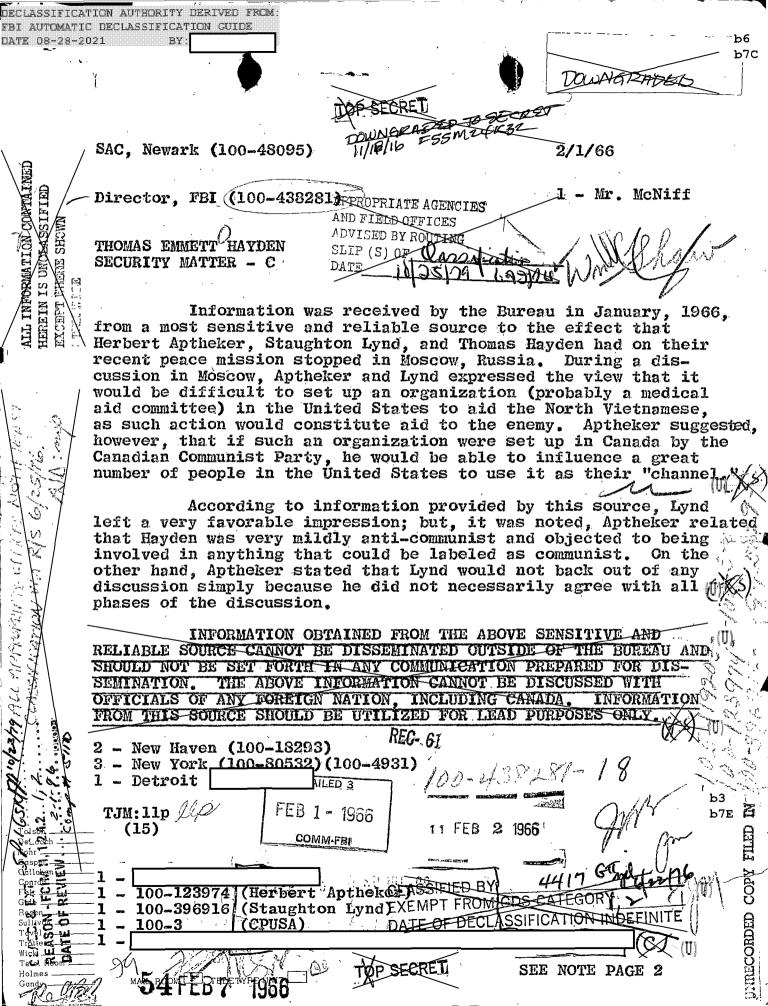
Inasmuch as Legat, Manlla, covers South Vietnam, an informational copy is being furnished Manila. Manila should be alert for any information coming to its attention concerning these individuals.

NOTE:

This letter is classified "Corrected" as it contains information furnished by \_\_\_\_\_\_, the unauthorized b7D disclosure of which information could reasonably result in the identification of this source and be detrimental to the national defense interests of this country.









Letter to Newark RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

100-438281

NOTE:	
	b3
	11 , b7I
	C b7E

# YALE PROFESSOR

Historian, a Leader of New Left, and 2 Others There Without U.S. Permission

By JOHN CORRY

Staughton Lynd, the assistant professor of history at Yale who is perhaps the most articulate spokesman for the new American left, is in Hanoi, North iVetnam, on a "fact-finiding" mission, reliable sources say.

Mr. Lynd has also been asked by the magazine Vict Report "to clarify the peace terms of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

He is accompanied by Thomas Hayden, a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society, and Herbert Aptheker, who is generally regarded as the leading theoretician of the Communist party in this country.

The three left John F. Kennedy Airport Dec. 19 on Sabena Airlines Flight 548. They flew to Brusells, it is reported, and then boarded a Czechoslovak Airlines plane for Prague. They went from there to Moscow and Peking, and entered North Vietnam be way of Cambodia.

Each could face a \$5,000 fine, five years in prison, or both for visiting North Vietnam with out permission from the State Department.

It is also possible that they could be prosecuted under the Logan Act. This makes it a crime for an unauthorized citizen to deal with a foreign government in an attempt to influence its relations with the United States.

#### Aptheker Arranged Trip

Mr. Aptheker arranged the trip. While attending a peace conference in Helsinki last summer he received an invitation from the Communist Government of North Vietnam. It was suggested that he bring two non-Communists with him.

Mr. Aptheker, in turn, invited Mr. Lynd and another person, who has not been identified. Like Mr. Lynd, this person is a leader of the new left. He accepted the invitation, but then, fearful in the pairs, ing the organization

is affiliated, rejected refore the scheduled itra 1 dep

ynd then suggested that Mr. Hayden go along. Mr. Hayden insists, however, that he is making the trip as an individual, not as a representative of the Students for a Democratic Society:

In a joint statement before they left, Mr. Lynd and Mr. Hayden said:

"We have no assurance that we can add anything to American understanding of the other side's approach to peace. The recent bombing of Haiphong and the danger that this dreadful war may be further esculated, however, confirms us in

> the feeling that we should try. "We go as politically independent individuals. The money for our trip is our own, or comes tions on American Communists. as gifts or loans from individ- The suit was upheld. ual friends. One of us, Professor Staughton Lynd, has specifically been asked to make ongs."

Viet Report, a monthly, is published in New York. It is edited by Carol Brightman, graduate assistant in English at New York University, and has achieved a press run of about 80,000 in its first three issues.

The magazine, which is generally critical of United States policy in Vietnam, is sold most frequently on campuses by organizations such as the American Friends Service Committe, the Fellowship of Reconcilia-tion and The Students for a Democratic Society.

Mr. Lynd, who belongs to no organization, is a Marxist and a pacifist. Shortly before he left this country he spoke here at a symposium on peace that was sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy.

He suggested that one appropriate response for those op-posed to the war in Vietnam would be to go there and to help rebuild the devastated areas that are now held by the Vietcong.

Signed Document Discounted

He would be interested, Mr. Lynd continued, in arranging this kind of project. From it. he said, may arise a deeper understanding among Americans and North and South Vietnamese:

Mr. Lynd also declared that it would be helpful if Americans visited North Vietnam to seek clarification of Hanoi's terms for a withdrawal of American troops.

This need not be "anything as pretentious as a signed docu-ment," he said, "but a memo-andum that could be taken from meeting to meeting in this çountry.''

Mr. Aptheker is the director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies here. He has

filled a numb ommunist i party posts in the party is often cited ss as "one fof America's most eminent his-torians."

In 1953 Mr. Aptheker was one of 16 authors whose works were removed from its overseas libraries by the State Department. Perhaps his best known books are "A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S.," published by Citadel Press, and "American Negro Slave Revolts," published

by Columbia University Press. In 1961, Japan canceled Mr. Aptheker's visa when he sought to attend a conference on nuclear weapons in Tokyo.

Two years ago, Mr. Aptheker and the late Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, then head of the Communist party in the Uhited, States, brought a suit challeng-ing the foreign travel restric-

Mr. Hayden, 26 years old, is an organizer for the New Comcifically been asked to the ark. The project, which was this fact-finding effort by the ark. The project, which was magazine Viet Report, to the ur by the Students for a Demo-1 cratic Society, seeks to organ-1 cratic Society, seeks to organ-1 munity Union Project in Newize the poor on issues such as housing, unemployment and welfare.

Mr. Hayden has also been associated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in civil rights activities in Alabama and Mississippi.

> Jile Dre copy 12 14 (Hay den) 100-43 8281-NOT RE COLUMN 191 JAN 17 1966

TELETYPE UNIT

JAN 8 1880

ENCODED MESSAGE

r* . K
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Delmach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Campor
Mr. Callaban
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Grla
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullavan.
Mr. Tavol
. Bly. Www.tow
Mr. Wick
Tele. Room
Mass H hocs
Miss Gandy
1

9-00 PM URGENT 1-9-66 PJ
TO DIRECTOR 2
PROM NEW YORK /100-80532/

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, IS-C STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, SM-C THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN. SM-C BLZJ GARA

Palado

RE NYTEL TO BUREAU ONE EIGHT SIXTY-SIX.

ABOVE THREE SUBJECTS ARRIVED AT JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, NYC, ONE NINE SIXTY-SIX, ABOARD PAN AMERICAN FLIGHT ONE ONE NINE AT SIX FIFTY PM., WERE PROCESSED THROUGH OBSERVED BY SPECIAL AGENT PERSONNEL. LHM FOLLOWS. REGISTERED MAIL COPIES O

END

RPT FBI... WAS H DC

NEWARK AND NEW HAVEN.

namo Baumgardner to Sullivan 10/66 EBR/pan

NOT RECORDED
37 JAN 13 1966

HOLAL FILED IN

HA DESCOPEINTE SPICES Y ACTOS

ь6 ь7с

ORIGINAL, FILED IN

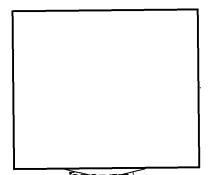
FBI

Via AI	RTEL				ng hair day na his bay but the tim to be the se
ro:	DIRECTOR, FB	SI (100-1239	974)		
FROM:	SAC, NEW YOR	K (100-805)	32)		<
SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGE IS = C; ISA		?	مد	5- Moz
	STAUGHTON CR SM - C				J. J. Charles
	THOMAS EMMET	T HAYDEN			
	Re NY airtel	. to Bureau	1/4/66.		
to US, fr	Enclosed for above case c om Hanoi, Nor LHM are ident	oncerning a	anticipated n. The sou	return o	f subjects
Burea  - New H  - New Y  - New Y	u (100-123974 k (100-40690) aven (100-182 ork (100-1105 ork (100-1489 ork (100-1547 ork (100=1558	(Enc. 7)(1) (THOMAS HAN (93)(STAUGH (21)(STAUGH (04)(THOMAS (85)(VIDEM) (867)(Viet R	RM) YDEN)(Enc. FON LYND)(E FON LYND) 43 HAYDEN) 43 (Sec. 43) port)(Sec.	2)(RM) nc. 2)(RM	<b>.</b>
VJA/kss (15)	Me				CARBON
Approved Spec	ial Agent in	Sent Charge	M	Per	
			10	z- 4	3 8 981

NY 100-80532

1st Source 2nd Source

3rd Source 4th Source 5th Source 6th Source



**b7**D

This LHM is classified "since unauthorized disclosure of information contributed by above sources might impair their future effectiveness and such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the US.

The news broadcast over radio station WINS was overheard by SA- VINCENT  $J_{\bullet}$  ASCHERL.

LHM is submitted on above three individuals since the matter reported was a joint venture and the same information applies simultaneously to the three of them.

The NYO will be alert for any announcements in the local press and in "The Worker" concerning the forthcoming meeting at Manhattan Center, NYC, at which the above individuals will be welcomed.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Bufile 100-123974 NYfile 100-80532 New York, New York January 6, 1966



Re: Herbert Eugene Aptheker Internal Security - C Internal Security Act of 1950

Staughton Craig Lynd Security Matter - C

Thomas EmmettHayden Security Matter - C

Reference is made to previous communications submitted in this matter pertaining to travel on the part of the above individuals to Hanol, North Viet Nam. It is noted that they departed from John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New ( $\upsilon$ ) York, on December 19, 1965.

The confidential sources utilized in this communication have furnished reliable information in the past. Characterizations of individuals mentioned herein are set out at the end, where such characterizations were available.

Relative to the purpose of this trip to Hanoi on the part of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden, an article in the New York "Times", January 1, 1966, page 3, entitled "US Leftist In Hanoi Says Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction" quotes Staughton Lynd, Professor, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, as stating that there has been no significant reaction in Hanoi to the halt of United States air raids on North Viet Nam

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification GIMA |22|16 CLASSIFIED BY EXEMPT FROM QDS CATEGORY 2. DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE.

7 - 438 2 8 1



Herbert Eugene Aptheker; Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas EmmettHayden

The article related that Lynd, Thomas Hayden, a student leader, and Herbert Aptheker, "a leading theoretician of the US CP" arrived in Hanoi last Tuesday by way of Moscow and Peking. The article stated that their trip was sponsored by "Viet Report" a magazine critical of United States (v) Folicy in Viet Nam.

Lynd is quoted in a telephone interview from Hanoi as saying "we have been here only a few days. We feel it should be better to wait until our return to report on what we have found while here."

Confidential source number one furnished information on January 3, 1966, to the effect that Arnold Johnson, National Public Relations Director, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), on that date, discussed with an assistant in the office of A. J. Muste, 5 Beekman Street, New York City, the return of the above three individuals from Hanoi. A cablegram had been directed from Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden, in Hanoi, to A. J. Muste, reading as follows: "January 14 fine. Slight chance travel problems. Hope wide as possible spectrum of movement will sponsor and attend. Your cable delighted us. Lynd, Aptheker, Hayden."

Arnold Johnson was anxious to make a reservation for January 14, 1966 at Manhattan Center, 311 West 34th Street, New York City, for a public meeting to honor the above three on their return to the United States.

The above source further advised on January 5, 1966, that Gil Green, member of the Secretariat, National Board, CP, USA, instructed Arnold Johnson to insure that "The Worker" reflects the date of the welcoming meeting as January 16, 1966, at 2:00 p.m., at Manhattan Center, changed from January 14. There were to be only three speakers at the affair, with A. J. Muste as chairman.

### SECRET

Herbert Eugene Aptheker; Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas Emmett Hayden

Confidential source number two advised on January 5, 1966, that an individual in contact with Fay Aptheker, wife of Herbert Aptheker, mentioned that Herbert Aptheker was expected back in the United States possibly on January 9, 1966. (U)

According to a news broadcast on New York radio station WINS, 6:00 p.m., January 5, 1966, Thomas Hayden is quoted as stating from Hanoi that they met with the proper people and would be leaving Hanoi on Friday (January 7, 1966). No date was mentioned as to when they would arrive back in the (U) United States.

The masthead of the July, 1965 issue of "Viet-Report" described it as "an emergency news bulletin on Southeast Asian Affairs". The masthead stated that the publication was distributed by Viet-Report, Inc., (U) 133 West 72nd Street, New York City.

The records of the County Clerk, New York County, New York City, received on August 2, 1965, reflected the issuance of Certificate of Incorporation Number 504792, New York State, filed on June 24, 1965, for Viet-Report, Inc., 133 West 72nd Street, New York City; incorporating officers were:

Carol/Brightman		·
John/McDermott		
Martin Nicolaus	MASS.	(v)

b7C



Herbert Eugene Aptheker; Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas Emmett Hayden

On May 25, 1965, confidential source number three advised that on May 13, 1965, a "teach-in" was held at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, for the purpose of evaluating the Viet Nam war; that among the speakers was John McDermott, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York.

"Viet-Report" issue of July, 1965, page 30, identified John McDermott as "Associate Editor" of "Viet-Report," and a graduate student in Sociology, Brandeis (U) University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

The March 17, 1964 issue of "The Harvard Crimson" in an article, identified Martin Nicolaus as a graduate student, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, then the acting New England Representative for the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC), who was then accepting applications for a proposed 1964 trip to Cuba as guests of the Cuban Federation of University Students.

A characterization of the SCTC is set forth in the Appendix attached hereto. ( $\upsilon$ )

Confidential source number four advised in December 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at its 17th National Convention, held in December, 1959.

"The Worker" September 22, 1964, page 7, Column1, described Arnold Johnson as National Public Relations Director, CP, USA.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper. (U)



Herbert Eugene Aptheker; Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas Emmett Layden

"The Worker", April 14, 1957, described A. J. Muste as "dean of socialist pacifists."

Confidential source number five, on November 16, 1964, described Gil Green as a member of the Secretariat, National Board and National Committee, CP, USA, and a full time paid functionary of the CP, USA.

(U)

Confidential source number six advised in 1962, that Fay Aptheker attended four meetings of the Kings County CP in Brooklyn, New York, during the period April to September, 1962.

## SECRET

- Contanto Campana de Santosa. - Campana de Santos Agrasi - Campana de Santosa.

#### APPENDIX

l.

# STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC)

"The Columbia Owl", weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962, issue, page one, contained an article entitled "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962, by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College, and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as gueses of The Committee accepted the offer and the Federation. applied to the State Department of the United States for passport validation which was refused; however over fifty students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962, that during December, 1962, it was learned that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the summer of 1963 fifty-nine individuals travelled to Cuba and that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PL members.

A third source advised on October 9, 1963 that the SCTC was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York 1, New York, as its mailing address.

	Òn March	12, 196	5, PH.	CLLIP	ABBOT	T LUCE,		
	Executive			] a s	slr-ad	imitted r	nember (	of
the SCTC	Execusive	Committe	oo and	the	PIM N	vational	Coordin	nating
	e advised a							



b6 b7c



Pardon Propos Sylvaker Closes Charles Com The Release 1 Com

#### APPENDIX

2.

# STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUEA (SCIO)

The SCTC was formerly known as the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

LUCE advised he was a leader and participant of the 1963 trip to Cuba and an organizer of the 1964 trip to Cuba and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC.

LUCE advised that by the spring of 1964 the Executive Committee of the SCTC was considered to be members of the PIM.

LUCE advised that no trip to Cuba or China was being planned by the SCCC for 1965.



JUSI

Date: 1/4/65

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

Via

AIRTEL

Transmit the following in

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER SUBJECT: IS - C

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND

THOMAS EMMETTHAYDEN SM - C

furnished the following information on 1/3/66:

ARNOLD JOHNSON, National Public Relations Director, CP, USA, on 1/3/66, was in cortact with THOMAS CORNELL in the office of A.J. MUSTE. A. W. MUSTE was described in the "Worker" of 4/14/57 as the "dean of the socialist pacifists."

5 - Bureau (100-123974 (RM)
2 - Newark (100-40690) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (RM)
2 - New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (RM)
1 - New York (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND)

1 - New York(100-148904)(THOMAS HAYDEN)

1 - New York

VJA/kss (12)

AAROVEININ OFFICES AND

L RECORDED

Per Approved Sent Special Agent in Charge CLASSIFIED BY EXEMPT FROM GDS GATEGORY DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

CARBON COPY

# COMPRESENTAL

NY 100-80532

They discussed the receipt of a cablegram addressed to A.J. MUSTE from Hanoi, North Viet Nam, which was signed STAUGHTON LYND, HERBERT APTHEKER and THOMAS HAYDEN. The following is the text of the cablegram: "January 14 fine. Slight chance travel problems. Hope wide as possible spectrum of movement will sponsor and attend. Your cable delighted us. LYND, APTHEKER, HAYDEN."

JOHNSON and CORNELL further discussed informing people and of "nailing down" Manhattan Center, NYC, for the meeting.

Thore is the state of the second

(M)

From the above, it is presumed that LYND, APTHEKER and HAYDEN will return to NYC from Hanoi on or before 1/14/66 and that their reception is being planned for them possibly at Manhattan Center, NYC. No LHM is being submitted at this time, since it is anticipated that specific information as to the return of subjects to US and the reception planned for them will be available shortly from sources other than which information can be disseminated.

CONFIDENTIAL

REGISTERED MAIL -RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Dear Mr. Wagilije

A ......

Ind ination has be a fixing and to bile December by the Federal Durcau of Investigation reflecting that Herbert Aptholog, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Emactt Hayden are traveling to Much Viet Man.

- The information, contained in FBI megorands dated December 9, 1965 and December 14, 1965 reflects that the above fullyiduals would depart from New York on December 19, 1965, arrive in Frague on December 10 and proceed from there  $\setminus$ to Henoi.

Herbert Apthekor is the bearer of Passport No. E 681/00/ issued on July 10, 1964. Staughton Lynd was issued Pasoport on December 8, 1965 et Doston. Thomas Emmett Hayden was Issued Passport No. F 1827114 on December 16, 1965 at New York. None of these individuals have paschorts validated for travel in Worth Vict Ham.

In view of the presently available information these cases are referred to you for consideration of procedution under 8 USG 1185 and 18 USG 1544.

This Deportment is presently in the promote Ref checking with its posts in the Far East in an effort 43 4 10 11 196 ther information and evidence concerning the travel of these individuals. We will keep you advised of all developments.

Sincerely yours,

ta JEN 6.1956

-Abba P. Schwartz

The Honorable J. Wal.

GROUP 1 Intoluced from satorr

CC: Director,

MATO LEVEL DE

5-1

**b**6 ." b7с



## UPDED STATES DEPARTMENT OF USTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York January 6, 1966

Bufile 100-123974 NYfile 100-80532

> Re: Herbert Eugene Aptheker Internal Security - C; Internal Security Act - 1950

Reference is made to previous communications submitted concerning proposed travel on the part of Herbert Aptheker to Prague, Czechoslovakia and Hanoi, North Viet Nam.  $( \ \ )$ 

Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on December 23, 1965 examined Immigration and Naturalization (INS) Form I-94, on Herbert Eugene Aptheker at Immigration and Naturalization Service Station, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York. This form verified the departure of Aptheker from John F. Kennedy International Airport on December 19, 1965, aboard Air India Flight 116 enroute to London, England. The I-94 reflected Aptheker resides at 32 Ludlam Place, Brooklyn, New York. He claimed United States citizenship and used Passport Number E 681 400.

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA held in December, 1959.

This document contains neither recommenda tions nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency, it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

MIL INFORMATION CONTINUES INCLOSURE DATE G-10-ST BY 2842 100-438281-19



## In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

# UITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF USTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION New York, New York January 6, 1966

Bufile 100-396916 NYfile 100-110521

> Re: Staughton Craig Lynd Security Matter - C

Reference is made to previous communication dated December 15, 1965, entitled Herbert Eugene Aptheker which also set forth information concerning proposed travel on the part of Staughton Lynd to Prague, Czechoslovakia and Hanoi, North Viet Nam.

Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on December 23, 1965, examined the Immigration and Naturalization (INS) Form I-94 on Staughton C. Lynd at Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Station, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York. This form verified the departure of Lynd from John F. Kennedy Airport, Queens, New York December 19, 1965, aboard Air India Flight 116, enroute to London, England.

	The	T-94 re	flected	Lyndis	residen	ce as		$\Box$
				<u>claime</u>	d United	States	citizenship	and
used	Passport	Number						

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency, it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS DISLASSIFIED
DATE 12-8/BY 28 42

OMO/BA/Cal

440.106

100-438281-19

ENCLOSURS

ь6 ь7с DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION CHIEF
DATE 08-29-2021 BY



## UI PED STATES DEPARTMENT OF USTIC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
January 6, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

NY 100-148904



Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden Security Matter - C

Confidential Source Number 1 who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 18, 1965, that Thomas Hayden would accompany Herbert Aptheker of 32 Ludlam Place, Prooklyn, New York, and Staughton Lynd of New Haven, Connecticut on their trip to Prague, Czechoslovakia, leaving New York December (19, 1965.

Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on December 23, 1965, examined Immigration and Naturalization (INS) Form I-94 on Thomas E. Hayden at INS Station John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York. This form verified the departure of Hayden from John F. Kennedy International Airport December 19, 1965, aboard Air India Flight 116, enroute to London, England. The I-94 reflected Hayden's residence as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey. He claimed United States citizenship and used Passport Number Fl027114.

Confidential Source 2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) at the 17th National Convention, CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

In 1952, Sargent Kennedy, Registrar, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised that Staughton Lynd, in October, 1950, stated that for about two and one-half years he had been a member of the John Reed Club at Harvard College as well as a member of the American Youth for Democracy (AYD).

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/0-8/ BY 08 42

PW/BA/Caly

΄(•

100-438281-19 FNCLOSURES 100-245166-1 Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden Security Matter - C

. . . .

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(0)

The 'Fifth Report, Un-American Activities - California, 1949 of the California Legislature Sacramento, California on Page 324, characterizes the John Reed Clubs of the United States as follows:

- "1. Named after the founder of the American Communist Party. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 19hh, p. 175)
- 2. Communist organizations named in honor of John Reed who was one of the earliest Communist leaders in the United States. (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1018, p. 270).
- 3. Among organizations created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the Perty, which supported the First United States Congress Against War. The congress was openly led by the Communists. (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466).





	·
Routing Slip	1 /94 /66
FD-4 (Rev. 3-4-64)	Date 1/24/66
To:	BU 100-438281 WK 100-48095
X Director	FIL. 18 100-48093
A#.: Room_827RB	<del>-</del>
□ SAC	TitleTHOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
ASAC	SM - C
☐ Supv	`
Agent	_
SE	
	_
CC	
Steno	· <del>-</del>
ACTIO	ON DESIRED
☐ Acknowledge	Open Case
AssignReassign	_ Prepare lead cards
☐ Bring file	Prepare tickler
Call me	☐ Recharge serials
Correct	Return assignment card
☐ Deadline	Return file
Deadline passed	Return serials
Delinquent	☐ Search and return
Discontinue	☐ See me
Expedite	☐ Send Serials
File	to
Fire For information	☐ Submit new charge out
	Submit report by
☐ Initial & return	Type
<ul><li></li></ul>	
Re Routing Slip r	eferencing NK airtel
1/19/66.	
Amended nage o	f LHM submitted with
odditional nage (n	age four, characterization
OF ATMS)	mba ware a commonant were away
TTRE	
ENCLOSURE	SAC R. W. BACHMAN
See reverse side	Office NEWARK
See reverse side	



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey January 19, 1966



THOMAS EMMETT MAYDEN SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference is made to memorandum at Newark, New Jersey, dated December 21, 1965, which reported that subject had departed the United States on December 19, 1965, for purpose of travel to North Vietnam with Staughton Lynd and Herbert Aptheker.

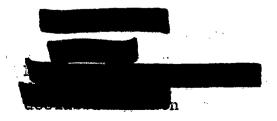
The 'New York Times' of January 10, 1966, page one, reported that the subject, along with Staughton Lynd, Yale University professor, and Herbert Aptheker, the Director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies, arrived at Kennedy International Airport, New York, aboard Pan American (U) Flight 119 from Paris, on January 9, 1966.

A characterization of American Institute for Marxist Studies appears in the appendix hereto.  $(\lor)$ 

At an airport news conference, Lynd related information they had gathered during their stay in North Vietnam. Among those seen by the three was ham Wan Dong, Premier of North Vietnam. During the news conference at the airport, Lynd stated that he and his companions had submitted written questions to Premier Pham Van Dong and had spoken with him for ninety minutes.

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, at its 17th National Convention held December 10-13, 1959.

(0



COPIES DESTROYED 35.4 UCT 12 1970

L 0-438281-20 ENCLOSURE



#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Staughton Lynd was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 13, 1953, during which time he stated that though he had never been a member of the Communist Party, he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the fall of 1946, on the campus at Harvard University. He said that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947. Lynd further advised that while at Harvard University, he had been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He said that approximately one year during this period he had served as secretary of the John Reed Club.

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the John Reed Clubs of the United States is contained in the appendix attached.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



#### AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the New England District Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in Boston, Massachusetts, Herbert Aptheker stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on history, science, physics archeology, and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, Herbert Aptheker spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. Aptheker stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the Mc Carran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised that as of May 7, 1965, AIMS was located at 20 East 30th Street, New York City.



1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT APTHEKER SM - C Bufile 100-123974 Bern file 100-271

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM - C Bufile 100-438281 Bern file 100-465

STAUGHTON LYND SM - C Bufile 100-396916 Bern file 100-0

Reurairtel 1/13/66.

Following are thumbnail sketches of Aptheker, Hayden and Lynd which may be furnished to interested United States and Swiss intelligence agencies:

APTHEKER Leading theoretician of the U. S. Communist Party, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies.

HAYDEN Founder of Students for a Democratic Society and student leader who has been active in student and civil rights groups.

LYND Assistant Professor of History, Yale University, and a leading spokesman for the "New Left," and former member American Youth for Democracy, John Reed Club, Independent Socialist League and Socialist Workers Party who describes himself as a Marxist and pacifist.

1 - Foreign Liaison (Route through for review)

EBR/pcn

(9)

DUPLICATE VELOW

E THE

CRIGINAL FILED IN

57 FEB 2 1500

AIRTEL

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM

LEGAT, BERN

HERBERT APTHEKER

SM - C

Bufile 100-123974

Bern file 100-771 (P)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM - C

Bern file 100-465 (RUC)

STAUGHTEN LYND

SM - C

Bern file - 100-0

Re Bern cable 1/11/66.

A translation from an article in the 1/10/66 issue of the Swiss newspaper "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" has been b3 made the subject of an LHM, 5 copies of which are enclosed. b71

_	_								, , ,
	and the				could	furnis	sh no	inf	ormation
rega	rding the	subjects'	stop	at	Zurich.		٠.	, ,	

Bureau is requested to furnish thumbnail sketches of subjects for dissemination to interested

- Bureau (5 encls) (1 - NYC, 1 enc1)(1 - New Haven, 1 enc1)

1 - Liaison (sent direct)

3 - Bern

HDG:rn

(11)

ENCLOSURE

1100-438281\_

NOT RECORDED 199 JAN 26 1966



### UN FED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JISTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

January 13, 1966

HERBERT APTHEKER; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; STAUGHTEN LYND

The January 10, 1966 issue of the Swiss German language newspaper "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" contained an article which read as follows in translation:

"Visit of American Pacifists in Vietnam

"UP. The three members of a private, leftist orientated American Peace Mission arrived Sunday in Zurich on the return trip from Hanoi, and after a short stopover flew on to New York. The group consisted of the Yale history professor STAUGHTON LYND, one of the leaders of the American 'New Left,' the co-founder of the leftist 'Students for a Democratic Society,' THOMAS HAYDEN, as well as the Communist Party historian Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER.

"The three Americans were staying until shortly before Christmas behind the Iron Curtain, and were carrying on talks in Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi. The trip of the group to Hanoi caused a considerable stir in the United States; it was emphasized that the three were violating the law according to which no private trips can be made to those territories which are barred by the State Department to American citizens.

"Prof. LYND explained in Zurich that the group had been received for a considerable time by Minister President PHAM VAN DONG in Hanoi. The group declined, however, to furnish details of the talks held by them. A detailed report of their trip will be presented to a gathering in Manhattan on January 16.

"This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its centents are not to be distributed outside your agency."

100-438271

ENCLOSURE.

"The trio, as HAYDEN informed, had had the opportunity to see the bombing damages in the more distant vicinity of Hanoi. In the provincial capital of Nam Dinh, a Catholic center 120 kilometers south of Hanoi, a destroyed pagody and a destroyed home for small children were viewed. The attack on the latter allegedly occurred on the World Day for the Child."

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO ....

The Director

DATE: 1/25/66

FROM :

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT:

The Congressional Record

Pages 918-919. Senator Lausche, (D) Ohio, spoke concerning the unauthorized trip to Hanoi by Staughton Lynd, Herbert Aptheker and Thomas Hayden. He stated "I repeat what I said last week: The Attorney General should investigate this visit to Hanoi, and if he finds there has been a violation of law, he should institute the necessary proceedings to see to it that justice is done." Mr. Lausche placed in the Record two articles from the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer.

100-43828/ NOT RECORDED 176 FEB 10 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that pentions of acapy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Eureau case or subject matter files.

Original filed in: C6 - (73) - 283

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

The Director

DATE 1-21-66

FRÓM

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT:

The Congressional Record

100-145166

Pages 673-674. Senator Lausche, (D) Ohio, spoke concerning the request contained in telegrams sent from Hanoi on January 5th and from New York on January 12th by Staughton Lynd for himself and Herbert Aptheker and Thomas Hayden "asking for the right to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee and to give testimony and make arguments in behalf of the Communists of North Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh Communists of South Vietnam." Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden are the three men who traveled to Hanoi without obtaining authority from the State Department. Mr. Lausche advised that he didn't believe they should be allowed to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee. He went on to state "it seems to me that the Attorney General of the United States should give vigorous attention to ascertaining whether our criminal laws have been violated; and if he finds that to be the fact, appropriate action should be taken against those men in the furtherance of justice."

/00 - 43828 | 1 <del>100 - 145 / 66</del> NOT PECORDED 176 JAN 28 1966

FEB 16 1966 %

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-20-66 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case for subject matter files.

Original filed in: 66 -

Logat, Manila

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, Aka MM - C (OO: NH) (Manila file 109-51) (RUC)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER IS - C (Manila file 100-52) (RUC)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SM - C (Manila file 100-53) (RUC)

Reference is made to New Haven airtel 12/18/65, WFO LHM dated 12/29/65, and Newark LHM dated 12/21/65; Manila letter 1/4/66.

A copy of New Haven LHM dated 12/28/65 has been sent to the Ambassador at Saigon for background information.

The visit of these three individuals to North Vietnam was extensively reported by the local press, and was also the subject of State Department instructions.

These subjects departed from Hanoi after a very short visit. The Bureau will be informed of any pertinent information coming to the attention of the Manila Office.

No further action appears to be necessary at this time.

7 - Bureau

(1 - Foreign Liaison)

(1 - New Haven) (Info)

(1 - New York) (Info)

(1 - Newark) (Info)

3 - Manila

RBH:ejg

(10)

ATA /

NOT ERCORDED 170 JAN 27 1966

ROPER MEE

ORIGINAL FILED D

BBJ

1/12/66 Date:

The second desired		HAL DIATH GIVE
Transmit une	e following in	PLAIN TEXT (Type in Plain Text or Code
Via <u>AIRTEL</u>		(Priority)
TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI	(100-123974)
FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK	(100-80532)
SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE IS-C; ISA, 1950	
	STAUGHTON CRAIC SMC	ELYND THE 19 DOUG PA
	THOMAS EMMETT I	HAYDENLASS. & EXT
	ReNYairtel to F	
subjects at	HM pertaining to th	ne Bureau and offices listed ne arrival of the above three ork on 1/9/66, on their Vietnam.
2 - New Have	(100-48095) (THO en (100-13293)(STA k (100-110521)(ST k (100-148904)(TH k (100-154785)(VI	OMAS HAYDEN) (Encl. 2) (RM) AUGHTON LYND) (Encl.2) (RM) PAUGHTON LYND) (443) HOMAS HAYDEN) (443)
Approved		ent M Per
Spe	ecial Agent in Char	
orra <b>k</b>	OUPER CONTRACTOR	NOT RECORDED  98 JAN 24 1966
SURE 55 FEB 1	1968 <b>LUNE</b>	*ALIAL

NY 100-80532

CONFIDENTIAL

The confidential source utilized in the

b7D

attachel LHM is

This LHM is classified Confidential" since unauthorized disclosure of information attributed to this source might impair his future effectiveness, and such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense.

Special Agents who observed the arrivator of subjects and their processing through INS and Customs were the following:

GERALD W. MURPHY

ANTHONY CANTAGALLO

VINCENT J. ASCHERL

Separate Forms FD-302 are being prepared covering the interviews with INS and Customs personnel who processed subjects upon their arrival. These forms will be forwarded to NK and NH under separate cover.

One LHM is being submitted in this instance on above three individuals since the matter reported constitutes a joint venture and the same information applies simultaneously to the three of them.

Supervisor JOSEPH ROONEY, US Customs, furnished information to SA ASCHERL.

Copies of this LHM are being disseminated locally to 105th INTC Group and Secret Service.

TED STATES DEPARTMENT OF USTIC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Bufile 100-123974 NYfile 100-80532 New York, New York January 12, 1966

ne Aptheker

Re: Herbert Eugene Aptheker
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

Staughton Craig Lynd Security Matter - C

Thomas Emmett Hayden Security Matter - C

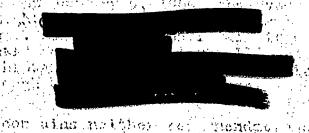
Reference is made to previous communications in this matter pertaining to travel on the part of above individuals to Hanol, North Vietnam, during the period December, 1965 to January, 1966.

The confidential sources utilized in this communication and in the Appendix have furnished reliable information in the past.

Characterizations of individuals mentioned herein are set out at the end of this communication where such characterizations were available.

Special Agent (SA) personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on January 9, 1966, observed Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Craig Lynd and Thomas Hayden arrive at John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, aboard Pan American flight 119, at 6:50 P.N.

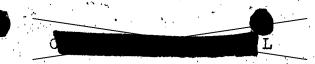
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



ENGLÖSURER

10 2 43828/-

57E



Herbert Eugene Aptheker; Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas Emmett Hayden

b71

Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden were met at the airport by a group of young people wearing buttons which identified them with the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. Melvin L. Wulf, Attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, was also on hand to render any legal assistance the subjects might request. Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden departed the airport at 8:15 P.M.

The W. E. B. DuBois Clubs is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

An article in the "New York Times" of January 10, 1966, page 1, entitled "Lynd, Back From Hanoi, Voices Optimism on Peace, related the return of the three to New York after a ten day visit to North Vietnam. The following is a summary of the article:

The Premier, he said, declared that a "political settlement of the Vietnam problem" could be reached "only when the United States has accepted the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), has proved this by actual deeds and at the same time has stopped unconditionally and for good its air raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."



Herbert Eugene Aptheker Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas Emmett Hayden

Both North Vietnam and the Communist-led National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Mr. Lynd said, require as a condition for negotiation "an unambiguous decision" by the United States to withdraw its troops...

The Premier also indicated according to Mr. Lynd, that North Vietnam was agreeable to an election that would unite both parts of the beleaguered country...

The Premier also said, Mr. Lynd declared, that if North Vietnam's four points were accepted "it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference of the type of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam."...

"Hanoi considers its four points to be the essence of the Geneva settlement, especially the provision requiring withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and leaving all political solutions to the self-determination of the Vietnamese people."

The above three individuals left New York December 19, 1965, on a "privately financed fact finding mission." The Government of North Vietnam had invited Herbert Aptheker and he, in turn, had suggested that Lynd and Hayden accompany him. During a news conference at the airport on January 9, 1966, Lynd related that he and his companions had submitted written questions to Premier Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam in Hanoi and had spoken with him for 90 minutes.

Herbert Eugene Aptheker Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas Emmett Hayden

An article in the New York Times dated January 9, 1966, page 1, entitled "Lynd Says Hanoi Denies Getting a Direct U.S. Bid" related that Professor Staughton Lynd, Herbert Aptheker and Thomas Hayden, arrived in Noscow on January 8, 1966, on the return from Hanoi. They spoke with newsmen at Moscow airport. The following is a summary of the article:

In a prepared joint statement, they said that they had spoken for 90 minutes with the North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong, as well as with representatives of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, the political organization of which the Vietcong are the fighting forces...

We asked Premier Pham Van Dong whether the United States had made direct contact with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam since President Johnson stated on Dec. 20 that his administration would knock on all doors in quest of peace. The Premier answered 'no.'

Wishing to make sure we had understood correctly, we rephrased the question: 'Since Dec. 20 has the Government of the United States approached the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam either through ambassadors in Prague, Moscow or other capitals or by direct contact with Hanoi?'

"The Premier responded that when the question was asked in this broader sense, the answer was still; 'no.'

"If the Administration is prepared to knock on all doors except those of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the immediate parties to the conflict, then we must ask: Are the worldwide discussions now in process intended to seek out the basis for a settlement, or are they intended to prepare public opinion for new escalations?"

Their joint statement was read before a television camera by IIr. Hayden, 26, a community organizer and one of the founders of the Students for a Democratic

Herbert Eugene Aptheker Staughton Craig Lynd Thomas Emmett Hayden

Society. Mr. Aptheker, 50 a leading American Communist theoretician, stood on one side of him, Mr. Lynd on the other.

"The Worker" page 12, January 9, 1966, contained an announcement as follows:

"Hear three U.S. Fact Finders just returned from Vietnam - Manhattan Center Sunday, January 16, 1966, 2:00 P.M., Staughton Lynd, Herbert Aptheker, Thomas Hayden."

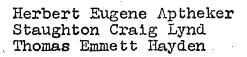
"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

A confidential source advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at its 17th National Convention, held in December, 1959.

Concerning Staughton Lynd, this individual was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 13, 1953. During this interview, Lynd advised though he had never been a member of the CP, he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the fall of 1946, on the campus at Harvard University. He stated that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June of 1947.

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Staughton Lynd further advised during this interview that while at Harvard University, he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He stated that approximately for one year during this period he had served as the secretary of the John Reed Club.



The John Reed Clubs of the United States are characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

#### APPENDIX

7

#### W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative.

#### APPENDIX

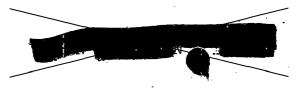
2.

#### W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

As of October, 1965, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 954 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Over the Labor Day week end, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois. According to a third source, a new slate of national officers was elected at this conference, which included Chairman HUGH STERLING FOWLER, II, (who, according to the third source, attended a CP cadre encampment held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey, in June, 1965, and following his election as Chairman of the DCA, attended another national CP cadre youth conference held on September 9-12, 1965, on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source); Director of Publicity CARL ELLENGER BLOICE (who was elected to the San Francisco County Committee CP in April, 1964, according to a fifth source); Educational Director MATTHEW "DYNAMITE" HALLINAN (who in June, 1964, was stated to be the Youth Representative on the Northern California CP District Board, according to a sixth source); Organizational Secretary TERENCE "KAYO" HALLINAN (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965, with the District Staff of the Illinois CP to discuss the proposed DCA Midwest Summer Project), and Treasurer SUSAN PHYLLIS BORENSTEIN (who, according to an eighth source, has attended meetings of the Youth Club of the CP of Illinois during 1965, in connection with the DCA Summer Project).



Herbert Eugene Aptheker Staughton Crang Lynd Thomas Emmett' Hayden

#### APPENDIX

#### JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

"Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 10)"



#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO

The Director

1-13-66-

FROM

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT:

The Congressional Record

Page 98. Congressman Devine, (R) Ohio, advised that he had directed a letter to Attorney General Katzenbach "demanding to know why the Department of Justice, apparently taking encouragement from the usual soft policies of the State Department, has not taken action concerning Herbert Aptheker, a professor from Yale by the name of Lynd, and one other fellow that went over to the southeast Asia theater, in Vietnam, - - - -. It seems to me that the U. S. Government should stop applying double standards in cases of this nature and prosecute violations of the Federal statutes. "

100-438281 NOT RECORDED

**199 Jan 18** 1966



In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional was reviewed and pertinent items were Record for 1-12-66 marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portion of a cool of the Galainal memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

4-3 (Rev. 12-1-65)  Tolson DeLogch
Mohr —— Casper —— Callahan —— Conrad —— Felt
DECODED COPY  Gale  Rosen  Tavel
□ AIRGRAM □ RADIO □ TELETYPE Totter — Tele: Room Holmen Gondy
SD-01
URGENT 1-12-66
TO DIAECTOR
FROM LEGAT BERN NO. 466
HERBERT APTHEKER, SM-C.
APTHEKER, THOMAS HAYDEN AND STAUGHTON LYND REPORTED IN SWISS
PRESS AS GOING TO GIVE DETAILED REPORT OF THEIR TRIP TO MOSCOW,
PEKING AND HANOI TO GATHERING IN MANHATTAN JAN. 16. FOR INFO.
RECEIVED: 8:31 AM CAB
RECEIVED: 8:31 AM CAB  Wanted Barbara American A
a divining the second of the s
5 cm
500
MR DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR  100-438287
NOT RECORDED JAM 3 1966
NOT RECORDED 3 JAN 13 1966

The intelligence contained in the above massage is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably transfer in order to protect the Duccou's cryptographic systems.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

### Memorandum

TO

The Director

DATE:

1-11-66

**FROM** 

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT:

The Congressional Record

Pages A21-A22. Congressman Fisher, (D) Texas, extended his remarks concerning the unauthorized trip to Hanoi by three American citizens, Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden, and pointed out that it has been reported by the press that the Justice Department is reviewing several laws that might be applicable to this unauthorized trip. He stated "Does this conduct constitute a violation of our laws? That is the question the Justice Department is now trying to determine. If there is substantial evidence of their guilt, then it would seem that they should be prosecuted. - - - - Moreover, their travel in defiance of the law which requires them to clear the trip with the State Department would seem to present an open-and-shut case against them. "

NOT RECORDED

100=43828

199 JAN 18 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional was reviewed and pertinent items were 1-10-66 Record for marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed A Late Bureau case or subject matter files.

NY 100-80532

COMPHENIA

Unauthorized disclosure of information attributed to these sources might impair their future effectiveness and such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense.

Five copies of this letter are designated for the Bureau for dissemination to Legats at Manilla and Paris.

Examination of referred to in attached LHMs was made by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL.

Also enclosed for New Haven and Newark are nine copies of FD-302's on LYND and HAYDEN, respectively. The originals of these forms are being maintained in NYO files on subjects.

-2-

FΒΙ

Date:	1/31/66
Dute.	-, J-, C

Transmit the following in	\
Transmit the following in	(Type in plain text or code)
Vig AIRTEL	
	(Priority)

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100 #36224)

FROM:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-148904) (RUC)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM-C

(OO: NEWARK)

Renkairtel to the Director, 12/21/65. Nyrep of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL, 1/25/66, captioned "HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYMB; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN".

Enclosed for Newark is one copy of a memorandum to the Director, FBI, 100-3-60, from Denver dated January 27, 1966, captioned "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING, 1/15-17/66; IS-C".

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN arrived at JFK International Airport on 1/9/66, in company of HERBERT APTHEKER and STAUGHTON LYMB. Details of their trip is located in referenced report of NYO.

REC. 48

3-⁄Bureau (RM) 1- Newark (RM)

1- New York

74 FEB J 1966

AJC:ltr (6)

Do Do Wich

Per

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Mr. J. Walter Yesgley Assistant Attorney General Attention: Mr. Brandon Albey

1 - Mr. Reddy

**February 8, 19**66

Director, FBI

18.00

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

BTAUGHTON CRAIG LYND

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETEAM

MISUSE OF PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT — CONSPIRACY

がきょうりょ

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Aschorl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, and to the memorandum dated December 14, 1965, at New York, both captioned as above.

Confidential informant T-3 in the report of Special Agent Ascherl and confidential source number one in the memorandum dated December 14, 1965, relate to confidential investigative techniques.

Confidential informant T-4 in the report of Special Agent Ascherl is a source of this Bureau's New York Office who obtained the information attributed to him in the memorandum from

obtained this information not in the regular course of business and without the knowledge of Fay Apthekor, it does not appear that he would be a competent or favorable witness. In

that he would be a competent or favorable witness. In addition, the source expressed an unwillingness to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to testify, pointing out that should he testify, he would definitely be discharged from

Passenger Agent, Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, who furnished the information set out on pages ten, eleven and twelve of Special Agent Ascherl's report, identified photographs of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden and recalled that he had read about their trip to With Vietnam in local newspapers. He did not recall that specific statements by

100-123974 100-396916 100-43828]

57 FEB- Ngw 3000k

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

b7D

.

#### Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

Aptheker, Lynd or Hayden that they were en route to North Vietnam. is unwilling to testify since he fagre testimony would reflect unfavorably upon his employment with Air India and might possibly result in recriminations by friends of Apthewer, Lynd and Mayden.

b7D

This letter conflirs information furnished today by Special Agent Edward B. Boddy of this Euroau to Department Attorney Brandon Alvey.

#### NOTE:

The Department is considering possible prosecutive action against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden as a result of their recent unauthorized travel to North Vietnam. Request for the above information was received telephonically from Department Attorney Alvey on the afternoon of February 4, 1966.

prosecutive plans involving current informants, the disclosure of whom could adversely affect the national defense.



FBI NEW YORK

8:44 PM EST URGENT 2/7/66 M.F.R.

///9/// TO DIRECTOR

· 1 PAGE FROM NEW YORK (100-80532)

Mr. Moilf. Mr. Wick\_\_\_ Mr. Casper .... Mr. Callchan .--Mr. Corrad....-Mr. Fell..... Mr. Cale.... Mr. Rosen Mr. Sullivan Mr. Tove Mr. Trotter ..... Tele. Room.... Miss Holmes .... Miss Gandy ...

Mr. Yolson-

Mr. Delicach

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT

CONSPIRACY.

PASSENGER AGENT, AIR INDIA, JOHN F KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ADVISED FEBRUARY SEVEN, SIXTYSIX THAT HE WOULD BE UNWILLING TO TESTIFY IN ABOVE CASE FOR REASON THAT HE FEARS THAT ANY TESTIMONY HE WOULD GIVE WOULD REFLECT UNFAVORABLY UPON HIS EMPLOYMENT WITH AIR INDIA. WHERE HE IS IN DAILY CONTACT WITH PUBLIC: FURTHER THAT SUCH PUBLICITY MIGHT JEOPARDIZE SECURITY OF BOTH HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY IN VIEW POSSIBLE RECRIMINATIONS BY FRIENDS OF SUBJECTS. REASONS DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED BY DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEY

STATED SUBJECTS MADE NO STATEMENT AS FAR AS HE RECOLLEC

JECTS AND RECOLLECTED THAT HE HAD READ ABOUT SUBJECTS' TRIP IN LOCAL

NEWSPAPERS.

TS THEY WERE BOUND FOR VIETNAM.

END

WA . . MSE

FBI WASH DC

TUO GUE

FEB,

100 -NOT RECORDED 145 FEB 9 1966

IDENTIFIED PHOTOS OF SUB-

FBI	AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE E 06-22-2021 BY:
	TELETYPE UNIT
	FEB 7 1265 Mr. Del.oach Mr. Mohr. Mr. Wick
	ENCOPED MESSAGE Mr. Callaban
	Mr. Conrad Mr. Felt Mr. Gale
ļ	Mr. Rosen
ACT	FBI NEW YORK  Mr. Tavel  Mr. Trotter  Tele. Room
$k_i$	230 PM URGENT 2-7-66 JAM
	TO DIRECTOR /3/ 100-123974 ENCODED
	FROM NEW YORK 100-80532 2P
•	
ابنو	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT
(C)	RAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF UNITED
	STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY
Ö	DE RUDEAU TEL DATED EEDDUARY EOUD CIVIVCIV AND DEDORT
er er	RE BUREAU TEL DATED FEBRUARY FOUR, SIXTYSIX, AND REPORT  SA VINCENT J. ASCHERAL JANUARY TWENTYFIVE, SIXTYSIX.
A.D. 12.2	CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT T-THREE IN REREP AND CONFIDENTIAL
76, F	SOURCE NUMBER ONE IN NEW YORK LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM DECEMBER
152	FOURTEEN, SIXTYFIVE, IS
Sel	A CONFIDENTIAL TECHNIQUE AND UNAVAILABLE TO TESTIFY. T-FOUR
2	IN REREP IS
4	CONCEALED AT HIS
OF CLIFFICATION	REQUEST. OBTAINED THIS INFORMATION FROM FLIGHT
S. LEK	RESERVATIONS IN POSSESSION OF FAY APTHEKER, WITHOUT LATTER-S
	KNOWLEDGE. FAY APTHEKER IS WIFE OF HERBERT APTHEKER.
- 1	END PAGE ONE
ANTSEA	10 4 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
*	SECRET PROPERTY.
多	CLASSIFIED BY UYIT TO FIRM 1986
MECKES	69 FEB 1 6 1966 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

b



PAGE TWO	
SHE IS	AND HANDLED FLIGHT RESERVATIONS
INDEPENDENTLY FOR SUBJECTS	. INASMUCH AS ABOVE INFORMATION WAS
OBTAINED BY NOT IN	REGULAR COURSE OF BUSINESS AND WAS
NOT LEGALLY IN HIS POSSESS	SION, HE WOULD NOT BE COMPETENT OR
FAVORABLE WITNESS AS TO SA	ME. WOULD NOT BE WILLING
TO BE INTERVIEWED BY DEPAR	THENT ATTORNEY AND IS NOT WILLING
TO PUBLICLY TESTIFY SINCE	IF HE DID, HE WOULD CERTAINLY LOSE
HIS JOB.	PASSENGER AGENT, AIR INDIA,
NOT AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIE	W UNTIL EVENING FEBRUARY SEVEN,
SIXTYSIX. RESULTS OF INTE	RVIEW WILL BE FURNISHED BUREAU. (U)
END	
RPT	
EDT MACH DO	

b7D

SECRET

LATROPEITE OFFICES NOTIFIED

Date: 2/7/66 Transmit the following in TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974) uy 5 SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532) FROM SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND. THOMAS HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM, MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT, LOGAN ACT, CONSPIRACY EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION HEREIN INASMUCH AS. BY ITS NATURE, SAID INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY 694-S\*, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S\*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED -- EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM -- IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT. on 2/4/66, NY 694-8\* advised that on that date he conferred with ARNOLD JOHNSON, Public Relations Director of the CP. USA, who told him the following: 5-Bureau (100-123974) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (RM) (1-100-) (STAUGHEON LYND) (1-100- ) (THOMAS HAYDEN) 2-Atlanta (100-6488) (SNCC) (Info) (RM) (1-100-6557) (JOHN LEWIS) 1-Newark (100-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (Info) (RM) 1-New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND) (Info) (RM) (STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND) (43) 1-NY 100-110521 1-NY 100-148904 (THOMAS HAYDEN) (43) 1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (42) 1-NY 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER) (42) CARBON COPY SECRET NOT RECORDED ACB:eac 178 FEB 11 1966 (16)Approved: Sent Per Special EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE



Syr.

NY 100-80532

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, told ARNOLD JOHNSON in strict confidence that he is very angry because of the way HERBERT APTHEKER handled the recent delegation to North Vietnam. In HALL's opinion, APTHEKER should have made certain that JOHN LEWIS of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was included in the delegation. At the last moment LEWIS was "cancelled out" and HALL did not understand why.

According to HALL, the delegation would have been much more "impressive" if a youth leader such as LEWIS had been included in the delegation.

HALL also was incensed because, when in North Vietnam, APTHEKER had not insisted upon conferring with HO CHI-MINH, President of North Vietnam. HALL stated that, even though HO CHI-MINH was not in Hanoi at the time when the aforessid delegation was there, APTHEKER nevertheless should have insisted on a meeting with HO CHI-MINH, and should not have been prevailed upon to talk to the Premier and Generals rather than to MINH. Had the aforesaid delegation conferred with MINH personally, it would have gained "international prestige" and its report on North Vietnam would have been more "authoritative" in the eyes of the United States Government. HALL further told JOHNSON that APTHEKER had committed "a terible blunder", in that when STAUGHTON LYND requested that he be permitted to join the CP, USA, APTHEKER failed to encourage him, stating that LYND was "politically immature, a pacifist at heart", and not yet ready to join the Communist Party. HALL stated that as a result of APTHEKER's stupidity he felt that the Communist Party now has "lost LYND".

2P

TO WELL YORK

FE8 4 1966

FROM DIRECTOR

Eligoren Messy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS
EMMEIT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF
UNITED STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY.

REREP OF SPECIAL AGENT VINCENT J. ASCHERL DATED JANUARY
TWENTY-FIVE LAST.

PAGES TEN, ELEVEN AND TWELVE OF REREP ARE FD THREE ZERO

PASSENGER AGENT, AIR INDIA, RELATING TO THE EXAMINATION OF THE

PASSPORT OF APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE

FROM JOHN F. KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ON DECEMBER NINETEEN

LAST.

IMMEDIATELY RECONTACT AND DETERMINE IF HE CAN MAKE A POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION OF APTHEKER, LYND, AND HAYDEN FROM PHOTOGRAPHS WHICH SHOULD BE EXHIBITED TO HIM.

DEPARTMENT HAS ALSO REQUESTED INFORMATION REGARDING
AVAILABILITY FOR INTERVIEW AND FOR POSSIBLE TESTIMONY OF
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS T-THREE AND T-FOUR IN SPECIAL AGENT
ASCHERL'S REPORT DATED JANUARY TWENTY-FIVE LAST AND OF
END PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED 87 FEB 8 1966

2 /// 2

DAL FLED TO

PAGE TWO

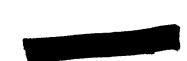
"CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER ONE" IN NEW YORK LETTERHEAD
MEMORANDUM DATED DECEMBER FOURTEEN LAST. ALSO ADVISE WHETHER
THE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THESE THREE SOURCES IS DIRECT
KNOWLEDGE OR HEARSAY.

SUTEL REPLY TO REACH BUREAU NOT LATER THAN COB

Z.JD

JY. AUS

WHI NEW YORK



Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

Director, FBI

Parg

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN. UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT CONSPIRACY

February 3, 1966

1 - Mr. Franck

1 - Mr. McNiff 1 - Mr. Reddy

1 - Mail Room

Reference is made to your letters dated January 10, 1966, and January 14, 1966, outlining the specific investigation to be conducted by this Bureau regarding the recent unauthorized travel to North Vietnam by Herbert Eugene

Attached is a copy of the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, setting out the results of the investigation you requested. Attached as enclosures to this report are copies of seven statements which were located by United States Customs Inspector Eva Klein in the baggage of Thomas Hayden upon Hayden's arrival at the John Fitzgerald Kennedy International Airport on

Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden.

Also attached is a copy of a memorandum dated January 25, 1966, at Washington, D. C., captioned "Staughton Craig Lynd" regarding the appearance of Lynd at an affair sponsored by the Women Strike for Peace which was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., on the evening of January 24, 1966.

Finally is also attached.

No further investigation is contemplated in this case in the absence of a specific request from the Department.

100-123974 100-396916 100-438281

Euclosures - 10

January 9, 1966.



VOO. 438281-NOT RECORDED 184 FEB 4 1966

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

b7E

EBR: jas (39) 50 FEB 10 1966

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTEL

as the enclosures are so classified since they contain information the disclosure of which could reveal the sources and adversely affect the national defense.

WNO adv 15

## UNITED STATES GO

# 1emoran<del>-</del>dum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (1<del>00-436224)</del>

o-returite My AK be th

2/23/66

FROM

SAC. WFO (100-40690) (RUC)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM - C

(YN:00)

ReWFOairtel and LHM, 12/29/65.

A check of the files of the Office of Security, U.S. Department of State, could locate no pertinent information concerning HAYDEN. It is to be pointed out that HAYDEN, along with HERBERT APTHEKER and STAUGHTON LYND, is the subject of U.S. Department of State investigation concerning travel of the three to Peking and Hanoi during 12/65.

No further investigation is being conducted by WFO under the above caption. Any inquiry received concerning the above mentioned travel will be handled under the caption "STAUGHTON LYND, HERBERT APTHEKER, THOMAS HAYDEN, Unauthorized Travel to Vietnam; Misuse of U.S. Passport; Logan Act-Conspiracy, "Bufile 100-123974.

Bureau

2 - New York (RM)

2 - Newark (RM)

1 - WFO

GTT:sch

(7)

REC 8

EX 105 100 - 438281-2.

FEB 23 1966



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

36 (Rey. 5-23	2-64)		1	, if
. ,	. i			
- /		F B I		Ĺ
0	•	Date: 2/23/66	•	, K.,
	. 11 - 3 - 3 3			1
smit the fo	Howing I	(Type in plaintext or code)		1
AIRTE	<u>EL</u>			$\chi_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{_{$
· 		(Priority)	-¥	
m.o.		DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	h ac	1
TO	. •		. h.	$\gamma$
FROM	<b>:</b> .	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	11. LM	0
SUBJE	ECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;		
		STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETTCHAYDEN;		
	•	UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT		
		CONSPIRACY		
		ReBuairtel to NY, 2/17/66, and report of SA	<b>.</b>	
VINCE	ENT J.	ASCHERL, dated 1/25/66, at NY.		•
`ovot ī	i lable f	Panel Source (NY T-7) is or interview by a Department attorney and al	s 0	1
		or possible testimony.		1,
		In NY airtel to	J	
Burea		28/61, the Bureau was advised that	efore	
a Fed		s scheduled to appear in trand Jury, on per subpoena issued a	it	
reque	est of	Department	] ' '.	
\			·	
	<del> </del>	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
		Panel Source (NY T-6 in refere	enced	
repoi	ru, ac	livised on $2/23/66$ , that he did not desire to	X S S CONTRACTOR	
an in tradition		1912		
(3-Bu)	reau (]	.00-123974) (RM) "/	3 1966	,
1-NY	100 <b>-</b> 8) xxk/rmv	30532)	STATE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN	
(5)	rasse/ # ## A	W. W. W. 3 7/ 1	reidi I	
Secretary.		CHO TO WAR		
********	的流。	3116 May 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10		
	. 1 2	TANKA MARKATAN		<u>-</u> .
Approved:	. · / X	Sent M Per		
	NR Spe	dian Agent in Charge		<del>-</del>
W Co	ipid 1 2 -			٠, ١

## NY 100-80532

	A Company of the Comp						
be interviewed by a Department attorney in thi moreover, did not wish to testify.  which has existed for some time, an apprehensive as to the effects such testifying o have on his health. He offered this concern f condition which would preclude any interview o	d stated he was r interview would or his health as the						
Referenced report reflects on page B that in addition to T-5 and T-6, the following sources attended the Manhattan Center meeting on 1/16/66, and accordingly, should be able to furnish substantially the same testimony as T-5 and T-6:							
All of these are current active security informants NYO.							
will be recontacted, however, to determine if he is available and willing to testify, in which event this information will be furnished expeditiously to the Bureau, so that his name can be furnished to the Department for consideration as a witness.							

b7D

b7D

Ŋ

## FBI

	Date: 2/21/66
ransmit th	ne following in
	(Type in plain text or code)
ia	AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)
-,	
	TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)
	FROM: SAC, WFO (100-45394)(P)
	SUBJECT: HERBERT APTHEKER  STAUGHTON LYND  THOMAS HAYDEN  UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
	MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY
	ReWFOairtel to Bureau, 2/18/66.
	pSI mentioned in referenced airtel as being available for interview and testimony, advised on 2/19/66, that after discussing her possible testimony with her husband, her husband had expressed a desire that she not testify in the above captioned matter.
	For info of the Bureau, WFO is in possession of copies of tapes of each session of talks given by STAUGHTON LYND on the evening of 1/24/66. The original tapes were made available by the Security Officer of the Washington Hilton Hotel. The Bureau may wish to make these tapes available to the Department for review.
	1/00 - 438281-
	MAR 3 1966
	3 - Bureau 1 - WFO
	GTT:sch (4)  AIRTEL  31/16

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

100-438781-

l - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

To: SACs, New York (160-30532) Mismi Washington Field (100-44569)

From: Director, FBI (106-123974)

HERDERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LAND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

By letter February 15, 1966, the Department requested advice as to the availability for interview and testimony of the confidential informants designated as T-6, T-7 and T-8 in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascharl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York.

It is noted that the symbols T-6 and T-7 relate to panel sources respectively.

New York suairtel availability of for interview by Department attorneys and for possible testimony. The Bureau will handle the question relative to the availability of

Dopartment also requested advice as to availability of confidential informants WF T-1 and T-3 in Washington Field T-8M dated January 25, 1986. These symbols relate to panel source and PST respectively.

Washington Floid sumirted availability of for interview by Department attorneys and for possible testimony.

EBR: jas/sss of the bull of th

and the same of th

MAR 2 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETY

# Memorandum

TO

: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/11/66

: F.J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM

MISUSE OF PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

1 — Mr. DeLeach

- Mr. Sullivan

- Mr. Bartlett

- Mr. Baumgardner

Mr. Reddy

Wick

Callahan

Rosen Sullivan Tavel

Trotter Tele, Room

Holmes.

In connection with investigation being conducted into the recent unauthorized travel to Red China and North Vietnam by Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden, the Department has noted the necessity of developing proof that prior to their departure from the United States, Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden had the specific intent to travel to North Vietnam To date, the only such evidence developed via Red China. emanates from inadmissible sources and from Lynd's wife. of course, is not competent to testify.

It was suggested to the Denartment that nossibly

representatives of

through which cities Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden traveled en route to Red China and North Vietnam, might have been present at the airport when Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden arrived and departed. News releases indicate that Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden made statements en route of their intention to travel ultimately to North Vietnam. Accordingly, representatives may have heard such statements.

By attached letter dated 2/9/66, the Department requested that such investigation be conducted.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That a copy of the attached letter be furnished the appropriate branch of the Department of State by liaison and that State be requested to expeditiously handle the Department's request.

100-123974

2/14/66 50 PE CLOSUBRELLENGE LE SENT SECT 100

15 FEB

SAC, Newark (100-48095)

FX-114 REC- 135

Director, FBI (100-438281) - 2

4/1/66

1 - Mr. Mack

1 - Mr. Reddy

1 - Mr. McNiff

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SM - C

Reurlet March 10, 1966?

In response to vour inquiry set forth in referenced letter, the on March 18, 1966, advised this Bureau that their agency has not had any operational interest in Hayden.

With regard to your consideration that subject be interviewed, it is pointed out to you that the matter of subject's recenttrip to Hanoi is still under prosecutive consideration by the Department of Justice and, therefore, no interview of this subject should be contemplated at this time.

You should submit your recommendations as to whether or not the subject should be included on either the Security Index or the Reserve Index.

TJM: 11p

(6)

MAR 3 11966

MAILED 11

NOTE:

COMM-FBI

Subject in late 1965 and early 1966, took and unauthorized trip to North Vietnam in the company of Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and Staughton Lynd, a Yale University Professor. Newark in referenced letter pointed out that

had an operational interest in the subject. Newark indicated that upon receiving an answer to this inquiry, they would give consideration to an interview of the subject and also to a recommendation as to whether or not he should be included on the Security Index.

Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Travel
Trotter

Tolson

DeLoach Mohr

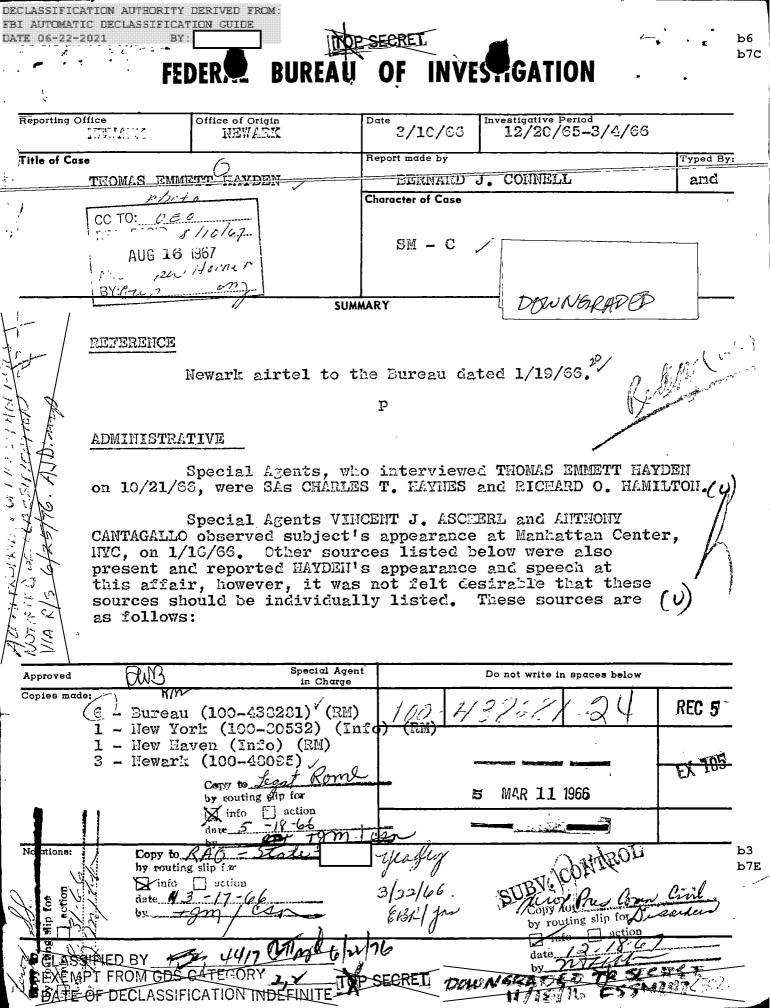
Holmes

TELETYPE UNIT

2-

b3 b7E

b7E



Panel Source

Panel Source

(v)

Attention of the Bureau is invited to the report of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL dated 1/25/66, at New York, in the matter entitled "HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY". In this report detail is given as to the background, departure and return of HAYDEN to the US after a trip to North Vietnam. (0)

In view of the fact that his trip to North Vietnam is reported in complete detail in report of SA ASCHERL, Newark is not repeating the complete details in instant report.

Reference is made to Bureau letter to Newark, dated
12/15/64, in captioned matter which related that THOMAS HAYDEN
was one of the individuals cooperating with the

In letter of 12/15/64, the Bureau

In letter of 12/15/64, the Bureau

COVER PAGE



b7D

desired that no investigation be initiated by the Newark Office under the SM-C classification. Also in view of the relationship of the subject with no mention was made in this report of the subject's interest in the STN WILD (U) YOUTH FESTIVAL.

ь3 ь7Е

By letter dated February 1, 1960, the Bureau furnished information from a most sensitive and reliable source to the effect that HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN had stopped in Moscow, Russia, on their recent peace mission. While in Moscow, they discussed setting up an organization (possibly a Medical Aide Committee) in the US to aide the North Vietnamese. There was discussed, that setting up such a committee could possibly constitute aide to the enemy and discussion was had as to the possibility of the Canadian CP setting up this committee. The same source noted that APTHEKER related that HAYDEN was very mildly anti-communist and objected to being involved in anything that could be labeled as communist.

The Bureau in connection with the letter of 2/1/66, noted that INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM THE ABOVE SENSITIVE AND RELIABLE SOURCE CANNOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE OF THE BUREAU AND SHOULD NOT BE SET FORTH IN ANY COMMUNICATION PREPARED FOR DISSEMINATION. THE ABOVE INFORMATION CANNOT BE DISCUSSED WITH OFFICIALS OF ANY FOREIGN NATION, INCLUDING CANADA. INFORMATION FROM THIS SOURCE SHOULD BE UTILIZED FOR LEAD PURPOSES ONLY.

By memo dated 2/11/66, information was reported that furnished on 1/28/66. This informant breported a discussion by the CP, USA leadership concerning whether HAYDEN was ready to join the CP and if so, whether they would want him in the CP. The feeling seemed to be that HAYDEN appears to be following the pro-Chinese ideological line in the world communist movement; "he out-radicals the radicals." There was a consideration by party leaders that if HAYDEN was taken into the CP he might create problems for them. The consensus is that should he show a desire to join the CP, despite all his shortcomings, they would take him in and work on him to reform him and make him to follow the CP, USA line.

In furnishing the above information, the Chicago Office

C COVER PAGE





#### advised as follows:

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Information copies of this report are being furnished to New Haven and New York, since STAUGHTON LYND and ( $\nu$ ) HERBERT APTHEKER are subjects of those offices.

This report is being classified confidential because of information furnished by informants of continuing value and whose effectiveness would be curtailed through unauthorized disclosure of information in this report.

(0)

The subject is not being recommended for either the Security Index or the Reserve Index in the Newark Office. A separate communication is being directed to the Bureau requesting clarification of HAYDEN's status with in order that proper determination may be made as to possible interview and/or placing the subject on either the Security Index or the Reserve Index of the Newark Office.

( U) b3

b7D

#### INFORMALITS

 Identity of Source
 File Number Where Located

 NK T-1
 100-48095-4

 NK T-2
 100-48095-4

 NK T-3
 100-40095-4

D COVER PAGE







Identity of Source

NK T-17	<b>b</b> 7D
Sources of the Newark Office who were contacted in March, 1966, and who had no information to report concerning any CP activity on the part of the subject were as follows:	
Contacted 3/1/66 By SA RUSSELL H. HORNER	b7D
Contacted 3/4/66 By SA OLIVER A. CHALIFOUK	
Contacted 3/3/66 By SA JAMES A. MARLEY, JR.	
<u>NEWARK</u>	
AT HEWARK, NEW JERSEY. 1. Will await reply from Bureau concerning any possible operational status subject may have with  2. Will upon reply from Bureau, make appropriate recommendation for interview, and/or placing subject on either Security Index or Reserve Index of the Newark Office.	b3 b7 <u>E</u>

File Number Where Located

F\*
COVER PAGE



b6 b70

# UN ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE

COMPLEXICIAL

Copy to:

BERHARD J. COMMELL

Newark, New Jersey

Report of:

3/10/66

Office:

Bureau File #:

Date:

100-48095 -

100-438281 ~

Field Office File #:

THOMAS EMMETT MAYDEN

Title:

SECURITY MATTER - C 🗸

Character:

Subject born 12/11/39, in Detroit, Michigan, was Synopsistudent leader at University of Michigan, and editor of student paper in schoolyear 1960-1961. Reported as one of the founders of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) and active in civil rights and social action field. Subject took unauthorized trip to North Vietnam in late 1965 and early 1966, in company with HERDERT APTHEMER of CP, USA and STAUGHTON LYND, Yale University Professor. Various activities of subject reported. Sources of Newark Office contacted in March, 1966, had no information to report concerning CP activities of subject. Description set forth.

D

#### DETAILS

#### I. BACKGROUND

#### A. Birth Data

Decords of the Detroit, Michigan, Department of Health, 2 Woodland Avenue, Detroit, reviewed by CA LAWIENCE M. COOPER, JR., on December 17, 1884, contained certificate of birth number 28198 pertaining to THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN. This birth record indicates that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN was born on December 11, 1939, at Women's Hospital, Detroit. His michigan father was JOHN FRANCIS MAYDEN, 5826 Iroquois, Detroits age 33 (U

Group 1
Excluded from automatic

APP PROX

downgrading and declassification

74

1406 10 Milwale Res

#### IIX 100-48095

race white, born Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and employed as an accountant at the Fort Shelby Hotel, Detroit. His mother was listed as GENEVIEVE GARITY, age 32, race white, address 5826 Troquois, Detroit, occupation housewife, and born at Iconomowac, Wisconsin perox. 190 Affantas Mes. John Francisk Hande (U)

B. Citizenship Status

Subject is a United States citizen by virtue of his birth as set forth above.

(v)

C. Education
L. High School

Cn January 21, 1265, Miss BETTY ADAMS, Dondero High School, 709 North Washington, Royal Oak, Michigan, advised SA LAWRENCE M. COOPER that the subject had attended Dondero High School from September of 1954 until June of 1957, at which time he graduated. He was enrolled in the college preparatory course and resided at 710 Capalta, Royal Oak.

On January 21, 1965, Mr. TERRY R. HOOD, Counselor, Dondero High School, Royal Oak, Michigan, advised SA COOPER that he recalled the subject during the time he had attended school there. He advised that HAYDEN had been editor of the high school newspaper and was a very intelligent student, but that HAYDEN refused to recognize authority and to accept discipline at the school, and was therefore, a source of some trouble to the school administration. He advised, however, that he had no reason to question the loyalty of the subject and further advised that he was acquainted with the subject's mother, Mrs. GENEVIEVE HAYDEN, who was an employee of the Royal Oak School Board. He advised that the subject's parents were divorced and that the subject had resided with his mother while attending high school.

## 2. College

HANCY MREMKUS, Supervisor, Alumni Records Office, University of Michigan (U of M), advised SA JOHN L. MC GIRR on January 11, 1965, that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, born December 11, 1939, Detroit, Michigan, entered this University's College of Literature, Science and Arts in September of 1957. He received an A.B. Degree on June 17, 1861, having majored in the field of English.

BONNALYNN HECK, Registrar's Office, University of Michigan, advised SA MC GIRR on February 2, 1965, that HAYDEN returned to this University's Horace Rackham School of Graduate Studies in September of 1962, majoring in journalism. He completed 40 hours of study, leaving in May of 1964. No advance degree had been conferred for this graduate study.

NK T-1, who is acquainted with various activities on the University of Michigan campus, advised on December 23, 1963, that THOMAS HAYDEN can be characterized as a "crusader" who possesses a passion for unpopular causes.

He believed HAYDEN to be completely loyal to the United States. (U)

NK T-2 advised on August 6. 1960. that THOMAS E. HAYDEN, then undergraduate student at the University of Michigan, was a Michigan campus leader and incoming editor of the "Michigan Daily" during the fall semester of 1960. The source stated that MAYDEN was a member of the Student Government Council of the University of Michigan and University of Michigan delegate to the National Student Congress. During the summer of 1960, HAYDEN visited campuses throughout the United States regarding National Student Association The source described HAYDEN as a responsible, aggressive student leader whom he regards as a completely loyal citizen of the United States. The source stated that in HAYDEN's three years at the University of Michigan. he has never known him to participate in subversive activities nor to express pro-communist sympathies. source stated that HAYDEN's wain work was crusading and he possessed inexhaustive energy which takes him in every interest to leadership capacity. The source stated that HAYDEN possessed a passion for unpopular causes and will counsel with all factions on any particular issue.

The source stated that as a member of the Student Government Council, student governing body, University of Michigan, HAYDEN supported the Student Government Council's endorsement of "sit in" demonstrations in the South and has worked diligently on integration matters. The source stated that HAYDEN's activities on controversial issues were based on sincere personal conviction. The source stated that HAYDEN has not been a member or sponsor of any student organization in the University of Michigan known to the informant to have contained

communists or communist sympathizers and that he has not associated with individuals known to source as communist or communist sympathizers.

(v)

#### D. Marital Status

Files of the Passport Office, Department of State, were examined on July 27, 1962, at Washington, D.C., by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and this check revealed that in applying for a passport on June 22, 1962, HAYDEN stated he had been married on October 1, 1961, to SANDRA CASON HAYDEN, who had been born on October 23, 1937, at Victoria, Texas.

(v)

The files of the Passport Office, Department of State, as examined on December 29, 1965, at Washington, D.C., revealed that in applying for a passport on December 14, 1965, HAYDEN stated his marriage to SANDRA CASON HAYDEN had been terminated by divorce on April 1, 1963.

## E. Military Service

NK T-3, the records of another government agency, which maintains personnel records, were checked on January 19, 1965; at which time it was determined that the subject has had no military service.

(U)

#### F. Identification Record

The following is an Identification Record of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN as obtained from the FBI Identification Division, under FBI Number 628 452 E:

(U)

## III 100-48095

Contributor of Fingerprints	name And Number	arrested Or RECEIVED	Charge	DISPOSITION
PD Albany Ga	Tom Emmett Hayden #9918	12/10/61	failure to obey officer DC obstruction traff	ng
PD Ann Arbor Mich	Thomas Emmett Haydeh #45277	9/17/63	loitering in a pub bldg Sec 9:26 (13) Chap 108 Title	
SO Ann Arbor Mich	Thomas Emmett Hayden #18 26989	9/17/63	loit	
PD Newark NJ	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN #102379	10/14/64	A & B	(0)

## G. Employment

The December 29, 1965, issue of "The Star-Ledger" a daily newspaper published in Newark, New Jersey, carried an article on Page 4, which furnished background on the subject. This article reads in part as follows:

"Thomas Hayden 26, one of three men visiting North Vietnam, is head of Newark's Community Union Project and a former national president of Students for a Democratic Society.

"The Community Union Project is an organization operating in the Lower Clinton Hill section of the city since the summer of 1964. The NCUP was formed by students from the Students for a Democratic Society.

The NCUP is composed of a group of students working to stimulate local people to get involved in local affairs such as housing, civil rights and education.

"Hayden has been active in the civil rights movement both in Mississippi and Newark.

"He worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Mississippi and has also been involved in several demonstrations in Newark.

"Hayden was the focal point of a City Hall sit-in this summer that resulted in the arrest of 10 NCUP members.

"Hayden is also associate editor of the publication 'Studies On The Left' and has contributed to numerous magazines.

"NCUP is one of several community organizing projects by SDS describing itself in its constitution as 'an association of young people on the left ... which seeks to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of communism and the domestic right."

(0)

, \

(0)

( U)

( ·

(0)

A characterization of STUDIES ON THE LEFT is contained in the appendix hereto. (o)

The "Daily Tribune", a daily newspaper published in Royal Oak, Michigan, in its issue of December 29, 1965, contained an interview with the subject's father. In commenting upon the subject's employment the father is quoted as saying "I think Thomas' only real job since he got out of college was with Students For A Democratic Society."

### H. Residence

NK T-3 advised on January 19, 1965, that the subject's home address in 1957 was 710 Capalta, Royal Oak, Michigan, and that his address at the University of Michigan was 7214 Ban Tyne House, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. According to this source, other addresses that HAYDEN has had are as follows:

112 East 19th Street New York City As of August, 1961

1217 East 4th Street Royal Oak, Michigan February, 1962

715 Arch Ann Arbor, Michigan September, 1962

On October 12, 1961, HAYDEN advised representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he was then residing at 560 Moreland Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia.

On January 9, 1966, DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kennedy Airport, New York City, advised that THOMAS HAYDEN upon his arrival in the United States at Kennedy Airport on January 9, 1966, filled out Immigration and Naturalization Form I-94 and on this form indicated his home address as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.

## II. FOREIGN TRAVEL

The "New York Times" of January 10, 1966, carried an article on Page 1, revealing that HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN had returned to the United States on January 9, 1966, after a 10 day visit to North Vietnam. This article revealed that these three individuals had left the United States on December 19, 1965, on a privately financed fact finding mission. According to the news article, the government of North Vietnam had invited HERBERT APTHEKER and he in turn had suggested that LYND and HAYDEN accompany him. This article described HERBERT APTHEKER as the director of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES and LYND as a Yale University Professor.

A characterization of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARKIST STUDIES is contained in the appendix hereto. (U)

NK T-4 advised in December, 1959, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA at its 17th National Convention held December 10-13, 1959.

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 13, 1953, during which time he stated that though he had never been a member of the Communist Party, he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the fall of 1946, on the campus at Harvard University. He said that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947. LYND further advised that while at Harvard University he had been a member of the JOHN REED CLUB for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He said that approximately one year during this period he had served as secretary of the JOHN REED CLUB.

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES is contained in the appendix attached.

The files of the Passport Office, United States
Department of State, reviewed by an SA of the Federal Bureau
of Investigation, on December 29, 1965, disclosed the

additional information that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN was last issued Passport F-1027114 at New York City on December 16, 1965, for proposed travel for one month to Belgium, England and France for the purpose of writing. In his application, dated December 14, 1965, at New York City, he stated his intention to depart from New York City via Sabena Airlines about December 17, 1965, not by organized tour. He stated that he had not made any trips abroad in the previous twelve months and that he expected to take another trip abroad within the next five years. This passport was limited in validity to expire on June 15, 1966, and stamped that it was not to be extended without the express authorization of the Department of State. This passport was valid for travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Vietnam under communist control.

The "Newark Evening News", a daily newspaper published daily in Newark, New Jersey, in its issue of January 11, 1966, contained an interview with THOMAS HAYDEN. In this interview, HAYDEN related details of his trip abroad wherein he had spent 10 days in North Vietnam, three days in Moscow, Russia, and four days in Peking, China. The interview reflected that HAYDEN had spoken to many people in these countries about the possibility of peaceful solutions (U) to the North Vietnam struggle.

The "New York Times" issue of January 9, 1966, carried an article datelined Moscow, January 8, 1966. This article reflected that LYND, APTHEKER and HAYDEN made a joint statement at the airport in Moscow wherein they revealed that they had spoken for 90 minutes with North Vietnamese Premier PHAM VAN DONG as well as with representatives of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, the political organization of which the Vietcong are the fighting forces. This article reflected that the joint statement before the television cameras were read by TOM HAYDEN, who was identified as a community organizer and one of the founders of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

## III. ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT

Under heading Employment above, details of subject's activities with the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT in Newark, New Jersey, and his position as former President of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY were set out.

#### 1. YALE SOCIALIST UNION

A characterization of the YALE SOCIALIST UNION is contained in the appendix hereto.

(U)

The May 3, 1965, edition of the "Yale Daily News", a daily student newspaper published at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, contains an article concerning the YALE SOCIALIST UNION (YSU) symposium "Socialism in America" held April 30, 1965, - May 2, 1965, at Strathcona Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. According to this article "about 100 radical students and socialist leaders" attended the symposium at which "viewpoints expressed ranged from extreme liberalism to outspoken anarchy and Marxist analysis to black nationalism.

NK T-5 advised on May 4, 1965, that THOMAS HAYDEN was one of the speakers at this symposium. In his speech HAYDEN stated that the poor people in the United States are alienated from society and that the civil rights movement was being used by the United States Government to keep the lid on possible revolution, and that a coalition of churches, labor and the Democratic Party are part of the "rottenness" of this system. He claimed that among the poor there was a revolutionary energy that could be tapped and called for a change in the civil rights movement to tap the revolutionary energy among the masses.

NK T-6, NK T-7 and NK T-8 on May 3, 1965, all advised of HAYDEN's participation in the symposium sponsored by the YALE SOCIALIST UNION, as mentioned above.

## 2. "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

A characterization of the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" is contained in the appendix hereto. (  $\iota$ 

The "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" of Hovember 13, 1965, Page 2, stated that among the guests on the dais at the 17th Anniversary Dinner of the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" held November 5, 1965, at the Hotel Americana, in New York City, was THOMAS HAYDEN. This article identified him as the organizer since 1964, of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT and one of the original organizers of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

MK T-9 on November 19. 1965, and NK T-10 on November 15, 1965, also advised of the subject's attendance at the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" Dinner held November 5, 1965, at the Hotel Americana. in New York City.

## March on Washington, November 27, 1965

MK T-11 advised on November 30, 1965, that the March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam was held on November 27, 1965, Among those persons present at Washington, D.C. in connection with this demonstration was THOMAS HAYDEN of STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

## Manhattan Center Rally, January 16, 1966

Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation were present at a meeting in Manhattan Center, 34th Street and 3th Avenue, New York City, on January 16, 1966, at which meeting HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN gave "Eye Witness" reports on their trip to North Vietnam, At this meeting, HAYDEN was introduced as one of the founders of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

HAYDEN reported on his impressions of the attitudes of people whom he interviewed in Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi.

He said they spent December 20, 1965, to December 22, 1965, in Prague and on the evening of their arrival they attended a celebration commemorating the fifth anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front (NLF). In Prague they spoke with the Ambassador of the North Vietnam Republic. HAYDEN stated that the NLF program calls for a coalition government in Vietnam and this would include all elements opposed to United States occupation or aggression.

On arrival in Moscow, according to HAYDEN, they met with a representative of the NLF, a member of the NLF Central Committee. They had a three hour discussion with him. According to this person, the strategy of the United States is to permanently occupy South Vietnam and turn it into a colony. He said the United States had not understood the strength of the "people's war." The revolutionary forces in the South are much stronger than they were in 1954.

Also in Moscow they had a discussion with the Ambassador to North Vietnam. He said that the United Nations has no authority in Vietnam; that the Vietnamese do not require total withdrawal of United States forces as a pre-condition of negotiations but they oppose occupation of South Vietnam and they want the eventual withdrawal of United States troops.

HAYDEN stated that from the interviews they had in Peking, China, he concluded the Soviets and the Chinese have only supporting roles in this conflict with the Vietnamese clearly in command. They had a trip through the Chinese Museum of the Revolution. They had an interview with the Editor of a Chinese publication who said "we are communists and we belong with the weak and oppressed peoples. We support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the NLF." The Chinese believe there will be more United States troops in Vietnam and more United States bombings, and that the war will be extended to all of Indo-China.

HAYDEN stated that he had interviews with five members of the NLF in Vietnam; that the Vietnamese people know more about maintaining independence than we do.

5. Greater Newark Council To End The War (U)

NK T-12 advised on February 14, 1966, that there was a "Lincoln Birthday Rally to End the War in Vietnam" held in the ballroom of the Essex House Hotel, Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, on February 12, 1966, sponsored by the Greater Newark Council to End the War in Vietnam. According to this source, one of the speakers at this rally was THOMAS HAYDEN.

THOMAS HAYDEN referred to his recent trip to North Vietnam and his experiences there. He said he was struck by the peacefulness and serenity of the people in Hanoi who have become accustomed to the war and carried on their daily chores in a matter of fact way. HAYDEN stated that the streets of Hanoi were quiet and that there were no police in evidence. He said the North Vietnamese were prepared in case of air raids, that there were ample bomb shelters if the need arose, but that children were now using the roofs of these as playgrounds. HAYDEN stated that the majority of the people in South Vietnam favored communism and would show it if given a chance of free choice.

HAYDEN stated that if the outside world wonders why they would make this choice, it is because the natives realize that after the communists have used their ability to break the grip of the Saigon Government, the territory so freed will be given back to them for their own use. HAYDEN stated that there is nothing terrifying about communism and he stated that Christianity, communism, Buddhism, and other Eastern religions were all the same and have a common basic theme. HAYDEN went on to state that the Vietnamese want independence. He said that they once accepted compromise by accepting the 17th Parallel, but do not now want to yield to anything. They are aware that the United States can destroy them but feel that world opinion will deter the United States from doing so.

## 6. Belleville Discussion Group

NK T-13 advised on February 7, 1966, a meeting of this group was held on February 6, 1966, at a private residence in Belleville, New Jersey. The scheduled speaker at this meeting was THOMAS HAYDEN, who spoke about his recent trip to North Vietnam in the company of HERBERT APTHEKER and STAUGHTON LYND. HAYDEN reviewed the history of North Vietnam and the years of fighting and struggle in that country. He described how the people of Vietnam are tired of fighting and want only peace.

# 7. Wayne STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY and the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam

NK T-14 on February 25, 1966, made available an announcement advising the appearance of THOMAS HAYDEN. According to this source, this announcement was being distributed on the Wayne State University Campus and announced a meeting for February 26, 1966, at which THOMAS HAYDEN, one of the founders and past President of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY would speak. It was noted that this appearance was sponsored by the Wayne STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY and the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

NK T-15 on March 1, 1966, made available a press release, issued in connection with HAYDEN's visit to the Wayne University Campus. In this press release, HAYDEN (U)

was described in part as follows:

Mr. HAYDEN, 26, is presently an organizer with the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT in a Negro section of Newark, New Jersey. He was one of the framers of the Port Huron statement, the first major press paper of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, and was a former President of the organization. He has worked with the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) in the South and is an editor of the "Quarterly Review" STUDIES ON THE LEFT. He was formerly editor of the University of Michigan student paper, "Michigan Daily".

NK T-15 advised that HAYDEN was a featured speaker on February 26, 1966, at the De Roy Auditorium, Wayne State University. According to this source, HAYDEN began his talk by explaining that he did not call himself an expert on the Vietnam situation but was rather a person who had travelled to Vietnam and now was giving an account of what he saw, just as the French and British newsmen have done.

He told of meeting people in Prague, Peking, and Hanoi and he described them as "wonderful" people. He said the Vietcong are not faceless bandits running around in black pajamas, but are people fighting for their liberation. HAYDEN said the United States was wrong in being there, but should not withdraw immediately. He said they should stop bombing North Vietnam and gradually withdraw their troops over a period of time after they have assured the Hanoi Government that they will be willing to sit down to negotiations and to an eventual supervised free election. HAYDEN talked of mistakes that the United States Forces () were making in propaganda.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS

NK T-16 advised on February 16, 1986, that
HERBERT APTHEKER in late January, 1986, commented to a
group of COMMUNIST PARTY leaders in New York City, about
his recent visit to Manoi with STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS
HAYDEN. He stated that he felt that the team of LYND, MAYDEN
and APTHEKER should be used at large public gatherings.
He urged people to issue invitations to have them speak

either as a group or individually, but that he thought that the main thing was to have their views made known. emphasized the need to strengthen the peace movement and to especially utilize the peace sentiments among college people.

(U)

NK T-17 on February 1, 1966, stated that at a meeting of the District Committee of the Southern California District COMMUNIST PARTY held on January 30, 1966, a report was made concerning GUS HALL's reaction to the trip of APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN. It was reported that HALL, the leader of the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, had stated that the trip of these three took a very high place in history and that this trip had boosted the stature of the COMMUNIST PARTY highly, both nationally and internationally. He added that this is the time to build the party because of all the favorable atmosphere created by the Hanoi visit.

#### V. INFORMANT CONTACTS

Sources of the Newark Office, who are acquainted with various phases of COMMUNIST PARTY activity in New Jersey, were contacted in March, 1966, and advised that they had no information to report concerning COMMUNIST PARTY activity on the part of the subject.

#### VI. DESCRIPTION

A description of the subject as furnished by Passport Records and observation of the subject is as follows:

Name THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN Sex Male White Race Date of Birth December 11, 1939 Detroit, Michigan Place of Birth 5'10" Height Weight 150 lbs. Black Hair Brewn Eyes Sallow Complexion Build Medium Occupation | Community Organizer

Marital Status

Parents

Divorced, April 1, 1963 from SANDRA CASON HAYDEN

JOHN FRANCIS HAYDEN 14842 Craig Court

14842 Craig Court -- Warren, Michigan - Father

GENEVIEVE GARITY HAYDEN

1217 East 4th

Royal Oak, Michigan, - Mother

Education

Graduate, University Of Michigan

1961

Ţ

NK 100-43095

### AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Markist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various suppléments.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, MERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the MC CARRAN and SMITH Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 7, 1985, that as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.

(U)

## JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, reflects the following citation concerning the John Reed Clubs of the United States:

"1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute.'

("Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.10.)" (U)

#### "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., reflects the following on Page 193 regarding the "National Guardian":

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

( U)

APPENDIX

## STUDIES ON THE LEFT, INCORPORATED, also known as Studies on the Left (SOTL)

The "Widsconsin State Journal", a daily newspaper published at Madison, Wisconsin, on November 26, 1959, announced that a new scholarly magazine, "Studies on the Left", a historical review dedicated to the leftist point of view, edited by present and former graduate students at the University of Wisconsin (UW), but having no connection with the US itself, would begin publication soon.

Records of the Wisconsin Secretary of State reflect SOTL was incorporated under laws of Wisconsin July 16, 1959, as a non-stock, non-profit corporation with headquarters, Post Office Box 2121, Madison, Wisconsin. The first issue contained a policy statement from the editors stating SOTL was primarily a magazine for national circulation designed to give younger men with radical views a place to voice their opinions. About two issues a year are published, the most recent in February, 1963.

Publicly listed members of SOTL's Editorial Board Saul Landau, Stephen Scheinberg, Martin J. Sklar and James Weinstein have been identified by sources previously as having participated in the activities of the Labor Youth League (LYL); while Editorial Board members David Eakins and Matthew Chapperon have been identified as active members of the Communist Party (CP). Another source has identified Sklar and Weinstein as handling the finance and business affairs of SOTL.

Volume #3, Number 2, Winter 1963 issue of SOTL, published in February, 1963, on the inside front cover contained an announcement that effective March 1, 1963, the new mailing address of SOTL will be "Studies on the Left", Box 33, Planetarium Station, New York 24, New York.

A source advised on May 13, 1963, that SOTL has as its mailing address Box 33, Planetarium Station, New York 24, New York.

The Labor Youth League (LYL) has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

#### APPENDIX

#### YALE SOCIALIST UNION

1

A source advised on May 14, 1963, that at an Executive Committee meeting of the Connecticut Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CB, SWP), held May 12, 1963, LEON DAY, identified by the source as a CP, SWP member at that time, stated that he and VICTOR LIPPIT, a Yale University Graduate student, had organized the Yale Socialist Union and DAY stated since he was not a Yale student he could not participate in the Yale Socialist Union (YSU) but planned to work quietly with LIPPIT on the organization.

On February 20, 1964, a second source advised that the YSU is a student organization formed at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, in May, 1963, which publicly describes itself as "the focal point for radical student activity on the Yale campus."

The March 13, 1964, edition of the "Yale Daily News", a daily student newspaper published at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, contains an article concerning the YSU which reported that activities of the YSU were limited to a "series" of appearances by various radical spokesmen and discussions of Marxist thought."

According to the second source, and articles in the April 24 and 27, 1964 editions of the "Yale Daily News", the YSU sponsored a meeting on April 25, 1964, at which a "Propaganda film" entitled, "Vietcong", advertised as "American atrocities in Vietnam," was shown and at which meeting the YSU adopted a resolution calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops and aid from South Vietnam and self-determination for South Vietnam.

During 1963-1964, the YSU, according to the second, third and fourth sources, sponsored meetings featuring as principal speakers national officers of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The second source on March 30, 1964, and the fifth source on April 2, 1964, advised the CP, SWP does not have any present interest in the activities of the YSU and is not currently attempting to infiltrate, dominate or control the YSU.

#### YALE SOCIALIST UNION (continued)

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May: 18, 1964, a fifth source advised the CP, SWP is affiliated with and follows the aims and purposes of the SWP.

U)



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey March 10, 1966

NK 100-48095

Title

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

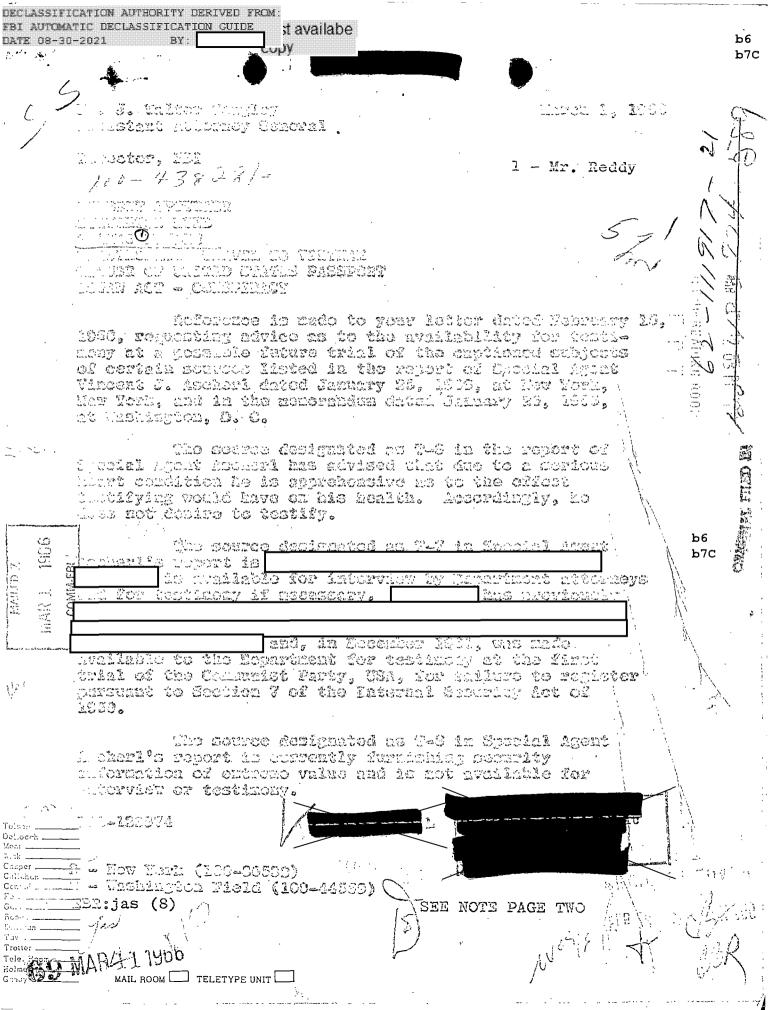
Character

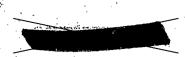
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference

Report of Special Agent Bernard J. Connell, dated and captioned, as above, at Newark.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.





list J. Walver Versley.

Por ro	ur lufthor i	information,	to had hoom
dotermined that	an additian	il soufco of	this Buronu's
ooitto duot voi	ving process	at the	

at which

speadure, there are harred appead or their travel to

North Wistons. This address is boing contrated to determine

his availability for interview and peacible testimony.

Tou will be advised in this regard in the imadiate future.

The source designated as US T-1 in the accommodated designated designated as US T-1 in the accommodated designated designat

The source designated as TF T-2 in this memorandum originally signified her availability for interview and a testimony but later reconsidered her position and expressed an unwillingness to be interviewed by Department atteracys

or to testily.

notessary.

Por the Beartmont's additional information, both soctions of Staughton Lynd's January 21, 1996, speach at the Washington Milton Motel. Washington. D. C. . ware recorded by and copies of the tapes work made available to this Derozufo Bashington Field Office. It is not known wilcuther. Ind nemicaios to record the areaches from either Lynd or the organization which syntsored Lynd's appearance. It has been determined, however, that the recordings were made in a room addending the speaker's platform and were taped through the kotel's loud-speaker system. The copies of the recordings propared by are available for neview by Berarinout attornors.

NOTE: Classified "Confidential" as it relates to possible prosecutive plans involving current informants the disclosure of whom would adversely affect the national defense.

Adrtol

1 - Mr. Reddy

To:

SAC, Detroit

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

eerbert adyneher staughton lyhd thomas havden unauthorized travel to vietnam misuse of united states passport logan act — conspiracy

Reurairtel and LHM 2/21/66 captioned "CPUSA, Public Appearances of Party Leaders, IS-C; Herbert Apthoker, IS-C."

Page five of referenced LMM indicates that during Aptheker's speech at the University of Michigan on 2/10/66, "he spoke at length on his recent visit to Hanoi, North Vietnam."

Suairtel LMM setting out in as much detail as possible Aptheker's remarks which related to his recent visit to Hanol.

EBR: jas (4)

MAILED 6
FEB 2 8 1965

A Contract of the Contract of

100-438281-

NOT RECORDED 50 MAR 4 1966

en \_\_\_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_ivan \_\_\_ivan \_\_\_\_ivan \_\_\_ivan \_\_ivan \_\_\_ivan \_\_ivan \_\_

l.Sach

**6** TELETYPE UNIT [

100-4.38

Airtol

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: | SAC, New York (100-80532)

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
HISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Attached is a copy of a letter from the Department dated 2/24/66 referring to New York memorandum of 1/20/66 captioned "Communist Party, USA, Organization" and requesting the identity and availability and willingness to testify of the "New York Times" reporter who allegedly interviewed Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden in Hanol. North Vietnam.

Expedite.

Enclosure

EBR: jas (4)

MAILED 3
FEB 28 1966
COMM-FEE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Wh

RIGINAL FILED IN /

LEGAT, PARIS

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

(Bufile 100-123974)

(PAR file 100-875) (RUC)

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND

SH - C (Mufile 100-396916)

(PAR file 100-2402) (RUC)

THOMAS HAYDEN

SN - C

(PAR file 100-2403)

ReBulet to State Department 12/21/65.

Since there was indication that the captioned subjects would probably transit Brussels, Belgium, on 12/20/65, en route to Hanoi, North Vietnam, the

The

Bureau (Encs. - 2)

(1 - Lizison Section)

(3 - New York, 200-00032, INTO.) NOT PRECEDED (3 - New Haven, 100-18293, Info.) MAR 2 1966

(3 - Newark, Info.)

1 - Bern (Info.) (sent direct)

1 - London (Info.) (sent direct)

3 - Paris

MWP:eim

(21)MAR 8

b7D

.b7D

PAR 100-875 PAR 100-2402 PAR 100-2403

· ь7р

There are enclosed for the information of the Bureau copies of two articles which appeared in the "New York Herald Tribune," Paris Edition, on 12/29/65 and 1/10/66.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORIT FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFIC DATE 10-05-2021	ATION GUIDE Y:	ь6 ь7с
	FBI	БЛС
	Date: <b>2/15/6</b> 6	
Transmit the following in	(Type in plain text or code)	
Via AIRTEL		
V10	(Priority or Method of Mailing)	
	WDV	•
TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI	
FROM:	SAC, NEWARK (100-48754)	) jeck [
SUBJECT	: GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM INFORMATION CONCERNING	12
	Re Airtel and LHM dated 2/9/66, at Newark.	
designat	Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 14 copies  EM dated and captioned as above. One copy is being ted for Milwaukee since that office is origin in  ICNAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN	
since the	hat agency has expressed an interest in this rally.	b7D
7-Bureau (1-100	1 (Encs. 14) (RM)	a
C#	WAR IN VIETNAM)	
(1-100	0-431952) (SANE) 0-439048) (SDE) 100-438281	b3
1-Milwai	1kee (100-14700) (NCCEW) (RM) 133 M/ 1 1066	b7E
12-Newar 1-10	CK 00-43600) (SANE)	* ;
	00-47673) (SDS) 00-48230) (VIDEM)	ا مارد ا
(3 7 7 C) (3 7 7 C)	00-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN) 36/1966	
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	To add the below	/7
(1-10 (1-10)	00-46529) (MARTEN LEICHTUNG) 00-32471) (CLARENCE COGGINS)	1
(1-10)	00-7448) (JOSEPH MAGLIACANO)	50
1// 1/3 / 1/3	00-24870) (EARL HARRIS) AGENCY; G-Z, ONI, OSI	а ъ7D
13 1701	DATE FORW OF OTHER PARTY OF THE	b7D
(20) (20) (20) (20) (20) (20) (20) (20)	HOW FORM: > SIRILE ALOS	11
Approved $\leq N \wedge / \ell$	Sent By	HI
\ Spe	cial Agent in Charge 1966	CECCIMAL

Sources used in the LHM are as follows:

b7D

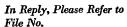
MK	T-1	is	
МΚ	<b>T-</b> 2	is	
MIC	T_3	is	
МΚ	T-14	is	
МK	<b>T-</b> 5	is	
NK	T-6	is	
NΙζ	T-7	is	

This LHM is being marked confidential in order to protect the identity of NK T-1 through NK T-7, sources of continuing value identification of which would adversely affect national security.

No documentations have been set out in attached LHM on the GREATER COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, since characterizations are not available.

 $\mathbf{2}$ 







#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey February 15, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM INFORMATION CONCERNING INTERNAL SECURITY

Reference is made to memorandum dated February 9, 1966, at Newark, New Jersey.

On February 14, 1966, NK T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, stated that there was a "Lincoln Birthday Rally to End the War in Vietnam" held in the ballroom of the Essex House Hotel, Broad Street, Newark, () New Jersey, on February 12, 1966, sponsored by the Greater Newark Council to End the War in Vietnam.

NK T-1 stated that approximately 100 persons attended this rally and that groups started leaving about half way through, with the result that at least one third left prior (U) to the end of the rally.

NK T-1 stated that speakers at the rally were the Reverend Ford, Roseville Methodist Church, Newark, New Jersey, Thomas Hayden, Joseph Magliacano, and Clarence Coggins. Peter Shuchter was the master of ceremonies.

NK T-1 stated that the Reverend Ford decried United States participation in the Vietnamese war saying that the United States Government's interest in Vietnam was really economic and that the vast amount of money spent in carrying on the war should be used instead for much needed public works and the war on poverty. Reverend Ford said that United States troops should be immediately (v) brought home from Vietnam.

Thomas Mayden was the next speaker. He referred to his recent trip to North Vietnam and his experiences there.

Group I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.

## CONFIDENTIAL

#### GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

He said he was struck by the peacefulness and serenity of the people in Hanoi who have become accustomed to the war and carried on their daily chores in a matter of fact way. Hayden stated that the streets of Hanoi were quiet and that there were no police in evidence. He said the North Vietnamese were prepared in case of air raids, that there were ample bomb shelters if the need arose, but that children were now using the roofs of these as playgrounds. stated that the majority of the people in South Vietnam favored communism and would show it if given a chance cf free choice. Hayden stated that if the outside world wonders why they would make this choice, it is because the natives realize that after the Communists have used their ability to break the grip of the Saigon Government, the territory so freed will be given back to them for their Hayden stated that there is nothing terrifying own use. about communism and he stated that Christianity, communism, Buddhism, and other Eastern religions were all the same and have a common basic theme. Hayden went on to state that the Vietnamese want independence. He said that they once accepted compromise by accepting the 17th Parallel, but -do not now want to yield to anything. They are aware that the United States can destroy them but feel that world opinion will deter the United States from doing so.

The next speaker was Joseph Magliacano who stated that President Johnson had no sooner been elected to office then he forgot to carry out his promises, a fact which labor will long remember. He said that the President is currently embarked on supporting a corrupt Saigon Government in spite of the fact that a black market is flourishing there. Magliacano stated that food and equipment sent by the United States to Saigon is being stolen by no less than the South Vietnamese officers. He said that money spent for this should be put to better use, for example, education and help to the aged. He stated that the Vietnamese should be left alone to run their own government.

NK T-1 stated that Clarence Coggins was introduced as the last speaker. Coggins stated that the United States had no right to be fighting in Vietnam and that the real trouble was that the American people were afraid to speak out. He said that if they were not afraid they would have a huge peace movement going on. Coggins stated that it must be (U)



#### GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

remembered that the Vietnamese are struggling for the same things that we are struggling for; namely, civil rights. Coggins stated that if he had to choose between Ho Chi Minh and Governor Wallace, he would certainly choose Ho. He stated that the Ku Klux Klan is allowed to operate unchecked yet everything is done to destroy communism. Coggins stated that the South Vietnamese were promised free elections (b) but were never allowed to have them.

He said that both in South Vietnam and the United States it is only the money people who want war so that they can further enrich themselves. Coggins indicated that he was running in a local election as a "peace candidate" and his theme would be "Bring the Boys Home".

NK T-1 stated that during the meeting, Peter Shuchter announced that telegrams would be sent to United States Senators Clifford P. Case and Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey urging them to do something to stop the United States from sending soldiers to Vietnam. He said a similar telegram would be sent to President Johnson too.

NK T-1 said that Marty Leichtung participated in the program by leading a quartet of singers. Shortly before the meeting began, he was noted to be in discrete conversation with Lottie Gordon.

NK T-1 stated that Shuchter privately stated after (v) the meeting that he was disappointed in the turn out.

NK T-1 made available a copy of a petition circulated at the above rally sponsored by the Greater Newark Council to End the War in Vietnam which was addressed to United States Congressman Paul Krebs and stated as follows:

"To Congressman Paul Krebs:

"In order that you may present in Congress a view representative of the views of the residents of your district, we, the undersigned, who live in your area, urge that you hold open Congressional Hearings in this district concerning our government's policy in Vietnam."

An article appearing in the "Newark Sunday News," the Sunday edition of the "Newark Evening News," a daily newspaper printed at Newark, New Jersey, captioned "Opposing Views" stated that a Caldwell Marine Reservist

#### CONFIDENCIAL

GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

G.L. Mitcheld verbally clashed with Tom Hayden as Hayden left the rally at the Essex House. Mitchell indicated to Hayden that he was circulating petitions to the United States Attorney General's Office requesting that Hayden be "prosecuted to the full extent of the law" for his recent unauthorized trip to North Vietnam. This article stated that the rally was one of many held in the East to protest American policy in Vietnam. In this article Hayden is quoted as stating that he was leaving for the South to attend similar continuing demonstrations.

#### THOMAS HAYDEN

The "New York Times" of January 10, 1966, page one, reported that Thomas Hayden, a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society; Staughton Lynd, an assistant professor of history at Yale University, and Herbert Aptheker, Director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), had returned to the United States after a ten day, privately financed, fact finding mission to North Vietnam. The government of North Vietnam had invited Aptheker and he, in turn, had suggested that Lynd and Hayden accompany him.

A characterization of AIMS is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

NK T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America,, at the 17th national convention of the Communist Party, USA, held in December, 1959.

In 1952, Sargent Kennedy, Registrar, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised that Staughton Lynd in October, 1950, stated that for about two and one half years he had been a member of the John Reed Club at Harvard College as well as a member of the American Youth for Democracy (AYD).

The AYD has been designated by the Attorney General as pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the John Reed Club is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

CONFIDENTIAL

## CONFIDENTIAL

GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

#### CICLEPH MAGLIACANO

NK T-3, who was in a position to furnish reliable information, advised in April, 1945, that Joseph Magliacano told Joseph Fischer, the State Communist Party Secretary for New Jersey, that he, Magliacano, would replace the Essex County, New Jersey, Communist Party literature director.

# (U)

#### CLARENCE COGGINS

NK T-4 advised on May 3, 1965, that Clarence Coggins was the leader of the Labor Vanguard Democrats, which was another name used by Coggins for the Labor Negro Vanguard Conference.

A characterization of the Labor Negro Vanguard Conference as well as Coggins, appear in the appendix attached. (U)

#### PETER SHUCHTER

Observations of Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on April 16, 1961, revealed that on that date, Peter Shuchter accompanied Robert Hamilton to 165 Franklin Street, Bloomfield, New Jersey, an apartment building in which Harry Bloksberg then resided.

NK T-5, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 2, 1961, that Robert Hamilton had been teaching a Marxist class for young people for the New Jersey Communist Party.

NK T-5 stated that Harry Bloksberg had been active in this class.

On September 27, 1965, NK T-6, to has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Peter Shuchter attended a meeting of the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) held on August 20, 1965.

A characterization of the DCA appears in the appendix attached. (v)

#### MARTIN LEICHTUNG

NK T-7, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 4, 1965, that as of December, 1963, Leichtung was a member of the Communist Party of New Jersey.

## CONFIDENTIAL

GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

#### LOTTIE GORDON

NK T-7 advised on March 9, 1965, that Lottie Gordon had been reinstated as a Communist Party member during (U) January, 1965.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



#### APPENDIX

LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD CONFERENCE Formerly known as the Labor-Negro Vanguard Party, Also known as Labor Vanguard Democrats

In a press release dated November 18, 1961, the LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD PARTY (LNVP) stated:

"The growing influence of the irredentist forces upon the policies of our nation as indicated by the alarming drift towards war and the outlawing of the COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) has accentuated the need for all racial, progressive, and liberal forces to unite in a common party."

In a leaflet entitled, "Call to Progressive Kinded America," issued by the LNVP, its founding convention was scheduled for November 25, 1961, in New York City. The aims and purposes were listed as:

- 1. For the resurgence of the American Labor Movement.
- 2. For the winning of the struggle for Negro rights.
- 3. For an end of the cold war.
- 4. For economic security and higher mass living standards.
- 5. For the end of the exploitation of man by man.

A source advised on December 19, 1961, that CLARENCE COGGINS is considered the Provisional Chairman of the LNYP. Other active members include BERNARD (WHITEY) GOODFRIEND, ALVIN OLIVER, WILLIAM CLARK, and RODNEY OLIVER.

A second source advised on December 12, 1959, that CLARENCE COGGINS, BERNARD (WHITEY) GOODFRIEND, ALVIN OLIVER, WILLIAM CLARK, and RODNEY OLIVER was all members of the HARRIET TUBMAN Section of the Essex County, New Jersey, CP, which was expelled from the Party with no right of appeal by action of the 17th National Convention, CP, USA, being held December 10-13, 1959.

On January 15, 1963, the first source advised that the LNVP is now using the name LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD CONFERENCE (LNVC) and is the name the organization is now known by and under which name all leaflets are issued.



# LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD CONFERENCE (Cont d)

The May 2, 1965, issue of the "Newark Evening News", a daily Newark, New Jersey, newspaper, contained an article that the Labor Vanguard Democrats, running an insurgent slate in the June 1, 1965, Democratic Primary opened their official campaign May 1, 1965, with a "May Day Rally" in Military Park at Newark.

WILLIAM CLARK headed the Labor Vanguard Democrat ticket as candidate for Governor of New Jersey. Other candidates on the ballot were ESTHER NETTE of Newark, candidate for Assembly; HERMAN D. KLEIN of East Orange, candidate for Freeholder; and ALVIN OLIVER of Newark, candidate for Essex County Clerk.

On May 18, 1965, a third source advised that the LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD CONFERENCE had been inactive for about seven months until CLARENCE COGGINS and ALVIN OLIVER stimulated the current political activity under the designation of Labor Vanguard Democrats.



# Memoranaum

1/1/1/10/ William 10/1/100 4000	81) DATE: 3/10/66
DIRECTOR, FBI (100-4382	DATE: 3/10/66
FROM : SAC: NEWARK (100=48095)	
Subject: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN - SM = C	705 12/1/39 July 200
Re report of SA BERNARD at Newark,	J. CONNELL datod 3/10/66
consideration has been given to r interview the subject. Several & would be the next logical step. Statements made by HERBERT APTHEK subject to be mildly anticommunis COMMUNIST PARTY would be willing membership, lack of any statement prior to his trip to Hanoi indica United States, possible intellige the subject as a result of his tr	actors indicate that this These factors include: ER that he considers the t, statements indicating the to accept the subject for s or activities of the subject ting any disloyalty to the nce information possessed by ip to Hanoi.  bject's trip to Hanoi and ay qualify him for the Security asonable grounds to believe bloc country in the event of tes and a Sino-bloc country. nclusion on the Security Indexe
present attitude appears desirable  The subject's possible against both interview and inclus Security Index. In this regard to the fact that	connection with mitigates b3 ion of subject's name on the
can more intelligently direct the	n the subject so that Newark future course of this
WVM:aas  Q. (3)	REC- 43 /00 - 43828 1-25
1 WAR 251966 TN Haydon	TJ M'

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savi

ъЗ b7E

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOI/PA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET FOI/PA# 1360161-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 11 Page 103 ~ b3; b7E; Page 116 ~ b6; b7C; b7D; Page 182 ~ Duplicate; Page 183 ~ Duplicate;

Page 184 ~ Duplicate; Page 185 ~ Duplicate;

Page 186 ~ Duplicate; Page 187 ~ Duplicate;

Page 190 ~ b7E;

Page 191 ~ b7E;

Page 192 ~ b7E;

X Deleted Page(s) X X No Duplication Fee X

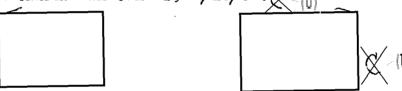
X For this Page X

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

EPORTING C	OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
.,	NEW YORK	NEW YORK	JAN 25 1966	12/10/65 - 1/1	.9/66
The Or CA	À ŜĒ	<u> </u>	REPORT MADE BY		TYPED B
7			VINCENT J.	ASCHERL	mek
	CHANGED	•	CHARACTER OF C		
		NE APTHEKER;			· y
<b>9</b> ,	STAUGHTON CE	RAIG LYND;	UNAUTHORIZ	ED TRAVEL TO VIET	MAM; O
	THOMAS EMMET	$\sim$	LOGAN ACT;	UNITED STATES PAS	SPORT; \
	Thomas of	Land (en)	CONSPIRACY		<i>"</i> 1.
·	<u></u>		001/01 110101	·	
	4800 . 3		•	•	
	Th	e title of this	case is marked	l "Changed" to	3 - ( )
<b>.</b>	reflect the	full names of LY	ND and HAYDEN.	L	
<	REFERENCE:		,		, ` `
		,		1 prof. V	
LTORMAT	ION CONTAINED BU	airtel to NY, da	ted 1/11/66. U		13, 0
is to care	SHOWN			MININGA I	· ·
NISE	STUND		- P* 4-16-80 EXT BY Spi 65K/ pd	27HD 1	
. دروید ۱		CLASS. &	EXT. BY S.DI. GONTAG	opposite Maria	
	ADMINISTRATI	AT: BELLEVIER	FCIM H, 1242		
	. 20	S who observed s		hattan Conton	
,	NYC. 1/16/66	, were SAS VINCE	NT .T. ASCHERI	and ANTHONY	المراجعة ا
2 1	CANTAGALLO.	لا		4174 1114 1110 111	$-\mathcal{M}$
NI		•			1 m
· W		S who conducted			() Et data
		edy Internationa			\$7.
. i . y/	subjects wer	e: SAS ASCHERL,	CANTACALLO an	d GERALD W. MURPH	Y .
ă 7		Ke Suld 913	941P		
17,14		11 CAUCA 110	/ 10 V 10		1 4 7
1000	- Aw	SPECIALAGEN	п	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	1000
723		IN CHARGE		DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOV	
2 A May 2	7 Dumanu (1/3+	100000 10000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000	71 6275	100-413858F	MCT-41
• (	7-Bureau (10 1-Newark (10	<del>0 123974)</del> (Encls 0-48095) (Enc. 1	. 7) (3M)   ' ) (Info) (RM)	NOT RECORDED	1
	•		7 YEL , 7 NET 1987	M) MAR 18 19655	MEGELL!
•	1-108 INTC G		1) (RM)	17 JAN 27 1966	
	1-Secret Ser	vice, NYC (Enc.	1) (RM)		
	4-New. York (	100-80532)			
		•	- //	Card 1	
	OTRE .			CHILL A.	
1202	Dissemination Reco	rd of Attached Report	Notations	VIII	
njey'	Millingty sta	to (Mich) Challen Vice	Tures)	MKP,	
uest Rec	d. (Wellet)				- Carl
e Fwd.	2/3/66 21	2/6/27/46 1/1/	66	N. N.	ALL.
v Zwa.	Tetler 1	215 0-14 0-	14 .		E Print
. 4 نو	160 10 - 9	BR Jas Coll	tho		<b>5</b> )
5/1	MAR 28 1966°	77/			

This report is classified "Confidential" to protect identities of informants NY T-1, NY T-2, NY T-3 and NY T-3. Unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by these informants might impair their future effectiveness and such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense.

In addition to panel sources NY T-5 and NY T-6, the following security informants of the NYO attended a meeting at Manhattan Center, 1/16/66:



Several of these informants would have attended this meeting without any specific direction from the NYO. Their operation and activity within the Communist movement required this attendance as evidence of their interest and support. It was not considered essential to show this extensive coverage of the Manhattan Center meeting in the Details of instant report.

This case is being placed in a pending inactive status, awaiting any further instructions from the Department as to additional investigation they may wish conducted in this case.

# INFORMANTS: Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-2





- B - COVER PAGE

b7D

h7r

							-
ſ	Identity of Source		_	File Num	mber Whe	re Loca	ted
	NY T-3						
1	NY T-4		•	Instant	report		10 to
		•	· ·		- ,		
	(per request)						
	NY T-5	·	-		(1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1)		
	NY T-6				7 ·		A CHEST
	Panel Source			L	J	,	
	NY T-7				]		. Der Affent in ausgemaßben
	Panel Source NY T-8				•		
				Instant	report	,	
	LEADS:			<b>1</b> ,			

b6 b7С b7D

b7D

### NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will await further instructions from Bureau as to any additional investigation requested by the Department in this case.

- C\* -COVER PAGE

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION CONFIDENT

1 - 168 INTC Group, 118 E. 16th St., NYC (RM)

1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Copy to:

VINCENT J. ASCHERL

New York, New York

Report of: Date: 1/25/66

Office:

100-123974

Field Office File #:

100-80532

Bureau File #:

Title:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND;

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

HEFLIN IS UNCHASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM;

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;

4-(6-80

Character:

LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY

242 3.3. 0000

Synopsis:

HERBERT APTHEKER was invited, during the Summer, 1965, by the North Vietnam Government to visit Hanoi. He, in turn, suggested that LYND and HAYDEN accompany him. Passports of APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN not valid for travel to those portions of China and Vietnam under Communist control. Above individuals departed NYC, 12/19/65 for North Vietnam. Their itinerary was London, Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. They allegedly spend 10 days in North Vietnam and departed from there on 1/7/66. Their return itinerary was Peking, Moscow, Paris, New York. Subjects arrived JFK International Airport, Queens, NY, 1/9/66 at 6:50 p.m. They were processed through US INS and Customs. tape recordings and written material an the baggage of THOMAS HAYDEN were detained by US Customs for screening. At press interview, Kennedy Airport, 1/9/66, and at meeting Manhattan Center, NYC, 1/16/66, above subjects claimed that interviewed certain Hanoi officials and also representatives of the Viet Cong during their ten day visit in North Vietnam.

CLASSIFIED BY 4417
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY: V
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
GTI/NXd 6.78.76

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SECRET

#### **ENCLOSURES:**

Designated as enclosures for the Bureau, Bureau offices and other Government Agencies receiving copies of this report are sets of the seven statements detained from the baggage of THOMAS HAYDEN upon his arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, January 9, 1966. The number of sets designated for the Bureau, Newark and New Haven, and the other Government Agencies, corresponds with the number of copies of instant report designated for them. Accordingly, enclosures are forwarded as follows:

Bureau	7	Sets	
Newark	1	Set	
New Haven	1	Set	
108th INTC Group,			
New York City	1	Set	
Secret Service,			
New York City	1	Set (	

The seven statements, referred to above, are listed in detail on page 25 of this report.

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

_		Page	
I.	BACKGROUND OF HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM TRIP	3	
II.	PASSPORT DATA ON APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN	4	
III.	ITINERARY OF SUBJECTS	9	
IV.	PROCESSING THROUGH IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE AND UNITED STATES CUSTOMS, JANUARY 9, 1966	15	
v.	PRESS INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECTS, JANUARY 9, 1966, AND COVERAGE OF ACTIVITIES IN NORTH VIETNAM	28	
VI.	MEETING AT MANHATTAN CENTER, JANUARY 16, 1966	46	
	APPENDIX	51 (	(ں

#### DETAILS:

# I. BACKGROUND OF HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM TRIP

HERBERT APTHEKER, while at the Helsinki Peace Conference in July, 1965, met North Vietnam Communist Party (CP) functionaries who invited him to visit North Vietnam.  $\swarrow_{-\{IJ\}}$ 

NY T-1 December 13, 1965

(U)

On July 5, 1965, APTHEKER flew to Helsinki, Finland, as the Chief Delegate of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) to the peace conference, which was held in that city.

NY T-2 July 6, 1965

HERBERT APTHEKER, Director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), 20 East 30th Street, New York City, and Professor STAUGHTON LYND of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, were planning to leave the United States about December 18, 1965, for Prague, Czechoslovakia. They were to stay in Prague about two days and then proceed to Hanoi, North Vietnam.

AIMS is characterized in the appendix of this report.

NY T-3 December 13, 1965



NY T-4 advised on December 18, 1965, that THOMAS HAYDEN would accompany APTHEKER and LYND on the above flights.

(U)

An article in the "New York Times", January 10, 1966, page 1, entitled "Lynd, Back From Hanoi Voices Optimism on Peace" stated that the Government of North Vietnam had invited APTHEKER to journey to North Vietnam and he, in:turn, had suggested that LYND and HAYDEN accompany him.

( u)

An article in the "Long Island Press", December 28, 1965, pages 1 and 2, reported an interview with Mrs. LYND, wife of STAUGHTON LYND, in which she stated that her husband had left this statement before he departed for North Vietnam on December 19, 1965:

(U)

"We are leaving tonight on a fact-finding trip to made contact with representatives of the FLN (Viet Cong) and the government of North Viet Nam. The invitation came to us through Dr. Herbert Aptheker, who during a conference in Helsinki last summer was invited to come to North Viet Nam, bringing with him one or two persons with political viewpoints different from his own."

(v)

#### II. PASSPORT DATA

#### A. HERBERT APTHEKER

File maintained for HERBERT APTHEKER at Passport Office, United States Department of State, was reviewed on July 17, 1964, and contained the following:

( v)

Passport E681400 was is APTHEKER on July 10, 1964. Passport and those travel to Albania, Cuba, and those Korea, and Vietnam under Communistial expire on July 9, 1967, and two years.	ort not valid for e portions of China, t control. Passport	( v)
Application for passpor June 26, 1964, at New York, New Y following as indicated by HERBERT	ork, and contained	(U)
He indicated he was las September 4, 1942, to FAY P. APTH February 28, 1905, at New York, N	EKER, born on	( v)
Date of Birth Place of Birth Residence	July 31, 1915 Brooklyn, New York 32 Ludlam Place Brooklyn 25, New York	'
Parents	Father BENJAMIN APTHEKER born Russian (United States citizen) Mother REBECCA KOMAR born Russian (United States citizen)	
Person to be Notified In Event of Death or Accident	Mrs. FAY P. APTHEKER, wife, 32 Ludlam Place Brooklyn, New York	
Description: Height <b>Hair</b> Eyes Marks and Scars Occupation	5: 10" Gray-brown Green None Author	

HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at its 17th National Convention, held in December, 1959.

> NY T-5 December 19, 1959

#### B. STAUGHTON LYND

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, reviewed by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on December 29, 1965, disclosed that STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND was issued Passport Number at Boston, Massachusetts, on December 8, 1965, for proposed travel for "Christmas vacation two weeks" to "Europe (itinerary not yet definite)" to "see friends." his application, dated December 6, 1965, at New Haven, Connecticut, he stated his intention to depart from New York City by "airline (not sure which line)" about December 20, 1965, not by organized tour. He stated that he did not know whether he would be taking another trip abroad. This passport was valid for three years travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Vietnam under Communist control.

This individual stated that he was born on at and his file reflects that his birth certificate has been seen by passport authorities. <u>He gave his permanent</u> residence as He listed his father as ROBERT S. LYND, born at New Albany, Indiana, on September 26, 1892, and his mother as HELEN MERVELL, born at La Grange, Illinois, on March 17, 1896. He stated that he was last married on June 12. 1951, to ALICE LEE NILES, born at on [ and indicated that this marriage had not been terminated. In the event of death or accident, he requested that his wife be notified at the home address.

[[]

b6 b7C

b6

b7C

The following description appeared in his

file:

Height Hair Eyes Marks 5' 11" Brown Blue

Scars on right shoulder

and right calf Professor

Occupation

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed by SAS of the FBIron August 13, 1953. During this interview, LYND advised that he had never been a member of the CP and that he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946, on the campus of Harvard University. He stated that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the Campus and he had disaffiliated himself from the AYD in June, 1947.

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. 41

STAUGHTON LYND further advised at this interview that while at Harvard University he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 to 1948. He stated that for approximately one year during that period he had served as Secretary of the John Reed Club.

John Reed Clubs of the United States are characterized in the appendix of this report.

#### C. THOMAS HAYDEN

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, reviewed by an SA of the FBI, on December 29, 1965, disclosed the additional information that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN was last issued Passport F-1027114 at New York City on December 16, 1965, for proposed travel for one month to Belgium, England and France for the purpose of writing. In his application, dated December 14, 1965, at New York City, he stated his intention to depart from New York City via Sabena Airlines about December 17, 1965, not by organized tour. He stated that he had not made any trips abroad in the previous twelve months and that he expected to take another trip abroad within the next five years. This passport was limited in validity to expire on June 15, 1966, and stamped that it was not to be extended without the express authorization of the Department of State. This passport was valid for travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Vietnam under Communist control. MRS. Thomas Kninettat

Mr. HAYDEN, who stated that he was born on December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan, gave his permanent residence as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, and arranged to pick up his passport in New York City. He indicated that his marriage on October 1, 1961, to SANDRA CASON HAYDEN had been terminated by divorce on April 1, 1963. In the event of death or accident, he requested that CONNIE BROWN, a friend, be notified at

The file contains a notation that he identified himself with New Jersey driver's license HO 954-74065-12392, dated December 30, 1964.

b7C

b6

(0)

The following description of HAYDEN appeared in his passport file:

Height Hair Eyes Occupation 5'10"
Black
Brown

Community Organization specialist

#### III. ITINERARY OF SUBJECTS

RAYMOND H. COHEN, Counsel for Sabena Airlines, 720 Fifth Avenue, New York City, furnished the following information on December 15, 1965:

(0)

HERBERT APTHEKER of Brooklyn, New York, and STAUGHTON LYND, had reservations on Sabena Flight 540 to leave John F. Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, Queens, New York, December 19, 1965, at 8:30 p.m., en route Brussels, Belgium. At Brussels they were to take a connecting flight OK536, on December 20, 1965, en route to Prague, Czechoslovakia.

(v)

APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN were observed by SA personnel, FBI, departing JFK Airport on Air India, Flight 116, at 9:00 p.m., December 19, 1965, en route to London, England. They were originally scheduled to depart on Sabena Flight 548 at 8:30 p.m. However, this flight was cancelled at the last hour and the trio was observed leaving Sabena Airlines Terminal at 8:00 p.m. They walked to the Air India Terminal, which is immediately adjacent to the Sabena Terminal. They booked passage on Air India Flight 116 and departed the United States at 9:00 p.m.

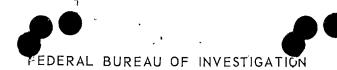
(0)

b7D

		1/3/66	
		D 4	
<del></del>		Date senger Agent, Air	<del></del>
India, John F.	Cennedy Internation	al Airport, Queens,	
New York, on De	sember 19, 1965, fu	rnished the following	<u> </u>
information: U			
_			
He exa	amined United State	es Passport E 681400	
which was anese	ated to him by HERF	BERT EUGENE APTHEKER,	
20 Indian Dioce	Prooklam New Yor	rk, on December 19,	
32 Lucian Flace	, Drooklyn, New 101	TR, OH December 19,	
1965, prior to the	ne latter's departu	He on Air India	_ 7
Flight 116, whi	ch departed John F.	Kennedy Internation	aı
Airport on Dece	mber 19, 1965, at 9	9: <b>0</b> 0 p.m.,	
-			
HERBE	RT APTHEKER departs	ed on this flight and	
to to arrive i	n Iondon England :	at 8:30 a.m., London	
was to arrive r	i london, migrand a	ADDITION had a	
	20, 1965. HERBERT		
connecting flig	ht on British Europ	pean Airlines	
departing Londo	n at 11:00 a.m., De	ecember 20, 1965,	
en route Prague	, Czechoslovakia.	<b>i</b>	( 0
		Le Company de la	- /
		~	
		_	•
	•		
	•		
	•		
			•
	Tohn E. Konnodir		
	John F. Kennedy	port NY 100-	80532
70/70/6-	International Air	DOT-0 141 100-	200732
12/19/65 at		File #	
· ·		File #	10/07/65
SA VINCENT J. A	SCHERL/jth:mek		75/51/02
	- 10	) <b>–</b>	
	<del></del>	———Date dictated ———	

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

by.



1/3/66

		1/ 3/ 00	
		Date	
India, John New York, on information:	F. Kennedy International Airp December 19, 1965, furnished	Agent, Air ort, Queens, the following	
F1027114, wh HAYDEN, 227 December 19, on Air India Internationa 9:00 p.m. Tand was due a.m., London HAYDEN had a Airways (BEA	examined United States Passpich was presented to him by Telliff Avenue, Newark, New Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jellight 116 which left John Felight 116 which left John Felight on December 19, 196 to arrive in London, England time, on December 20, 1965. connecting flight on British departing London, England a 1965, en route Prague, Czech	HOMAS E. Tersey, on departure P. Kennedy S. Kennedy S. at at 8:30 THOMAS THOMAS TEUROPEAN	
	exhibited the		٦ (
12/19/65	John F. Kennedy International Airport	NY 100-1105	
0.6 1771/0010	T ACCUEDT / ith . mole	10/07/	

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

11 -

-Date dictated ---

1/3/66

b7D

Date		
Passenger Agent, Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, on December 19, 1965, furnished the following information:		ь71
		ъ6
December 19, 1965, by STAUGHTON C. LYND,  prior to the latter's  departure on Air India Flight 116, which departed  John F. Kennedy International Airport on December 19,  1965, at 9:00 p.m. STAUGHTON LYND departed on this  flight and was due to arrive in London, England at  8:30 a.m., London time, December 20, 1965. LYND had		<b>Ъ</b> 7С
a connecting flight on British European Airways departing London at 11:00 a.m., December 20, 1965, en route Prague. Czechoslovakia.	( U)	

John F. Kennedy International Airport NY 100-110521 12/19/65 File # SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek 12 by \_ Date dictated \_

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

An article in the "New York World Telegram and Sun", dated December 29, 1965, page 3, entitled "Professor Lynd in Hanoi, Wife Believes," , reflected the following pertinent information concerning the itinerary of subjects;

(U)

The article is date-lined New Haven, Connecticut, December 29, 1965, and quotes Mrs. STAUGHTON LYND stating that her husband presumably already arrived (as of December 29, 1965) in Hanoi, North Vietnam. She received a communication from him, sent December 22, 1965, from Prague, Czechoslovakia. In the letter, LYND informed his wife that he hoped to arrive in Peking, China, December 23, 1965 and then go directly to Hanoi. Mrs. LYND said her 36 year old husband and the other two were well aware they could be prosecuted by federal authorities for making the trip without the approval of the State Department.

(v)

The article further related that according to JOHN MC DERMOTT, Associate Editor of the magazine "Viet Report", STAUGHTON LYND went to Hanoi as a correspondent for "Viet: Report" in an attempt to clarify peace proposals which have been stated by the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) over the last few months.

( v)

"Viet. Report" is characterized in the appendix of this report.

An article in the "New York Times", January 1, 1966, page 3, entitled "United States Leftist in Hanoi Says Lull-In Raids Produces No Reaction" quotes STAUGHTON LYND as stating there had been no significant reaction in Hanoi to the halt of United States air raids in North Vietnam. The article related that LYND, APTHEKER and HAYDEN had arrived in Hanoi, Tuesday, December 28, 1965, by way of Moscow and Peking.

(U)

According to a news broadcast on radio station WINS (New York), 6:00 p.m., January 5, 1966, THOMAS HAYDEN is quoted as stating from Hanoi that he and APTHEKER and LYND had met with the "proper people" and would be leaving Hanoi on Friday, January 7, 1966.

(U)

An article in the "New York Times", January 9, 1966, page 1, entitled "Lynd Sæys-Hanoi Denies Getting a Direct United States Bid" related that LYND, APTHEKER and HAYDEN arrived in Moscow, January 8, 1966, on return from Hanoi. They spoke with newsmen at Moscow Airport.

(U)

SA personnel, FBI, on January 9, 1966, observed APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN arrive at JFK International Airport, Queens, New York, aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 p.m. They were processed through United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and United States Customs at the airport.

(U)

APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN were met at the airport by a group of young people wearing buttons which identified these young people with the W.E.B. Du Bois Club. APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the airport at approximately 8:15 p.m.

(0)

The W.E.B. Du Bois Club is characterized in the appendix of this report.

(u)

AND PROPERTY OF STREET OF STREET

en de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la c

IV. PROCESSING THROUGH UNITED STATES INS AND UNITED STATES CUSTOMS

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/17/66

b6 b7C

The processing of HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON C. LYND and THOMAS E. HAYDEN, through Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and United States Customs at John F. Kennedy International Airport on January 9, 1966, was observed by Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These individuals arrived at Kennedy International Airport, aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 PM, January 9, 1966. A cordon of four police officers attached to the Port Authority Police, escorted APTHEKER, LYNDANH HAYDEN to the INS station. STAUGHTON LYND in the fore-front of the group was observed presenting his passport for inspection to Immigration Inspector, DOUGLAS FARRELL. APTHEKER and LYND were also duly processed by INS Inspector FARRELL.  From the INS station they proceeded immediately to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number  APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately 7:45 PM.	C. LYND and THOMAS E. HAYDEN, through Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and United States Customs at John F. Kennedy International Airport on January 9, 1966, was observed by Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These individuals arrived at Kennedy International Airport, aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 PM, January 9, 1966. A cordon of four police officers attached to the Port Authority Police, escorted APTHEKER, LYNDand HAYDEN to the INS station. STAUGHTON LYND in the fore-front of the group was observed presenting his passport for inspection to Immigration Inspector, DOUGLAS FARRELL. APTHEKER and LYND were also duly processed by INS Inspector FARRELL.  From the INS station they proceeded immediately to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately	C. LYND and THOMAS E. HAYDEN, through Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and United States Customs at John F. Kennedy International Airport on January 9, 1966, was observed by Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These individuals arrived at Kennedy International Airport, aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 PM, January 9, 1966. A cordon of four police officers attached to the Port Authority Police, escorted APTHEKER, LYNDand HAYDEN to the INS station. STAUGHTON LYND in the fore-front of the group was observed presenting his passport for inspection to Immigration Inspector, DOUGLAS FARRELL. APTHEKER and LYND were also duly processed by INS Inspector FARRELL.  From the INS station they proceeded immediately to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately	C. LYND and THOMAS E. HAYDEN, through Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and United States Customs at John F. Kennedy International Airport on January 9, 1966, was observed by Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These individuals arrived at Kennedy International Airport, aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 PM, January 9, 1966. A cordon of four police officers attached to the Port Authority Police, escorted APTHEKER, LYNDand HAYDEN to the INS station. STAUGHTON LYND in the fore-front of the group was observed presenting his passport for inspection to Immigration Inspector, DOUGLAS FARRELL. APTHEKER and LYND were also duly processed by INS Inspector FARRELL.  From the INS station they proceeded immediately to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately		Date
to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately	to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately	to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately	to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately	C. LYND and Naturalizat at John F. 1966, was of Federal Bur arrived at American Floordon of fauthority Ethe INS stathe group winspection APTHEKER ar	THOMAS E. HAYDEN, through Immigration and tion Service (INS) and United States Customs Kennedy International Airport on January 9, observed by Special Agent personnel of the reau of Investigation (FBI). These individuals Kennedy International Airport, aboard Pan light 119 at 6:50 PM, January 9, 1966. A four police officers attached to the Port Police, escorted APTHEKER, LYNDAND HAYDEN to ation. STAUGHTON LYND in the fore-front of was observed presenting his passport for to Immigration Inspector, DOUGLAS FARRELL. and LYND were also duly processed by INS
area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately 7:45 PM.	area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately 7:45 PM.	area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately 7:45 PM.	area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately 7:45 PM.	to United Sairport who Inspector (number	States Custom's inspection station at the ere their baggage was checked by Customs GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge and KLEIN, Badge APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted
				7:45 PM.	e international Arrivars Building at approximately
1/9/66 JFK International Airport NY 100-80532 Queens, NY	Ougong NV	Ougong NV		at _	
Oueong NV	Oueong NV	Oueong NV	- 16 - File #1/14/66		1, 1, 1, 00
	Queens, NY  - 16 - File #  1/14/66  SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL; arf	Queens, NY  - 16 - File #  1/14/66  SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL; arf	sa Vincent J. Ascherl; arf	SA VINCENT	J. ASCHERL; arf

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION 3 12 1

Date	
LIATE	

While at the Pan American Airlines International Terminal, Kennedy International Airport, at the Immigration Office, it was observed at 7:10 PM that Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, THOMAS HAYDEN and HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, were all checking in at the Control Booth of the Immigration and Naturalization Office. These three men had deplaned from Pan American flight number 119. After checking through Immigration, these three men proceeded to Customs check-in counter number three, and at 7:14 PM started to be processed by the United States Customs Officer. At 7:45 PM it was observed that these three men left the restricted area of the Customs check-in and went out into the public lobby area of the terminal.

	100-80532
1/9/66 New York City	1.30.34893H
Onat	File #
SA GERALD W. MURPHY/iah	1/10/66
ру	Date dictated

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

(U)

### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

	1/12/65
Date	

On January 9, 1966, at approximately 7:10 p. m., Special Agent A. J. Cantagallo, Jr., observed THOMAS E. HAYDEN, HERBERT APTHEKER, and STAUGHTON C. LYND going through Immigration and Naturalization Service processing area, Kennedy Airport, New York City. Mr. DOUGLAS FARRELL, Immigration and Naturalization Service, New York City, processed the above-three individuals through Immigration.

		JFK::Airport	100-80532	
On	1/9/66	at New York, New Yor	rk File#	
	SA A. J.	CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr	1/11/66	_
by			- 1 <b>8</b> Date dictated	_

### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b7E

	1/12/66 Date
On January 9, 1966, approximate DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration Service. Kennedy Airport. New York City form was filled out by HERBERT APTHEKE at Kennedy Airport on Pan Am Flight 11 The following information was on the fol	This This This This The remains of the remains arrival arrival arrival arrival arrival.
Mr. FARRELL processed APTHEN and Naturalization Service upon his as Airport.	KER through Immigration rrival at Kennedy
1/9/66 Kennedy Airport, Onatat	100-80532 File #
SA A. J. CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr	1/12/66 Date dictated



1/12/66

b7E

		Date	
DOUGLAS FARRE Service, Kenr filled out by Airport, New	January 9, 1966, at approx ELL, Supervisor, Immigration Medy Airport, New York City THOMAS E. HAYDEN upon his York City on Pan Am Flight following information was	on and Naturalization y, made available This form was s arrival at Kennedy t 119 from Paris,	( u )
1			7
and Naturalia	. FARRELL processed HAYDEN zation Service upon his ar		_ (v)
Airport.			
	;	•	
		1 41 10 2	
1/9/66	JFK Airport New York, New York	100-80532	
On	_at	File #	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
SA A. J. CAN	TAGALLO, Jr./ltr - 20 -	1/12/66	
	20 -	Date dictated	



1/121/86	_
----------	---

b6 b7C b7E

On January 9, 1966, at approximately 7:20 p. m  DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization  Service Kennedy Airport. New York City, made available  This  form was filled out by STAUGHTON C. LYND upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport on Pan Am Flight 119 from Paris, France.  The following information was on this form:	( u)
Mr. FARRELL processed LYND through Immigration and Naturalization Service upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport.	(v)
JFK Airport  On 1/9/66  at New York, New York  - 21 -  by SA A. J. CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr  Date dictated	

## TEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

7 /1	7/	66
/	- 1 /	~ ~

Date	<u> </u>

Captain JOSEPH ROONEY, Staff Officer, United States Customs, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, Queens, New York, furnished the following information: (v)

HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND, and THOMAS HAYDEN were processed through United States Customs 1/9/66 at JFK International Airport, Queens, New York, They arrived aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 PM. Their Custom's declarations reflected their names and addresses as follows:

THOMAS E. HAYDEN
227 Jelliff
Newark, New Jersey
United States resident

STAUGHTON	C.	$T\overline{\Lambda}D$	

ь6 ь7с

HERBERT APTHEKER
32 Ludlam Place
Brooklyn, New York
United States resident

The custom's declaration on THOMAS HAYDEN reflected that certain material as follows in his baggage was detained by Customs for screening:

- 1. Certain typewritten or printed statements.
- 2. Five tape recordings.
- 3. Two books by HO CHI MINH.

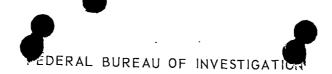
(V)

1	./9/66	JFK International Airport Queens, NY	NY 100-80532
		•	File #1/14/66
			Date dictated

by \_

	1/17/66	
Date		

	Date		
		Sp. C	
United States International	s. EVAKLEIN, Badge Number	spector, (JFK) shed (O	ь6 ь7с
through the Warrived on Pa of her office retained the	January 9, 1966, at 7:15 PM, she YDEN, 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, United States Customs at the airpoint American Flight 119 from Europe ial duties she checked his baggage following items from his baggage by Customs as to their possible	New Jersey, ort. He e. As part e and for a	
1.	Certain statements protesting the States Policies in Vietnam.	ne United	•
2.	Two books by HO CHI MINH, Volume and four.	es three (V)	)
3.	Five tape recordings.		
	•		
·			
			,
	ueens, NY	0-80532	
	ASCHERL; arf	14/66	
	02		
	Date dictated		



	1/13/66	
Date		

b6 b70

Date	
Mr. SEYMOUR GOLDBERG, Customs Inspector, Badge Number stated that he was on duty on January 9, 1966, when Mr. STAUGHTON LYND came through Customs at the airport.	(v)
He had no conversation with Mr. LYND other than to request him to orally declare anything which he was bringing into the United States. Mr. LYND replied that he had a Czechoslovakian typewriter which he valued at \$70.00 and a doll which he valued at \$3.00. Mr. GOLDBERG stated that he completed the Customs form which was not signed by Mr. LYND and that concluded his conversation with him. Mr. GOLDBERG examined the baggage of Mr. LYND and observed these two items and found nothing else other than personal belongings.	(v)
Mr. GOLDBERG stated that he did not have any conversation with nor did he examine the baggage of Mr. LYND's other travelling companions, Mr. HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER or THOMAS HAYDEN.	ره)
Mr. GOLDBERG stated that he would be willing to testify and stated he had made no independent notes concerning the occurrence.	(v)

1/11/66 JFK Internation		NY 100-80532 3 3 3 4
SA BERNARD G. HARRINGTON and SA WILLIAM A. DATZ/cjs	- 24 -	1/13/66

1/17/66	

Date
------

Miss ELEANOR SUSKE, Supervisory Administrative Aide, Division of Import Controls, United States Customs-House, New York City, furnished the following information:

(V)

Miss SUSKE on January 11, 1966, made available for review by Special Agent personnel, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the following material which was contained in the baggage of THOMAS E. HAYDEN, upon his arrival at John Fitzgerald Kennedy International Airport (JFK), Queens, New York, January 9, 1966:

(ע

- 1. Five tape recordings.
- 2. Seven typewritten or printed statements.
- 3. Two paper-back books.

Miss SUSKE stated that the five tape recordings listed above were apparently exposed in the United States and covered civil rights demonstrations, picket lines, speeches by civil rights workers and interviews with civil rights demonstrators. Miss SUSKE advised that the seven statements apparently were made in North Vietnam. and were critical of United States foreign policy in Vietnam. The seven statements referred to are identified by title as follows:

'l. By the Democratic Republic of Vietnam State Committee of Science and Technology on the Use of Toxic Chemicals and Poison Gas by the Aggressive US Imperialists in South Vietnam.

Hanoi 10/20/65

( v )

On1/11/66	United States Customs Hous	
SA JAME	S D. BRODY; arf	1/1, /66
ру	<del></del>	Date dictated

"2. By the Meteorological Department of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Regarding the Criminal US Air Raids on D.R.V. Meteorological Stations and Observatories.

#### Hanoi 11/29/65

"3. By the Red Cross Society of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding the savage crimes of the US Government and its trampling upon the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of the Victims of war.

#### 9/27/65

"4. Of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Public Health on the US bombings of medical establishments.

#### Hanoi 7/15/65

"5. To the Evangelical Christians and ministers of all creeds in the USA.

#### Hanoi 12/23/65

"6. By the Ministry of Water Conservancy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

#### Hanoi 9/15/65

\*\*7. By the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding the US imperialists crimes in air raiding educational institutions and massacring teachers and students.

10/12/65"

The two paperback books referred to above were entitled "HO CHI MINH Selected Works III" and "HO CHI MINH Selected Works IV" consisting of 445 pages and 468 pages respectively and both published by Hanoi Foreign Languages Publishing House in 1961 and 1962.

(0)

V. PRESS INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECTS, JANUARY 9, 1966, AND COVERAGE OF ACTIVITIES IN NORTH VIETNAM

0

1/13/66

	Date	. —.
	Mr. MILTON A. CAINE, Information Officer, The Port of New York Authority, stated that it is his duty to make arrangements for the press and photographers to meet any personalities arriving at John F. Kennedy International Airport whom they desire to interview or photograph.	(۷)
	He stated that on January 9, 1966, he was advised by the press that they would like to interview Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, Mr. HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, and Mr. THOMAS HAYDEN, upon their arrival at John F. Kennedy Airport. He requested a representative of Pan American, whose identity he does not know, to point out Mr. LYND to him. He then approached Mr. LYND and asked him if he desired to make a statement to the press. The latter responded in the affirmative and Mr. CAINE made arrangements for a press conference room to be prepared.	(U)
	He stated that Mr. LYND then told the assembled representatives of the press and radio and television that he had a prepared statement, which he then gave to the various representatives. Mr. LYND and Mr. HAYDEN both read portions of this press release and made no divergence from the prepared text according to Mr. CAINE's belief. On several occasions during the reading of the press release, Mr. LYND indicated that certain portions were important but Mr. CAINE did not recall which particular items Mr. LYND had emphasized.	(0)
	Mr. CAINE stated that he was busy in his duties of making arrangements for the press and paid little attention to the contents of the press release. He stated that he was not present at the time when Mr. APTHEKER spoke.	( v)
	Mr. CAINE stated that he had no further conversation with Mr. LYND than that previously referred to.	(v)
n.	1/11/66 JFK International Airport, NY 3 100-80532	
7 _	SA BERNARD G. HARRINGTON and SA WILLIAM A. DATZ/cjs 1/13/66 - 29 - Date dictated	

Mr. CAINE stated that he would be willing to testify and stated further that he had made no notes concerning the occurrence.

(u)

1/13/66

Date	
Mr. ALBERT P. CARMICHAEL, Reporter, Associated Press, stated that he was on duty on January 9, 1966, and was present for the press conference granted by HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN.	(4)
He stated that the press conference began with the reading of a press release by Mr. STAUGHTON LYND and Mr. THOMAS HAYDEN. He stated that it was his belief that they did not deviate from the prepared text other than that Mr. LYND read an excerpt from the release for the television representatives.	( U)
Following the reading of the press release, Mr. LYND stated that it was not his desire to answer any questions since his replies might be misrepresented.	(0)
Mr. HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER then had a separate press release, copies of which were not given to the press or to the representatives of television. In view of the fact that no press release was given by Mr. APTHEKER to these media, Mr. CARMICHAEL then took notes which he has retained.	(v)
He stated that it was a lengthy statement in which Mr. APTHEKER stated that President JOHNSON's policy was bringing death to Americans in Vietnam and devastation to that country, and he desired a reversal of that policy.	

which Mr. APTHEKER stated that President JOHNSON's policy was bringing death to Americans in Vietnam and devastation to that country, and he desired a reversal of that policy.

Mr. APTHEKER stated further that it was nightmarish that certain United States Senators were calling for the bombing of Hanoi and millions of women and children. He stated further that it was monstrous that comedians referred to the bombing of North Vietnam as "slum clearance."

Mr. CARMICHAEL believed that Mr. APTHEKER was referring to certain comments made by comedian BOB HOPE while the latter was in Vietnam during the Christmas holidays.

Οn	1/11/66	, JFK International A	NY 100-80532 Airport	
by	SA BERNARD	G. HARRINGTON and A. DATZ/cjs	1/13/66  LDate dictated	

Mr. APTHEKER then discussed the four points of the National Liberation Front which Mr. CARMICHAEL termed the political arm of the Viet Cong. He pointed out that these points had modified the position of the Viet Cong and he believed that if the United States went along with the Geneva Agreement and implemented it, it would be the end of the war in Vietnam.

10)

Mr. CARMICHAEL approached Mr. APTHEKER and asked him if he had a copy of this press release and Mr. APTHEKER replied in the negative. He stated he only had one copy which he gave to an unknown individual and he stated that it would be subsequently printed.

Mr. CARMICHAEL stated that he did not desire to testify because it would jeopardize his position as a reporter for Associated Press in any subsequent news gathering.

(U)

# TEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION 1/17/66

RASA GUSTAITIS, Reporter, New York Merald Tribune, 230 West 41st Street, New York, New York, advised as follows:

On January 9, 1966, she attended a press conference held by HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN at Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York. LYND and HAYDEN read a prepared statement and then APTHEKER advised that he agreed in general with their statement and presented his own statement.

The three men advised that during their 10 day visit, they spoke to Hanoi officials and Viet Cong representatives. They also on several occasions referred to their visit to Viet Nam during the press conference.

Mr. APTHEKER stated that he was approached by a North Vietnamese delegate at the Helsinki Peace Congress in 1965. He said he was asked to visit the country and bring non-communists with him. He added that he invited Professor LYND and Mr. HAYDEN.

RASA GUSTAITIS advised that she would be willing to testify.

(V)

1/	/	$\sim$	10	_
- 1 /		ж.	m	`
/	-1-	$\sim$		_,

	-	-	
Date			 

b6 b7С

Mr. HENRY G. LOGEMAN was contacted at 2811 Bridge
Plaza North, New York City (NYC), by Special Agent (SA)
MURPHY, at which time the identity of Agent MURPHY was made
known to Mr. IOCEMAN Mr. IOCEMAN stated his home address
wastelephone
number 516 PR 5-8185, and could be contacted at his place
of employment at MU 2-0400. He stated that he is a reporter
for the "United Press International" and sometimes is at the
Kennedy Airport, telephone 656-7204. He stated that on
Sunday, January 9, 1966, he was working in the capacity
of a reporter for "United Press International" and was at
the John F. Kennedy International Airport, Pan American Building, to cover the arrival of Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, Mr.
Z 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1
THOMAS HAYDEN and Mr. HERBERT APTHEKER.

He stated his first contact was made inside the conference room at the Pan American Building and was there for about an hour, during which time Mr. LYND opened a press conference identifying himself, Mr. HAYDEN and Mr. APTHEKER, announcing that his typed statement would be handed out and that he would read from this statement. Mr. LYND stated this statement was "subcribed to by Hayden". Mr. LYND said that Mr. APTHEKER had his own statement, which was self-prepared.

Mr.IOCEMAN said HAYDEN then read about a page and a half of this statement and HAYDEN made no departure from this script. Mr.IOCEMAN advised he asked HAYDEN how they had been treated by Customs and LYND replied "It seemed to be routine". Mr.IOCEMAN asked if they expected any action taken later against them, to which LYND said "As to the future, I don't know". Mr.IOCEMAN stated that the "Herald Tribune"female reporter asked HAYDEN what Customs had taken from him. HAYDEN said "Mimeo papers reporting what a group of Vietnam people reported on actions of the US men in Vietnam". HAYDEN also said five tape recordings were taken "contents unknown". Mr.IOCEMAN said he was not sure if HAYDEN meant that Customs did not know what the contents were, or that he, Mr. HAYDEN, did not know the

On	1/11/66 at _	New York,	New	York	File #	NY 100-80532	
by	SA GERALD W.	MURPHY/jv		- 34 -	Date dictate	1/13/6	5 <u>6</u>

#### NY 100-80532

that volumes three and four of either "The Works" or "Life of Ho Chi Minh" were also taken. LYND was asked if he was more or less optimistic if a settlement could be had. LYND said "more". He stated that after HAYDEN read the first page and a half of the prepared statement, LYND read from thereon.

(V)

He stated another person who was present at this press conference was the female CAROL BRIGHTMAN . who said she was the Editor of "Viet Report". She said she was from New York, but a native of Winnetka, Illinois; also, one other representative of "Viet Report" was there. Mr. TOGEMAN said that BRIGHTMAN stated Mr. LYND was acting as a correspondent of the magazine "Viet Report", but they did not finance the trip. He said Mrs. LYND was there and that she said the money was gotten up by friends of Mr. LYND to pay for this trip. He also advised that the "Herald Tribune" Semale reporter was present, as was the "Associated Press" reporter; Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT LYND, Mrs. APTHEKER and about fifty young people, none of whom claimed to be any group leaders, but just claimed to be friends of these three returning men. Mr. IOGEMAN further stated that LYND had commented he did not intend to answer any questions, but would only read the released press statement and that Mr. APTHEKER would not release a typed statement for the general reader and little interest was shown to what he said.

He stated that he would be willing to testify if required to, but he would prefer prior to being requested to testify, that his boss Mr. EUGENE HEGARTY of the "United Press International", be so advised.

(u)

1

	Da	te <u>1/17/66</u>
•		<i>i</i>

mr. HENRY LOGEMAN of provided a seven page typewritten carbon copy statement which is headed "FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, Hayden and Lynd, January 9". This seven page statement, according to Mr. LOGEMAN, was secured by him on Sunday, January 9, 1966, while he was at the John F. Kennedy International Airport, Pan American Building, at which time Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, Mr. THOMAS HAYDEN and Mr. HERBERT APTHEKER had a press conference the stated this seven page statement is the same statement that he had reference to when he spoke to Agent MURPHY earlier this same day. He stated that on the bottom of page seven of this statement provided to him by Mr. LYND he, Mr. LOGEMAN, had made some notes which he said he wrote in pencil and which he described as follows:

The first line that he wrote in pencil is "Hayden and Lynd said they were non-Communist, 'we' worked closely with Aptheker". He stated the second line he wrote in pencil is; "If Communist and non-Communist countries can work together for peace-then Communist and non-Communist individuals must do so". He stated this was a statement made by Mr. LYND at the press conference on January 9, 1966. He stated the third line again was quoting Mr. LYND and it says "Aptheker was a positive asset to the visit". He stated the fourth line he cannot read and does not know what he wrote. He stated the portion in brackets concerns four points mentioned in text of a copy of "Viet Report" shown to LOGEMAN by a reporter for "Viet Report".

Mr. LOGEMAN stated that each of the seven pages of the press release has been initialed and dated January 11, 1966, by him. He stated this press release given to him by Mr. LYND is the substance of the press release given by Mr. LYND and Mr. HAYDEN at the John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, January 9, 1966.

This seven page statement is copied as follows:

(U)

On _	1/11/66 Floral Park, New York	NY 100-80532 File #
bу	SA HERBERT P. LARSON/jv	1/14/66 ——Date dictated ————————————————————————————————————

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

b6 b7c

"FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Hayden and Lynd January 9

"HAYDEN: 📆

"Our fact-finding effort took us first to Prague, Moscow and Peking, where we interviewed representatives of the National Liberation Front, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Soviet and Chinese Peace Committees. Thus when we arrived in Hanoi on December 28 we felt we had a tentative understanding of the NLF and DRV positions.

"During our ten days in North Vietnam we talked with many persons in many walks of life. These included Premier Pham Van Dong; Mr. Hoang Quoc Viet, who is head of the countrys trade unions and also holds a position in the government corresponding to that of Attorney General in the United States; Colonel Ha Van Lau, liaison officer of the DRV to the International Control Commission, officials of the Fatherland Front, the Workers Party, the Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party; leaders of the Buddhist and Catholic faiths and of womens organizations; student and youth leaders; and members of our host group, the North Vietnam Peace Committee. talked with soldiers from the NLF army who were visiting the We met also with many ordinary people in Hanoi, in the countryside, and in Nam Dinh, a city which has been bombed and strafed by American planes.

"We asked permission to speak with an American prisoner so as to inquire into the treatment they receive and to ask if they had grievances which we could report to both Vietnamese and American authorities. On the evening of January 3 we were allowed to speak for one hour with a captured American pilot, with his agreement. At his wish, in response to our suggestion, we will write to his family to tell them of our talk with him.

"We intend not to identify this man lest in any way he suffer reprisals because of publicity. Our talk with him ranged from the World Series to the history of Vietnam, but centered on the question of his treatment as a prisoner. He said that his life was no bed of roses but that his treatment was adequate and better than he had expected. He is, so he said, adequately clothed and fed, and mentioned in particular a turkey dinner at Christmas time. He told us that he showers every other day. He has been allowed to write one letter to his family, and hopes soon to be able to write one letter each month. He said his captors for the most part left him by himself. The only reading matter provided is the Vietnam Courier, an English-language newspaper written from the

NY 100-80532

"standpoint of the DRV government. He is also permitted to listen to the English-language broadcasts of radio Hanoi. We received the impression that he was in a room by himself but could communicate with other American prisoners. He said he and they all prayed for peace.

(u)

"Vietnamese officers were present throughout the conversation which naturally imposed restraint on all four Americans. We came away deeply moved by the poise and courage our fellow-citizen displayed in this difficult situation. His treatment so far as we could determine was adequate and humane.

"On December 30 we submitted to the DRV government, through the Peace Committee, a list of those questions about the positions of the NLF and the DRV which seemed to us most often asked in the United States. On January 5 we received written answers to these questions from Premier Pham Van Dong, and spoke with the Premier for 90 minutes.

"Mr. Staughton Lynd and I prepared a report of our findings for you, which he will read on behalf of both of us, but before that I would like to depart from my neutrality as a fact-finder to say one thing to you. While we were away, there was a pause in the bombing of North Vietnam, but one more civil rights worker was murdered in the American South. I consider myself a member of the same generation and movement as this dead young man. We know that terror still is used against the Negroes and the poor of our country; more than any other fact I found on my journey, this makes me fearful about the kind of freedom and protection the United States is bringing the poor people of Vietnam.

#### "LYND:

"Mr. Hayden and I wish first to explain why we will limit our comments this evening to the written statement I am about to read, rather than answering questions. Having in mind the experience of the Italian professors whose words as quoted in the press were repudiated by Hanoi, we fear the possibility of unintentional distortion which could lessen the usefulness of the report we have brought back from Vietnam.

NY 100-80532

"For example, it would be a distortion to say or imply that we return with a dramatic concession of an explicit peace feeler. We feel we do bring back with us significant clarifications of the NLF and DRV attitudes toward some of the more controversial among President Johnsons 14 points. We ask the cooperation of the press, in the interest of the concern for accuracy and responsibility which you share with us, to report our statements in this regard as clarifications rather than concessions.

"The first half of the remainder of our statement will deal with the pause in bombing and the reaction of DRV to that pause. Then we will return to some of the specific points at issue between the United States on the one hand, and the NLF and DRV on the other.

"Among the significant North Vietnamese commentaries on what is termed in Hanoi the United States peace offensive, have been a statement by the Voice of Vietnam radio on Dec. 30, authoritative articles in Nhan Dan for Dec. 31 and Jan 3, and the statement by the DRV Foreign Ministry on Jan. 4. We also discussed the new American initiatives with many persons, among them Premier Pham Van Dong in our interview with him on Jan. 5.

"We think that as seen from Hanoi there is a deep inconsistency in United States policy between a peaceful posture looking toward a negotiated settlement, and an interventionist posture which has in view the permanent partition of Vietnam and an expanded war. This two-sidedness makes United States policy seem hypocritical and suspect to the Vietnamese, who hear overtures of peace but also pledges to stay in Vietnam, who know of the pause in bombing but also observe a daily military build-up in the South.

"For those to whom we talked in Vietnam, the record of events in recent weeks proves clearly the continuing inconsistency of American policy. American ambassadors have gone all over the world to 'knock on any door' seeking peace. But Premier Pham Van Dong, in response to our questions, stated unequivocally that the United States government had not made

(U)

#### NY 100-80532

"contact with the government of the DRV, either at Hanol or through DRV ambassadors in other capitals, since President Johnson spoke of knocking on any door Dec. 20. We assume that the United States, in keeping with previous policy, has not sought to make contact with NLF representatives either. To those with whom we spoke in Vietnam, it appears that the United States knocks on all doors except the doors of those whom it is fighting. They wonder if the United States is searching for peace or mainly attempting to soften its image before negative public opinion abroad and at home.

U,

"To be sure, there is now a pause in the bombing of North Vietnam. But the Vietnamese remind that the last pause was followed immediately by expansion of the war. current pause, while the United States has waited for a socalled signal from Hanoi, Vietnamese sources have emphasized that President Johnsons words are accompanied by escalation in the South. According to these sources, the day after President Johnson spoke of knocking on any door the Department of Defense admitted the widespread use of toxic chemicals and authorized 'hot pursuit' by American troops into Cambodia. A week later, when President Johnson announced his 14 points, 4000 new American troops of the 25th division arrived at Hanoi sources also point to the arrival in Saigon between Dec. 21 and Jan. 1 of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of the Army, and the Secretary of the Air Force. Experience suggests to them that such conferences immediately precede new escalation.

"The North Vietnamese do not trust an offer to negotiate unconditionally which, as they see it, represents only one side of Americas two-sided policy. They want to know if the United States has clearly decided that Vietnam should be united, rather than partitioned. They want to be sure that the United States has finally abandoned any plan to make South Vietnam a military base for the United States in Southeast Asia. Thus 'Observer' stated in Nhan Dan for Jan. 3 that the so-called unconditional negotiations offered by the United States in fact contain four conditions. 1. United

NY 100-80532

"States troops will stay in South Vietnam as long as the United States thinks it necessary; 2. South Vietnam must be an independent sovereign state; 3. The United States refused to recognize the NLF; 4. 'The North Vietnamese people are not allowed to support the patriotic struggle of their compatriots in the South.'

( U )

"In our view, the United States does make such policy demands regularly, and they do conflict directly with its other stated aim of unconditional discussions and its denial of any ambition to occupy part of Asia.

"President Johnsons 14 point program appears to come close to the diplomatic statements of the NLF and DRV, especially in accepting the Geneva Agreements as a basis of settlement, in denying any desire to keep troops indefinitely in South Vietnam, and in approving reunification.

"However, the North Vietnamese see two crucial inadequacies in the new United States peace position. First, they wonder how the United States can accept the Geneva Agreements as the basis for settlement but treat the DRV four points merely as a matter which could be discussed. Hanoi considers its four points to be the essence of the Geneva Settlement, especially the provisions requiring withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and leaving all political solutions to the self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

"Secondly, the United States realized that the NLF must be in some sense a party to any final negotiation, but the United States defines the NLF simply as an arm of Hanoi. Premier Pham Van Dong told us that his government 'can by no means be dissociated' from the third point in its four point program, which calls for settling the affairs of South Vietnam in accordance with the program of the NLF. The Premier said that what this point involved was the principle of self-determination at the heart of the Geneva Agreements. Like many others with whom we spoke, the Premier insisted on the independence of the NLF from the DRV government in Hanoi. At one point in our talk he indicated his own surprise at the apparent strength of the NLF and its success in dealing with the United States forces.

NY 100-80532

"So long as American policy remains obviously twosided, we can understand the realistic suspicion of Premier Pham Van Dong, who told us: 'What is the reason for the peace offensive? To win public opinion, particularly American public opinion. Only by so doing can President Johnson escalate the war.'

(U)

"We feel it would be tragic, and quite frankly, irresponsible on the part of the United States government, to regard Hanois response to a temporary bombing pause as a conclusive demonstration that an honorable negotiated solution cannot be found with the NLF and the DRV. Our conversations in Vietnam convinced us that many ingredients of an honorable solution exist.

"As you know, we have cabled Senator Fulbright asking to report our findings, at any time and under any conditions, to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. We sent this cable because we consider it our responsibility as American citizens to make available to the appropriate agency of the government the information we have obtained.

"We hope to present to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations the full text of our questions to Premier Pham Van Dong and his written answers, together with a summary of our interviews with the Premier and with other NLF and DRV spokesmen. Both these texts will be made public no later than Sunday January 16, when we expect to make a public report at the Manhattan Center in New York City.

"However, because of the urgency of the problems involved, we also consider it our responsibility to state now what we regard as some of the key points in Premier Pham Van Dongs answers to our questions.

"1. In his written answers, the Premier repeated the statement in the Foreign Ministry release of Jan. 4, namely, that a 'political settlement of the Vietnam problem' could be envisaged 'only when the United States has accepted the four-point stand of the Government of the DRV, has proved this by actual deeds, at the same time has stopped unconditionally and for good its air raids and all other acts of war against the DRV.'

NY 100-80532

"In our interview, we asked the Premier what actual deeds the government of the DRV had in mind. He replied that that was something for the United States government to decide.

(U)

"In the context of our conversations, this response appears to clarify significantly the DRV attitude toward American military withdrawal. On the one hand, as we were told over and over again, the NLF and DRV require, as a precondition to negotiations, an unambiguous decision by the United States to withdraw all its troops from Vietnam. On the other hand, they would seem to be prepared to leave the United States considerable freedom in choosing how to demonstrate by concrete steps that this decision has been made. Every indication is that there is no explicit requirement of the physical withdrawal of all United States troops prior to negotiations.

"2. The Premier categorically denied the presence of 'forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in South Vietnam,' terming it a 'sheer fabrication.'

"We think that this denial has not previously been made in such absolute terms by the highest governmental authorities in the DRV. In response to a similar question from reporter Felix Greene only a few weeks earlier, President Ho Chi Minh only said that the United States is 'fabricating false information' to 'cover up' its aggression.

"Premier Pham Van Dongs answer seems even more interesting since we prefaced our questions by saying that we would not report having asked any question that the Premier chose not to answer. We see little reason for Premier Pham Van Dong to make such a statement if it can be proven false by American authorities.

"3. It has been widely assumed in the United States that the DRV is no longer open to the possibility of reunification of North and South Vietnam by means of a free general election. In response to a question about this, Premier Pham Van Dong referred to a passage in the program of the Vietnamese

u

#### NY 100-80532

"Fatherland Front, which says in part ' 'we must conduct negotiations to arrange the holding of a free general elections in order to achieve national unity without either side trying to exert pressure on, or trying to annex the other.'

"4. In response to a question about the possible reconvening of the Geneva Conference, Premier Pham Van Dong quoted his words of last April to the effect that once the DRV four points had been accepted 'it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference of the type of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam.' We might add that one of the DRV ambassadors to whom we spoke on route to Hanoi commented that determination of the 'role and composition' of an international supervisory commission would be an appropriate task for such a conference.

"Throughout our interview Premier Pham Van Dong, like so many others to whom we spoke, insisted that while the people of Vietnam were prepared to fight as long as need be to win their independence, noone wanted peace more than they. If there was one message which person after person charged us to bring back to the people of the United States, it was this: Tell the American people make a distinction between them and the American government. Explain to them that we have been fighting for twenty-five years and that many of us, having regrouped to the North under the Geneva Agreements, have not seen or heard from our families in ten years. Who could want peace more than we? But there can be no real peace unless there is independence. An end to this war, they never failed to add, would be in the interest both of our people and of yours.

"At one point in our interview with Premier Pham Van Dong, he said to us: If you have the opportunity to see President Johnson, please ask him for me, why is he fighting us? We wonder if the American people are sure of the answer to this question. Before we launch a new and more terrible round of escalation, should we not stop to consider whether the possibilities of peace have really been exhausted? The present American peace initiative is not yet seen as such by

U

NY 100-80532

"the Vietnamese. They see it through suspicious eyes, for it is accompanied by American military build-up in the South and by continued United States references to the permanent partitioning of Vietnam. Until these policy inconsistencies have been resolved, we believe it is tragically unfair to brand our antagonists as intransigent or to conclude that an honorable negotiated settlement is impossible."

An article in the "Daily News", January 9, 1966, page 6, entitled "GIs Hear Sour Quote of U.S. Red", date-lined Saigon, January 8, 1966, related that a tape recording was beamed to United States Servicementin Saigon. Hanoi radio said this was reportedly the voice of American peace missionary HERBERT APTHEKER. In this recording, APTHEKER extolled the North Vietnamese spirit and urged a quick end to "this atrocious war."

( U )

The following statement is attributed to APTHEKER, according to the news article:

"Visiting Hanoi and its surrounding area, one may see for himself the determination of this people to be independent and the calm dedication that everywhere is apparent."

"The movement of peace in the United States gains strength with every passing day. It is vital to the best interest of my fellow citizens that this atrocious war upon the Viet Namese people be terminated as quickly as possible."

#### VI. MEETING AT MANHATTAN CENTER, JANUARY 16, 1966

The meeting at Manhattan Center, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, New York City, on January 16, 1966, was observed by SA personnel, FBI. At this meeting APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN gave "eye witness" reports on their trip to North Vietnam. The chairman of this meeting was A.J. MUSTE.

The "Daily News", a New York City daily newspaper, August 5, 1965, page 21, carried an article entitled "War Protest to Center on White House." This article indicated that Reverend A.J. MUSTE is National Chairman of the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

(U)

A.J. MUSTE stated that the purpose of this meeting was to hear the reports of three American citizens who recently returned from a visit to North Vietnam. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, New York City.

HEREERT APTHEKER, the first speaker, was introduced by MUSTE as a professional historian and as Director of the AIMS.

APTHEKER, in his speech, described Hanoi as a "target". He related interviews he had with various North Vietnamese and described their reaction to the threat of the United States air raids. He said the United States bombing raids thusfar have not dislocated the people of North Vietnam. He said the Geneva agreements of 1954 should be the basis of a negotiated peace. This is the platform of the NLF and the DRV. He said the DRV has tried to normalize conditions between North and South Vietnam and demand neutrality in the foreign policy of the South Vietnamese Imterim Government, reunification and general free elections.

He said the DRV is seeking to defeat American aggression on their soil. He said the present war in Vietnam is atrocious, immoral and intensly unpopular.

A.J. MUSTE introduced THOMAS HAYDEN as one of the founders of the Students for a Democratic Society.

HAYDEN reported on his impressions of the attitudes of people whom he interviewed in Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi.

(ر, ٔ

He said they spent December 20, 1965 to December 22, 1965 in Prague and on the evening of their arrival they attended a celebration commemorating the fifth anniversary of the founding of the NLF. In Prague they spoke with the Ambassador of the North Vietnam Republic. HAYDEN stated that the NLF program calls for a coalition government in Vietnam and this would include all elements opposed to United States occupation or aggression.

(U)

On arrival in Moscow, according to HAYDEN, they met with a representative of the NLF, a member of the NLF Central Committee. They had a three hour discussion with him. According to this person, the strategy of the United States is to permanently occupy South Vietnam and turn it into a colony. He said the United States had not understood the strength of the "people's war." The revolutionary forces in the South are much stronger than they were in 1954.

Also in Moscow they had a discussion with the Ambassador to North Vietnam. He said that the United Nations has no authority in Vietnam; that the Vietnamese do not require total withdrawal of United States forces as a pre-condition of negotiations but they oppose occupation of South Vietnam and they want the eventual withdrawal of United States troops.

HAYDEN stated that from the interviews they had in Peking, China, he concluded the Soviets and the Chinese have only supporting roles in this conflict with the Vietnamese clearly in command. They had a trip through the Chinese Museum of the Revolution. They had an interview with the Editor of a Chinese publication who said "we are Communists and we belong with the weak and oppressed peoples. We support the DRV and the NLF." The Chinese believe there will be more United States troops in Vietnam and more United States bombings, and that the war will be extended to all of Indo-China.

(U)

HAYDEN stated that he had interviews with five members of the NLF in Vietnam; that the ... Vietnamese people know more about maintaining independence than we do.

(v)

A.J. MUSTE, at this point, read to the meeting a message attracted to the gathering from an official representing the NLF Praesidium "on behalf of the New Year, on behalf of the South Vietnamese people, the NLF and I convey my best congratulations to the American people and organizations struggling for freedon in the United States. The NLF is following with admiration the movement of the American people against the JCHNSON Government's aggressive policy in Vietnam."

A.J. MUSTE introduced STAUGHTON LYND as Assistant Professor at Yale University and affiliated with "Viet.. Report."

STAUGHTON LYND stated that the press had asked him to comment on "our" current legal status, anything by the way of legal reprisals. "We performed a task of clarification, not negotiation. In thus attempting to clarify the position of the NLF and the DRV we did what has been done by any other fact finders. It is our hope that the Administration will choose to regard our Christmas journey as an expression of the sentiment expressed by the President on December 20, 1965, to 'knock on any door and travel any place in search of peace.'"

LYND stated that on the Four-Point program of the DRV, he was convinced that direct contact with the DRV and NLF might help resolve any procedural problems.

LYND also discussed the interview they had with Premier PHAM VAN DONG, details concerning which have been set forth in the Press Interview section of this report.

[v]

LYND emphasized that if the United States would deal directly with the NLF it might find that other aspects of the NLF program might become more negotiable.

NY T-6 and NY T-7 were present at the Manhattan Center, New York City, on the afternoon of January 16, 1966. The substance of information furnished by these sources is incorporated in the above report concerning the proceedings at this meeting.

A CP National Committee meeting was held on January 15, 1966, at the Wellington Hotel, New York City, and was adjourned at 1:00 p.m. for all to attend the meeting at Manhattan Center where APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN spoke on their trip to Vietnam.

At the January 17, 1966 session of the CP National Committee meeting, APTHEKER delivered a speech on Vietnam stating that he had met with the Central Committee of the North Vietnam CP, without LYND and HAYDEN. The Central Committee recognized him as a CP, USA representative. APTHEKER stated that the Vietnam CP does not wish to intrude into arguments between "United States Leftists" regarding slogans used in anti-war demonstrations. They encouraged the use of any and all slogans so long as the result is increased protest activity.

NY T-8 January 17, 1965 NY-100 -80532

#### APPENDIX

1.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HEREERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP,USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP,USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CP,USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the MC CARRAN and SMITH Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 7, 1965, that as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.

(v)

#### APPENDIX

1.

JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, reflects the following citation concerning the John Reed Clubs of the United States:

"l. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute.'

("Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.10.)" (v)

## NY-100 -80582 3

#### APPENDIX

l.

## STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC)

"The Columbia Owl", weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962, issue, page one, contained an article entitled "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962, by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College, and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as guests of the Federation. The Committee accepted the offer and applied to the State Department of the United States for passport validation which was refused; however over fifty students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962, that during December, 1962, it was learned that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the summer of 1963 fifty-nine individuals travelled to Cuba and that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PL members.

A third source advised on October 9, 1963 that the SCTC was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York 1, New York, as its mailing address.

On March 12, 1965, PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE,

a self-admitted member of
the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating
Committee advised as follows:

b6 b7C

**5**3

NY-100-80532

## APPENDIX

2.

# STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUEA (SOTO)

The SCTC was formerly known as the Ad Hoc Student: Committee for Travel to Cuba and the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

LUCE advised he was a leader and participant of the 1963 trip to Cuba and an organizer of the 1964 trip to Cuba and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC.

LUCE advised that by the spring of 1964 the Executive Committee of the SCTC was considered to be members of the PLM.

LUCE advised that no trip to Cuba or China was being planned by the SCTC for 1965. ( $\upsilon$ )

#### APPENDIX

].

#### "VIET-REPORT"

The masthead of the July, 1965 issue of "Viet-Report" described it as "an emergency news bulletin on Southeast Asian Affairs." The masthead stated that the publication was distributed by Viet-Report, Inc., 133 West 72nd Street, New York City.

The records of the County Clerk, New York County, New York City, reviewed on August 2, 1965, reflected the issuance of Certificate of Incorporation Number 504792, New York State, filed on June 24, 1965, for Viet-Report, Inc., 133 West 72nd Street, New York City; incorporating officers were:

CAROL BRIGHTMAN	
	7
JOHN MC DERMOTT	
MARTIN NICOLAUS	
MAUTIN MICOTHOP	$\neg$

On May 25, 1965, a confidential source.

advised that on May 13, 1965, a "teach-in" was held at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, for the purpose of evaluating the Vietnam war; that among the speakers was JOHN MC DERMOTT, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York.

"Viet-Report" issue of July, 1965, page 30, identified JOHN MC DERMOTT as "Associate Editor" of Viet-Report", and a graduate student in Sociology, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

ь6 ь7С

2.

### "MIET-REPORT"

The March 17, 1964 issue of "The Harvard Crimson" in an article, identified MARTIN NICOLAUS as a graduate student, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, then the acting New England Representative for the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC), who was then accepting applications for a proposed 1964 trip to Cuba as guests of the Cuban Federation of University Students.

A characterization of the SCTC is set forth in the Appendix of this report.

(v)

NY-100 -80532

#### APPENDIX

1.

#### W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."



NY-100-80532

#### APPENDIX

2.

#### W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

As of October, 1965, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 954 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Over the Labor Day week end, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois. According to a third source, a new slate of national officers was elected at this conference, which included Chairman HUGH STERLING FOWLER, II, (who, according to the third source, attended a CP cadre encampment held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey, in June, 1965, and following his election as Chairman of the DCA, attended another national CP cadre youth conference held on September 9-12, 1965, on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source); Director of Publicity CARL ELLENGER BLOICE (who was elected to the San Francisco County Committee CP in April, 1964, according to a firth source); Educational Director MATTHEW "DYNAMITE" HALLINAN (who in June, 1964, was stated to be the Youth Representative on the Northern California CP District Board, according to a sixth source); Organizational Secretary TERENCE "KAYO" HALLINAN (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965, with the District Staff of the Illinois CP to discuss the proposed DCA Midwest Summer Project), and Treasurer SUSAN PHYLLIS BORENSTEIN (who, according to an eighth source, has attended meetings of the Youth Club of the CP of Illinois during 1965, in connection with the DCA Summer Project).





### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York January 25, 1966

Bureau 100-123974 New York 100-80532

Title

Herbert Eugene Aptheker;

Staughton Craig Lynd; Thomas Emmett Hayden

Character

Unauthorized Travel to

Vietnam:

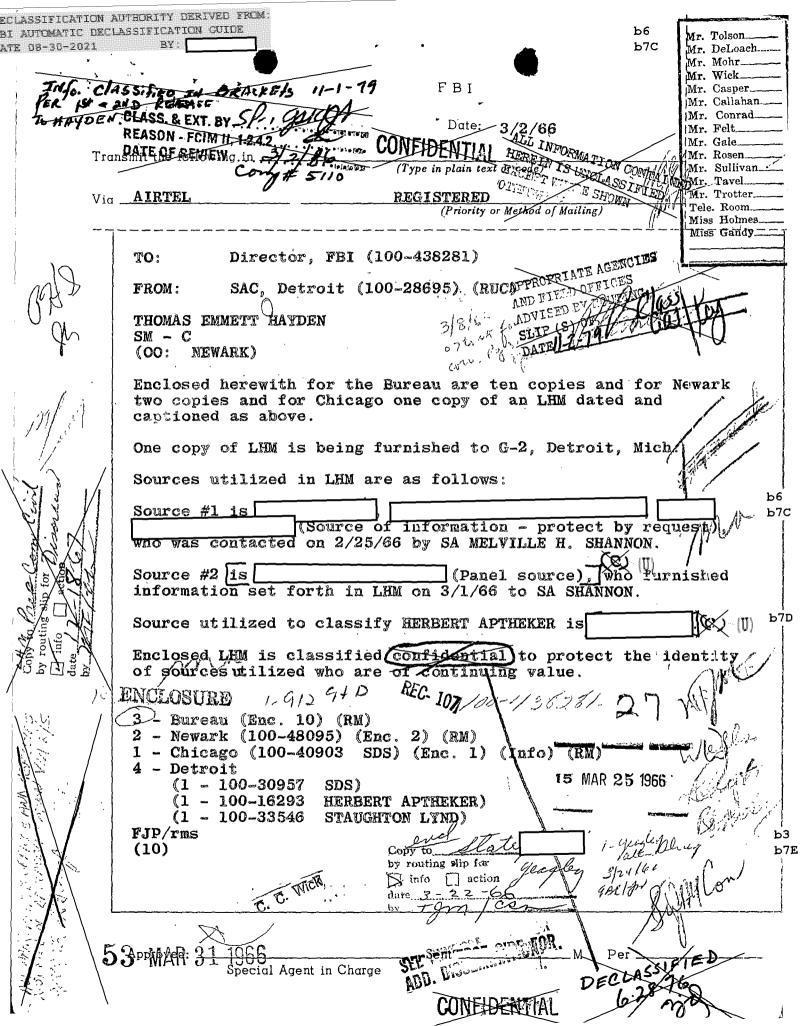
Misuse of United States

Passport; Logan Act; Conspiracy

Reference is made to report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl, dated and captioned as above at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication eve furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains reither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.





#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan March 2, 1966

Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden

On February 25, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a flyer, a Xerox copy of which is attached, advertising the appearance of Thomas Hayden. According to this source, this flyer was being distributed on that date on the Wayne State University (WSU) campus. According to the source, the sponsoring groups, namely the Wayne Students for a Democratic Society and the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam are both recognized student organizations on the campus of WSU.

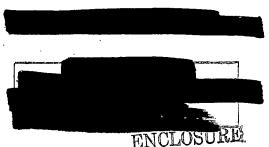
On March 1, 1966, a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Thomas Hayden did make an appearance in Detroit on February 26, 1966. According to this second source, at approximately 4:00 p.m., Hayden was interviewed by several local television and news media. This source advised that the following is the news release which was utilized:

"STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY 1101 West Warren Detroit, Michigan 48201 2-22-66

"News Release

"Thomas Hayden, one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society, will speak on his recent trip to North Vietnam, Saturday, February 26 at 7:30 p.m. in Lower DeRoy Auditorium at Wayne State University. Mr. Hayden, along with Staughton Lynd, a Yale professor, and Dr. Herbert Aptheker, director of the American

COPIES DESTROYED 854 UCT 26 19/1



100-438281-27

Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden

"Institute for Marxist Studies, spent ten days in North Vietnam, returning to the United States January 9. During their stay, Mr. Hayden visited sections of the country that had been devastated by U. S. bombing and had a 90-minute interview with the premier of North Vietnam, Pham Van Dong.

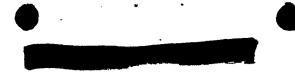
"Mr. Hayden, 26, is presently an organizer with the Newark Community Union Project in a Negro section of Newark, New Jersey. He was one of the framers of the Port Huron Statement, the first major position paper of the Students for a Democratic Society, and was a former president of the organization. He has worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South and is an editor of the quarterly review, Studies on the Left. He was formerly editor of the University of Michigan student paper, the Michigan Daily.

"There will be a press conference for Mr. Hayden, Saturday, February 26, at 4:00 p.m. in the office of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1101 W. Warren, at John C. Lodge."

A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on July 9, 1965, that as of that date, Herbert Aptheker was a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, and the Director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS).

Characterizations of the Students for a Democratic Society and AIMS appear in the appendix pages attached hereto.

The second source, mentioned above, further advised on March 1, 1966, that Hayden was the featured speaker on February 26, 1966, at the DeRoy Auditorium, WSU. According to this source, Hayden began his talk by explaining that he did not call himself an expert on the Vietnam situation but was rather a person who had traveled to Vietnam and now was giving an account of what he saw just as the French and British newsmen have done.



Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden

He told of meeting people in Prague, Peping and Hanoi and he described them as "wonderful" people. He said the Viet Cong are not faceless bandits running around in black pajamas but are people fighting for their liberation. Hayden said the United States was wrong in being there but should not withdraw immediately. He said they should stop bombing North Vietnam and gradually withdraw their troops over a period of time after they have assured the Hanoi Government that they will be willing to sit down to negotiations and to an eventual supervised free election.

Hayden talked of mistakes that the United States Forces were making in propaganda efforts and also of a meeting in London of American businessmen where the company that trains offered to train 100 Vietnamese men to take over the Government at a cost of \$25,000.00 each.

n ethi

**b**3

b7E

According to this second source, there were approximately 240 people present at this affair.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



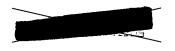
#### AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the New England District Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in Boston, Massachusetts, Herbert Aptheker stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on history, science, physics, archeology, and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, Herbert Aptheker spoke at the CP, USA New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. Aptheker stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the Mc Carran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised that as of May 7, 1965, AIMS was located at 20 East 30th Street, New York City.



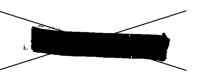


#### APPENDIX

#### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source advised on February 22, 1964, that at a meeting of the Portland (Oregon) Communist Party Youth Club held on February 20, 1964, a report was given by JAMES R. BERLAND of the Reed College Communist Party Youth Club concerning a meeting of the National Party Youth Commission (Communist Party) previously held in New York City. BERLAND reported that one of the four main points taken up in the New York City meeting concerned the SDS and its problems. BERLAND indicated that the SDS was weak nationally but some local chapters were strong. It was noted that the SDS has an incorrect political orientation, being too far left on some issues and not far enough on others, and that the SDS does not follow the Marxist theory for the most part. One speaker said that the Party could work through SDS to achieve the aims of the Communist Party.

As a result of this meeting of the National Party Youth Commission, it was decided to work through SDS where there are strong local SDS chapters.



If you missed Herbert Aptheker

DON'T MISS

TOM HAYDEN

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1966

7:30 P.M.

Lower Deroy Auditorium

TOM HAYDEN

WILL SPEAK ON HIS VISIT TO NORTH VIETNAM

Mr. Hayden is
One of the founders and past president of
Students for a <u>Democratic Society</u>

One of the organizers of the Newark Community Union Project

Sponsored By
Wayne Students for a Democratic Society

And



Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden

He told of meeting people in Prague, Peping and Hanoi and he described them as "wonderful" people. He said the Viet Cong are not faceless bandits running around in black pajamas but are people fighting for their liberation. Hayden said the United States was wrong in being there but should not withdraw immediately. He said they should stop bombing North Vietnam and gradually withdraw their troops over a period of time after they have assured the Hanoi Government that they will be willing to sit down to negotiations and to an eventual supervised free election.

Hayden talked of mistakes that the United States Forces were making in propaganda efforts and also of a meeting in London of American businessmen who were the company that trains offering to train 100 Vietnamese men to take over the Government at \$25,000.00.

According to this second source, there were approximately 240 people present at this affair.

b7E

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distribute outside your agency.



# In Reply, Please Refer to

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan March 2, 1966

Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden

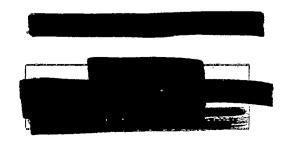
On February 25, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a flyer, a Xerox copy of which is attached, advertising the appearance of Thomas Hayden. According to this source, this flyer was being distributed on that date on the Wayne State University (WSU) campus. According to the source, the sponsoring groups, namely the Wayne Students for a Democratic Society and the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam are both recognized student organizations on the campus of WSU.

On March 1, 1966, a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Thomas Hayden did make an appearance in Detroit on February 26, 1966. According to this second source, at approximately 4:00 p.m., Hayden was interviewed by several local television and news media. This source advised that the following is the news release which was utilized:

"STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY 1101 West Warren Detroit, Michigan 48201 2-22-66

#### "News Release

"Thomas Hayden, one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society, will speak on his recent trip to North Vietnam, Saturday, February 26 at 7:30 p.m. in Lower DeRoy Auditorium at Wayne State University. Mr. Hayden, along with Staughton Lynd, a Yale professor, and Dr. Herbert Aptheker, director of the American



Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

ReBuairtel, 2/23/66. Names of crew members of Air India flight 116, 12/19/65, obtained from microfilm records at INS, 20 West Broadway, New York City. Arrangements being made with Air India for appointments to interview logical members of crew who would have had contact with subjects to determine whether any admissions were made by any of the three that their ultimate destination was North Vietnam.

Following individuals from New York City area listed as departing with subjects on above Air India flight:

DENIS P. BISCHOFF

JERE T. FARRAH

NOT RECORDED

178 MAR 11 1966

HARRY GOLDSMITH

LILY GOLDSMITH (same address)

3 Bureau (100-123974) (RM) 1 - New York (100-80532) (42)

VJA: gmd (5)

\_\_\_\_\_M Per \_\_\_\_\_

5 0 MAR Special Ment in Charge

and positive information received will be incorporated in	1
FD 302.	' i
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
was recontacted 2/24/00. He stated that	ь7 <u>г</u>
had furnished no additional details concerning	٠.
his flight with subjects than he had previously	
furnished to NYO. He interjected no opposition to any contemplated	•
	•
interview with by NYO and was of opinion that	
would cooperate fully with Bureau.	
Based on results of above contact with it l	ь7I
is recommended that be interviewed along lines //	
set forth in referenced Bureau airtel. UACB, such interview	4
will be conducted and results furnished promptly to Bureau in	
	;
FD 302.	,
and the state of the state of the first of the state of t	
,一个是是一个大人的主义的大学,是我们的自己的人,我们是我们的自己的人,也不是一个人的人,也不是一个人的人。""我们是我们,""我们是我们的人,我们就是一个人,	

# Apticker and Hayden Speak, Too

# 5,000 Hear Prof. Lynd Defend Trip to Hanoi

By Rasa Constaitis
of Ti Herald Tobane Staff

Almo 5,000 members of the old and new test packed the Mai attan Center yesterday to it what three Americans has to tell about their forbible journe, to North Vict Nat

anding - room - only crowd II it filled the hall and spliled ato a seventh-floor into which the ballroom speeches were piped listened carnesii; and sympathetically for four hours to Herbert Aptheker, a leading Communist th oretician: Thomas Hayden, me of the founders of Stude is for a Democratic Society, and Stauchton Lynd, assistant professor of history at Yale University. All three attacked United States Viet Nam poli v. 🗎

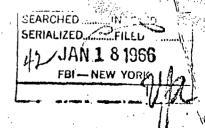
The m cting had almost a religious dir, with the Rev. A. J. My te, 80, dean of the fighters or pacifist causes, presiding it even included a collection to help the Fifth Avenue Pacce Parade Committee, which sponsored the assembly.

#### UDIENCE

Most of the audience was either youthful or silver-haired. A iddle-aged citizens were few "That's the Mc-Carthyite reneration, they've become a colitical," was one socialist's explanation. "What you see here is a certain renewing of bonds between the older and the new generation," the one represented by Mr. Muste, the other by Mr. Hay-den and Deirdre Griswold, editor of artisan magazine, organ of outh Against War and Fascle of the silver in the superior of t

ENCLOSIN

100-43(27)-ENCLOSURE



-80532-6748

the three retu indeligavelers face a possible \$ 000 fine and five years in pa on for violating the State pepartment's ban against tra cl, to North Viet Nam: Bith to action has been taken aga ist them so far.

They returned Jan. 9 from the trip that is luded stops. in Moscow, Pra ne and Peking and 10 does in North; Vict Nam.

Prof. Lynd b 1 sough to tell what the to learned in meetings with igh officials of the Viet Crag's political arm, the Nation i Liberation; Front, and North Viet Nam to the Schate Forcem Relations

Committee. He read'a blegram from Scn. J. William 'ulbright, D." Ark., the commit ce chairman.

that "there are no plans to hear you." The lenator suggested he pass o to the State Department "a y pertinent information."

Prof. Lynd sal he had been visited by a Stat Department official and tall d with him for two hours it New Haven: But he felt thi was insufficient to convey North Viet-

namese attitude . 👈 🖧 Mr. Aptheker, head of the Institute for M: xist Studies,

raid them children play. watching the hildren are grandmothers. 'hey are targets.

#### "CHAUVINISH" "

He went on to describe lakes and flowers, literary peasants, bleyellsts and Innocent women victimized by the "chauvinism, racism, colonialism . . . that lie at the

base of the aggressive foreign policy now dominating Washing ington." . But he ended on a milder

note, stating he was now! convinced peace was well or its way. Mr. Hayden spoke mainly on political relationships the

among the Communist countries and Viet Nam. "Those who rise up against

us, especially those with bamboo sticks, know much more about independence and how: to maintain it than we do at this point," he concluded. Prof. Lynd, who has received

his return, spoke after the collection. His talk with the State Papartment official, he said, "dcepened the conviction

the most public attention since

which was at the heart of the Journey: that if there is unlattaronist means, an appro- pressed—the willingness to phiate procedure is to go ask knock on any door in search

He said he viewed life trip as an expression of what clerificas about what one's President Johnson had exfor peace,

Approved: \_

Special Agent in Charge

3/3/66 Transmit the following in . (Type in plaintext or code) AIRTEL TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974) SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532) FROM: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER SUBJECT: STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY NOT RECORDED ReBuairtel to NY dated 2/28/66. 184 MAR 11 1966 In letter from the Department dated 2/24/66, reference is made to an interview of subjects in Vietnam by a representative of the "New York Times". The Department requested advice as to the name of the "New York Times" representative who interviewed the subjects, as well as his availability and willingness to testify. Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of newspaper article entitled, "United States Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction." This article appeared in the "New York Times" 1/1/66, page 3. It is datelined Moscow, 12/31/66. The article reflects a telephone interview with STAUGHTON LYND, by the Moscow Correspondent of the "New York Times." The call was made from Moscow to LYND in Hanoi. LYND spoke in behalf of himself, APTHEKER and HAYDEN. There is no 1-912 9+D O. S. Hen-Bureau (Encls ) (PIP) F / ENCLOSURED Litter to year (enc)

VJA:1js 3/10/6 & EBK far (enc) (5)

ORIGINAL

evidence that any personal interview with subjects in Hanoi was had by any NY newspaper correspondent.

It is believed further that the above telephone interview is the interview to which APTHEKER was refering when he said that he, LYND and HAYDEN, were interviewed while in Hanoi by a representative of the "New York Times." This statement by APTHEKER is set forth in NY LHM dated 1/20/66, entitled, "CPUSA, ORGANIZATION - IS-C." Since the above was a telephonic contact with LYND from the Moscow Correspondent of the "New York Times", UACB no contact will be made with the "New York Times" to identify this correspondent by name.

## U.S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction

MOSCOW, Dec. 31 (AP)—plied: "Nothing of any signif-There has been no significant leance."

MOSCOW, Dec. 31 (AP)—piled: "Nothing of any signifThere has been no significant
reaction in Hanot to the halt
of United States air raids on
North Vietnam, a Yale assistant professor said today by telephone from the capital.

Staughton Lynd, 36 years old,
who has demonstrated in the
United States against the Vietnam conflict, declined to comment on the results so far of
his visit to Hanot.

He and two other Americans,
Thomas Hayden, a student leadcer, and Herbert Aptheker, a leading theoretician of the United
States Communist party, arrived in Hanot last Tuesday by
way of Moscow and Peking.
Their trip is sponsored by Viet
Report, an American magazine,
The magazine's associate editor, John McDermott, said in
New York Tuesday that the
three men had gone to Hanot to
elear up with the called confileting reports of the North
Vietnamese and Vietcong position.

Will Report on Return

sition.

Will Report on Return

Asked whom the Americans had met and where they had been in North Vietnam, Mr. Lynd consulted Mr. Hayden and Mr. Aptheker and then replied:

We all agree that, in the interists of accuracy, we prefer to wait until our return; when you can question us, to make sure the story is told fully and accurately.

Mr. Lynd said the group expected to leave in a week or 10 days and return to the United States by an undetermined

route. He asked for information on the visits by Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman to Warsaw and Arthur J. Goldberg, representative at the United Nations, to Rome, He said the Americans had heard about the visits but had no comment on them,

Asked about reaction in Ha-noi to the juli since Christinas in United States air raids on North Vietnam, Mr. Lynd re-

cow to Hanol went through Peking. When it was first Peking. When it was first placed, the Russian operator re-In the telephone interview, ported that Peking's line to war. Lynd said: "We have been here only a few days. We feel it should be better to wait until through. Mr. Lynd could be lour return to report on what we have found while here."

[A state of the telephone interview, ported that Peking's line to war. Hand was down. Almost two later, the call came it should be learn through the later. I wanted the telephone interview. My Times 1/1/66 p. 3

100-434281

ENCLOSURE



# emorandum

: Mr. W. C. Sulliva TO

FROM: F. J. Baumgardner

LOGAN ACT

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT DATE: 3/15/66

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Baumgardner

- Mr. Papich

- Mr. Bartlett

- Mr. Reddy

del.oach Mohi

Callahan Conrad

Rosen Sullivan Tavel

Trotter Tele, Room

Holmes.

On March 14, 1966, Department Attorney Brandon Alvey discussed with Supervisor E. B. Reddy the status of the captioned case which involves the recent unauthorized travel to Communist China and North Vietnam by Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden. Alvey stated that for some reason, possibly the recent heavy flow of Congressional inquiries, the case "has heated up again."

Alvey noted that despite the recent public admissions by the three subjects, particularly Aptheker and Lynd, that they did in fact travel to Communist China and North Vietnam, the proof of their specific intent to do so at the time they left the United States remains the big problem. Alvey said that although he personally feels the Government could prove this intent by the preponderance of circumstantial evidence the Bureau has already developed, he wanted to assure that every avenue of establishing this element by direct evidence had been explored.

Alvey reviewed the tape recording obtained by the Washington Field Office of a speech by Lynd at the Washington Hilton Hotel on 1/25/66, and felt that several admissions by Lynd might be of value to establish intent. Alvey requested that appropriate inquiry be made to determine whether the hotel management would have any objection to the tapes being utilized at the trial or to the testimony of the hotel security officer who recorded the speech.

Alvey then inquithat either the State Department	red whether there was any possibility	b3 b7E
EBR: jas (7)	The state of the s	<b>3 60 B</b>
Jas of	NOT RECORDED	. · '
DOMAR 20 MAR	170 MAR 21 1966	

3

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Alvey also referred to the information furnished by the Bureau regarding the interview with the subjects in Hanoi on December 31, 1965, which was conducted telephonically by an Associated Press reporter in Moscow. Alvey requested that the reporter be identified and interviewed by the Department of State for complete details regarding this telephonic interview, including the mechanics of the call and whether the reporter could possibly make voice identifications. pointed out to Alvey that Peter Grose of "The New York Times" had filed a story from Moscow regarding a press conference held by the subjects at the Moscow Airport on January 8, 1966, when they were en route back to the United States. Alvey reviewed this story and requested that Grose also be interviewed by the Department of State with particular emphasis on any admissions by subjects that they realized that they might be subject to prosecution as a result of their trip.

	Α	lvey	also	referred	to	informati	ion	furnished	_by	_the
<u>Bureau</u>	rega	rdin	ıg <u> </u>							]
								<u> </u>		
J										
										1
ł										l l
							-			
				would be	ava	ailable un	nder	subpoena	duc	es
tecum	from	the	compan	ny which l	hand	dled the t	tran	smittal a	nd o	lelivery

Alvey was advised that the above requests would be promptly handled and the results furnished to the Department.

#### **OBSERVATIONS:**

Liaison has been requested to explore with the appropriate officials of State \_\_\_\_\_\_ the question of whether either of these agencies "had someone in Peking or Hanoi" who personally observed the subjects during their stay in Peking and Hanoi. The remaining investigation requested by Alvey is being handled by separate communications to the New York and Washington Field Offices.

#### ACTION:

For information. You will be kept advised of developments in this case.

de voys

) - 2 -

.

b7E

b3

b7E

# Memorandum

TO

Director, FBI

DATE: 3/16/66

b3

b7D

b7E

FROM

SUBJECT:

TOM HAYDEN IS \_ C

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau are three copies of a self-explanatory memorandum received by Legat, Rome, on 3/10/66 from the American Embassy, Rome, Italy, which is classified Confidential.

No Foreign Dissemination. It should be noted that the referred to therein is the abbreviation for the

Rome indices contain no references to TOM HAYDEN.

Copy to nevork

Some of the Copy to nevork

Some of the Copy to th

REC- 99

3) - Bureau (Encs. 3) ENCLOSURE (1 - Foreign Liaison)

1 - Rome (105-2046)

JSL/hcs

(4)

100-438281-28,

11100-

MCT-12

2 MAR 22 1966

SUBY COMTROIL

) : 1881

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

APRZE1968

## 1emoranăum

W. C. Sullivan

F. J. Baumgardner

- Mohr

1 - DeLoach

DATE: 3/24/66

- Wick Sullivan

- Baumgardner

Callahan

Felt

Rosen

Holmes Gandy

Sullivan Tavel Trotter

Tele, Room

- Franck

- Reddy

SUBJECT:

**FROM** 

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT

Staughton Craig Lynd is the Yale University professor who recently returned from unauthorized and illegal travel to Communist China and North Vietnam together with Herbert Eugene, Aptheker and Thomas Hayden. We have been conducting extensive investigation at the Department's request looking toward possible prosecution of Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden for violation of the captioned statutes.

On 2/2/66, the Department of State "tentatively withdrew" the passports held by Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden and advised them that they were entitled to hearings before a State Department Hearing Officer as provided by State Department regulations. Under these regulations, Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden could appeal an adverse ruling to the Board of Passports Appeals and. if necessary, to the civil courts.

On 3/14/66 Lynd, without waiting for his State Department hearing, brought civil action in the U. S. District Court, Washington, D. C., against the Secretary of State seeking to enjoin and restrain the enforcement of the withdrawal of his passport and to obtain an order directing the Secretary of State to issue him a valid passport at least for the period from 4/7/66 through 4/18/66. Lynd's complaint points out that he has accepted an invitation to attend a meeting of the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament in London, England, on 4/9/66 and also to participate in a "teaching session" at Oslo, Norway, on 4/16/66 and 4/17/66 on the problems of the war in Vietnam.

The complaint avers that Lynd has no plan, mintent or expectation of traveling to Arbania or the communist-controlled portions of China, Korea & Westnam and that the withdrawal of his passport has caused him "immediate and irreparable injury" by denying him liberty to travel; his right to engage in his profession; and his freedom to write, speak and associate with other The complaint claims that the denial of the above rights is in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

咨

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan

Re: STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM; MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT

#### **OBSERVATIONS:**

According to Department Attorney Benjamin Flanagan, the Government will, on Friday, 3/25/66, file a motion opposing Lynd's complaint. Oral argument has already been set for Wednesday, 3/30/66, before U. S. District Judge Oliver Gasch. According to Flanagan, Judge Gasch should only rule on the question of whether Lynd should be issued a valid passport for restricted travelato England and Norway for the period from 4/7/66 through 4/18/66.

It would appear that after having flagrantly violated State Department travel restrictions by traveling to Communist China and North Vietnam in December, 1965, Lynd is certainly not entitled to any special consideration in connection with his request that he be allowed to travel again before his case is adjudicated in accordance with the procedure provided by Title 8, Code of Federal Regulations, Sections 51.136 through 51.170. The possibility exists, however, according to Department Attorney Flanagan, that Judge Gasch may enjoin the Secretary of State from preventing Lynd's travel to England and Norway during the period 4/7/66 - 4/18/66.

#### ACTION:

For information. You will be kept advised of developments.

Noss UBR

- 2 -

	OPTIONALTOR) NO. 10   3010-100  MAY 196  EDI ON   Tolson
C	UNITED STATES GOORNMENT  Deloach Mohr
	Niemorandum CasperCollaban
	Contad Felt Gale
TO :	Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. DATE 3/21/66  Rosen Sullivan Tavel
FROM	S. J. Papich  Trotter —— Telc. Room — Holmes —— Gandy ——
SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
	MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT
	Reference is made to memorandum dated 3/15/66, from Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan.
	b3 \
	b <sup>7</sup> E ⟨⟩
S.	
٠	
•	ACTION:
	The above information is being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section.
	1 - Mr. Baumgardner (Reddy) 1 - Liaison 1 - Mr. Papich
	SJP:rab political politica
	23 MAR/23 1966
	Commence of the second of the
. •	
•	MON PROOPER

## RNMENT

# 1emorandum

TO

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT -

DATE: March 21, 1966

1 - DeLoach

- Mohr

- Wick

- Sullivan

- Baumgardner

1 - Reddy = ( ...)

Callahan Gale Rosen Sullivan Tavel Trotter Tele. Room Holmes Gandy

Tolson :

By letter to the Director dated 3/15/66 William E. Buckley, Vice President of Curtis Publishing Company and a former Vice President and Director of Henry Holt Publishing Company, expressed concern at the fact that Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Staughton Craig Lynd, and Thomas Emmett Hayden have not been prosecuted as a result of their recent unauthorized and highly publicized trip to Communist China and North Vietnam. Buckley said that he had written to the Attorney General in this regard and that his letter had been answered by Assistant Attorney General Yeagley on 3/15/66 and that Yeagley said, "About all we can say at this time is that the FBI is still investigating these matters." Buckley expressed the feeling that the FBI must have long since finished its investigation and he requested any information which could be furnished to The Director inquired. "What about this?"

## Facts Regarding Investigation

Before Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden left the U. S. on 12/19/65, we furnished the Departments of Justice and State, information regarding

their proposed travel. While they were actually in North Vietnam, we specifically requested advice from the Internal Security Division on 1/5/66 as to whether an investigation should be conducted looking toward a possible violation of any Federal statutes. By letters 1/10 & 14/66 the Department of Justice requested specific investigation by the Bureau which was completed and submitted to the Department by. the report dated 1/25/66. Subsequently, on 2/4, 9 & 15/66 the Department requested additional investigation, as well as information regarding the availability of certain witnesses, all of which was furnished to the Department on 3/1/66.

On 3/14/66 Department Attorney Brandon Alvey orally discussed this case with Supervisor E. B. Reddy, as and poutpoin

Enclosure

CONTINUED--OVER

EBR:pah

3-22-6

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

Memorandum to M. W. C. Sullivan Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, et al.

memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 3/15/66. At that time Alvey noted that the proof of specific intent by the subjects, at the time they left the U. S., to proceed to Communist China, and North Vietnam, remained a problem. Alvey said that, although he personally felt that the Government could prove specific intent by the preponderance of circumstantial evidence already developed by the Eureau, nevertheless, he wanted to assure that every avenue of establishing this element by direct evidence had been explored.

Accordingly, Alvey requested additional investigation, including identifying and having the Department of State interview a reporter in Moscow who had talked to the subjects by telephone while they were in Hanoi; ascertain whether State "had someone in Peking or Hanoi who might have personally observed subjects during their stay in these cities; attempting to locate a copy of a cablegram sent by the subjects from Hanoi on 1/4/66 to Senator William Fulbright requesting an appearance before the Foreign Relations Committee; and ascertaining the availability for possible use at a trial of a tape recording of a speech by Lynd in Washington, D. C., on 1/24/66. The Liaison Section and the New York and Washington Field Offices were immediately instructed to expeditiously conduct this additional investigation and to submit the results to the Bureau. When this investigation has been completed, however, it will still take additional time for State to interview the reporter in Moscow.

#### **OBSERVATIONS:**

It appears that the Department of Justice is, in fact, "shying away from this case" since Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden have claimed that they were merely following the policy of the Administration to "knock on any door" in an effort to settle the Vietnam situation. Accordingly, the Department is continuing to request additional investigation, much of which is "farfetched," but which we will, nevertheless, be obliged to conduct. The decision as to prosecutive action in this case remains solely with the Department.

#### Proposed Reply to Buckley

It is felt that Buckley should be advised that we have conducted extensive investigation in this case and have furnished the results to the Department of Justice which is solely responsible for initiating any prosecutive action and that Buckley be further advised that it is true that the Department recently requested the Bureau to conduct additional extensive investigation which is currently being conducted and the results of which will also be promptly furnished to the Department of Justice.

CONTINUED—OVER

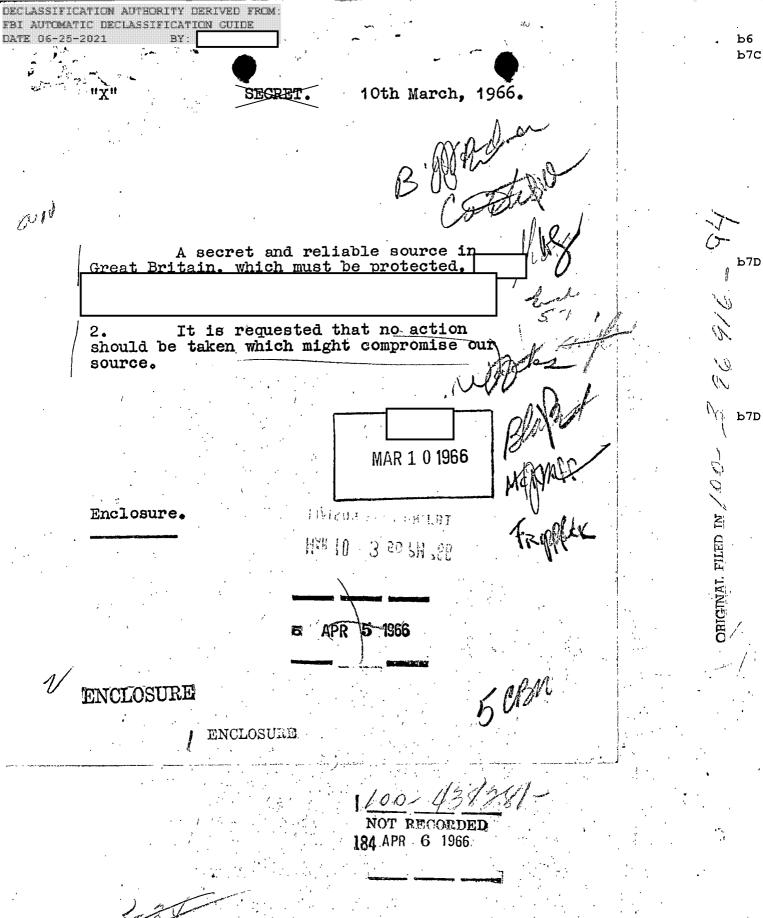
b3 b7E Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, et al.

Buckley is not on the Bureau's mailing list, but our relations with him have been cordial and he was furnished a rau tographed copy of "Masters of Deceit."

p.o.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be transmitted to Mr. Buckley.



(T) 30 000

	ICATION AUTHOR	ITY DERIVED FI	ROM:			
06-25	5-2021 OPTIONAL FORM NO MAY 1962 EDITION GSA GEN. REG. NO		5010-106	ž		
r	UNITED	STATES GOV				<i>(</i>
4.	Men	norana	lum 💃	CORET		·4
				Q2		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
ro or	Director,	FBI (Bufile-	100-438281	) DATĖ	4/19/66	
<b>۲۷</b> Romجrom	I : SAC,	NEWA RK	(100-48095)		,	
		WEHAUK.	(T00=40099)	Card file	d oo to profes	TO THE
SUBJE	THOM		HAYDEN	Cards 56	or or	
	SM -	C		1 10	wills 1	
			No. 1. 14m		m) o with India	( ) ( ) ( ) ( )
M	- Index Ca	ommended that a S rd be prepared on ptioned individua	the		The Security Index captioned individual changed as follows	al should be
,   <u>।</u>	Vame				change only):	·
	· unc	THOMAS EM	METT HAYDEN		,	
A	Aliases					
						1./
-			<del></del>			
-	Native Born	1	Naturalized		Alien	•
	Communist		Socialist Workers Pa	rty	Independent Sociali	st League
+	Miscellaneo	ous (specify)			10	
3	Tab for Det	com	Race Whi	ite	Sex Male	Female
2, \ 2, \	Date of Birth		Place of Birth			
$\frac{1}{3}$ B		show name of emp	oloying concern and ad	t, Michiga dress)	an .	
12	X.	Rewark Co	mmunity Unio	ı Project		·
1			on Avenue, No		v Jersey	
K	Key Facility Data		070			
White States	Geographical Ref	erence Number _	REG- 82	100-	Responsibility	-27
( Ton 1	Interested Agenci	es ·		, <u> </u>		F
: TE	Residence Address		EX.	108	6 APR 20 1966	M STIM
1	desidence Address				データバル・ソカーカクタ	171 91
<u>\</u>		227 Jelli			20 1966	
1		Newark, N	ow Joneou	SEORET	20 1906	TO THE OLIVERY
1	2 - Bureau 1 - Newarl	Newark, N	ow Joneou	<	DUM PAGE THREE	CONTROL (V)

#### **BACKGROUND:**

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, a white male, born 12/11/39 at Detroit, Michigan, resides at 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, and is presently head of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT (NCUP) in Newark, N.J. The NCUP, which is composed of a group of students working to stimulate local people to get involved in local affairs such as housing, civil rights, and education, is a project of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS).

ACTIVITIES:

HAYDEN was a student leader at University of Michigan and editor of the student paper there during school year 1960-61. He was identified as one of the original organizers and a former national president of SDS. He has worked with the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) in the South, and is listed as an associate editor of the magazine, "Studies on the Left," which was designed to give young men with radical views a place to voice their opinions. Subject took an anauthorized trip to North Vietnam in December, 1955, and January, 1966, in company with HERBERT APTHEKER of the 69,USA, and STAUGHTON LYND, Yale University Professor. While on trip, they spent ten days in North Vietnam where they spoke for 90 minutes with Premier PHAM VAN DONG; three days in Moscow, Russia, and four days in Peking, China.

Since subject's return to the United States, he has spoken at various places throughout the country, giving details of his trip, telling of the attitudes of the people he met while on the trip. He presently is preparing material for a book to be written by APTHEKER, LVND, and himself.

Subject has not been identified as a member of the COMMUNIST PARTY. Information was received from that leadership of CP, USA discussed whether HAYDEN was ready for the CP and if they would want him, if he requested joining, since he seemed to be following the pro-Chinese ideological line in the world movement and since "he out-radicals the radicals." It was decided that if he showed a desire to join seemed.

b7D



	the banks was been and male	1-2 4-7	
	him to reform him and mak line. THIS INFORMATION FI		WAS FURNISHEI
THE CP, USA	STANDING THAT EXTREME CAUTI	OM MIET F	
	RTING OF THE INFORMATION S		
	D IDENTIFY THE SOURCE, IT S		
	IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE		
R DISSEMI			SEOR
·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
	<u>Subject was one of the indi</u>	<u>lviduals c</u>	cooperating
th the		1200017	
	in connection with the EIC	HTH WORLA	) AOOLH EESLIVHT (C
COMMENDAT	TON•	***	*
Committee 1	- A		
7	in view of subject's recent	unauthor	rized trip to
orth Vieto			
	iam with Apphekek and Lind:	. it is be	eing recommended/
at he be	am with APTHEKER and LYND; placed on the Security Ind	, it is be lex of the	eing recommended (U
at he be	placed on the Security Inc	it is be lex of the	eing recommended $U$
DDENDUM:	placed on the Security Ind	lex of the	eing recommended (U)  Newark Office. (U)  JM:baf 5/6/66
at he be	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	Newark Office. $U$
at he be	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	Newark Office. $U$
at he be	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	Newark Office. $U$
at he be	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	JM:baf 5/6/66
at he be	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	Newark Office. $U$
DDENDUM:	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	JM:baf 5/6/66
DDENDUM:	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	JM:baf 5/6/66
DDENDUM:	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	JM:baf 5/6/66
DDENDUM:	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	JM:baf 5/6/66
DDENDUM:	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	JM:baf 5/6/66
at he be	placed on the Security Inc	lex of the	JM:baf 5/6/66

100-438281-NR-4/12/66
CHANGED TO
25-533293-NR

NOV 16 1966

mt/BGR

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General April 11. 11966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGITION CHALG LYND THUMAS EMMETISTAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETHAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, in the captioned matter and to my letter dated February 8, 1966, setting out information regarding the confidential informants and sources utilized in Special Agent Ascherl's report.

Attached is a copy of the report of Special Agent Ascherl dated March 29, 1936, at New York, setting out additional information regarding the travel to North Vietnam by Herbert Eugene Aptheker. Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden and analyzing various writings and speeches of these individuals upon their return to the United States.

No further investigation is contemplated in this case in the absence of a specific request from the Department.

Enclosure

100-123974 100-396916 L100-438281

EBR: jas (6)

NOT RECORDED 126 APR 14 1966

Classified as the enclosure is so NOT E: Enclosure so classified since it contains information, the disclosure of which could reveal the sources and adversely affect the national defense.

DIFFICATE VELLOW



4/7/68

Director, FDE

1 - Mr. Reddy

ent hugem applied or chile arm

iuticrezej travel to north vietham licuse of united states passport LCGAM ACT

The March 27, 1966, issue of "The Worker" contains an advertisament on page 11 regarding a book written by Aptheker cutitled "Mission to Manoi." The article further indicates that profeces by Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden are included and that the book is "a report on the historic fact-finding mission" recently undertaken by Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden to Worth Vietnam.

You should obtain and tranmit to the Bureau two copies of the paperback edition of this book which will sell for \$1.25 and is available through the International Publishers, 381 Park Avenue South, New York City.

EBR: jas (4)

100-438281

MAILED 4 APR 6 1966 COMM-FBI

NOT RECORDED 200 APR 8 1966

APR. 8 1966

/ ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ORILIMAL FILED INSE

Coming in April

ORDER NOW!

# MISSION TO HANOI

By HERBERT APTHEKER

With Prefaces by
Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden

A report on the historic fact-finding mission, containing impressions written down fresh during the visit to North Vietnam, conclusions about peace prospects and policy, a documentary supplement including new material, and a selected bibliography. Illustrated with photography taken during the visit.

Cloth \$3.75, Paperback \$1.25



5 paperbacks for \$5.00

International Publishers 381 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016

Seller Cong

Tolson	_
DeLoach	Á.
Mohr	ŗ
Casper	
Callahan	_
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	_
Sullivan	
Tavel	_
Trotter	_
Wick	_
Tele. Room	_
Holmes	
Gandy	



The Washington Post and
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 3/27/6/

ENCLOSURE ENCLOSURE ENCLOSURE 100-43/281-30 CHANGED TO 25-533293-3X

NOV 16 1966

mt/BOR

: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

778AC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;

STAUGHTON CRAIS LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN;

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM;

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;

LOGAN ACT

ReBulet to NY, dated 4/7/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies, as instructed, of "Mission to Hanoi", a paperback written by HERBERT APTHEKER, with prefaces by STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN.

NOT RECORDED

5/13/66

**141** MAY 17 1966

DATE:

ENCLOSURE

2 Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM) 1 - New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (RM)

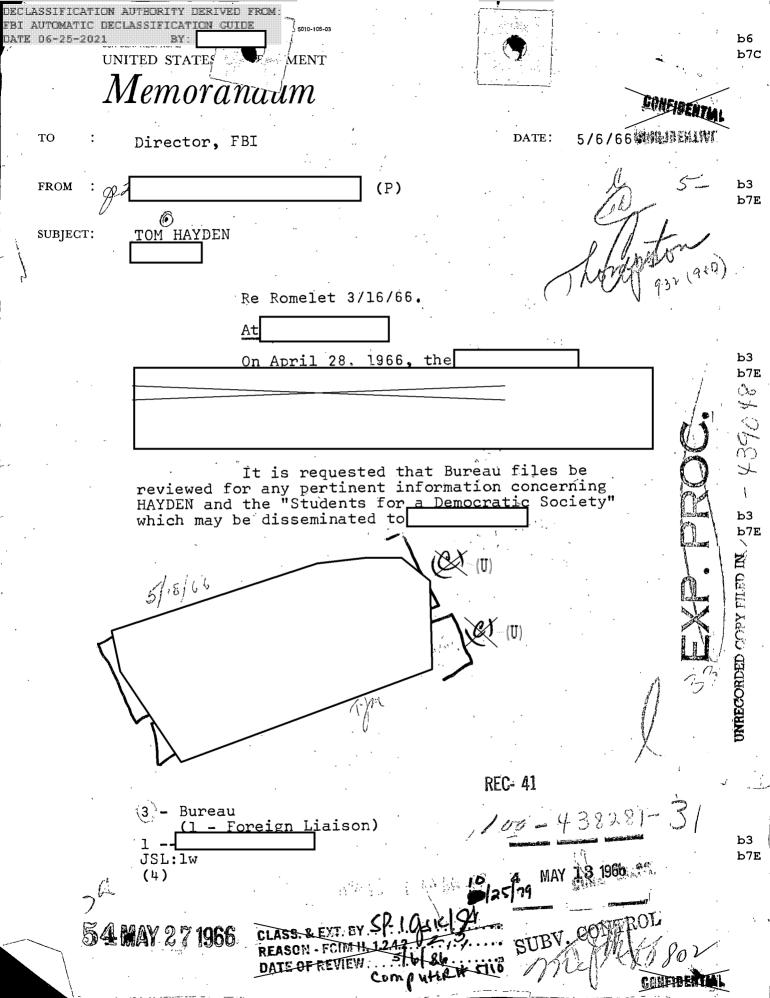
1 - Newark (100-40690) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (RM) - New York

VJA;ats (5)

MAT. INT. SEC.

6/1966

MAY Bus U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



100-438281-32,33 CHANGED TO 25-533293-5,6

NOV 16 1966

mt/994

Agency
Request Recd.

Date Fwd.

By 114- Thankson Mar To M/4 To M

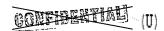
The on



memorandum, the above information	a is not being placed in the	ьз ь7Е
and photograph being furnished to	Secret Service, Newark,	(v)
INFORMANTS:		
Identity of Source:	Location:	
NK T-1	Instant Report - Page 1.	b3
NK T-2		Ь7D Ь7E
NK T-3		
Panel Source		<b>(</b> D)-(U)
NK T-5		
NK T-6		<b>b</b> 7D
Panel Source New York Cifice		
NK T-7		<b>V</b> (II)
PSI Chicago, Illinois		1-1
	memorandum, the above information details of this report, since to dedissemination of this report.  In addition to the copy and photograph being furnished to that office is also being furnish report at Newark, dated 3/10/66.  INFORMANTS:  Identity of Source:  NK T-1  NK T-2  NK T-2  NK T-5  NK T-5  NK T-6  Panel Source  New York Office  NK T-7  PSI	memorandum, the above information is not being placed in the details of this report, since to do so could possibly restrict dissemination of this report.  In addition to the copy of the attached report and photograph being furnished to Secret Service, Newark, that office is also being furnished a copy of referenced report at Newark, dated 3/10/66.  INFORMANTS:  Identity of Source:  NK T-1  NK T-2  NK T-3  NK T-4  Panel Source New York Office NK T-5  NK T-6  Panel Source New York Cffice NK T-7  PSI

В

COVER PAGE





	WI 100-59099			
	Identity of Source:	Location:		
	NK T_S			<b>b</b> 6
	Fanel Source Chicago Office			ь70 ь71
	NK T-9	100-48095-275.		
!			·	
	(by request)		<b>\</b>	
	NK T-10	100-48095-270.	(U) (U)	
X.	(U) (by request)			
2	NK T-11	100-43095-270.		
				ь6 ь70
	(by request)			
	NK T-12 '	100-48095-270.		
		100-2000-270		
	(by request)			
•	NK T-13			b7I
	NK T-14			
	NK T-15	Documentation of	<i>≽.1Y</i>	
j			(U)	
Ĺ	C C			

COVER PAGE

COMPLEXITAL

COMPHEMIAL

NK 100-48095

Identity of Source:

NK T-16

of the Chicago Office

NK T-17

New York Office

Location:
100-43095-1A-3.
( (U)
100-47373-560.

b7E

D

COVER PAGE



# CONFIDENTIAL

1.	Subject's name is included in the Security Index.	
	The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.	
3.	Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122	
٠.	has been submitted to the Bureau.	
4	A suitable photograph is is not available. Occember, 1965)	
4.	A suitable photograph is is not available.	
J	Date photograph was taken	
5.		
	charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are	
6.	This report is classified contraction because	
	(state reason)	
	information furnished by NK T-1 through NK T-8,	
	and NK T-13 through NK T-17 could reasonably result in	
	the identification of informants of continuing value	
	and compromise their future effectiveness.	
	THE CASE AND ASSESSED ASSESSED ASSESSED ASSESSED.	_
	Declassum	<u>-</u> r
		1
_	10/10/61 6:38:76	
7.	Subject previously interviewed (dates) 10/12/61	\
	Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)	
	$\overline{\mathcal{O}}$	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.	
8.	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter	
8.	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the	
8.	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965,	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965,	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965,	C
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and January, 1966.  He follows for the charge ideological	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and January, 1966.  He follows for the charge ideological	
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965,	ر کند
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and January, 1966.  He follows for the charge ideological	ند گند
	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and January, 1966.  He follows for the charge ideological	ن کند
9.	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and January, 1966.  He follows for chance ideological line and is reported to "out-radical the radical	ر کار
9.	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and January, 1966.  He follows for chance indeological line and in reported to out-radical the radical.	ند کند
9.	while he might agree to an interview, he likewise could publicize the interview at a later date, in one of his speaking engagements, as a possible means of embarrassing the FBI.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965, and January, 1966.  He follows for chance ideological line and is reported to "out-radical the radical	ر شد

E\*

COVER PAGE





# ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

# August 19, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Bureau file 100-438281 File No.

Newark file 100-48095

United States Secret Service Department of the Treasury Washington, D. C. 20220

D 0' -
Dear Sir:
The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.
1.  Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U.S., because of his official status.
2.  Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. X Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U.S.
4. U.S. citizens or residents who defect from the U.S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
<ul> <li>(a) Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior:</li> <li>(b) Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;</li> <li>(c) Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.</li> </ul>
6. Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.
Photograph  has been furnished  enclosed  is not available may be available through
•

Very truly yours,

John Edge Directo

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 3 RM U. S. Secret Service, Newark

# UN. ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

1 - Secret Service, Newark (RM)

Report of:

BERNARD J. CONNELL

Date:

8/19/66

Office: Newark, New Jersey

Field Office File #:

100-48095

Bureau File #:

100-438281

Title:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

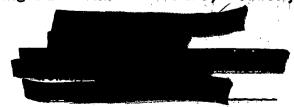
HAYDEN resides 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, N.J. and is the head of the Newark Community Union Project, 444 Clinton Avenue, Newark, N.J. Subject spoke at meetings in New York, Chicago, Boston, at teach-in at the University of Michigan, and addressed students in sit-in at City College of New York. In these talks, he has been critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam and has opposed tests given by Selective Service System to determine deferment status of students. Wrote preface to book by HERBERT APTHEKER concerning their trip to North Vietnam in December, 1965 and January, 1966. Listed as one of number supporting HERBERT APTHEKER in latter's bid for Congressional nomination in New York. Summary of talk given by subject at University of Michigan in spring of 1962 set forth.

C

#### DETAILS:

# I. RESIDENCE AND EMPLOYMENT:

On August 18, 1966, NK T-1 advised that the subject is presently residing 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey,



and is head of the Newark Community Union Project, 444 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, which organization is a community action project of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

# II. ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT:

A. "STUDIES ON THE LEFT" FORUM, FEBRUARY 18, 1966

A characterization of "STUDIES ON THE LEFT" appears in the appendix hereto.

NK T-2 advised on February 21, 1966, that a forum entitled, "The Third World: Two Reports" was held on February 13, 1966, at Palm Gardens, 310 West 52nd Street, New York, New York, and sponsored by "STUDIES ON THE LEFT". The moderator of the program, in which speakers discussed the worlds of Africa and East Asia, was TOM MAYDEN.

B. "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" FORUM, FEBRUARY 24. 1966

A characterization of the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" appears in the appendix hereto.

NK T-3 advised on February 25, 1966, that the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" sponsored a forum on politics and policy at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West 73rd Street, New York City, on February 24, 1966. One of the speakers at the forum was TOM HAYDEN who, during his talk, equated the Negroes in America with the Viet Cong. He stated that the Viet Cong wanted peace, but were forced to fight, and this is similar to the plight of the Negroes in the large cities and in the South in the United States. He also equated the living conditions of the people in Vietnam with the Negro ghettos in America.

NK T-4 advised on March 1, 1966, of HAYDEN's appearance at the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" forum on February 24, 1966, and reported substantially the same as that set forth above.

NK T-5 advised on March 3, 1966, of MAYDEN's appearance at the above "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" forum and reported that in his talk, HAYDEN spoke on the war in Vietnam in connection with the civil rights movement in the United States.

NK T-6 advised on March 4, 1966, of MAYDEN's appearance at the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" forum on February 24, 1966, and noted that in his talk, MAYDEN stated that he saw a need for a great mass movement against the economic problems in the United States. MAYDEN stated that he saw the community action programs within the anti-poverty program as the basis for mass action.

# C. SDS MEETING, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, MARCH 1, 1966:

On February 22, 1966, NK T-7 made available a flyer of the SDS in Illinois, which was captioned, "Report from the Battlefront." This flyer announced a meeting for March 1, 1966, at 7:30 PM, at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, 57th and University, Chicago, Illinois. Among the speakers listed who would take part in this programwas TOM HAYDEN, who was described as the organizer for the Newark Community Union and one of the founders of SDS.

NK T-8 advised on March 2, 1966, that he attended the above affair and that HAYDEN, in his talk, described the life in North Vietnam. He pointed out that he had recently come back from a fact-finding tour of Vietnam and had traveled through Eulgaria; the Soviet Union, and the Peoples Republic of China. HAYDEN stated he stayed at the capital cities of these countries, and had spent about two weeks in Hanoi and a couple of days in each of the other capitals. His speech consisted of describing life in North Vietnam, wherein he told how he had spoken to farmers and public officials. The life HAYDEN described was one of peace which had been disrupted by the United States and South Vietnam.

NK T-9 advised on March 10, 1966, that HAYDEN, in his talk at this rally, managed to follow the theme of the meeting, which was for the United States to get out of Vietnam. HAYDEN attempted to paint a picture of the Northern Vietnamese being a cultural, peace-loving people, who had been forced to tear up their flower gardens and build bomb shelters because of the United States. HAYDEN compared the civil rights drive in the United States with the drive of the Vietnamese people to be

independent, and he called for an end of American intervention in Vietnam.

D. BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY AND TROSTON UNIVERSITY, MARCH 13, 1986:

7

Page 3 of the March 22, 1966, issue of "The Worker" carried an article which showed that TON MAYDEN and HERBERT APTHEKER spoke to audiences at Brandeis University and Boston University on March 13, 1966, concerning their recent trip to North Vietnam.

"The Worker" is an east coast communist newspaper.

The "New York Times" of January 10, 1966, carried an article on page 1, revealing that HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND, and THOMAS HAYDEN had returned to the United States on January 9, 1966, after a ten-day visit to North Vietnam. This article revealed that these three individuals had left the United States on December 19, 1965, on a privately financed fact-finding mission. According to the news article, the government of North Vietnam had invited HERBERT APTHEKER and he, in turn, had suggested that LYND and HAYDEN accompany him. This article described HERBERT APTHEKER as the director of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES, and LYND as a Yale University Professor.

A characterization of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARKIST STUDIES is contained in the appendix hereto.

NK T-15 advised in December, 1959, that MERBERT APTHEMER was elected to the National Committee of the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, at its 17th National Convention, held December 10 - 13, 1959.

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 13, 1953, during which time he stated that though he had never been a member of the COMMUNIST PARTY, he had joined the AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY (AYD) in the fall of 1946, on the campus at Harvard University. He said that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had

disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947, LYND further advised that while at Harvard University, he had been a member of the JOHN REED CLUB for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He said that approximately one year during this period he had served as secretary of the JOHN REED CLUB.

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES is contained in the appendix hereto.

e. China teach—in, university of Michigan, april 3, 1966:

NK T-10 advised on April 7, 1966, that the China Teach-In held on the University of Michigan campus, on April 3 and April 4, 1966, although having no organizational identification publicly placed concerning this event, was apparently a joint function of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy (IUCDFP) and the SDS, University of Michigan.

NK T-11 advised on April 7, 1966, that HAYDEN participated in one of the seminars which took place at this China teach-in. Some of the comments made by HAYDEN during this seminar are as follows:

Unless the affluent people of the United States can be moved to action, the U.S. will take the rest of the world down with it. What we need is not a "teach-in" on China, but a "teach-in" on revolution to decide what we can do. We must do something "so shocking" as to move the people.

We need to come out of the decay and exist in world revolution. The power of the U.S. must decline if humanity is to have a chance in this world.

There is no morality left in this society, everyone is sinking and decaying.

As to the subject of possible action, HAYDEN said there was a great need to come to terms on what we were willing to die for. He advocated that steps be taken to oppose the draft; that Americans should not be expected to die for U.S. foreign policy or for the "empire" idea. He advised that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee opposed the draft; everyone was shocked, but no other action was taken. He said that when the SDS organization opposed the draft, the Government answered that position by announcing its intention to investigate the SDS. He said that unless Americans, particularly religious leaders, are shocked into action to change U.S. foreign policy, we will be forced to do much more.

He suggested that students consider refusal to take the 2-S Selective Service System Deferment Classification and refuse to take Selective Service educational tests. He suggested that professors in grading a student are signing "death certificates" for such students.

Commenting on a question from the audience that refusal to serve under the draft could result in serious jail sentences, MAYDEN said that we have friends who will assist us in defending such matters, specifically mentioning only the American Civil' Liberties Union. He advised, however, that "we will receive support from the world community for our resistance movement."

He commented that in Newark where he was employed, the only persons who can successfully influence social change are the Negroes who can state that they are Muslims and therefore avoid being drafted. He commented that the Negro has no responsibility for American foreign policy and, therefore, should not be expected to fight for it.

3

In response to question as to how above rules could be effected into action, HAYDEN acknowledged that white people may not be able to be so effective. He said, however, that a huge white oriented peace movement in the U.S. might be triumphant in effecting a social change.

15.20

 $^* \ i \ b A$ 

In response to a question from the audience as to what Americans can do to influence American foreign policy, in Vietnam, MAYDEN recommended that the only way to have any real influence is through massive public opinion and through political action. He recommended that the President of the U.S. be threatened politically challenging his re-election by considering a third party candidate.

NK T-12 advised on April 7, 1966 that during this seminar, TCM MAYDEN stated that the guerillas must help farm the land in Vietnam and must also help re-distribute the land and at the same time must also fight against the U.S.

EAYDEN said that the Negroes in the U.S. are not militant because they do not now own anything, but they will become militant when someone re-distributes property.

He said "revolution" is neither good nor bad but is just objective. If you are down and out you are bound to hurt people when you strike out to better your position or escape the trap. He added "the strength of the U.S. must decline or drag the world down with it." He said the best tactic is to refuse the draft with white students declining the 2-S Status and refusing to take Selective Service Educational examinations. He continued that professors should consider that they are signing the death warrant of students by giving grades, and that Negro students should tell the draft boards they are Muslims and refuse to serve. He added that the poor should refuse to serve the "empire" because they have no part in the "empire." These people listed above and the movement must develop their rationale on refusing to serve the "American empire."

NK T-12 advised on April 7, 1966, that the principal speaker at the Plenary Session at the conclusion of this conference was TOM HAYDEN of SDS. In his summary

MAYDEN stated that Western colonialism has long been a part of U.S. policy, dating from the Indian massacres to the time when Negroes were made the property of the whites. He said the only people in the U.S. who really know the facts are the national security system, made up of the CIA and other agencies. He said these agencies are the establishment that in reality rules the "empire," and he added that even the President of the U.S. and the United States Congress does not know what the "establishment" is doing.

HAYDEN added that "we are all treated as property."
He said it is illegal for the American people to know anything about revolutionary figures. He said that people cannot or do not understand the emasculation of our society and that everyone is too tied up with the kind of thing seen in the movie "Juliet of the Spirits" that they cannot really understand how to deal with revolution.

He said that what we truly need is a "teach-in" concerning the dilemma of having an overdeveloped, over-abundant affluent society. He said the white people of the U.S. have no revolutionary movement to which they can give themselves. He noted, however, that the communist revolution is insuring that everyone eats and is doing things. He said that all must stop doing things which help perpetuate the "empire."

MAYDEN said that students should refuse to take tests which will decide who will be killed. He made this recommendation, according to NK T-12, in the context of Selective Service considerations. HAYDEN added that it is cruel for professors to give grades which will decide which individuals get killed. He said we need a "teach-in for revolution" to teach Americans about revolution and to decide what we are willing to die for and what we are not willing to die for.

He said we must stop participating in the "empire's" system and added that only when we withdraw from the empire will we have a base from which to speak to the empire. He recommended "form your own organization and move out into the community"; "find a way to act as brothers to the Chinese even though we can't be in their shoes."

He said that at Berkeley, "we will put 5,000 people around the area where the draft tests are to be taken to prevent entry. This is positive, it will be done. He recommended that those interested ask the SDS and the American Civil Liberties Union to support prople who oppose the draft and the tests.

NK T-11 stated on April 7, 1966, that at the Plenary Session, addressed by MAYDEN, MAYDEN commented on his recent visit to China, as well as North Vietnam, and also that HAYDEN continually raised the Negro question in the United States and referred that matter to his comments on conflict in Indo-China and the possibility of armed conflict between the United States and China. He stated he was seeking answers for a "spiritually starved society" noting that "the West" has long wanted to develop "an empire."

He advocated that people stop participating in the institutions of the "empire" because the "empire" will eat us up. In referring to these institutions, he referred to the military, the government, and the economy. Informant said MAYDEN repeated his earlier comment made in speeches and seminars that what was needed was a "teach-in" on community action to evolve a definition of exactly what we are willing to die for.

As possible courses of action, he recommended that it was possible to form newspapers, organizations, and even schools of "our own." He said that such things were of vital necessity to aid in a resistance movement.

Informant said MAYDEN reiterated his earlier remark that Czechoslovakia, which he said he had also visited recently, was as bad as the USA and a part of the "white racist west", which he uniformly described as completely decadent.

On subsequent occasions he said, with regard to difficulties in which activities he discussed might bring to people, that the SDS and the American Civil Liberties Union could be counted upon to help those who opposed the U.S. draft laws.

The informant said that HAYDEN commented on the following possible actions or tactics to be considered by those engaged in activities against the "empire":

He noted as a significant way of effecting U.S. policy efforts to undermine the U.S. Selective Service System. He recommended that those registered with Selective Service boards notify their boards through statements that if they are drafted, they will do all possible to undermine morale.

Informant, in connection with the above comment, said that your "brothers at Berkeley" will have 10,000 individuals to ring the building where Selective Service examinations will be given in an effort to discourage or keep prospective examinees out.

With regard to such activity, he said that literature might be prepared and passed out at centers where the national Selective Service examinations will be given in an effort to convince people that by taking these examinations, they are causing the death of their fellow men.

Informant advised further that HAYDEN, in his general discussion of these Selective Service tests, suggested the tactics that participants during the test stand on tables and generaly "raise hell" in an effort to prevent the functioning of such examinations.

As a final tactic, he recommended that universities should refuse to release grades of students to the Selective Service System.

# F. ALLERTON FORUM MEETING, APRIL 26, 1966:

NK T-13 advised on May 11, 1966, that a meeting sponsored by the Allerton Forum at the Allerton Community Center, Allerton Avenue and White Plains Road, Bronx, New York, took place on April 26, 1966. The speaker for the evening was TOM HAYDEN, identified as a past president of the SDS. HAYDEN spoke on his recent trip to North Vietnam with MERBERT APTHEKER and STAUGHTON LYND. In his remarks, EAYDEN reviewed for the audiences the steps taken over the last twenty-five years

which have led to the present situation in Vietnam. He pointed out that what he fears and concerns himself with is the existence of what he refers to as the National Security Establishment in the United States, which is out to rule the world.

MAYDEN said the National Security Establishment (NSE) uses the pretext of fighting the spread of communism to gain and maintain control of many areas in the world. Proof of this, he said, is the size of the U.S. Navy, Air Force, the number of overseas military bases throughout the world. Some specific agencies of the NSE, he said, are A.I.D., C.I.A., and the National Security Council (NSC.) The NSE thwarts the efforts of the U.S. Government and is outside the control of the U.S. Government, he said. The NSE, he said, wants to stop history and block Marxist advances and history by the continuation of war. President JOHNSON, he said, who is a spokesman for the NSE, talks peace to the people but the NSE carries out the war.

MAYDEN said that he felt that the NSE, if need be, would poison everyone or anyone who stands in their way --which is the control of the world and world markets.

The U.S. Congress moves too slowly to offset and stop the efforts of the NSE, he said. What is needed, he said, is the election of officials who understand the threat of the NSE and who will fight to defeat it.

# G. SIT-IN AT CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK, MAY 13, 1966:

NK T-14 advised on May 18, 1966, that a sit-in demonstration was held at the office of the President of City College of New York, on May 13, 1966. The issue opposed by those sitting-in was this school's compliance with Selective Service laws. The students sought a promise from school officials that no grades or class standings would be forwarded to local draft boards, nor would the school be used for the administering of any draft test. The demonstration at City College of New York was addressed by TOM HAYDEN, who urged opposition to the Selective Service System.

### III. WRITINGS OF THE SUBJECT:

The March, 1966, issue of the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN", on page 13, carried an advertisement announcing that in April, 1966, a book "Mission to Hanoi" by HERBERT APTHEKER would contain prefaces by STAUGHTON EYND and THOMAS HAYDEN. The book will report on their recent fact—finding mission to Vietnam.

NK T-16 made available, on July 28, 1966, a copy of a booklet entitled, "Student Social Action" by TCM HAYDEN. HAYDEN was described as a staff member of the Newark Community Union Project of SDS and a past president of SDS. This article also pointed out that the booklet was a transcription of one talk given by HAYDEN at the University of Michigan in the spring of 1962.

The final paragraphs of the above-mentioned booklet are as follows:

"Still other students--more than ever--are starting to grapple with the hard problems of war, peace, and foreign policy. Five thousand of them turned out to picket the White House and visit the Transgressmen just last month, demanding American initiatives toward peace. A few hundred more participated at a high intellectual level in the First Intercollegiate Conference on Disarmament and Arms Control at Swarthmore College.

"There are, finally, thousands of young conservatives who came into public significance in 1960. That I find them politically absurd does not deny the catalytic value of their social participation and the stirring they have caused among many students.

"But these people are minorities; they have broken through the crust of silence. It remains for the vast majority similarly to discover that peace and war are not fairy tales, that at the midnight of Doomsday we will not turn into pumpkins (though some will be vegetating in their shelters.) Every time we do not speak, we contribute to the mood of moral rigidity that grips the land. Every time we do not speak, we maintain the vacuum of public affairs. Every time we do not speak, we make harder the creation of an active public to dismantle the hierarchy of undemocratic power in America.

"Do not wish to be a student in contrast to being a man. Do not study as a student, but as a man who is alive and who cares. Leave the isolated world of ideological fantasy, allow your ideas to become part of your living and your living to become part of your ideas.

"All over the world the young intellectuals are breaking out of the old, stultified order. Before you call them 'communist' or 'extremist' or 'immature', stop a moment, let yourselves be a little more insecure, so that you can listen to what they say and perhaps feel the pulse of their challenge. challenge politically takes many forms, with which we may agree or disagree; but the essential challenge is far deeper. It is to quit the acquiescence to political 'fate', cut the confidence in business-as-usual futures, and realize that in a time of mass organization, government by expertise, success through technical specialization, manipulation by the balancing of Official Secrecy with the Soft Sell Technique, incomprehensible destructiveness of the two wars and the third which is imminent, and the Cold War which has chilled man's relation to man, the time has come for a re-assertion of the personal."

On May 13, 1966, NK T-17 made available the March-April, 1966 issue of "STUDIES ON THE LEFT." This issue listed THCMAS HAYDEN as one of the editors of this publication.

# IV. MISCELLANEOUS:

The "NATIONAL GUARDIAN", dated July 23, 1966, on page 5, contained an advertisement, sponsored by a number of persons, which endorsed the candidacy of Doctor HERBERT APTHEKER for Congress from the 12th Congressional District, Brooklyn, New York. One of the sponsors listed in this advertisement was TGM MAYDEN.

### APPENDIX

NK 100-48095

# AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S. of America (CP, USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, MERBERT APTHEMER stated he was developing an organization called AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARKIST STUDIES (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEMER spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS.

APTHEMER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the Mc Carran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Markist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 7, 1965, that as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifthfloor west at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.

# JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, reflects the following citation concerning the JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES:

"1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute."

("Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.10.")

#### APPENDIX

NK 100-48095

### "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., reflects the following on Page 193 regarding the "National Guardian":

l. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

STUDIES ON THE LEFT, INCORPORATED, also known as Studies on the Left (SOTL)

The "Wisconsin State Journal", a daily newspaper published at Madison, Wisconsin, on November 26, 1959, announced that a new scholarly magazine, "Studies on the Left", a historical review dedicated to the leftist point of view, edited by present and former graduate students at the University of Wisconsin (UW), but having no connection with the UW itself, would begin publication soon.

Records of the Wisconsin Secretary of State reflect SCTL was incorporated under laws of Wisconsin July 16, 1959, as a non-stock, non-profit corporation with headquarters, Post Office Box 2121, Madison, Wisconsin. The first issue contained a policy statement from the editors stating SCTL was primarily a magazine for national circulation designed to give younger men with radical views a place to voice their opinions. About two issues a year are published, the most recent in February, 1963.

Publicly-listed members of SOTL's Editorial Board, SAUL LANDAU, STEPHEN SCHEINBERG, MARTIN J. SKLAR and JAMES WEINSTEIN have been identified by sources previously as having participated in the activities of the LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE (LYL), while Editorial Board members, DAVID EAKINS and MATTHEW CHAPPERON, have been identified as active members of the COMMUNIST PARTY (CP). Another source has identified SKLAR and WEINSTEIN as handling the finance and business affairs of SCTL.

Volume #3, Number 2, Winter 1963 issue of SOTL, published in February, 1963, on the inside front cover contained an announcement that effective March 1, 1963, the new mailing address of SOTL will be "Studies on the Left", Box 33, Planetarium Station, New York 24, New York.

A source advised on May 13, 1963, that SOTL has as its mailing address Box 33, Planetarium Station, New York 24, New York.

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.





## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION Newark. New Jersey

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

August 19, 1966

NK 100-48095

Title

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character

SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference

Report of Special Agent Bernard J. Connell, dated and captioned as above, at Newark, New Jersey.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

/			Jacob .
REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	3/29/66   INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD   2/1 - 3/17/6	
	UGENE APTHEKER;	VINCENT J. ASCHERL	TYPED BY
THOMAS EM	CRAIG LYND; METT HAYDEN	CHARACTER OF CASE UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET	
		MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PAS LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY	SPORT;
			123/

#### REFERENCE:

Report of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL, dated 1/25/66, at NY.

- P\*-

#### ADMINISTRATIVE:

Special Agent personnel of the Los Angeles Office, who furnished information concerning Peoples' World meeting, held 2/20/66, at Compton, California, is SA WALTER L. HEYER.

This report is classifed Confidential to protect identities of informants, NY T-1 to NY T-3, NY T-18. Unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by these informants might impair their future effectiveness and such impairment would have an adverse effect on the national defense.

Information copies are designated for Newark and New Haven, since THOMAS HAYDEN and STAUGHTON LYND are security subjects respectively in those Divisions.

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	رير .
On Bureau (100-123974) -Newark (100-48695) -New Haven (100-18293) -108- INTC Group, NYC -Secret Service, NYC (100-80532)	(RM) (RM) ((MM) (RM) (RM)	100 - 1/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2	9
Dissemination Record of A	ttached Report	Notations	<u></u>
Agency Reguest Recd. Civil Diserted  Date Fwd.  How Fwd.  By  WHATA			

INFORMANTS:	
Identity of Source	File Where Located
··	
	100-80532-6935
	100-80532-6817

b7D

- B -COVER PAGE

INFORMANTS: CONT'D		
Identity of Source	File Where Located	
NY T-13 (concealed per request)		ь6 ь7с ь7р
NY T-14		
NT 1=14		
(concealed at his request)		
NY T-15		ь6 ь7с ь7р
(concealed at his request)		
NY T-16		
NY T-17 (Detroit Office)		b7D
NY T-18		
NY T-19 (San Francisco Office)		
NY T-20		b7D
NY T-21 Panel Source of the New Haven Off	ice	

-C-COVER PAGE

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will await further instructions from the Bureau as to any additional investigation requested by the Department in this case.

- D\* -COVER PAGE

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

3

Copy to:

1-108-INTC Group, NYC (RM) 1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of:

Date:

VINCENT J. ASCHERL

3/29/66

Field Office File #:

100-80532

Bureau File #100-123974

Office: New York, New York

Title:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character:

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM,

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT,

LOGAN ACT, CONSPIRACY

Synopsis:

Article in The Worker, 1/11/66, states that HERBERT APTHEKER issued statement prior to departure for Hanoi 12/19/65 that he haddeded to visit North Vietnam. His declared objective was to the killing in

Vietnam." SAUL ROSENBAUM,

advised that while on tusiness trip in Europe, ne observed APTHEKER, LYND, and HAYDEN at the airport in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 12/22/65, he further observed APTHEKER and LYND on the flight from Prague to Moscow via Czechoslovakian Airlines, 12/22/65; and observed LYND at the airport in Moscow later the same date. Upon their return to the US, 1/9/66, subjects widely publicized their trip to North Vietnam in writings and speeches. Set forth is analysis of writings and speeches by subjects concerning their journey to North Vietnam and their reporting of experiences in North Vietnam.

- P\*-

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
dbwngrading and declassification

b6 b7С

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

	TITLE	PAGE NUMBER	
I.	Background of Hanoi, North Vietnam, Trip and Itinerary of Subjects	2 - 6	
II.	Publication of Hanoi Trip by Subjects Upon Return to United States	6 - 19	
	a) HERBERT APTHEKER (Writings)	6 - 12	
ř	b) HERBERT APTHEKER (Speeches)	12 - 18	
	c) STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN	N 18 - 19	
III.	Appendix	20 - 29	رر

#### DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND OF HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM TRIP AND ITINERARY OF SUBJECTS

"The Worker", January 11, 1966, page 6, columns four to five, carries an article entitled, "APTHEKER statement Prior to Trip." This article states that prior to leaving for North Vietnam, HERBERT APTHEKER issued the following statement:

( v)

"There may be some interest in the fact that I have decided to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"I find the Vietnam War to be among the worst activities in the history of the United States Government; since that Government once was the citadel of the system of chattel slavery, this is no minor criticism!

"It is clear - it is repeatedly admitted, even in the American press - that the reportage available to American readers may be aptly characterized - to speak with restraint - as exceedingly one-sided. As Secretary-General U Thant said, 'with war, the first casualty is truth. This is doubly so with atrocious and utterly unjust war.

"The opportunity to visit the country being mercilessly bombed - with no declaration of war - by forces of the United States and to see for myself what has been done and is being dore, and to hear for myself the viewpoint or viewpoints from that other side, therefore, is one that I could notforego Perhaps I shall be of some service, however modest, in removing the layers of fasehood weighing like an albatross about the necks of most Americans. Certainly I shall try; I shall exercise my right as an American to 'go see for myself,' and having seen, I plan to tell and write about what I have seen.

"My objective is to do whatever I can to STOP THE KILLING IN VIETNAM; each mite helps and no person must refuse to do what his conscience bids towards this absolutely indispensable goal.

"I am a writer, in Vietnam is the story of stories and I am going to examine it first-hand, and then I am going to tell that story to as many of my fellow-Americans as I can."

ru 1

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

(0)

3,48,/66 Date

SAUL ROSENBAUM

furnished

the following information on March 3, 1966:

While in Europe on a business trip in December, 1965, he had occasion to board Czechoslovak Air Lines Flight Number 502 which departed Prague, Czechoslovakia, for Moscow, Russia, on December 22, 1965. Observed by him at the airport in Prague prior to the departure of this flight on December 22, 1965, were APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN. Mr. ROSENBAUM identified photograph of tnese individuals which was displayed to him.

Mr. ROSENBAUM did not engage in conversation with these individuals beyond a few casual words. did not pay any direct attention to them. He was not aware that their ultimate destination was Vietnam. Mr. ROSENBAUM recalls observing APTHEKER and LYND on the plane en route to Moscow and further recalls seeing LYND at the airport in Moscow when the passengers left this plane. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated that his observations do not preclude the possibility that all three took the same flight from Prague to Moscow and reached Moscow at the same time. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated that Czechoslovak Air Lines Flight 502 departed Prague at 4:40 P.M., and arrived in Moscow at about 8:00 P.M. on December 22, 1965. Mr. RCSENBAUM did not observe these individuals at any other time in Moscow or elsewhere than he has reported above. He is aware that they became the subjects of considerable newspaper publicity because of their journey to North Vietnam. He has seen several photographs of these individuals in the local press.

at270 Madison Avenue New York City File #NY100-8053 by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL: arf Date dictated 3/7/66

b6

b7C

HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), at its 17th National Convention, held in December, 1959.

(0)

NY T-1 December 19, 1959

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed by Special Agents (SAS) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on August 13, 1953. During this interview, LYND advised that he had never been a member of the Communist Party (CP) and that he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946, on the campus of Harvard University. He stated that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the Campus and he had disaffiliated himself from the AYD in June, 1947.

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

STAUGHTON LYND further advised at this interview that while at Harvard University he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 to 1948. He stated that for approximately one year during that period he had served as Secretary of the John Reed Club.

John Reed Clubs of the United States are characterized in the Appendix of this report.

The "National Guardian," November 13, 1965, page 2, states that among the guests on the dais at the 17th Anniversary Dinner of the "National Guardian," held November 5, 1965, at the Hotel Americana in New York City, was THOMAS HAYDEN. This article identified THOMAS HAYDEN as the organizer since 1964 of the Newark Community Union Project, and one of the original organizers of the Students for A Democratic Society.

The "National Guardian" is characterized in the Appendix of this report.

# II. PUBLICATION OF HANOI TRIP BY SUBJECTS UPON RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES

Since their return to the United States from North Vietnam on January 9, 1966, APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN have publicized their trip to Hanoi, both in newspaper articles and in public speaking engagements. There follows an analysis of newspaper articles and speeches by above subjects, summarizing their reactions and experiences in Vietnam. These appearances are in addition to the mass meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, held January 16, 1966, at which all three s'bjects gave an "eye witness" report.

#### a. HERBERT APTHEKER (Writings)

"The Worker," commencing with the January 16, 1966 issue, exclusively carried a series of articles by HERBERT APTHEKER reporting on his experiences in Hanoi and North Vietnam. Most of these articles are date-lined "Hanoi" but bear no dates of composition.

Article number one appeared in "The Worker" issue of January 16, 1966, page three, columns two to four. It is entitled, "The Grey-haired Force in a Village Near Hanoi." APTHEKER reports being in a village twenty miles south of Hanoi. He interviews an elderly peasant and notes that elderly people in Hanoi are armed. The village people have a special name for the old men's brigade - it is the "Grey-haired Force."

٠..١

(0)

APTHEKER reports being in Nam Dingh and interviews an elderly priest. The priest allegedly asked APTHEKER why the Americans were bombing his city of Nam Dingh.

APTHEKER states in his article; "Clearly I believe the Vietnamese feel that ther struggle is a just war for national independence....I am firmly convinced that the JOHNSON Policy of aggressive war in Vietnam brings death and maiming to thousands of Americans, and ruin and devastation to the people of that nation....Before leaving on this journey it was monstrous, I thought, to see and hear distinguished Americans advocate the bombing of Hanoi, and then on returning to read again of senators advocating this, and columnists reporting that important Pentagon officials thhought massive nuclear bombing of Vietnam was required; and to know all this came from one's own country, was harrowing."

A second article appeared in "The Worker," January 18, 1966, page 1, columns one to five. This article was entitled, "Children Play in janoi's Streets in Shadow of American Bombers." This article was listed as written from Hanoi from HERBERT APTHEKER. The article carried a photograph of STAUGHTON. LYND, and HERBERT APTHEKER. being greeted on their arrival at the airport near Hanoi on December 28, 1965. The article notes that the third American in the party, THOMAS HAYDEN, was not in this photograph.

APTHEKER describes his reaction walking in the streets of Hanoi. He states that in the middle of Hanoi is a large lake, around which are air raid shelters. He visits a factory in Hanoi where 1,000 workers, men and women, produce agricultural tools and parts for automobiles. APTHEKER states that the hero of North Vietnam is an American, NORMAN MORRISON, "who immolated himself to protest the atrocious war."

Another photograph shows HERBERT APTHEKER with the Mayor of Nam Dingh, "a city which has been frequently bombed by United States planes." HERBERT APTHEKER states that he visited the "Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi.

This issue of "The Worker," January 18, 1966, page four, columns one to five, carried an article entitled "PHAM VAN DONG Answers Americans' Questions." The article related that, Cn January 8, 1966, Premier PHAM VAN DONG of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam received the threeman US. peace mission, consisting of HERBERT APTHEKER, THOMAS HAYDEN and Prof. STAUGHTON LYND.

(v)

"There followed an interview that lasted 90 minutes. The three Americans also submitted questions to the Prime Minister, and his answers were given the same day."

One of the questions asked PHAM VAN DONG was, "What is your comment on the idea that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front refuse all offers to negotiate?" The Premier stated that he was not going to answer in the glace of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front (NLF). He did answer for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and stated that the DRV would respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and the Four-Point Stand of the Government of the DRV made public on April 8, 1965, one of which was that the "internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnam people themselves, in accordance with the program of the NLF. The DRV recognized the NLF as the "sole genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam."

Article number three appeared in "The Worker," January 23, 1966, page one, columns one to five. This article is entitled "Dangerous Thoughts in Hanoi Bookstores." This article carried a photograph of APTHEKER, LYND, and HAYDEN being presented with "Fruits of the Village," by a leader of a village 20 miles from Hanoi.

APTHEKER writes, "Here in Hanoi I have heard that HARRY (Two-Bomb) TRUMAN has denounced the shamelessness and self-seeking nature of the exploit whereby three Americans have taken it upon themselves to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam even though the State Department opposes such visits. The Voice of America says that the three criminals face five years' imprisonment for their awful act."

APTHEKER states that he is writing this article on New Year's Eve; that early in the morning he went for a stroll through the city and visited a bookstore. The works of MARX and ENGELS were available to the workers, of Hanoi. APTHEKER stated that a man from the Moscow Bureau of the "Herald Tribune" called him the preceding night. He asked APTHEKER if he would be visiting the bombed areas of the front, to which APTHEKER replied in the affirmative, stating that he thought "It will be good for my soul."

This article carried a photograph of APTHEKER conversing with LU HSUN, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party.

(0)

The fourth APTHEKER article appeared in "The Worker," January 25, 1966, page one, columns four to five. It is entitled, "Vietnam's 2,000 Year Fight Against Invaders." The article carries a photograph of HERBERT APTHEKER interviewing a "75 year old Roman-Catholic Priest of Nam Dingh." APTHEKER describes visiting a cafe fronting on a lake in Hanoi called "By the Lake" cafe. the "working people" of Hanoi sip coffee or beer. APTHEKER treats of what he calls Vietnam's "2,000 years resistance against foreign invaders." He visits the building which is headquarters of the Liaison Committee of the RM Army - formerly the home of Madame NHU. This article contained a photograph showing APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN among a group of Vietnamese located as being "outside a bombed elementary school in Nam Dingh." APTHEKER writes that The DRV would welcome an offer by American physicians and nurses to help heal the wounded; perhaps some U.S. doctors and nurses would want to 'put their names down' for such service? We would welcome this for we know that it is not American doctors and workers and teachers and ordinary folk who want to bemb and destroy our country and we carefully distinguish between the present rulers of America and the vast majority of the American people."

"The Worker, January 30, 1966, page one, columns four and five, carried the fifth APTHEKER article entitled "A Theatrical Troupe in North Vietnam." The article relates that the Hanoi Theatrical Troupe of the DRV has been travelling through the countryside in late December and early January, 1965, and 1966. The article carries a photograph of APTHEKER planting a tree in a village about twenty miles South of Hanoi. Another photo has APTHEKER observing a woman worker at her machine in a factory near Hanoi. APTHEKER related that each of the provincial centers has a good theatre, and there, for three or four days, performances are offered.

The sixth article appeared in "The Worker," February 1, 1966, page four, columns one to five. It is entitled, "A Talk With A Vietnamese Poet, Musician, Peace Fighter." APTHEKER states that it is the invitation of the Vietnam Peace Committee that brought him to Hanoi. He has had lengthy talks with one of the Peace Committee members. They discussed the history of Vietnam, the structure of the Vietnamese Government, the nature of urban and rural economy. APTHEKER states that he learned most of this as he travelled with the Committeeman south from Hanoi, to the bombed areas - to the front.

"The Worker," February 6, 1966, page 2, columns four and five, carried the seventh APTHEKER article, entitled "A Visit to A Bombed Vietnam Kindergarten. APTHEKER relates that after travelling some hours south from Hanoi, they arrived at the city of Nam Dingh in the Province of Nan Ha. Nam Dingh is the third largest city in the DRV. In it live about 90,000 people. APTHEKER states, "It is evening; the City Committee greets us with flowers and the inimitable hospitality of the Vietnamese The article carries a photograph of HERBERT APTHEKER visiting the historical museum in Hanoi and standing before the statue of "1,000 Eyes and a 1,000 Hands." In this article APTHEKER describes damage to a kindergarten in Nam Dingh, caused allegedly by American bombs. Another photograph shows APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN among a group of North Vietnamese standing in front of a damaged pagoda in Nam Dingh.

The eighth article by HERBERT APTHEKER in this series appeared in "The Worker", February 8, 1966, page three, columns three to five. It is entitled "An Interview in Hanoi with A Captured Flyer." APTHEKER states "Since the U.S. Government has not seen fit to declare war upon the Democratic Republic of Vietnam but rather 'only' to bomb it, those pilots who carry out these merciful missions and are brought down while doing so are considered not prisoners of war but rather apprehended criminals."

An American war prisoner agreed to be interviewed by APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN. He was interviewed with military authorities present. The prisoner allegedly asked what was new in the peace movement and in the civil rights movement, and there was discussion on this. He stated he had failed to pay any real attention to the war and the issues before "this happened." APTHEKER states that he admired the pilot's self-possession and his whole bearing under awful circumstances. "He had done an atrocious 'job,' but its full quality did not seem to have penetrated or, if it had, he certainly kept it to himself."

The ninth article appeared in "The Worker," February 26, 1966, page nine, columns three to nine. It is entitled, "Vietnamese Honor An American." In this article, APTHEKER relates that from January 4, to 6, 1966, in an impressive hall in Hanoi, was held a conference of Vietnamese intellectuals against the United States Aggression and for National Salvation. At the first plenary session, 660 delegates were present, while on the patform sat the Prime Minister together with leaders of the Democratic and Socialist parties. A refrain through all the speeches was the conviction in the supreme justice of the cause of the Vietnamese people. Speaker after speaker emphasized that thousands of intellectuals, professionals and students in the United States also supported the cause for independence in the Vietnamese nation.

Symbolizing that support at its noblest is the name of NORMAN R. MCRRISON, the Baltimore Quaker who immolated himself "before MC NAMARA's window" at the Pentagon on November 2, 1965, after putting his eighteen-month old child, EMILY, on the ground. MORRISON is a central hero of the Vietnamese people. APTHEKER states that at one of the intermissions of the above-mentioned conference, he had the honor to meet the Republic's leading poet, TO HUU, who also is a secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party. On November 7, 1965, five days after MORRISON's "martyrdom," TO HUU wrote a poem entitled "EMILY, My Child."

#### b. HERBERT APTHEKER (Speeches)

During the period January 15 to 17, 1966, there was held in the Laurelton Room, located on the ground floor, Hotel Wellington, 55th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, a meeting of the National Committee, CP, USA, and invited guests under the guise of "Political Perspective Conference." At the fourth session of this meeting on the afternoon of January 17, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER was the first speaker and gave a report on his recent trip to Vietnam. APTHEKER referred to himself as the "Hanoi Kid." He stated that the CP in Vietnam was delighted to have in their midst a representative of the CP, USA. A close fraternal relationship was established. APTHEKER related that while he was in Hanoi, the "New York Herald Tribune," phoned him andasked if there was excitement in Hanoi. APTHEKER answered, "No, on at the contrary, the communists, through their Party, foster Internationalism, and they say that they are not at war with the U.S. or its people. They even say, or admit, that they will not defeat the US. They just want to get rid of the military occupation. When the Vietnamese talk of a military defeat of the U.S., they only have this in mind, the evacuation of the American troops, not the actual defeat of these troops."

APTHEKER related that the Prime Minister of North Vietnam conveyed to him his joy at the presence of a representative of the American Communists and other peace-loving representatives. The General Secretary of the Party talked with APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN about the peace movement in the United States. He was greatly appreciative of this movement. They want a peace movement in every country. APTHEKER stated that they had a meeting with one of the leaders of the NLF.

(4)

APTHEKER stated that the bombing of North Vietnam was no joke; they saw the damage; and they saw that the bombing was indiscriminate. It hit all sections of the population, not just bridges, railroads, factories, etc.



NY T-2 January 21, 1966

The following source also reported on HERBERT APTHEKER's appearance at the January 17, 1966 session of the enlarged meeting National Committee, CP, USA, held at the Wellington Hotel, New York City. The following is a summary of the remarks made by APTHEKER at this meeting according to this source:

The leadership of the CP of North Vietnam was delighted to receive APTHEKER as a representative of the CP, USA. APTHEKER had several extensive talks with some of the leading comrades of the CP, North Vietnam. APTHEKER stated a close relationship had been established with the Party in North Vietnam. APTHEKER specifically mentioned having spoken with General Secretary of the North Vietnam Workers Party and with other North Vietnam "comrades" in Europe, while en route to North Vietnam.

(U)

APTHEKER stated that both the CFs of China and Russia stand ready to proffer any and all kinds of required assistance, including "volunteers." The CP, North Vietnam, has the full support of the country, is well organized, has considerable reserve strength and fighting capacity, making it unnecessary to ask for outside intervention, except in terms of military help. According to APTHEKER, the CP of North Vietnam sent warm greetings for the "tremendous, "work the CP, USA and peace forces are doing in the United States.



NY T-3 February 16, 1966 NY 100-80532.

A meeting of the Friday Night Forum was held on January 21, 1966, at the Continental Ballroom, Newark, New The featured speaker was HERBERT APTHEKER, who spoke of his recent visit to North Vietnam. APTHEKER described the scene in Hanoi. He said the people there are calm, although they have built bomb shelters all over the APTHEKER stated that most people he talked to in North Vietnam could not understand why the United States was bombing North Vietnam. APTHEKER stated he spoke to an American airman who is amprisoner of the North Vietnamese. The airman talked about his capture, how frightened he was when he parachuted from his plane, that the North Vietnamese have given him pretty good treatment. APTHEKER claimed that no North Vietnam regulars are fighting in South Vietnam. Soldiers sent from North Vietnam are actually South Vietnamese who went to North Vietnam at the time of the division of APTHEKER claimed that the North Vietnamese have no control over the Viet Cong, and there is a difference  $(\upsilon)$ tetween the North Vietnamese Army and the Viet Cong.

> NY T-4 January 26, 1966

Substantially, the same information concerning APTHEKER's appearance at the Friday night Forum on January 21, 1966, was furnished by NY T-5, NY T-6, NY T-8, through NY T-11.

( v)

NY T-7, on January 25, 1966, also reported on APTHEKER's appearance at the Friday night Forum on January 21, 1966. According to this source, APTHEKER attempted to clear up what he considered a misapprehension; namely, that STAUGHTON LYND had not led the delegation to North Vietnam, but rather that each of the three had made the trip independently. APTHEKER stated that more peace demonstrations should be made, and they should be larger. He said that HO CHI MINH had withdrawn the Viet Cong from South Vietnam in 1954, on a promise of reunification, but since this promise had turned into a hoax, it would be impossible for even "Uncle HO" to stop the Viet Cong in the South.

NY T-7 January 25, 1966

The Friday Night Forum is characterized in the Appendix.

On February 6, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER appeared on a television program, "Newsmaker," broadcast over station KNXT, Channel 2, Los Angeles, 5:00 P.M. HERBERT APTHEKER was introduced as a member of the CP for 26 years. He was asked to state his position with respect to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam. APTHEKER stated it was important for him not to remain silent when he thinks the Government is doing something wrong. He said he is a Communist because he thinks it is right. APTHEKER stated "I am an American first, last and always, and I am a Communist also and have been for 26 years. APTHEKER stated that if the United States was to go into a full scale war, and he was opposed to the war, he would not keep silent.

NY T-12 February 7, 1966

HERBERT APTHEKER was the featured speaker at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Michigan, on February 10, 1966. APTHEKER spoke on the subject, "Vietnam - Withdrawal or Negotiation?" In his speech, APTHEKER stated, in substance, that the United States was improperly involved in Vietnam and should withdraw.

NY T-13 February 11, 1966

On February 11, 1966, HEREERT APTHEKER spoke in the ballroom of the Union Building at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. About 325 persons, mostly students, attended this meeting. APTHEKER spoke about his recent visit to North Vietnam and stated that United States action in Vietnam has seriously hampered United States power, influence and prestige all over the world.

NY T-14 February 11, 1966 (u)

(U)

(0)

APTHEKER appeared on the campus of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, on the afternoon of February 11, 1966. He spoke concerning his recent trip to Vietnam. He criticized the presence of United States troops in Vietnam and protested United States policy in Vietnam as being an example of modern-day colonialism. The primary sponsor of this appearance was the W.E.B. Du Bois Club.

(v)

NY T-15 February 11, 1966

W.E.B. Du Bois Club is characterized in the Appendix.

On the evening of February 12, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the Central Methodist Church House, Detroit, Michigan, under the sponsorship of the William Mc Kie Memorial Library and Educational Center. This meeting was attended by approximately 450 people. APTHEKER spoke on his recent trip to North Vietnam and was critical of United States policies in Vietnam. He declared that President JOHNSON's aggressive actions in Vietnam threaten American people with the same sort of catastrophy as Hitler's aggressive policy brought on the German people.

(U

NY T-16 February 13, 1966

The William Mc Kie Memorial Library and Educational Center is characterized in the Appendix.

NY T-17 also reported on APTHEKER's appearance at the Central Methodist Church House on February 12, 1966, and furnished substantially the same information. This information was received on February 18, 1966.

( ں ﴿

On February 17, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the Famous Ballroom, 1717 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland. The subject of the speech was "Current American Policy in Vietnam." Approximately 200 people attended this affair. APTHEKER, during his speech, denounced the current administration policy of the United States in Vietnam as "aggression" and in violation of the Geneva Agreement of 1954. APTHEKER stated that the Americans are the "real" aggressors.

(U)

NY T-18 February 18, 1966

HERBERT APTHEKER appeared as principal speaker at the 28th Anniversary celebration of the "People's World" at San Francisco, on Saturday, February 19, 1966. APTHEKER spoke at the Towne House Motel in the Downtown Section of San Francisco, before an audience of approximately 700.

(U)

APTHEKER's appearance was billed as his first West Coast appearance since his return from Hanoi. APTHEKER criticized the United States military policy in Vietnam and recommended renewed and stronger demonstrations against current United States policy.

(0)

NY T-19 February 21, 1966

HERBERT APTHEKER presented a "report from Hanoi" on February 20, 1966, at a meeting in honor of the 28th Anniversary of the "Peoples World". This meeting was held at 13440 South Central Avenue, Compton, California. APTHEKER described his experiences in Hanoi and said that he was permitted to go somewhat deeply into the battle area. They went to the city of Nam Dingh, where APTHEKER interviewed an elderly priest.

Cu

NY T-20
February 23, 1966
and SA Personnel of the
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

The "Peoples World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

#### c. STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN

STAUGHTON LYND delivered an address at Woolsey Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, on January 17, 1966, on the subject of Vietnam. LYND was asked who financed his recent trip to North Vietnam. He answered that 12 friends donated \$1,500.00 and he had savings of his own.

( V)

NY T-21 January 20, 1966

"Viet-Report", January, 1966, self-described as the "emergency news bulletin on Southeast Asian affairs", carried an article entitled, "In Hanoi -- The Peace That Is Not Offensive". This article appeared on page three under the authorship of STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN. This article states that on January 9, 1966, LYND, HAYDEN, and APTHEKER returned from a three-week fact-finding mission to Prague, Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi. Professor LYND travelled as a correspondent for "Viet-Report". The substance of the article was the same as the press release issued by HAYDEN and LYND upon their arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport, January 9, 1966. On Pages 16 to 18 of this publication is set forth an interview with Premier PHAM VAN DONG. This article is described as follows:

( v

"Hanci, January 5, 1966 -- Three Americans Interview Premier Pham Van Dong".

The article reflects comments of the Premier concerning the position of North Vietnam in the present conflict. "The Vietnamese people feel they are fighting for a just cause against barbarous aggression. We take this occasion to say that there is no hatred between the people of the United States and the people of Vietnam". The Premier is further quoted as saying, "The essence of the United States' peace offensive is the idea of negotiating from strength".

(u)

MY 100-80532

"Viet-Report" is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

THOMAS HAYDEN was featured speaker at a Belleville discussion group, held on February 6, 1966, at Belleville, New Jersey. HAYDEN spoke about his recent trip to North Vietnam, in the company of HERBERT APTHEKER and STAUGHTON LYND. HAYDEN reviewed the history of North Vietnam and the years of struggle and fighting in that country. He described how people in North Vietnam are tired of fighting and only want peace.

(v)

NY T-4 February 7, 1966

1

#### APPENDIX

## FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM (NEWARK, NEW JERSEY)

A source advised in November, 1960, that a forum for "lefts and progressives" was mentioned as coming into existence at a meeting of New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) leaders held in Newark, New Jersey, at the end of October, 1960. DAVID ROCKLIN, known to the source as a CP member, and other active CP members were mentioned as being associated with the effort to establish such a public sounding board.

A second source advised in December, 1960, that a letter had been prepared announcing the organization of the FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM (FNF) and advertising the first meeting as being scheduled for January 20, 1961. According to the letter, the FNF was to present a series of lectures, one each month, at the Continental Ballroom, in Newark, New Jersey. These lectures were to be on the "political events of these times" and were to feature qualified speakers on such topics as the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), Cuba, Africa, Asia, civil rights, co-existence, and national and international events.

A third source advised on May 26, 1965, that during the past four years, the FNF has continued to present a series of speakers on such topics as international relations, abolition of the HCUA, Africa, Asia, and Vietnam, education and social reforms in the Soviet Union, disarmament, Soviet youth activities, and other topics of current interest. These speakers have been presented since the inception of the FNF at a series of meetings held on Friday evenings in Newark, New Jersey.

The third source advised on May 26, 1965, that FNF meetings are currently being held at the Continental Ballroom Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, and that LEO RITZ is the 1964-1965 chairman.

During November, 1955, a self-admitted member of the CP from the mid-1930's until late 1944, advised that during the period from just prior to World War II, until late 1944, he knew LEO RITZ to be a member of the Clinton Hill Branch of the New Jersey CP.

( 4)

•

NY 100-80532

1

#### APPENDIX

#### JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, "revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, reflects the following citation concerning the John Reed Clubs of the United States:

"1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute.'

("Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.10.)"

#### APPENDIX

1.

#### "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

#### "National Guardian

"1. 'established by the American Labor
Party in 1947 as a "progressive"
weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies
having any affiliation with the
Communist Party, it has manifested
itself from the beginning as a virtual
official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities,
Report, Trial by Treason: The National
Committee to Secure Justice for the
ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25,
1956, p. 12.)"

#### APPENDIX

1.

# PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP) PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT (PLM)

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the PLP, formerly known as the PLM, held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27 reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes the Marxist-Leninist Quarterly, a theoretical magazine; 'Progressive Labor' a monthly magazine; 'Challenge,' a New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge", page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

l.

WILLIAM MC KIE MEMORIAL LIBRARY AND EDUCATIONAL CENTER, also known as William Mc Kie Memorial Library, Mc Kie Memorial Library

A source advised during October, 1960, that the late WILLIAM MC KIE had given his personal library to the Communist Party, USA (CP), Michigan District.

BERENIECE BALDWIN, an admitted CP member 1943-1951, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at Detroit, Michigan, February 9, 1952, that WILLIAM MC KIE was a Charter Member of the CP. WILLIAM MC KIE died at Detroit February 9, 1959.

A second source advised on March 24, 1961, that Room 207, Hayward Building, 4835 Woodward, Detroit, was rented to CONRAD KOMOROWSKI, March 15, 1961, to house the William Mc Kie Memorial Library and Educational Center (WMMLEC).

A third source advised on December 10, 1962, that CONRAD KOMOROWSKI was a member of the Polish Club. CP. Michigan District.

A fourth source advised on February 14, 1963, that the WMMLEC is supervised by HELEN WINTER. This source reported that the aim and purpose of the library is to make available Communist and pro-Communist literature for CP members and sympathizers and for anyone else interested in it.

A fifth source advised on June 24, 1964, that HELEN WINTER, as of that date, was Educational Director of the CP, Michigan District.

The fourth source advised on May 11, 1965, that the WMMLEC continues to be located at 207 Hayward Building, 4835 Woodward, Detroit.

- 29\* -

CONFIDENTIAL



### In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION New York, New York

Bufile 100-123974 NYfile 100-80532

Title.

Herbert Eugene Aptheker;

Staughton Craig Lynd; Thomas Emmett Hayden

Character

Unauthorized Travel to Vietnam;

Misuse of United States Passport;

Logan Act; Conspiracy

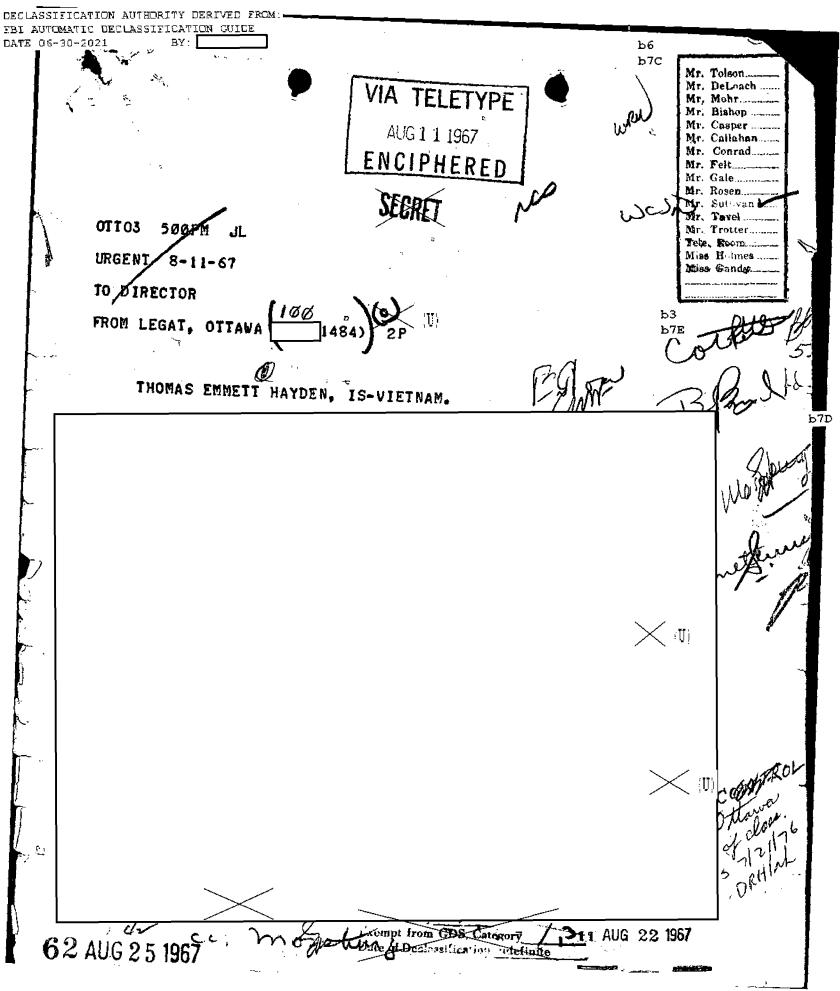
Reference is made to New York report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

```
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1360161-0
Total Deleted Page(s) = 42
Page 3 ~ b7E;
Page 4 ~ b7E;
Page 5 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 7 \sim b7D;
Page 37 ~ Duplicate;
Page 38 ~ Duplicate;
Page 39 ~ Duplicate;
Page 40 ~ Duplicate;
Page 41 ~ Duplicate;
Page 42 ~ Duplicate;
Page 43 ~ Duplicate;
Page 44 ~ Duplicate;
Page 45 ~ Duplicate;
Page 46 ~ Duplicate:
Page 47 ~ Duplicate:
Page 48 ~ Duplicate;
Page 49 ~ Duplicate;
Page 50 ~ Duplicate;
Page 51 ~ Duplicate;
Page 52 ~ Duplicate;
Page 53 ~ Duplicate;
Page 54 ~ Duplicate;
Page 55 ~ Duplicate;
Page 65 ~ Duplicate;
Page 66 ~ Duplicate:
Page 68 ~ b7D;
Page 69 ~ b7D;
Page 70 ~ b7E;
Page 71 ~ b7E;
Page 72 ~ b7E;
Page 73 ~ b7E;
Page 75 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 76 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 80 ~ Duplicate;
Page 84 ~ b7E;
Page 85 ~ b7E;
Page 86 ~ b7E;
Page 87 ~ b7E;
Page 88 ~ b6; b7C; b7E;
Page 89 ~ b7E;
Page 90 ~ b7E;
Page 92 ~ Duplicate;
```

AUTO	FICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: MATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE	
€ 06- ∴\.	30-2021 BY:	\ь6 ь7
	7/26/67	
	AIRTEL	
	AIRTEL  ST.10 <sup>A</sup> 1 - Mr. Smethurst	. *
/N	To: SAC, Newark (100-48095)	
	From: Director, FBI (100-438281 -3/	
;	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SM - C; IS - CANADA	
	Attached is conv of lotter dated 6/20/62 e	ь
	ALLECTION OF LOTTON ROTOR E/28/127 VEC.	
•		•
	BMS: ngp ngp (4)	
	NOTE: Subject together with Herbert Aptheker and Staughton L traveled to North Vietnam in December. 1965. at invitation of North Vietnamese Government.	ynd D
	MAILED 9	
Ison Loach _	JUL 26 1967  COMM-FBI  NK oduced by Rls >/21/.	of class
hr		1 .
sper —— Nahan — nrad:		on4/h
	Date of Declassification Indefinite	ory/sh
Ilahan nrad! It Ie sen livan vel	Date of Declassification Indefinite	ort/sh
Ilahan — nrad: — It — Ie — sen — livan —	Date of Declassification Indefinite	ort/n



# SECRET

PAG	E TWO	•					
	_						
							p `
							× (¶)
<u>.                                    </u>		POINT	OUT HAYDEN			AND FBI	,
INTE	REST I	N HIS	ACTIVITIES	AND THAT	SOURCE E	 Extremely sens:	TIVE.
	E,ND.			ı			(D)
PLS	CORREC	F-017	AWA FILE NUI	BER TO R	EAD-100-1	<b>484</b> (C) (U)	7 1
						<b>XX</b> X ***	
PCR					c.		
FBI	WASH DO	;		e e			
	18.		7		KOC ET	29. H. 60 g	

AUG 11 5 03 PM "EZ

b7D

ь7**р** 

THE

# Memorandum

		ARK (100-480	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			Carda Se	TD = Df OG	
UBJECT:	THOMAS EMI SM - C	METT HAYDEN				B/15		
It is recoprepared Name Aliases	Re:	FD-122 de		X The Securi	y Index Card	on the captio	ned individue	l sho
prepared Name	on the above-cap	tioned individual.	· ·	be changed	as follows (	specify chang	e only):	
		·		••				
Aliases	<u> </u>				-	<del>-</del>		
12								,
1:	Native	P	Naturalize		Alien			
· ,' — -	<del></del>	<del> </del>	<del>-</del>	<u> </u>		:	···	
	sina i I Canaintii	st Workers Party 🗌	Microllone					
Commu				ous (specify)		Re	ce Se	:
Commun Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth		ous (specify)		Ra	ce Se	Ma Ma
Tab for Detcom	Date of birth							] Ма
Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth Employing Concern a	nd Address, and Hea		nent, and Uni	on Affiliation		]] Ма
Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth Employing Concern a	nd Address, and Hea	Nature of Employed	nent, and Uni	on Affiliation		] Ма
Tab for Detcom Business A	Date of birth ddress, Name of I	Place of birth Employing Concern a  Lecturer Union Pro	nd Address, and Hea	Nature of Employed	nent, and Uni Pk Commu	on Affiliation		] Ма
Tab for Detcom Business A  Key Facilit	Date of birth  ddress, Name of I	Place of birth Employing Concern a  Lecturer Union Pro	nd Address, and Hea	Nature of Employed	nent, and Uni	on Affiliation		] Ма
Tab for Detcom Business A  Key Facilit Geograp Intereste	Date of birth  ddress, Name of I  y Data  hical Reference N	Place of birth Employing Concern a  Lecturer Union Pro	nd Address, and Hea	Nature of Employed	nent, and Uni k Commu lCe Responsib	on Affiliation		]] Ма
Tab for Detcom Business A  Key Facilit	Date of birth  ddress, Name of I  y Data  hical Reference N	Place of birth Employing Concern a  Lecturer Union Pro	nd Address, and Hea	Nature of Employed Of Newar	nent, and Uni k Commu lCe Responsib	on Affiliation	, if any.	]] Ма

56AUG 1 71967

NOT RECORDED

16 AUG 9 1967



### STATES DEPARTMENT OF JU

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey Aug. 4, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Bureau 100-438281 Newark 100-48095

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM - C

REFERENCE:

Newark report dated 8/19/66

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence:

Employment:

Lecturer and Head of Newark Community

Union from residence

Copy to L by routing slip for

info \_ action

100-438281-

NOT RECORDED

16 AUG 9 1967

FD 122 DETACHED

ontains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and 1967cy; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ŹĸĸŢ FĔĨ	DERA	L BUI	REAU	OF IN	VESTIG	ATION	<b>→ }</b> }
		<b>.</b>			<b>T III ( )</b>		
EPORTING OFFICE	0	OFFICE OF ORIGI	N	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE F	PERIOD	
NEWARK		NEWARK	ZERRET	8/25/67	7/20 - 8	/18/67	
TLE OF CASE	<u> </u>			REPORT MADE BY	<del>. ' . '</del>	. •	TYP
THOMAS EMM	ETT HAY	DEN		BERNARD .	CONNELL	1	mafn
	·		•	CHARACTER OF	CASE		
					ALL INFOR	778-	
		•		SM-C	HERELITS	MATION CONT UNCLASSIFIED	AINEL
					EXCEPT W/L	TEN COLLIE	)
	-						
REFERENCES	: Repo	rt of SA	BERNARD	J. CONNELL	dated 8/19	/66	
,		ewark. au airte	hatch [	7/26/67	· •	_	
/	Dur	au arree	I dated	1/20/01.	9.6.6	ر کیاہی ۔	
<del>K</del> -			-P-		~ (%)	يو المعتمريول	ملتك
ENCLOSURES			Inte	schou Do	PJ 39	of officer	
Director Olivan			ELAN	REHEASE	FIRST POLG	سر السراب	
TO BU	REAU	**	REASI	EXT. BY	2 Jane	X m	
	<b>T</b>	ion of M	#4 FE	FEIM	Jer 1		
			n 9 <i>70</i>	** REPLACE TO 7:00-01			
	Two cop	tes of th	D-376.	Carry F		15/20 (	١.
ADMINISTRA	_	tes of F	D-376.	Com #	11993	5/29	
	TIVE			Cony # 5	1 997	75/20	b
	TIVE	ate of 1		the the	18 997	5/2/	þ
	TIVE			the the	16 1997	5/2/	þ
	TIVE			the the	1 9 9 7	5/2/ CIES	þ
	TIVE			the the	AND FLEIL	CIES	p
	TIVE			the the	AND FIELL ADVISED I		b
	TIVE	ate of 1	0/24/66.		ADVISED I	OFFICES	6
ase has been: Pending	TIVE	ate of 1	0/24/66.		ADVISED I	OFFICES BY FOUTING	b + 1
ase has been: Pending	TIVE	ate of le	0/24/66.		ADVISED I	OFFICES BY FOUTING	6
ase has been: Pending PPROVED WANDE:	TIVE Hinder d	ate of 10	No; Pending ;	prosecution over six	ADVISED I	OFFICES BY FOUTLING OFFICES OFFICES SPACES BELOW	Gra
ase has been: Pending PPROVED WANDE:	TIVE	ate of 10	No; Pending;	prosecution over six	ADVISED I	OFFICES BY FOUTLING OFFICES OFFICES SPACES BELOW	Gra
OPROVED RUPPOPIES MADE:  6 - Bureau	TIVE  Hinder d  over one year  (100-4	ate of 1	No; Pending ;	prosecution over six	ADVISED I	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
OPROVED RUPPOPIES MADE:  6 - Bureau	TIVE  Hinder d  over one year  (100-4	ate of 10	No; Pending ;	prosecution over six	ADVISED I	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
ase has been: Pending PROVED RUPE  6 - Bureau  1 - Secret  3 - Newark	Under d  over one year  (100-4)  Service	ate of 10  From Yes Construction  SPENSOR  38281) (6)  e, Newarl	No; Pending ;	prosecution over six	ADVISED I SLIP (3) months DATE of (1) DO NOT WRITE IN S	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
gse has been: Pending  PROVED  Bureau  1 - Secret	Under d  over one year  (100-4)  Service	ate of 10  From Yes Construction  SPENSOR  38281) (6)  e, Newarl	No; Pending ;	(RM)	ADVISED I SLIP (3) months DATE of (1) DO NOT WRITE IN S	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
Deproved  Presumance:  1 - Secret  3 - Newark  COPIES DESTROY	TIVE Hinder d  Over one year  (100-4 Service (100-4	ate of 10  From Yes Construction  SPENSOR  38281) (6)  e, Newarl	No; Pending ;	(RM)	ADVISED I SLIP (3) months DATE of (1) DO NOT WRITE IN S	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
Deproved Rundon  PROVED RUND  PROVED RUND  1 - Bureau  1 - Secret  3 - Newark  COPIES DESTRO  4 3 SEP 2019	TIVE Hinder d  over one yea  (100-4 Service (100-4	ate of 16  1 Yes  SPE  38281) (6  e, Newarl	No; Pending ; ECIAL AGENT N CHARGE  CIC. 2)	(RM)	ADVISED I SLIP (3) months DATE of (1) DO NOT WRITE IN S	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
proved Running  Proved Running  Proved Running  Proved Running  6 - Bureau  1 - Secret  3 - Newark  COPIES DESTROY  4 3 SEP 2 0 19  Disseminate	TIVE Hinder d  over one yea  (100-4 Service (100-4	ate of 16  The second of the s	No; Pending ; ECIAL AGENT N CHARGE  (RM)	(RM)  12 AUG	ADVISED I SLIP (3) months DATE of (1) DO NOT WRITE IN S	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
ase has been: Pending  PROVED  Bureau  1 - Secret  3 - Newark  COPIES DESTROY  Disseminations  Pency  RAD	TIVE Hinder d  over one yea  (100-4 Service (100-4	ate of 16  The second of the s	No; Pending ; ECIAL AGENT N CHARGE  (RM)	(RM)  12 AUG	ADVISED I SLIP (3) months DATE of (1) DO NOT WRITE IN S	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
ase has been: Pending  PPROVED  A Bureau  1 - Secret  3 - Newark  COPIES DESTROY  Disseminate  Jency  Proved  Disseminate  Disseminate	TIVE Hinder d  Over one year  (100-4: Service (100-4: T2	ate of 19  FAHached, Rep	No; Pending ; ECIAL AGENT N CHARGE  (RM)	(RM)  12 AUG  Notations	ADVISED I SLIP (3) months DATE of (1) DO NOT WRITE IN S	OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES BY FOUTING OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES OFFICES	EC 8
ase has been: Pending  PPROVED  A Bureau  1 - Secret  3 - Newark  COPIES DESTROY  Disseminate  Jency  Proved  Disseminate  Disseminate	TIVE Hinder d  Over one year  (100-4: Service (100-4: T2	ate of 16  The second of the s	No; Pending ; ECIAL AGENT N CHARGE  (RM)	(RM)  12 AUG  Notations  Classified by  Exempt 1200	ADVISED IN SLIP (3)  Months DATE - 1  DO NOT WRITE IN:  28 1967  PARTITION OF SUBVICON	OFFICES BY FOUTING  OFFICES BY FOUTING  OFFICES  OFFICES	EC & X 1

	TRUKT
NK 100-48095	
	p.
	1775
INFORMANTS	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Informant	Location
NK T-1 is	Instant report Pg. 1
NK T-2 is	
NK T-3 is	
UNK T-4 is	Documentation of

NK T-5 is NK T-6 is Ariz. (by request) NK T-7 is

COVER PAGE

ъ6 ъ7с ъ7р

100-48095 T-8 is	]		
T-8 is		$\neg$	
T-9 is			
T-10 is		] ,	
T-11 is		_ □	18
T-12 is	Documentation of	r	
T-13 is	Documentation of		
T-14 is	Documentation of	£	
T-15 is			
	T-10 is  T-11 is  T-12 is  T-13 is  T-14 is  T-15 is	T-10 is  T-11 is  Documentation of Docum	T-10 is  T-11 is  Documentation of  T-13 is  Documentation of  T-14 is  Documentation of

LEAD

NEWARK

At Newark, N.J. Will attempt to ascertain any plans subject has to attend Expo '67 during period 9/22-24/67.

(0)

COVER PAGE

2	Subject's name is included in the Security Index	
	The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.	
3 🗓	Changes on the Security Index carp are recessary and Form FD-12	2
, 4 ==	has been submitted to the Bulean.	
± [3	A suitable photograph <b>X</b> is is not available.  Date photograph was taken <b>12/65</b> .	
5 ⊏	Subject is employed in a key facility and is	
_	charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are	
٠.		
6.	This report is classified *Confident 131 because	
	(state reason) of information furnished by NK T-1	hrough
	NK T-14 could reasonably result in the ident	cirication
	of informants of continuing value and compre	MTD6 /
	their future effectiveness.	_ cover
		د المصمل
1.	July 198	
	Subject previously interviewed (dates) 10/12/61.	
X	] Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) due to t	не мапу
. ::'	speaking engagements that this man fills and	the fact
	that there is no indication that he would be	e receptiv
	to an interview at this time, it is not deer	ned – –
	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could j	ned – –
	to an interview at this time, it is not deer	ned – –
	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could j	ned – –
	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could j	ned possible
8. 🗆	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could j	ned possible
8. 🗀	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the	ned possible
8.	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.	ned possible
8. <b>-</b> 9. <b>k</b>	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could make any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index	ned possible
8. □ 9. <b>፳</b>	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because	ned possible
8. <u> </u>	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	ned possible
8. □ 9. <b>፳</b>	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because	ned possible
8. □ 9. <b>æ</b>	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	ned possible
8.	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	ned possible
8. 🖸	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	ned possible
8. E	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	ned possible
8. E	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	ned possible
9. 🗷	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	ned possible
	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vietnam in Deceman and January, 1966.	ned possible
	to an interview at this time, it is not deer adviseable to interview him since he could use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.  This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.  This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of his trip to No. Vistnam in Decem	possible  (v) ber, 1965

COVER PAGE

ZEBIL



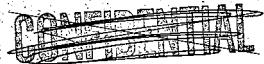
#### UNITED SPATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply NK 100-48095 File No. Bureau 100-438281 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
August 25. 1967

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220
Dear Sir:
The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be.
covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential pro-
tection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.
医大胆病 医乳腺性乳腺 化双氯化物 医神经神经 医神经神经 医皮肤 医二氏性神经炎 医二氏病 医甲基氏试验 医多氏管
1. Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee,
including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U.S., because of his official status.
[漢字 사람이 하시는 회사장의 사람들이 하다는 사고 나는 사람들이 가는 사람들이 되는 사람들이 되었다. 그는 사람들이 다른 사람들이 되었다.
2. Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or
participant in communist movement, or has been under active investigation as member.
of other group or organization inimical to U.S.
4. U.S. citizens or residents who defect from the U.S. to countries in the Soviet or
4. U.S. citizens or residents who defect from the U.S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following
criteria:
(a) Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and
employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior:
(b) Expressions of strong or violent anti-U.S. sentiment;
(c) Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order
and government.
and government.
6. Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.
Photograph k has been furnished enclosed is not available
may be available through
THE STATE OF THE S
Very truly yours,
A Manuer
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (1)
U. S. Secret Service, Newark (RM)



## CONFIDENTIAL UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

1 - Secret Service, Newark (RM)

Report of:

BERNARD J. CONNELL

Office: Newark, New Jersey

Date:

Field Office File #: 100-48095

August 25, 1967

Bureau File #: 100-438281

Title:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

?Character:

SECURITY MATTER - C

The subject resides at 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, NJ, and is a lecturer and head of NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT from his residence. Subject has written various articles, sponsor of committees and has spoken before many groups in the US. In these activities, he has been critical of US policy in Vietnam. Instances of this activity are set forth. Subject arrested 4/1/67 in connection with picketing demonstration.

\_P\_

#### DETAILS:

#### I. RESIDENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

On August 4, 1967, NK T-1 advised that TOM HAYDEN resides at 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, and is a lecturer and head of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT from his residence which organization was a community action project started by the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS).

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix hereto.



CONTINUE ALL

Group 1

Excluded from automatic

deragaeding and

derivatification

#### II. ACTIVITIES OF THE SUBJECT

#### A. VETERANS AND RESERVIST TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On August 15, 1966, PATRICK J. MC GAHN, attorney, Atlantic City, New Jersey, made available a mimeographed letter requesting those receiving the letter to obtain names and addresses of all friends and acquaintances now on active duty (or in the active reserve or recently discharged veterans of Vietnam) who are likely to sign a public statement of dissent from American policy in Vietnam. The letter requested that any replies be sent in care of Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, 5 Beekman Street, New York City. Among the names of those appearing as an endorser of this letter was TOM HAYDEN.

#### B. "VIET REPORT"

NK T-2 on Feburary 28, 1967, made available the June-July, 1966 issue of "Viet Report" described in its masthead as "an emergency news bulletin on Southeast Asia affairs published in New York City". There appears an open letter by TOM HAYDEN, which letter is entitled "A Protest Against the Draft and Death of Intellect".

HAYDEN, in his letter which is dated April, 1966, cites his objection to the present war in Vietnam. Part of his letter reads:

"This war will be ended when its domestic costs are too high. We often discuss the sacrifice of Great Society programs as a kind of material cost of the war, but that point can be made more clearly by the poor when they revolt against the spending cutbacks. We whose universities are part of the military-industrial complex ought to revolt against the conditions which humiliate us directly. The cost of this to the country will be social, perhaps spiritual, and it could be a heavy cost.

"If our revolt needs a political goal it should be that each individual draftee should have some voice about what he is asked to die for. Therefore, we believe the Selective Service law should be tested to see if there can be included individuals

whose conscientious objection is to particular wars. If not, the law should be changed to include such political objectors, and to broaden the forms of alternative service which objectors may perform to include anti-poverty or civil rights work in the United States and other work which builds democracy in this country and elsewhere, including Vietnam. The base of objection to war that should become legitimate, in other words, is not pacifist but political".

#### C. SUPPORT OF CANDIDACY OF HERBERT APTHERER FOR CONGRESS

NK T-3 on July 19, 1966, and again on July 25, 1966, advised that he had observed TOM HAYDEN on July 14, 21 and 25, 1966 working at the campaign headquarters of the Independent Citizens's Committee to elect HERBERT APTHEKER to Congress, 722 Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

NK T-4 advised in December, 1959 that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA held in December, 1959.

D. SDS NATIONAL CONVENTION, CLEAR LAKE, IOWA, AUGUST 27 - SEPTEMBER 1, 1966

NK T-5 advised on September 6, 1966, that the SDS National Convention was held in Clear Lake, Iowa from the period of August 22 - September 1, 1966. On August 29, 1966, a panel was held to discuss "Black Power" and one of the participants in this panel was TOM HAYDEN.

E. NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT TRIP TO MONTREAL, CANADA, LABOR DAY WEEKEND, 1966

NK T-1 advised on September 7, 1966, that TOM HAYDEN had gone to Montreal, Canada over Labor Day weekend of September, 1966. The source stated that HAYDEN went on a bus ride which was sponsored by the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, Newark, New Jersey, for "poor people" and SDS leaders.

, T

#### F. PHOENIX COMMITTEE ON VIETNAM

"Dove cail" for August, 1966, is described as the news letter of the Phoenix Committee on Vietnam (PCV), pointed out that THOMAS HAYDEN was expected to visit Arizona in the near future and that arrangements were being made for him to speak at Phoenix College (PC) on Saturday, October 1, 1966, at 8 pm and that he would possibly speak in Tuscon, Arizona on Sunday, October 2, 1966 and that on Monday, October 3, 1966 he would speak at the Memorial Union Ballroom on the campus of Arizona State University (ASU), Tempe. The news letter in part described HAYDEN as one of the founders of SDS who helped frame the famous Port Huron statement and served as President They noted that he has worked for the STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE in the South and also in 1965 was one of three Americans who made an unauthorized trip to Hanoi in order to observe the situation there and talk with North Vietnamese officials. It observed that THOMAS HAYDEN was helping to organize the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT which is an attempt with some success to unionize an entire community as a community in a Negro section of Newark, New Jersey.

On October 5, 1965, NK T-6 had advised that the PCV appeared to be an off-campus adjunct of the ASU Chapter of the SDS. The source also advised on September 7, 1966, that the appearance of TOM HAYDEN at the PC auditorium on October 1, 1966, was being sponsored by the Phoenix Committee on Vietnam while his appearance at ASU on October 3, 1966 was under the auspices of the ASU Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The source explained that this latter group, unlike the SDS, had succeeded in gaining official recognition on the campus.

#### G. "FORT HOOD THREE DEFENSE COMMITTEE"

The "National Guardian" issue of October 1, 1966, on page eight carries a story that the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, with offices at 29 Park Row, New York, announced it would redouble its efforts to free the "Fort Hood Three"—three soldiers who were at Fort Hood and who refused service in Vietnam because they considered the war "illegal, immoral and unjust". They were subsequently convicted by court-martial to prison terms. It was announced in the article that among

the sponsors of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee was TOM HAYDEN of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT.

A characterization of the "National Guardian" appears in the appendix hereto.

#### H. THE FREE UNIVERSITY OF MILWAUKEE

NK T-7 made available on October 10, 1966 literature concerning the Free University of Milwaukee which was being established to create an atmosphere in which a democratic exchange of ideas is possible and where the individual can participate in a personal learning experience. It was noted that this atmosphere does not exist in the present multi-university system.

The literature went on to explain that the ideals of the Free University of Milwaukee are best expressed in the words of TOM HAYDEN, former President of the SDS, which are as follows:

"I believe education in a democracy should be; threatening and renewing——threatening in that it should critically examine the deepest understandings of life, confronting taboo, habit, ritual, and ethics with a withering 'why', unearthing the values that society buries for security's sake, and exposing these to the sunlight of the inquiring mind; renewing in that it transmits human cultrue from generation to generation and place to place, transforming some parts, modifying others, concurring with still others, yet expressing reverence for the whole.

"The main and transcending concern of the university must be the unfolding and refinement of the moral, aesthetic, and logical capacities of men in a manner that creates genuine independence."

Attached also to this material was a copy of a pamphlet written by HAYDEN in 1965 entitled "Student Social Action" distributed by the SDS, San Francisco, California, wherein HAYDEN stated his belief in freedom of action on the university level.

### I. ARTICLE BY HAYDEN ENTITLED "THE ABILITY TO FACE WHATEVER COMES

NK T-2 made available on February 28, 1967, a four page mimeographed leaflet which indicated that it had been produced by the Princeton SDS, Princeton, New Jersey, in November, 1966. It further indicated that this was an article by TOM HAYDEN entitled "The Ability to Face Whatever Comes" and was a reprint from "New Republic" of January 15, 1966. In this article, HAYDEN states in part as follows:

"Most people think this is a healthy country with a few isolated ailments. But the difficulties encountered in trying to cure those ailments persuade some us that an epidemic has spread over America. Signs of it are everywhere. Three current ones are the Vietnam war, the reluctance of authorities to meet the needs of Negroes and poor people, and the furor over free speech in universities. In each case, the pattern is the same...

- "1. People have little active control over decisions and institutions...
- "2. When trouble breaks out, Americans blame frustrated minorities of agitators; the mainstream of America is accepted as good for everyone except psychological misfits and outside enemies...
- "3. Those actually responsible for the Vietnam war, segregation, poverty, and university paternalism are not Birchite generals, Southern rednecks and old-fashioned college alumni. Instead they are powerful and respectable men whose type is now dominant throughout society...."

The article went on to state that in a managed society "many Negroes are outcasts in white society. Many working people are outcasts from business society, and most from union society as well. Many young people are outcasts because, if they are poor, they have no future within the existing system; and, if they are affluent, they cannot be fulfilled by endless striving for more of what they inherited at birth. Many professionals are outcasts because their talents are wasted by the Great Society. Housewives too.

"These outcasts do not form an economic class; they share a common status. They are not unified by common places of work or living; they are isolated. They have no common set of immediate needs; their views of the world often clash. They seem to want only a modes freedom for themselves within a system they have no hope of changing. They flare into revolt now and then, but individually and indirectly; they appear more to be evading, perhaps mocking, the system while going along with its routines. The strain upon them comes from living with what they cannot accept but cannot change.

"If neither a class crisis nor a genuine division of social opinion seems in the making, what can turn outcasts toward effective rebellion?

"The problem is partially one of strategy and tactics, or building a movement; partially personal and existential, or finding a basis for radical work when there is very little hope for positive change within a lifetime. I offer only the most tentative and general ways to look at these problems, because I believe they will be settled, if at all, more by feel than theory and mostly in immediate specific situations.

"Building a movement' means that however alienated new radicals might be, they somehow work in existing American communities. If only to prevent the total closing of society, or to take real steps that create change, there must be community controversy inspired by an organized left. Without developing a human base, clearheaded about the way its needs are denied, the new radicalism will have neither leverage nor growth...

"Acting as a radical means far more than overcoming the orthodox pressures to conform, great as those are. It means, at this time, working with little belief in Utopia. There simply is no active agency of radical change - no race class or nation - in which radicals can invest high hopes as they have in previous times. Nor is there much possibility, so damaged are we, of building a utiopian community in the here and now, from which to gather strength, go forth and change the world. That "the people" often are brilliant and resourceful should not blind us to faults. At least some of the time, people fight each other when their "interest" is in uniting; respond fearfully when they

should stand up; vote "wrong" when radical alternatives are put forward; lose spirit in the final rounds of battle; remain attracted privately to the system of manipulated authority they condemn in public..."

## J. SDS MEETING, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 13, 1967

NK T-8 advised on April 17, 1967, that the SDS held a meeting at the Free University, 20 East 14th Street, New York City, on April 13, 1967. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the possibilities of anti-war and anti-draft action in connection with civil disobedience during the summer months. One of those present at the meeting was TOM HAYDEN who, according to the informant, suggested that 10,000 - 30,000 persons should go to Washington and present a personal list of what he or she will do to resist the draft and the war.

#### K. MID-ATLANTIC AND NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE ON CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 21-23, 1967

On April 24, 1967, NK T-9 advised that on April 24, 1967, a source advised that a Mid-Atlantic and New England Conference on China and the United States, sponsored by the RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT (REP) of the SDS, was to be held on April 21-23, 1967, in the Assembly Hall of the Riverside Church, Claremont Avenue and 120th Street, New York City. The conference used the mailing address of Post Office Box 326, Cathedral Station, New York City, 10025.

The source furnished a copy of the program which includes a "Statement of Purpose" for calling the conference. It stated that "a conference of all those who are opposed to American attitudes and policy towards China is being called on April 21-23, 1967, in New York City; it is the goal of this conference to present critical analysis of the internal situation in China and of China's position in international politics. It is hoped that the scholars, teachers, journalists, students, and other people concerned with United States foreign policy and China who participate in the conference will come away better equipped

intellectually and with a commitment to offer intelligent alternatives to the present impasse."

The conference began at 7 pm on April 21, 1967, and one of the speakers at this opening conference was TOM HAYDEN of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT who spoke on the topic of the "Domestic Context of United States - China Policy". HAYDEN attempted to relate this Government's handling of poverty and racial problems to its conduct of foreign affairs with underdeveloped countries. He commented on the racist attitude of the United States in respect to recruiting and assigning Negro soldiers to combat, and the predominance of Southern racists in officer ranks in Vietnam and among the supporters of current United States policy. He stated that the policy of the United States is to do nothing to help underprivileged people unless forced to by a crisis, such as Viet Cong activities, strikes, sit-ins and demonstrations in the South or in the Northern ghettos. The United States refuses to make it possible for these people to work out their own destinies, rather it shackles them with the conditions of its assistance. He spoke favorably of the North Vietnam Government, MAO, the Red Chinese Government and its past and present activities. He indicated that the United States desires cooperation with Russia due to fear of Red China. He favored the city and country side theory of revoluntion advocated by Marshal LIN PAO.

HAYDEN spoke favorably of FIDEL CASTRO, CHE GUEVARA, and other revolutionaries in South America and Africa. He favored freedom for Puerto Rico. In conclusion, he recommended resistance to the current Government policy by demonstrations, refusal to serve in the military, and interference with military operations. He was not specific as to the nature of such action.

NK 100-48095 BJC/jtm

## L. SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE WORKSHOP CONFERENCE MAY 20 - 21, 1967

On June 26, 1967, NK T-10 advised that TOM HAYDEN of the SDS was present at the Spring Mobilization Workshop Conference at the Hawthorne School, Washington, D.C., at the May 20, 1967, session. At this session he assisted the Chairman of the Workshop on "Draft Resistance."

#### M. CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY "LIBERATION MAGAZINE" MAY 27 - 28, 1967

NK T-10 advised on June 9, 1967, that GEORGE NOVACK, a member of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) in New York City, had attended as a representative of the SWP, a closed conference sponsored by "Liberation Magazine" held at the University of Chicago, May 27 - 28, 1967. One of the 25 to 30 who attended this conference, according to NOVACK, was TOM HAYDEN, whom he identified as being with the SDS. NOVACK advised the source that everyone at the conference, which was by invitation only, was well versed in Marxism and that there was "no hostility" to Marxism at the conference, except by TOM HAYDEN, whom he described as being "of the right wing of SDS."

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

#### N. SDS NATIONAL CONVENTION JUNE 25 - 30, 1967

On July 10, 1967, NK T-8 advised that the National Convention of SDS was held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on June 25 - 30, 1967.

The General Assembly convened on Monday morning, June 26, 1967, and among those present was TOM HAYDEN. A discussion was held on the afternoon of June 26, 1967, from 4:00 to 7:00 p.m., with about 45 persons present, and the discussion dealt with a visit to North Vietnam by a group of Americans. One of the speakers was TOM HAYDEN, and he and the others told of seeing hospitals burned, schools destroyed, and the many victims of American bombings. They mentioned the different types of defenses they saw set up in North Vietnam and the Vietcong jungle traps.

NK 100-48095 BJC/jtm

HAYDEN explained by drawing a map how operation Junction City had turned into a fiasco for the Americans and how the Vietcong slipped through the trap destroying 350 tanks and killing "thousands of American troops." He mentioned that the North does not want Chinese troops on their land, but will not refuse their direct assistance if an invasion of the North should come. He also mentioned that a delegation of students from SDS will leave for a visit to Hanoi within the next five months and that these students would not necessarily be SDS members.

The General Assembly of this Convention met at 10:00 a.m. on June 29, 1967, which session consisted of debates on the proposal of sending a delegation to the Soviet Union and Hanoi. Source reported that TOM HAYDEN was present at this session.

NK T-11 advised on July 10, 1967, that approximately 400 individuals had attended the SDS National Convention held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the period June 25 - 30, 1967.

The "Michigan Daily," a University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, student newspaper, in its edition of June 27, 1967, carried an article concerning the SDS Convention activities of June 26, 1967. In the article, it noted that at the general discussion on Vietnam, one of the speakers was TOM HAYDEN, a former SDS National President. HAYDEN, in his talk, emphasized the need to discuss strategy rather than analysis about the Vietnam war since he felt that SDS members know or should know the facts about the situation already.

HAYDEN presented three possible alternatives which were available to President JOHNSON at present:

- 1) Gradual escalation continuing at the present rate
- 2) The implementation of poison gas, nuclear weapons and land invasion
- 3) Withdrawal and retreat on grounds that the war had become a bad investment

NK 100-48095 BJC/jtm

#### O. "TEACH-IN ON PUERTO RICO" JULY 13, 1967

On July 17, 1967, NK T-9 advised that a "Teach-In on Puerto Rico" was held on July 13, 1967, at Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia University, New York. The source also furnished a copy of Volume I, No. 5 issue of the "NACLA News-Letter," published ten times a year by the North American Congress on Latin America, which stated that the "teach-in" on July 13, 1967, was being jointly sponsored by the NACLA, the Tri-Continental Information Center, SDS, and the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence. According to a leaflet put out announcing the "teach-in", the speakers at the "teach-in" were to be H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), JUAN ANGEL/SILEN of the MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO, TOM HAYDEN, NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, STANLEY ARONOWITZ of the WESTSIDE COMMITTEE FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, and RAFAEL RUIZ of the New York MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO.

Characterizations of the MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO and MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO - NEW YORK MISSION are contained in the Appendix hereto.

#### JUAN ANGEL SILEN

Q.P.

#### STANLEY ARONOWITZ

On March 12, 1957, NK T-12 advised STANLEY ARONOWITZ' name in about March, 1957, had been observed in the possession of OLGA and VICTORAGOSTO. On February 8, 1956, NK T-13 advised that as of February, 1956, OLGA and VICTOR AGOSTO were leading functionaries of the Harlem Section, CP, USA.

#### RAFAEL RUIZ

NK T-14 advised on April 26, 1967, that RAFAEL RUIZ was a member of the MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO - NEW YORK MISSION.

ь7р

NK 100-48095 BJC/jtm

NK T-9 advised that TOM HAYDEN of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT, in his speech, discussed his tour of Puerto Rico and indicated he favored "urban guerrila" tactics there.

HAYDEN added that the "New Left" should define its objectives and conduct programs which would force the U.S. to react and not have the "New Left" in the position of reacting to U.S. policy.

He commented the "New Left" should promote strong liaison between campus groups and revolutionary movements by arranging speakers and tours of campuses.

HAYDEN also praised CASTRO, CHE GUEVARA and other revolutionary leaders, including HO CHI MINH and MAO TSE TUNG.

HAYDEN stated that a climate for revolution should be encouraged and promoted. He stated that international cooperation between the Vietcong and Cuba should be encouraged to promote world-wide revolution. He commented that a military force cannot stop groups which will utilize all available techniques such as throwing rocks and setting fires.

HAYDEN stated that "a Negro stoning a brutal police officer in Watts, Newark, or Cincinnati is an encouraging sign."

This same source advised on July 14, 1967, that TOM HAYDEN had, at about 10:00 p.m. on July 13, 1967, received a telephone call at Columbia University advising him about a disturbance in Newark, New Jersey, and he conferred with other speakers, after which he and H. RAP BROWN left the auditorium, apparently for Newark.

## P. NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS AUGUST 29 - SEPTEMBER 4, 1967

On August 22, 1966, Mr. JOHN DENTON, made available a brochure he had received through the mail concerning the NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS (NCNP), 250 West 57th Street, Suite 1528, New York, New York.

According to this brochure, the NCNP was identified as a newly founded group which was created to work for peace, civil rights, and to end poverty, and to register the greatest impact by concentrating money and manpower on direct political

ь6 ь7с

NK 100-48095 BJC/jtm

action in selected political campaigns, preferably at the local, city, and state levels.

The brochure also indicated that the NCNP was emphasizing, as part of its program, a protest campaign against the U.S. intervention in the war in Vietnam.

NK T-15 on July 10, 1967, made available the first issue of "New Politics News," published by the Convention Center, 1517 West Howard Street, Chicago, Illinois. This publication of "New Politics News" reflects a call by the NCNP for a national convention entitled, "New Politics Convention on 196 and Beyond" to be held August 29, 1967, through September 4, 1967, at the Palmer House, State and Monroe Streets, Chicago, Illinois.

Page four of "New Politics News" indicated that TOM HAYDEN of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT had accepted an assignment on the Perspectives Plenary session to be held on the evening of Saturday, September 2, 1967.

It also noted that during the convention itself, a four-man panel would hold a discussion on "Perspectives for 1968" and that one of the speakers on this panel would be TOM HAYDEN of the NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT.

#### III. ARREST OF SUBJECT

On April 5, 1967, BERNARD MC CABE, Office of the Chief of Police, Newark, New Jersey, advised that 18 persons were arrested by the Newark Police Department on April 1, 1967, for refusing to obey the request of a police officer not to block the store entrance that the group was picketing in protest of "high prices and low quality products." Among those arrested on April 1, 1967, by the Newark Police Department was THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, who was born December 11, 1939.

NK 100-48095 BJC/jtm

#### APPENDIX.

MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)

The Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) was organized in November, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, to work for the independence of Puerto Rico. It has an estimated membership of between 1,000 and 1,300 people with missions throughout the island of Puerto Rico and in New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York.

At the time the MPIPR was organized it indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leader of this organization, in a speech during March, 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States. A source reported in 1966 that a leader of the MPIPR has indicated that "the revolution" would soon begin and another source advised that another official of this organization has attempted to obtain a number of automatic pistols. Articles praising FIDEL CASTRO and the Cuban Government regularly appear in MPIPR publications. In 1961, it adopted a resolution expressing 100 per cent approval of and solidarity with the Cuban revolution. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference of African, Asian and Latin American People, held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966, and it maintains a permanent delegate to the Secretariat located in Havana.

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous demonstrations protesting compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

NK 100-48095 BJC/jtm

#### APPENDIX

MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA
DE PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MPIPR)
- NEW YORK MISSION (NYM)

A source advised on August 15, 1961, that the New York Mission (NYM) of the MPIPR was organized on August 6, 1961, in New York City.

A second source advised on May 17, 1967, that the NYM is also known as the "Mision Vito Marcantonio." This source advised that the NYM maintains office space at 336 East 13th Street, New York, New York, and that the primary meeting hall of the NYM is located at the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York, New York.

The second source stated on May 17, 1967, that the MPIPR-NYM continues to support and promote all of the aims and principles of the MPIPR as set forth by the headquarters of the MPIPR in Puerto Rico.

A characterization of the MPIPR is set out separately.

#### APPENDIX

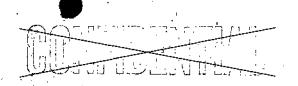
1

#### "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., reflects the following on Page 193 regarding the "National Guardian":

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)



#### APPENDIX

#### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist provise was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The mational headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.



#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION Newark, New Jersey

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. 100-48095

Title

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character

SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference

Report of SA BERNARD JO CONNELL dated and captioned as above at Newark, New Jersey.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Rejer to
File No.

Title

THE PART CHARGE HAVEE

Character

SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference

Report of MA BENEARD J. COMMILL Cated and captioned as above at Hewark. Hew Jersey.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey September 21, 1967

SECRET

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Reference is made to memorandum of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police dated June 29, 1967, which related information that the captioned individual planned to bring a large group of people to visit Expo \*67 on the weekend of September 22 to 24, arriving in Montreal on the morning of September 23, 1967.

On September 18, 1967, a source, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised that he learned that several months ago people who were formerly connected with the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) in the Clinton Hill Section of Newark, New Jersey, were considering a bus ride to Canada over the weekend of September 22 to 24, 1967. According to this source the ride was designed to give the poor people in the Clinton Hill section a chance to go to Canada. Expenses were to be an absolute minimum and no profit was to result to the NCUP on the trip.

On September 21,1967, the same source advised that while there had been some original enthusiasm for the bus ride those who ordinarily would have sold many tickets to it have found themselves busy on other matters. From the best information he has at this time not too many tickets have been sold and if the ride does, in fact, take place, there would not be more than one bus.

This source identified Thomas Hayden as the individual who founded the NCUP, which was a community organizing project of the Students for a Democratic Society.

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

Classified by

Exempt from CDS Category

Date of Declassification Indefinite

SECRET GROUP I

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

OOPIES DESTROYED 9 25 SEP 7 1972

ENCLOSURE 10-0-438281-4

THE

#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

"The 'New York Daily News' January 10, 1966, issue contained an article entitled 'Word From the Left'. The article stated that 'Three Americans who defied a State Department travel ban to spend tendays in North Viet Nam arrived at Kennedy Airport on January 9, 1966, mouthing the Communist Hanoi line about the deep 'inconsistency' of the 'hypocritical' United States Vietnamese policy.

w

"The three --- Yale Poofessor Staughton Lynd, 36; Herbert Aptheker, 50, Communist Theoretician and Director of the American Institute for MAPRIST Studies (AIMS) here and Thomas Hayden, 23, a founder of the leftist Students for a Democratic Society --- were greeted by an applauding group of about fifty persons, including beatnik types --- "."

lω

A characterization of AIMS is attached hereto.

On August 13, 1953, Staughton Lynd advised Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946, at Harvard University. He stated that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the Campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947.

u

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not bo be districted outside your agency.

THEE

SESSET

#### APPENDIX

1

#### AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, Herbert Aptheker stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology, and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised on June 30, 1966, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CPUSA, at the 18th National Convention of the CPUSA held June 22-26, 1966, in New York City.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, Herbert Aptheker spoke at the CP of New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. Aptheker stated AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed within the scope of the McCarran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Markist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source reported on August 29, 1966, that AIMS issues a "Newsletter" every other month. This source also made available the information that AIMS issued publications and holds symposiums concerning Marxism.

A fifth source advised on May 9, 1967, that as of that date, AIMS was located at 20 Rast 30th Street, New York City.

(U)





#### APPENDIX

1

#### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.







In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey September 21, 1967

SECRET

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Reference is made to memorandum of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police dated June 29, 1967, which related information that the captioned individual planned to bring a large group of people to visit Expo \*67 on the weekend of September 22 to 24, arriving in Montreal on the morning of September 23, 1967.

On September 18, 1967, a source, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised that he learned that several months ago people who were formerly connected with the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) in the Clinton Hill Section of Newark, New Jersey, were considering a bus ride to Canada over the weekend of September 22 to 24, 1967. According to this source the ride was designed to give the poor people in the Clinton Hill section a chance to go to Canada. Expenses were to be an absolute minimum and no profit was to result to the NCUP on the trip.

On September 21,1967, the same source advised that while there had been some original enthusiasm for the bus ride those who ordinarily would have sold many tickets to it have found themselves busy on other matters. From the best information he has at this time not too many tickets have been sold and if the ride does, in fact, take place, there would not be more than one bus.

This source identified Thomas Hayden as the individual who founded the NCUP, which was a community organizing project of the Students for a Democratic Society.

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

SECRET
GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Transmit	the following i	F B. Mr. DeLoach Mr. Mohr Mr. Bishop Mr. Casper Mr. Callahan Mr. Conrad Mr. Felt Mr. Gale Mr. Rosen Mr. Sullivan Mr. Sullivan	
Vid	AIRTEL	(Type in plaintext or code)  Mr. Tavel  Mr. Trotter  Tele. Room  (Priority)  Miss Holmes  Miss Gandy	
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)	
	FROM:	SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)	ا. -
	SUBJECT:	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SECURITY MATTER - C  b3 b7	
9   9	New York.  HM Please  only to Please  only routing slip for  info	The source set forth in LHM is former	R. OF RINGE WITH ST.
	2-New Yor 3-Newark (1-100- GEJ:jes (10)	rk (100-128969) (LIBERATION MAGAZINE) (Encs. 2) (Info) (RM)	OPY AND COP



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey September 22, 1967

#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SECURITY MATTER - C

The "Newark Evening News", a daily newspaper published in Newark, New Jersey, in the issue of September 21, 1967, announced the publication of a new book by Thomas Hayden entitled "Rebellion in Newark". The book, published this week by Vintage Books, a division of Random House in New York City, contends the Newark riots in July 1967, were the Negro response to "the original and greater violence of rascism" by whites.

The article related that Hayden, during the week of September 11, 1967, accompanied two individuals from Newark, New Jersey, to attend a conference in Czechoslovakia with North Vietnamese and Vietcong, representatives, and he was one of 41 Americans, sho took part in the week-long session arranged by David Dellinger, Editor of "Liberation" magazine. The article stated that according to Hayden's friends, he was presently traveling in Europe and not expected to return to Newark until October.

On May 14, 1963, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on May 10, 1963, the Militant Labor Forum (MLF) sponsored a symposium in New York, New York. The first speaker was David Dellinger, Editor of "Liberation" magazine. Dellinger identified himself as a pacifist. He stated that it was necessary to abolish the cause of war, which is capitalism. He advocated a Communist society and said "I am a Communist", but pointed out that he was not a Soviet type Communist.

The MLF is characterized in the appendix pages attached hereto.

OPIES DESTROYED
9 25 SEP 7 1972

100-438281-41

#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Hayden is described as a graduate of the University of Michigan and a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Since coming to Newark, New Jersey, in 1964, he has been a leader of the Newark Community Union Project, a community action program sponsored by SDS in the Clinton Hill section of Newark, New Jersey.

A characterization of SDS is attached in the appendix pages hereto.

Hayden is described as follows:

MES Thomas Emmett Mayden Name: Sex: White Race: Date of Birth: December 11, 1939 Place of Birth: Detroit, Michigan Height: 5'10" 150 pounds Weight: Black Hair: Brown Eyes: Sallow Complexion: Medium Build: Community organizer Occupation: Divorced, April 1,/1963 Marital Status: from Sandra Cason Hayden mlomis John Francis Hayden Parents: 14842 Craig Court Warren, Michigan - Father Genevieve Garity Hayden 1217 East 4th Royal Oak, Michigan - Mother Graduate, University of Education: Michigan, 1961

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

#### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

#### APPENDIX

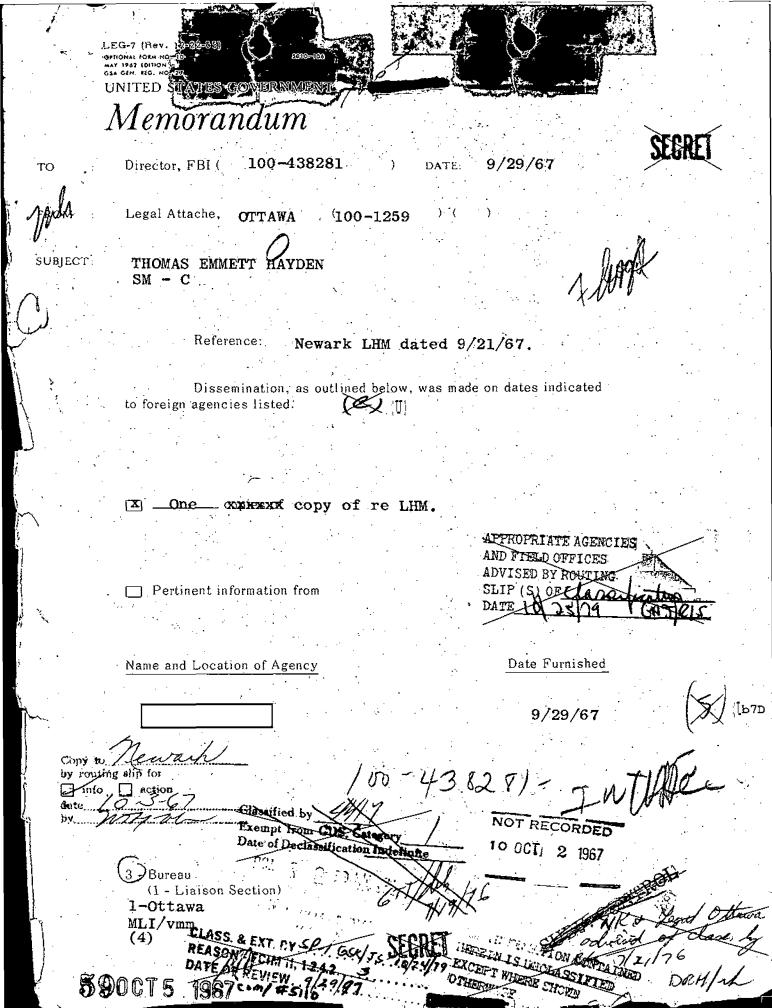
1

#### MILITANT\_LABOR FORUM

A source advised on May 17, 1967, that public forums are regularly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) - New York Local (NYL) on Friday evenings, and are held at SWP headquarters, 873 Broadway, New York, New York. These are called Militant Labor Forums.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

ECLASSIFICATION BI AUTOMATIC DE		DERIVED FROM:	
ATE 06-30-2021	≥ BY:		. b6
<i></i>			ь70
•	٠		<del>-</del>
	•	FB!	
	1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1	Date: 10-27-67	
Transmit the f	ollowing in		
	į.	(Type in plaintext or code)	
ViaA	irtel	REGISTERED	
		(Priority)	
°	<del>-</del> -		
( ( <u>)</u>	91:	Director, FBI (100-438281)	
	Yom:	Legat, Ottawa (100-1484) (RUC)	}
25 / S		TWO MASS. THRESTORM INA VIDENI	
V / / S	ubject:	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN IS - VIETNAM	
8	•	Remytel 8-11-67.	
			<b>+</b>
		Enclosed are the original and two copies of	b7
			-
`			
.			
	•		-
	•		
		for the second s	
	•	PAR CONTRIB	-
9	- Burea	ENCLOSURE au (Enc. 3)	,
	1 cc	- Liaison Direct	. }
	1 cc	- Legat, Paris - Legat, London Exempt	
	1 cc	Degue, Donath	
	l cc	- Newark	1
1	1 cc - OTT	- New York REC- 23	New York
M	LI:jhc	LO TILO TILO	MITA
/ capital gests		1 100 438211-1111	1,4/8
by routing slip	Men Zo	non, copy to tensit	1
Info   a	ction	by routing slip for 15 007 30 1967	
by wife.	at ;	date / 27 15 007 30 1967	
	, O.,		
	<b>O</b>	SECRET	
		oppropriate office advised	
(		of class to 15 7/21/74	J.
bakoldd <b>∀</b>	VI TO	Sent M. Per	
& O MO	IN T 20fg	161/Agent in Charge	



F	В	1

-	he following in	···	(Ty	pe in plaintext or	code)	<del></del>	
· .	AIRTEL	Marine State of the			. · · · .		
				, (Priori	iy)		
		1	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<del></del>			- <del>-</del>
,	TO:	DIRECTOR	"   FBI" (10	0-438281)			1
						- ADMOR	d
:	FROM:	SAC, NEW	ARK (100-	48095)	•	~ (\ <b>V</b> (\text{\text{y}})\cdot\(\text{\text{y}	
						//	•
·. 	SUBJECT:	THOMAS E	MMETT HAY	DEN			
	-	SECURITY	MATTER -	C	,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
م کی	D						
A	matter.	Re NK air	rtel and	LHM dated	9/22/67 i	n captioned	d
الحسم			1.1				_
' \ 1 (	of an LHM	Enclosed concernia	herewith	for the labilities for the lab	Bureau are orting bis	eight cop: return to	ies .
+	the U.S.				-, <b>.</b>		
							U.
•					•		
	•			•			
. اد د		9					
LHN Corr		late RAO					
	ting slip for	late, RAO					
by rou	ting slip for o action	late, RAO					
by rou	ting slip for	late, RAO					
by rou	ting slip for o action	tate, RAO					
by rou	ting slip for o action			Rec		12878/	, ,
by rou date by	action action	(English 8)	(RM)	REC- 68	100-4	13828/	<u>-</u> 4
by rou date by	Bureau 2- Newark BJC: 1g1		(RM)	REC- 68			-4
by rou date by	Bureau 2- Newark BJC: 1g1	(English 8)	(RM)	REC- 68	100 - 4		<u>-</u> 4
by rou date by	Bureau 2- Newark BJC: 1g1	(English 8)	(RM)	REC- 68			-4
by rou date by	Bureau 2- Newark BJC: 1g1		(RM)	REC- 68			-4
by rou date by	Bureau 2- Newark BJC: 1g1	(English 8)	(RM)	REC- 68			-4

b3 b7Е



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey November 14, 1967

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference is made to memorandum at Newark, New Jersey dated September 22, 1967, in the captioned matter which related that Thomas Hayden was one of 41 Americans who was then in Czechoslovakia to attend a conference with North Vietnamese and Vietcong representatives.

"The New York Times" of October 20, 1367, page 7, carried an Associated Press dispatch from Hanoi, North Vietnam dated October 19, 1967. This article noted that Hayden was one of seven Americans who were visiting in North Vietnam from September 30 to October 17, 1967, and were expected to return to the United States with a message from Premier Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam to the United States antiwar movement.

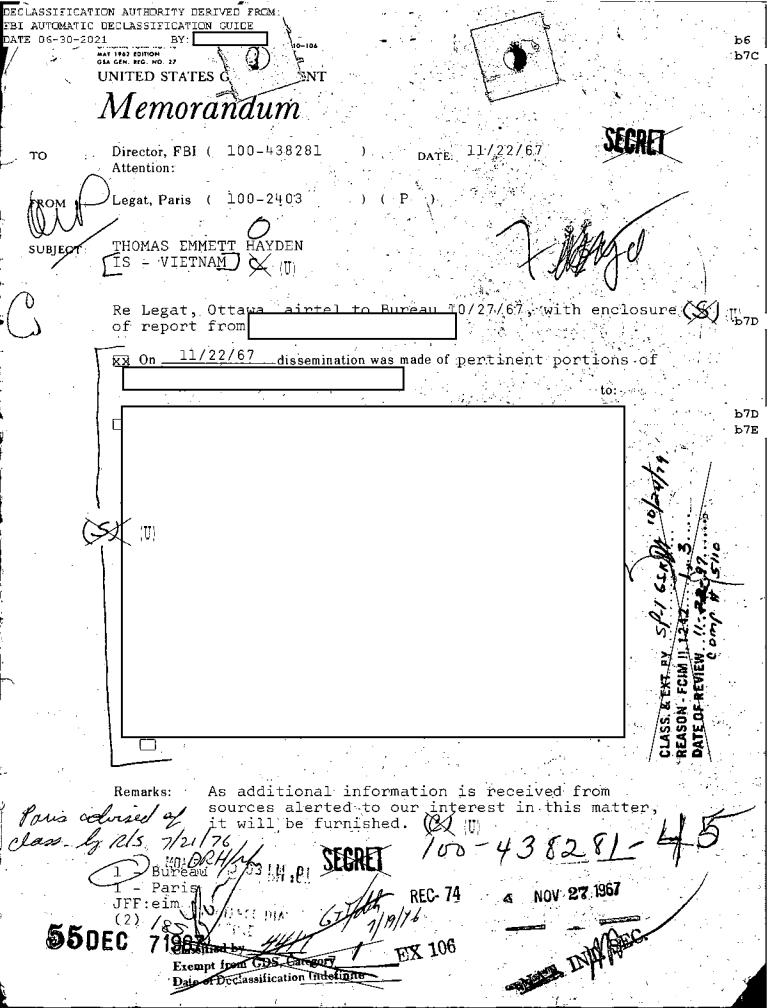
"The New York Times" of November 14, 1967, page three, carried a news story relating that Hayden had returned to the United States on November 13, 1967, arriving at John F. Kennedy Airport in New York. With Hayden at the time of his arrival were three American soldiers who had been prisoners of the North Vietnam and who had been released to Hayden in Cambodia. After their release they were accompanied by Hayden to Beirut, Lebanon, Rome, Paris, and then to the United States. The news article hoted that Hayden was representing an anti-war committee and that the North Vietnam Government

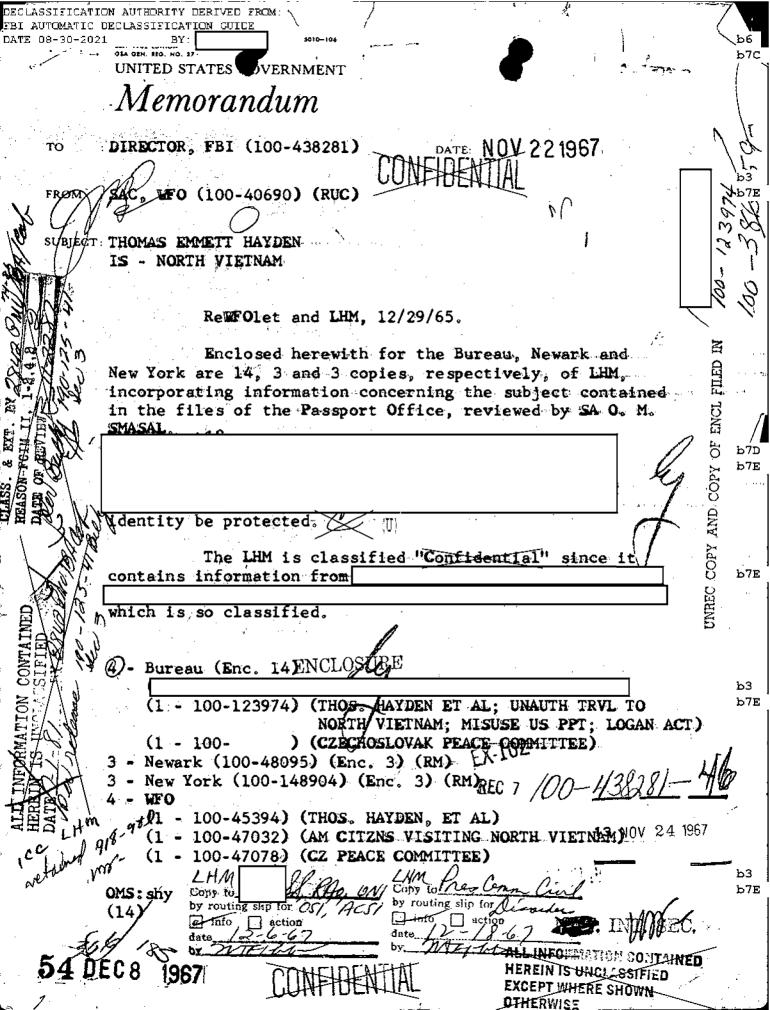
COPIES DESTROYED
9 25 SEP 7 1972

ENCLOSURE 100-438281\_44

communicated their integest in releasing prisoners during talks with American antiwar leaders in Bratislava, . Czechoslovakia, in October, 1967.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.





WFO 100-40690

CONFIDENTIAL

Any additional information which may be received from the \_\_\_\_\_ in this matter will be forwarded to the Bureau and interested offices.

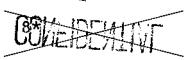
- 2 -

b7E

b7E

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOI/PA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET FOI/PA# 1360161-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 7

Page 3 ~ Duplicate;

Page 13 ~ Duplicate; Page 17 ~ b7E;

Page 18 ~ b7E;

Page 19 ~ b7E; Page 23 ~ Duplicate; Page 85 ~ Duplicate;

#### XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

X Deleted Page(s) X

X No Duplication Fee XX For this Page X

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE DATE 08-30-2021 BY:		ь6 ь7с
	1	
FBI		
Date: 11/15/67	*	
Transmit the following in(Type in plaintext or code)		
Via		
(Priority)		. –
War and the second of the seco		
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI	(f	
FROM: LEGAT, PARIS (100-2402)(P)	r (	
SUBJECT: THOMAS HAYDEN	0.51	
SM - C		
ReNKairtel, 10/11/67, captioned "American	pl. m	
Pacifist Activities in France."	ν.,	
Enclosed are 9 copies of LHM, dated and ca	iptioned	
the the	1 100	ь7р
(T-I), LHM classified "Confidential" as data	was so	
classified by the source.	( <b>√</b> €()(0)	
Legat, Paris files contain no reference to		
Any additional pertinent information recei	ved will	2
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES	'ı, <i>d</i>	
ADVISED BY POUTING	<b>77</b> 0 11 2 1 2 1	
SLIP (S) OF AMELOID DATE CASIALLY IN	VER NOTE OF D	564
(2 - Newark) (1 - New York)(Info)	- 1	
1 - Legat, London (Encl.1)(Info)(Sent direct)		
Con to lecentlesunto DED SP+	30701-49	ьз
JFF: sch in twelling ellip for RAO (9) [Grade Backen RAO	28001 11	67E
AIRTEL by GTE GO	22 1967	
* morals to allies & the		
agencies atured of the C. Bistion Classified by Category 13	<i>/</i> 1	
Stars by RIS 74 76 Date of Declaration Indefinity	16	ļ.
Approved: Sent Sent M Person	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH	
57 DEC 1 195 Special Agent in Charge	<del> </del>	





## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 15,1967

ь7р

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

### THOMAS HAYDEN

T-1, a confidential source abroad, 1967, furnished the following information:	on November 15,
A reliable source advised T-1	
	\

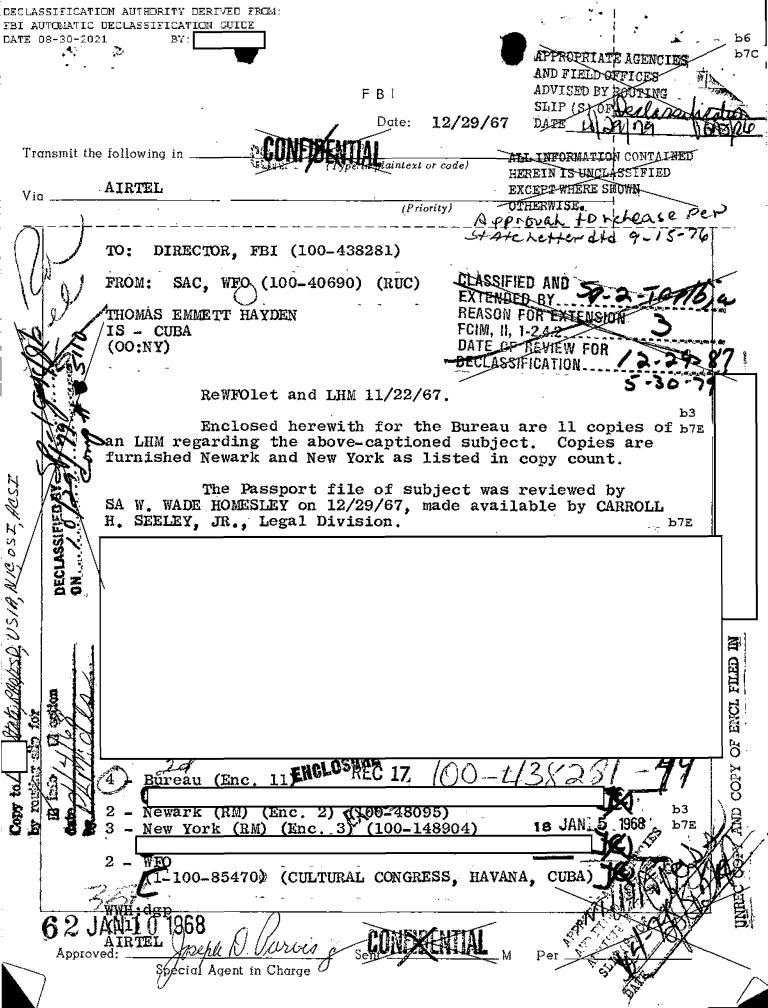
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FSI and is based to your agency, it and its continus are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Classified by 44 Exempt from COS Category Date of Declassification Indefinite

COPIES DESTROYED 9 25 SEF 7 1972

MOLOSURE

AUTOMATIC DECL	AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: ASSIFICATION GUICE 5010-107-02
	EN. REG. NO. 27
	ITED STATES GOORNMENT
$\lambda$	1emorandum
<b>▲</b> ₹.	
το : DII	RECTOR, FBI (100-438281) DATE: 11/30/67
	CECOLL
FROM LEG	GAT, PARIS (100-2403) (RUC)
λ Ø./	A NOTICE OF THE PARTY OF THE PA
	OMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
∑IS.	- VIETNAM 🔀 (U)
	Re Ottawa airtel to Bureau 10/27/67 and mylet to
Bu	reau 11/22/67.
	b7D *
<u></u>	The on 11/21/67,
	•
· · · ·	(U) <b>(</b> ( )
<u> </u>	
•	
	Any additional pertinent information received will
be	furnished. (8)
12	ARPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
	ADVISED BY RODALIG
A :/ 11 "	SLIP (S) OF CARD, DEATH
1 /5	Bureau
Ny	(1 - Liaison Section) REC 54 (0) (1 - Newark, Info.)
12.0	(1 - Newark, 100.) (1 - Legat, Ottawa, 100-1484, Info.)
	- Paris
	F:eim  (F) represent affice admit 13 DEC 4- 1967
【蛋质。"	class 121/76
NE BY	Deut the
/## W	n. L.
1 1 1 1 D	opy to /- Curtuse
323 \ n	y routing slip for Classified by Classified by
1. da di	ate Exempt from Cos, Category
b)	Date of Declassification Indefine
	55DEC 131967 CERFT GATE
	Down II'S Servings Roads December on the Danwell Serving Dies
<u> 7 1</u>	Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



WFO	100-	40690
T	700-	- TO O O O

# CONTRANTAL

 		 •
_	•	,

b7E



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE .

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. December 29, 1967

### THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Carroll H. Seeley, Jr., Assistant Chief, Legal Division, Passport Office, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., advised on December 29, 1967, Thomas Emmett Hayden appeared at the Washington Passport Agency, Washington, D.C., on December 28, 1967, accompanied by David Carliner, a Washington, D.C. Attorney affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), requesting a passport for Hayden. Seeley advised that after having met certain requirements and administrative procedures of the Passport Office, a passport was issued to him on that date. The Passport Number H1351965, when issued, was valid only for a one round trip visit to Cuba during the month of January, 1968.

In a letter dated December 28, 1967, directed to Hayden, which was turned over to him personally at the Passport Office along with his newly issued passport. read as follows:

"Mr. Thomas E. Hayden 631 Hunterdon Newark, N.J.

"Dear Mr. Hayden:

"Your passport which is enclosed has been validated for one round trip to Cuba during the month of January 1968.

"The Department's decision to enter this validation on your passport was based upon statements made by you and by newspaper or magazine editors, that the sole purpose of your trip was to obtain information about Cuba for

Approval to reloase

Perstate Letter old 9-15-79

By TAP/bia

5-30-79 COPIES DESTROYED 9 25 SEP 7 1972

100-435291-49

publication in the United States. The passport regulations recognize that purpose as being '"in the national interest of the United States" and authorize the issuance of such a validation for journalistic travel by a professional reporter.

"We think it important to emphasize, however, that only journalistic travel is intended to be comprehended within your passport validation. Activities which indicate that the purpose of your trip is other than reportorial in nature may be considered proof of misrepresentation in the application for passport validation or of violation of the conditions under which your travel was authorized and may result in the revocation of your passport.

"It is your responsibility to obtain permission from the Cuban Government to enter Cuba. In this respect, application for a Cuban visa (permission) can be made at the Embassy of the Czechoslovakia Socialist Republic, 2349 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, or at the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City.

"The Cuban Assets Control Regulations administered by the Treasury Department prohibit all unlicensed transactions by Americans with Cuba or nationals thereof including payments for travel expenses, for accommodations, or for services. They also prohibit Americans from making unlicensed purchases in Cuba of any goods whether for consumption, exportation or importation into the United States. Application forms for the necessary license and any additional information you may require should be obtained from the Foreign Assets Control, Treasury Department, Washington, D.C. 20220, or the Foreign Assets Control Division, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 33 Liberty Street, New York, New York 10045.

"A Department of Commerce license may also be required on items the traveler is taking to Cuba other than (1) personal baggage and (2) tools or equipment owned by the

traveler and necessary to his trade or occupation. Questions regarding the necessity for a Department of Commerce license should be referred to the Department of Commerce, Office of Export Control, Washington, D.C., or any Department of Commerce Field Office.

"If you are planning to go to Cuba via Mexico and back to the United States again via Mexico, you are urged to obtain a transit visa for Mexico before departure for Cuba. We have been advised that the Mexican Embassy at Havana has instructions to refuse categorically to deliver transiit visas for Mexico and that only the Ministerio de Gobernacion in Mexico is competent to deliver such visas. According to the Mexican Government procurement of a visa may be expedited by the application being made personally with the Mexican Immigration Ministry prior to departure to Cuba. For this reason, it is suggested that if you are planning to go to Cuba via Mexico and out again via Mexico, you should immediately make application for your transit visa with the Mexican Immigration Ministry. In this regard, the United States Government cannot act as an intermediary in Mexican visa matters.

"I should like to emphasize the fact that our Government does not have diplomatic relations with the Government of Cuba and our interests are being represented by a third country (Switzerland). Since we lack direct communications with the Cuban Government we cannot extend to American travelers the protection which citizens can expect in a country with which we have diplomatic relations. I would suggest that you be extremely careful during your visit and that you register at the Swiss Embassy as soon as possible after your arrival so that the Embassy may be aware of your presence in Cuba and you will be able to receive such assistance as may be needed.

Sincerely,

Frances G. Knight Director, Passport Office"

In support of his efforts to secure the passport, Hayden presented the following supporting statements or affidavits:

A letter on the letterhead of "Liberation," 5 Beekman Street, New York, New York, which read as follows:

"December 26, 1967

"Department of State Passport Division

"Gentlemen:

"Mr. Thomas Hayden is an associate editor of our magazine. He is seeking passport validation for Cuba for the purposes of research and writing. We would appreciate your granting this validation for a trip by Mr. Hayden in January.

Sincerely.

Lamar Hoover Managingv Editor"

A United States Department of State "validation sheet" which stated as follows:

"Name Thomas E. Hayden Address 227 Jelliff, Newark, New Jersey

"I request passport validation for Cuba. During my trip there in January, 1968, I-agree and during the period in which the validation is granted, I agree not to go to another restricted area or country, with or without my passport.

S/ "Thomas E. Hayden"

Hayden executed the following affidavits dated December 28, 1967:

#### "AFFIDAVIT

"I, Thomas E. Hayden, being duly sworn, depose and say:

If I am issued a passport I will not, during its period of validity, travel, with or without such passport, in violation of the travel restrictions or conditions contained therein or subsequently imposed by the United States Government unless I obtain prior authorization for such travel from the Department of State.

S/"Thomas E. Hayden"

#### "AFFIDAVIT

- "I, Thomas E. Hayden, being duly sworn, depose and say:
- 1. That I am a professional reporter, earning the bulk of my income from professional reporting, and that I have been assigned to travel to Cuba to obtain information about that area for publication in the United States;
- 2. That the sole purpose of my trip is to obtain such information for publication; and
- 3. That I do not intend to and will not participate in any meetings, conventions, conferences or other functions while in Cuba as a public speaker, delegate or other participant.
- 4. That I am not traveling to Cuba as a representative of any organization in the United States other than the publication which is assigning me to obtain information, and that I will not, while in Cuba, identify myself as a representative of any organization in the United States other than the publication which is assigning me to obtain information.

S/ "Thomas E. Hayden"

The following background information is set forth in the Passport Office records regarding Hayden:

Name

Date and place

of birth

Height

Hair Eyes

Occupation

Parents:

Father

Commen

Mother

Marital status

Permanen t

residence

Person to notify

Previous pass-

port

Approximate date of departure

Purpose of trip

North Vietnam.

Thomas Emmett Hayden

December 11, 1939, Detroit, Michigan

Five feet ten inches

Black" Brown

Journalist

John F. Hayden, born May 9, 1913, Milwankee, Wisconsin, a United States citizen

Genevieve L. Hayden, born February 23, 1915,

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

Last married October 1, 1962, to Sandra Cason, born October 12, 1937,

Victoria, Texas. Marriage terminated

by divorce April 13, 1964

631 Hunterdon Essex County, Newark,

New Jersey

Mother, Gene Hayden, 1217 E Fourth,

Royal Oak, Michigan

Passport issued December 15, 1965,

Number F102714, "expired and suspended

during court test."

December 30, 1967

To do research and writing in Cuba

for two weeks

The passport records noted Hayden's previous passport had been revoked because of unauthorized travel to

> recommendations inor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FDI and is lounced to your spency: it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

	Date: 12/18/67	
ansmit the foll	AIRTEL (Type in plaintext or code)	·
u	(Priority)	•
	TO: DIRECTOR, FBI	•
	FROM: SAC, WFO (P)	
	CULTURAL CONGRESS HAVANA, CUBA, 1/4-11/68 IS - CU (00: Bureau) HAYDEN	
	Reference is made to separate communication from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned	
	from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned with the names of individuals mentioned in the encluith the exception of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, concern whom no information was received previously in connwith the captioned Congress.  Enclosed are copies as designated for the	osure ing ection
	from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned with the names of individuals mentioned in the encl with the exception of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, concern whom no information was received previously in conn with the captioned Congress.	osure ing ection ioned
	from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned with the names of individuals mentioned in the enclawith the exception of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, concern whom no information was received previously in connwith the captioned Congress.  Enclosed are copies as designated for the Bureau and various offices of an LHM dated and capt as above, setting forth information furnished by	osure ing ection
	from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned with the names of individuals mentioned in the encl with the exception of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, concern whom no information was received previously in conn with the captioned Congress.  Enclosed are copies as designated for the Bureau and various offices of an LHM dated and capt as above, setting forth information furnished by  19-Bureau (Enc. 23)  (See page 1a)  4-WFO  NOT RECORDED	osure ing ection ioned b3 b7D
	from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned with the names of individuals mentioned in the enclawith the exception of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, concern whom no information was received previously in connwith the captioned Congress.  Enclosed are copies as designated for the Bureau and various offices of an LHM dated and capt as above, setting forth information furnished by  19-Bureau (Enc. 23)  (See page 1a)	osure ing ection ioned b3 b7D
	from WFO to Bureau and interested offices captioned with the names of individuals mentioned in the encl with the exception of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, concern whom no information was received previously in conn with the captioned Congress.  Enclosed are copies as designated for the Bureau and various offices of an LHM dated and capt as above, setting forth information furnished by  19-Bureau (Enc. 23)  (See page 1a)  78 DEC 29 1967	osure ing ection ioned

ORIGINAL FIRM

b3 b7E

```
ь3
                                                                   b7E
(Copy count continued)
19-Bureau
                                                                   ьз
                                                                   b7E
   (1- 100-384411)
  (1- 100-
                 ) (ARNONI)
  (1- 100-424169) (BLOICE)
  (1- 100-396916) (LYND)
  (1- 100-425307) (JONES)
✓(1- 100-438281) (HAYDEN)
                                                                  ь3
                                                                  b7E
2-Boston (Enc. 2)
2-New Haven (Enc. 2) (RM)
  (1- 100-
                ) (LYND)
5-Newark (Enc. 5) (RM)
  (1- 100-41323) (DELLINGER)
  (1- 100-46331) (ARNONI)
  (1- 100-42539) (JONES)
  (1- 100-48095) (HAYDEN)
9-New York (Enc. 9) (RM)
(1- 100-94428) (YGLESIAS)
                                                                  ьз
                                                                  b7E
  (1- 100-156351) (BRIGHTMAN)
 (1- 100-99410) ("JANGOL: IS - R") (SHERMAN)
```

SF 100-46832) (SCHEER)

b3 b7E

The enclosure is classified "Secret - No Foreign Dissemination" in view of the highly sensitive nature of the source and in addition, because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in the identification and compromise of a confidential informant of continuing value.

## Mamorandum

Co:

Robert H. Haynes

Special Agent

FBI Liaison Section

From:

M. C. Miskovsky

Director of Investigations

Subject:

Thomas Hayden

We would appreciate receiving a complete report on subject. We are particularly interested in his activities as they relate to:

- Contacts with domestic subversive organizations.
- Contacts with foreign groups or representatives.
- Contacts with individuals in Negro militant organizations.
  - Various sources of his finances.
  - His trip to Czechoslovakia, September 6-12, 1967.
- 6. His present influence in Students for a Democratic (SDS). Society

Any information on his Newark organization (formerly known as Newark Community Urban Project), his associa the successor organization.

> NOT RECORDED 102 DEC 22 /967

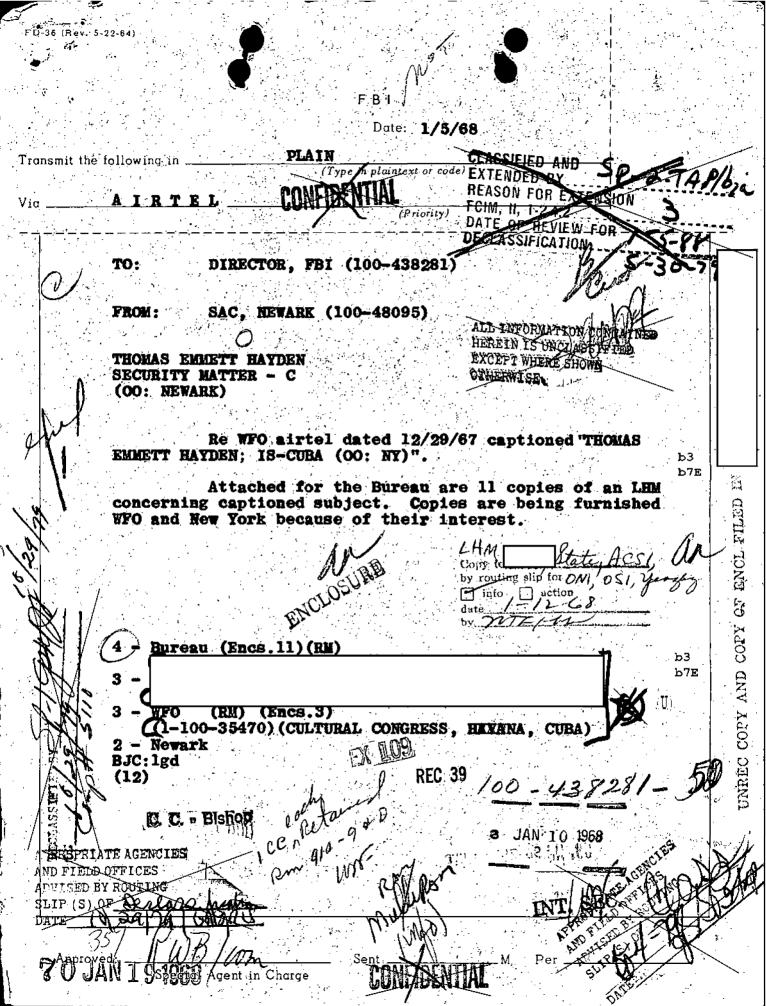
> > 16 DEC 21 1967

/13/37,4 letterhead memoranda and 5 reports, re "Thomas Emmett Hayden

ted to NACCD by liaison, dated as follows: 8/2/66, 3/10/66, 3/29/66, 8/19/66, 8/25/67, 9/21/67,

9/22/67, and 11/22/67.

ORIGINAL FILED IN





# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey January 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

# THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Reference is made to memorandum at Washington, D. C., dated December 29, 1967, which related information that the captioned subject applied for a passport and it had been granted to him on December 28, 1967. In applying for this passport, Hayden stated he intended to visit Cuba for a two-week period to do some journalistic work for a magazine. Supporting Hayden's request for a passport was a letter on the letterhead of "Liberation" magazine, 5 Beekman Street, New York, New York, which identified Hayden as an associate editor of this magazine and indicated Hayden was seeking the passport validation to Cuba for the purposes of research and writing.

On January 4, 1968, Captain Charles Kinney, Special Services Unit, Newark, New Jersey, Police Department, advised that his unit had learned that Hayden, along with David Dellinger, had left for Cuba on January 3, 1968, to attend a conference there. Kinney had no additional information as to specific time or place of their departure or the itinerary of these two individuals.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE S-15-71 BY TAPPOLE

9 26 SEF 7 1972

100-434281-50

ENCLOSURE

ь6 b7С

# CORRELATION SUMMARY

100-438281 Main File No:

Date: 1/16/68

Thomas Emmett Hayden Subject:

Date Searched: 7/5/67

See Also: 25-533293, 44-18407, 44-18747 All logical variation of subject's name and aliases were searched

and identical references were found as: SUMMARY

Thomas\_Emmett Hayden ~ Thomas Haden -

AT Chayden -

Thomas Hayden

Thomas C Hayden

Thomas E. Chayden -

Thomas Eugene Hayden 🍃 Fom Hayden Pom Emmet@Hayden Tom Emmett Hayden .. Ton Hayden -Fom Haydon -

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Coordinator

Approved

Halene Crawford

р£.

Theda W. Duncan

Benedict

HC:las

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

**OTHERWISE** 

REASON - FCIMIL 1.242 DATE OF REVIEW

ENCLOSU ENC'L BEHEND FILE - SEARCH SLIPS ONLY

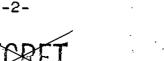
62 JAN 22 1968

# SECHET ABBREVIATIONS

	Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Thomas Emmett Hayden can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary.
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
DCA	W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America
· ·	Economic Research and Action Project
NCUP	Newark Community Union Project
PACEWV	Philadelphia Area to End the War in Vietman
SNCC	Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee
SDSp	Students For a Democratic Society
U of M	University of Michigan
WCEWV	Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam

stated that one Bob Stone of the "Students For Travel To Cuba" (SFTC) had attended a Fair Play For Cuba Committee membership meeting at Adelphi Hall, New York City, on 8/9/61, and had distributed literature concerning the SFTC. This literature listed the name of Tom Hayden, U of M, 1961, as one of the founders of SFTC.

(continued)



SECRET

This serial indicated that the SFTC as of August, 1961, was a new organization with headquarters at 112 East 19th St., NYC and as of 12/8/61 the SFTC was defunct.	, •
(a)	b3 b7 <u>E</u>
In connection with the investigation of the "Demonstration of Negro High School Students, McComb, Mississippi, October 4, 1961" (157:441) Charles "Chuck" Fredrick McDew, McComb, Mississippi advised that on 10/10/61, Thomas Hayden, a free lance writer and former U of M student and writer for the "Michigan Daily" campus newspaper, was in McComb, Mississippi to gather material for a story on the current school situation of McComb. Hayden acted as a driver for Paul Potter, who was also in McComb observing the overall situation, as the actions of the McComb School authorities concerning the suspension of the students who participated in the 10/4/61 demonstration was, in his eyes, just another breach of academic freedom.	
	b3 b7E
An articlementitled "The Mississippi Story: A Chronicle of Unbridled Racial Terror" appeared in the 5/13/63 weekly edition of "The Militant," New York. This article stated that on October 11, (no year given) McComb, Pike County; Paul Potter of Philadelphia, a vice president of SDS, and Tom Hayden, both white were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an anti-segregation march"	
	b3 b7E
Correlator's Note: Serial 2 indicates 10/11/61 as date of above incident.	

SEGRET

SECRET

On 10/12/61 Kenneth Paul Potter and Thomas Emmett Hayden, when interviewed, stated they attended a meeting of the SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia on October 8, and 9, 1961, and thereafter travelled to McComb, Mississippi to observe race relations.

Add. info.

157-446-2

"New Freedom" Vol.1, No.2, dated 11/13/61, The Bulletin of Student Political Action, published by New Freedom, Inc., Ithaca, NY (62-107057) contained a feature article entitled "Voice — begins second year," by Joan Golomb. This article contains a description of the purposes, accomplishments, and aims of the liberal political organization, Voice, formed on the University of Michigan (U of M) campus in September, 1960, in response to an idea of Thomas Hayden, then editor of the "Michigan Daily."

Above described publication enclosed 62-107057-5 encl.p.5

Bernard Lee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, advised that nine members of SNCC left Atlanta, on 12/10/61, via the Central of Georgia Railroad en route to Albany, Ga., to test the facilities of the Union Railway Terminal.

Chief Laurie Pritchett, Albany, Ga., advised that on 12/10/61 nine individuals were arrested at a demonstration at a train station in Albany, Ga. Tom Emmett Hayden, BD 12/11/39, BP Mich. was among those arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic and failure to obey an officer. Individuals were placed under \$200.00 bond; and cases were to be heard on 12/11/61.

Add. info.

157-452**-**86 (28)

Thomas E. Hayden, 560 Moreland N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, when interviewed at Syracuse, New York on 12/14/61 gave information

(continued)



# SEGRET

about his arrest in Albany, Ga. on 12/10/61. Hayden stated that he and ten other individuals were arrested in front of the railroad station at Albany after having been ordered out of the station. They had arrived with other individuals aboard a Georgia Central intrastate train from Atlanta. Hayden stated the trip was not advertised as a freedom ride but was a group testing use of intrastate trains. He stated they were only in the station about two minutes and he was unable to observe conditions at the station. Hayden stated he was bonded out on 12/11/61, and appeared in court 12/12/61. He was out on \$200.00 bond for reappearance on 12/19/61.

157-467-1 (21) changed to 157-452-113X (12)

Bureau memo dated 12/20/61, stated that the Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, had learned from the Mayor of Albany, Georgia that a number of the persons responsible for the recent demonstrations in Albany had subversive backgrounds.

Name checks, but no investigation, were requested on a group of individuals, including Tom Emmett Hayden. This memo indicated that this was being done.

157-6-49-433 (28)

Correlator's Note: Unable to locate name check prepared on Hayden.

"The Washington Post and Times Herald," issue of 3/27/62, carried an article datelined Albany, Ga. March 26, entitled "Five Forced From Seats in Ga. Court." The article stated that Sheriff's deputies used force on one Negro and four white Freedom Riders to maintain segregated seating in Dougherty County Superior Court on 3/26/62. The five stated they had gone to the courtroom to await trial on charges of breaching the peace brought against them and six others on December 10. Tom Hayden of Atlanta, a free lance writer, and his wife Sandra, were among those persons shoved through

(continued)

# SECRET

the revolving door when they went to the rear of the courtroom to join the Negro who had previously joined them in the section for white persons.

157-387-A p.1 "Washington Post and Times Herald," 3/27/62

(21)

dentity)	(security source of information, protect	b6 b7
		b7
· ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

Addininfo.

157-275-47 encl.p.1,3 (27)

			(protect identity)
Turnished	a transcript	of a	

During this hearing C.B. King, an attorney in Albany, Ga. and active in the desegregation movement, testified concerning the Albany Movement and described his experiences and various mass arrests that had occurred in Albany. One of the arrests that he touched upon concerned the arrest and court proceedings of Charlie-Sherrod and Charlie Jones, both members of "Snic," who were arrested

(continued)

ъ7с ъ7D



# SEGRET

on charges of loitering, idling and loafing in the bus station. King then stated that there were other experiences he had had that would be of interest, however, at this point one of the members of the Commission interrupted him and asked if he was going to mention another incident in court involving these same two men, plus Robert Zellner and Thomas Hayden. King answered "yes." He was informed that the hearings would have to be closed.

44-19646-31 encl.p.265

Correlator's Note: The above incident probably related to Hayden's arrest on 12/10/61 and his trial on 3/26/62 in Albany, Ga.

On 6/7/62

b7D

in dated

May, 1962. Frank Wilkinson suggested 10 copies each of the newsletter be sent to Tom Hayden. Included on the list was the following: "Tom Hayden, SDS Room 405, 112 E. 19th Street, NY, NY, has many contacts, Lee Benham, Spring 62." Source explained that the notation "Lee Benham, Spring 1962" indicated that Benham was to contact Hayden at NSA\* Spring, Illinois-Wisconsin Regional Convention.

100-435092-15 p.14

\*National Student Association

(protect identity)

furnished infor-

b7С b7D

mation concerning disbursements made from the bank account of the "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated" (100-10355). Included was check No. 3876 made payable to Tom Hayden for the amount of \$300:00 dated 5/1/62 (Grant for C.H. Conference)

100-10355-999 p.14

By letter dated 4/23/62, the Atlanta Office set forth information concerning Tom Hayden as contained in Atlanta files.

(continued)



SECRET

It was requested that the Bureau check its indices and notify Atlanta of any security type information regarding Hayden who was on the staff of SDS and residing in Atlanta at that time.

157-275-43 p.1,3

Correlator's Note: On 5/11/62 the Bureau complied with this request.

An article entitled "ADA Rally Here Backed in Colleges" appeared in the "New York Post" newspaper dated 3/4/62. This article stated that a Stand up for Democracy Rally was to be held at Saint Nicholas Arena on Wednesday night which had support in 30 colleges; sponsoring liberal students. The rally sponsored by the Young Democrats, and Americans for Democratic Action (100-348196) was to be a reply to a recent Young Americans for Freedom Program held at Madison Square Garden. Tom Hayden, Field Secretary SDS, was to be one of the speakers.

100-348196-A "New York Post," 3/4/62 (18) SI 100-434516-A "The Worker," 3/6/62 (18) (date of rally 3/7/62)

The following references in the files as indicated below set out that as of 1/31/62 the name of Tom Hayden and Al (LNU), a friend of Hayden, had appeared on a list of individuals who had either expressed an interest in attending or had indicated their intention of attending the Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, July 27 - August 5, 1962. A list which was reported to have been the working list of participants used by the US Festival Committee during the festival included the name of Thomas Hayden. It was established that Tom Hayden and Al Haber, possibly the one Al above, did not attend this festival.

SUBJECT OF FILE

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

"Eighth World Youth Festival, 100-436224-28 p.1 Helsinki, Finland, July 27 - August August 5, 1962"

(29)

(continued)



# SECRET

## (continued)

SUBJECT OF FILE	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
"Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, July 27 - August 5, 1962	-98 p.1-3	
"Al (LNU)-Friend of Tom Hayden - Possible Partici- pant In Eighth World Youth Festival 1962"	100-438688-2 p.1 -5 p.1 -6 p.1	(19) (19) (20)
"Twelfth Report of the Senate Factfinding. Committee on Un-American Activities to the 1963 Regular California Legislature, Sacremento"		(8)

An article by Daniel Rubin entitled "1,000 Attending National Student Parley in Ohio" appeared in "The Worker" dated 8/28/62. This article concerned the annual Congress of the National Student Association (NSA) being held at that time at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Leaders from all major campuses and from most significant student organizations were gathered for twelve days of debate and action. The Liberal Study Group on its first night focused on the aims of higher education. Tom Hayden was one of the speakers and singled out the cold war as creating the main problems of higher education. Hayden called for a gearing of curriculum, expenditure of money and other resources to help end the Cold War.

The Liberal Study Group was described as a group organized by SDS and the Americans for Democratic Action, as well as Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee of the South, the Northern Student Movement and CORE.

100-346566-A "The Worker," 8/28/62 (18)



SECHLI

The "Michigan Daily" issue of 10/24/62, editorial page, carried an article to the Editor which noted that a group of U of M people and Ann Arbor residents would demonstrate that afternoon in opposition to the U.S. action. Article stated that the purpose of the demonstration was to "express our conviction that the only rational course of action for the U.S. was an attempt to resolve the crisis without further use of force. Proposals that this group supported were set out. This article was printed over the name of Thomas Hayden and others.

The 10/25/62 issue of the "Michigan Daily," a campus newspaper edited and managed by the U of M students at Ann Arbor, Michigan, reported a student demonstration at U of M on 10/24/62, protesting the US blockade around Cuba. This event was called by the "Ad Hoc Committee for United Nations Action in the Crisis."

This article stated that Thomas Hayden, graduate student and one of the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, spoke to the demonstrators on the campus stressing the danger of nuclear war if unilateral action was continued and he suggested this matter be appealed immediately to the United Nations. Hayden's remarks were unfavorably received by a group of pro-blockade students who threw eggs and stones at the anti-blockade demonstrators.

	100
	ъ6
	ъ70
(protect identity)	ь7в
furnished informati	or. <sup>b7I</sup>
concerning disbursements made from the bank account of the "Southern	
Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated" (100-10355). Included	-

concerning disbursements made from the bank account of the "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated" (100-10355). Included was a check made payable to Thomas E. Hayden (grant for Dallas Conference) for the sum of \$100.00 dated 11/15/62.

100-10355-1014 p.5 (1X)

Captain Myron Brill, Oberlin, Ohio PD furnished one copy of the Winter 1963 issue of the "Activist" (100-435751) a quarterly publication of the SDS, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. Tom Hayden was listed as one of the contributing editors of this publication.

Above descirbed publication enclosed 100-435751-11 encl.p.2

SECRET

(protect identity)

b6 b7С

b7D

advised that a conference was to be held of student social workers at the Allais United Mine Workers of America Hall, on March 26-29, 1964, if permission could be obtained to use the hall. This conference was to be sponsored by the "Committee For Miners" (100-441525) and ERAP Project of SDS. Included on the agenda of the Conference for March 28 was Tom Hayden, former president of SDS.

100-441525-18 p.3

The following references are articles that appeared in the issues of "The Worker" dated 3/29/64 and 3/31/64 entitled "The Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution." These articles listed the members of this committee and among those listed was the name of Tom Hayden, Ann Arbor, of SDS.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-109356-1 p.1
-A "The Worker" 3/29/64 p.2

(16) (17)

By airtel dated 7/9/64, the Atlanta Office in connection with the investigation captioned "William Gilchrist Anderson, Et Al; Alex Carl Smith, Et Al; Victim — OOJ, Conspiracy; Perjury; Juvenile Delinquent Act, forwarded to the Bureau copies of a Brief Amicus Curiae in Support of Appellant Joni Rabinowitz. This Brief which was filed in U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals contained names of members of the academic field, including Thomas E. Hayden, who pointed out that Rabinowitz had been deprived of a fair trial because the trial judge had denied her motions for (1) change of venue (2) to dismiss for improper method of selection of jurors and (3) to waive jury trial.

Above described Brief enclosed 72-1495-227 encl.p.36

Correlator's Note: Serial 226 indicated that this Brief had been filed with the 5th Circuit Court on 6/8/64.

SEGRET

The following references in the file captioned "Newark Community Union Project, aka." (NCUP) contain information concerning the activities of Thomas Emmett Hayden, a leader of this Project in Newark, N.J., during October, 1964.

Hayden and Carl Wittman were the leaders of this loosely constituted student group and Hayden was arrested on an assault and battery charge as a result of his conduct and activities relating to the work of the NCUP in a Negro slum area. Background information on Hayden set out in these references including information regarding a check signed by Thomas S. Hayden, Atlanta, Ga., deposited to the account of the U.S. Festival Committee, Chase Manhattan Bank, NYC on 6/25/62.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-1850-5 -9 -10 (14,27) (27) (14,27)

The following references in the file captioned "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" (MFDP) contain information pertaining to Thomas Emmett Hayden in connection with his civil rights and peace activities from 9/3/64 through 11/28/64 in Newark, New Jersey and Washington, D.C.

Thomas Hayden, the main leader of the Newark Gommunity Union Project, left Newark with members of NCUP and traveled to Washington, D.C. to join groups from all over the U.S. representing the MFDP and SDS for a united effort to keep Mississippi Senators from being seated January 3.

Background information on Hayden is also included in these references.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-109555-18 encl.p.1-3 -20 encl.p.1-3 -21 encl.p.1,2 -62 encl.p.1,3,4 (10,12,17) (10,12,17) (10,12,17) (11-17) SECRET

ь6 ь7с ь7р

(protect identity)

<u>was</u>interviewed

and furnished information regarding a

research being done by Dr. Pilisuk. In December, 1964, Dr. Pilisuk and Thomas Hayden co-authorèdea report based on the questionnaire entitled "Is There a Military Industrial Complex Which Prevents Peace?" Consensus and Countervailing Power in Pluralistic Systems, under the authority of the Mental Health Research Institute, University of Michigan.

Above described report enclosed 65-69456-6 p.l and encl.

Correlator's Note: A copy of Questionnaire is included in 65-69456-1.

advised that on 11/24/64 David Needleman (100-432629) son of Ishore G. Needleman, was in contact with "Barry" in Newark, NJ and during their discussion Needleman asked about "Tom and Carl," but neither one was available. Informant advised that "Barry" could be reached at telephone number Bigelow 3-1895 (Newark).

100-432629-49 (not indexed)

In reference to above the Newark Office noted that "Barry," "Tom," and "Carl" were in all probability Barry Kalish, Tom Hayden, and Carl Wittman.

adviced on 1/6/65 that New Jersey telephone number BI 3-1895 was listed to Carl Wittman and Tom Hayden, 194 Ridgewood Avenue, Newark, N.J. Kalish and Wittman were not further identified.

מוש

100-432629-51 p.1 (18)



# SEGRET

The "New York Times" newspaper of 3/15/65 stated that the SDS was organized in 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan, by a "band of young intellectuals who got most of their immediate inspiration from the sit-in movement," according to one of the founders, Tom Hayden, a 25 year old Detroit native.

According to the above article, SDS was affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy, Incorporated, a non-profit educational institution founded in 1905 by Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Clarence Darrow.

140-31367-4 p.2 (26)

On 3/18/65 Lt. Charles O'Connor, Newark, New Jersey PD, advised that they had received information concerning a telephone call which was received at the NCUP, Newark, New Jersey by Thomas Hayden, member of NCUP. The caller, an unidentified male, stated, "we're going to bomb the place." Lt. O'Connor advised that the Newark Police searched the NCUP premises with negative results.

174-1-31-51 encl.p.1 (9)

and a confidential source of the Memphis Office furnished information concerning a two-day conference of the "Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee" (100-439190) held on 4/15 - 16/65 in Washington, D.C. Source stated that Tom Hayden, representative of ERAP Newark, N.J. was among those who attended the conference. Hayden spoke of and described the ERAP, its purposes and goals as a national movement for people committed, in a democratic manner, to a national change throughout the country. Hayden stated ERAP's goal was to create "enormous decision makers in the society which form the beginnings of a revolution."

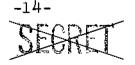
100-439190-317 encl.p.11,12 (28) SI 62-110048-412 encl.p.1,10 (17)

Photographs taken of some of the participants in the Student-March on Washington, April 17, 1965 (62-110048) at Washington, D.C.,

(continued)

b7C

**b7**D



(continued)

SECRET

to oppose U.S. intervention in Vietnam, were displayed to informants. identified the individual circled in photo No. 67 as Tom Hayden from Chicago or New York and stated that he was introduced to to the informant as the Education and Research Secretary of SDS and member of the "Mystical Anarchist Group". Informant also identified Hayden as one of the individuals in photo No. 69.

62-110048-429 p.1
(17)
SI 62-110048-445 p.2. encl.1
(2) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_, protect identity)

The following references in the file captioned "Yale Socialist Union" (YSU) (100-440443) contain information pertaining to Tom Hayden in connection with the "Second Annual Symposium" on "Socialism in America." This symposium was held 4/30/65 - 5/2/65 at Strathcona Hall, Yale University, New Haven; Connecticut and was sponsored by the YSU.

Tom Hayden one of the participants in the Saturday afternoon panel on the Negro Movement, expressed his viewpoints on the Negro and the poor peoples conditions; criticized existent civil rights organizations and called for a type of organization in which every one would be able to say what he wanted. Hayden stated that to accomplish this, a new type of revolutionary leader was needed.

#### REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-440443-26 encl.p.1 -27 encl.p.1,2,3,4,8,10 -28 p.10,12 -33 p.6



P-PSI (protect identity)

advised that the "Southern Students Organizing Committee" (100-442367) arranged for Stephan Mark Weissman, a student at the University of California, to speak at Memphis State University, Memphis on 5/3/65. During this speech booklets entitled "The Port Huron Statement," were sold. Booklets were published by SDS and described therein as the first official statement of SDS, growing

(omtinued)

SECRET

b7D

b7D

#### (continued)

## SEGRET

out of a draft statement prepared by SDS staff member, Tom Hayden and representing the collective thought of the inspirational founding convention of SDS held in Port Huron, Michigan on June 11 - 15, 1962.

100-442367-20 p.48

PSI (protect identity) advised that on 8/3/65 Tom Hayden and Phil Hutchins, Staff Members of SDS at Newark, N.J., stated that there would be a demonstration in Washington, D.C. over the week-end of 8/6-8/65. This demonstration would involve people from all over the U.S.

100-444176-102 encl.p.1

An article which appeared in "The New Leader," September 27, 1965 headed "National Reports, subheaded SDS: "Troubled Voice of the New Left," by Steven Kelman described SDS as an association of young people of the "New Left" that concentrated its efforts in community organization for the poor and in the movement to end the war in Vietnam. One of SDS's projects was NCUP, headed by Tom Hayden, who worked in poverty areas.

Hayden would not work with established civil rights organizations or with the established Urban Renewal Project, as defeating "the Establishment" approach to poverty was a main goal of the SDS.

This article indicated that the SDS would have to examine the casual sort of intellectual standards exemplified by Tom Hayden, who "calls the American university 'a totalitarian knowledge factory,' yet quibbles about using the word 'totalitarian' to describe the USSR or Communist China."

Publications
"The New Leader," 9/27/65
(16)

The Newark Office advised that Tom Hayden was one of the SDS leaders who participated in the "International Days of Protest" (100-444608) demonstration in Trenton, N.J. on 10/16/65.

100-444608-258 p.2 (23) SI 100-444608-359 encl.p.1 (24) (SAs)

-16- **SERRET** 

ь6 ь7с ь7р

The following references contain information concerning Thomas Emmett Hayden, in connection with an unauthorized visit he and two other individuals, Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Director of American Institute for Marxist Studies, and Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale University made to North Vietnam and Red China. The individuals departed John F. Kennedy Airport Queens, New York 12/19/65 and flew to Brussels, Prague, Moscow, Peking and then entered North Vietnam by way of Cambodia. These individuals returned . to the U.S. on I/9/66. Beto

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-362128-409 encl.p.1	(4)
100-396916-68 p.1 -69 encl.p.l	(4)° (40°)
100-3-81-10383* -77 encl.p.2	(28) (28)
100-234959-36 p.3	(35)
100-72786-75 p.3	(3°)
100-264688-548 p.1	( Her)
100-123974-646 p.4,5	(5°)
	(38)
The Current Digest of the Soviet Press February, 16,01966 p.22	(29)
New World Review* February, 1966	(2)
*Add. info.	,

Thomas Hayden, upon his return to the U.S. from his unauthorized trip to Vietnam spoke or planned to speak at numerous meetings and affairs as indicated below regarding this trip. was very critical of the U.S. policy in Vietnam; gave detailed accounts of atrocities allegedly committed by the U.S. forces against the Vietnamese people and proposed what must be done to bring the war to an end.

(continued)

ьз b7E

,				- 1
ι.	20	いチキ	M31	~~ I
Į į	シロ.	1101		ed)

DATE	SPONSOR AND PLACE		ARCH SLIP GE NUMBER
1/14/66	SDS, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.	62-109119-1718 encl. p.2 -1722 encl. p.1	(2) (2)
1/16/66	Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, (FAVPPC) Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance Manhattan Center, New York Cit	100-445548-7 encl.p. 40,41,43	(7,24)
1/19/66	FAVPPC Manhattan Center New York City	100-441164-34-116 p.14	
2/12/66	Vanderbilt University, The Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Viet- nam and the Vanderbilt Forum, Nashville, Tennessee	100-388367-61 p.11 100-443853-570 p.1 100-444916-73 encl.p. 1,2,5 100-388425-186 p.27 100-445776-7 encl.p.14	(H) (E) (E) (H) (H)
3/6/66	Brooklyn Residents For Peace, Parking Plaza, Brooklyn, NY	100-444865-5 p.7	(24)

\*Add. info.

This reference is a comprehensive summary regarding Student Agitation at the (U of M) Ann Arbor, Michigan, prepared by the Detroit Office dated 1/25/67. Information set out concerning Thomas Hayden related to his activities as editor of the U of M publication "Michigan Daily"; president of the Student Government Council U of M and National Student Association, co-founder of SDS, its affiliate Voice Political Party (VPP), and its action projects such as Economic Research and Action Party (ERAP) and the Peace

(continued)

(continued)



Research and Education Project, Also mention was made of his appearance at Detroit on 2/26/66 under sponsorship of SDS and the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam where he spoke on his recent trip to North Vietnam. Hayden's activities covered the period from approximately 1960 through 2/22/66.

100~151448-25 encl.p.5,6,7,21,22,131,132

Panel Source (protect identity) advised bf that Thomas Hayden spoke at a forum sponsored by the "National b7c Guardian" held at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York City, on 2/24/66. b7D Hayden spoke pessimistically of the fact that labor does not have a working majority in this country and that there was no great mass movement working for change nor did it show the need for change. Hayden stated that he saw the new community action program within the anti-poverty movement and the new Negro movement groups fighting against economics as the basis for mass action.

Add. info.

100-357044-732 p.13,20 (4,18)

"Bring The Troops Home Now Newsletter" (100-445064)
Volume 1, No. 6 dated 3/7/66 was obtained through the Boston Office confidential mailbox. This magazine was published at Cambridge, Mass. by an organizing group to promote the formation of a national organization of the independent anti-war committees based on the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops now.

An article appearing in this publication under the heading "Civil Rights and Vietnam: The Southern Demonstrations" mentioned demonstrations in various cities that were held on 2/12/66 and indicated that Tom Hayden, SDS, spoke at a teach-in at Nashville, Tennessee. Also that a successful social affair had followed this event.

An article under the heading, "The International Days of Protest March 25-26" stated that many areas would participate in demonstrations and mentioned that Tom Hayden, who recently returned from North Vietnam had agreed to speak in Cleveland, Ohio. The theme of the actions would be "Bring the Troops Home Now."

Copy of above newsletter enclosed 100-445064-7 encl.p.13,20 (24)

The following references in the file captioned "International Days of Protest March 25-26, 1966" contain information pertaining to Thomas Hayden in connection with demonstrations protesting the U.S. intervention in Vietnam covering the period from 3/18/66 - 3/28/66 in Cleveland, and Detroit.

Hayden spoke at a demonstration in Detroit sponsored by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, SDS, and Citizens for Peace in Vietnam and he was the principal speaker at a public meeting in Cleveland sponsored by the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Hayden spoke in very strong terms against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Also a kick off for the Detroit demonstration sponsored by the Citizens for Peace in Vietnam and SDS scheduled to be held at Wayne State University was to feature Anti-War films and tapes belonging to Tom Hayden.

#### REFERENCE

100-445310-36 enclpp.1,2

-68 encl.p.2,3

-186 encl.p.1

-314 encl.p.1

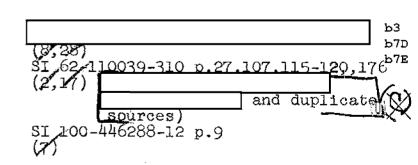
-336 encl.p.3,15

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER



The printed program for the "China Teach-In. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan April 3, 1966" sponsored by SDS and Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy listed the name of Thomas Hayden, SDS, former Daily Editor, Recent Visitor to China, as participant in the seminars as a panelist on "Chinese Politics, Ideology and the Revolution," and on U.S. - Chinese Relations. Hayden was also listed as a speaker at the Plenary Session. Program set out in verbatim. (Source:not given)

Add. info.





b3 b7E

"The New York Times," dated 6/10/66 contained an article entitled "A New Left Group to back Militants at November Polls" that described a new group of civil rights and anti-war militants known as the "National Conference for New Politics." This group was to start raising campaign funds for New Left candidates from coast to coast.

"The New York Times" conducted a survey of anti-war groups and ad hoc committees. Among those interviewed by reporters were two leaders of SDS, Thomas Hayden and Paul Booth. They stated they could imagine collaboration with Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Booth mentioned that Hayden would be one of the SDS observers to attend the National CP Convention to begin 6/22/66. This article also set out that Hayden was one of the three individuals who went on an unauthorized and much publicized trip to Hanoi last December.

62-140985-A "New York Times," 6/10/66

Thomas Haden, founder of SDS, which organization was one of the sponsors of the "Third International Days of Protest August 6-9, 1966" (100-445949) was identified by SAs as one of the participants who spoke at a rally at Independence Hall, Philadelphia on 8/6/66. Haden, one of those who went to Saigon, gave detailed accounts of atrocities committed by the U.S. against the Vietnamese people.

Turmshed a poster which announded a parade and motorcade 8/6/66 in Philadelphia, as well as the speak - out at Independence Hall sponsored by PACEWV. Tom Hayden, SDS, was listed as one of the speakers for the speak-out.

> 100-445949-250 encl.p.10 (24,30) SI to para. 2 100=445949-42 (24) (Robert Feinberg, Established Source) SI to para. 2 100-445548-11 encl.p.77 (24)SI to para.l 157-6-37-1995 encl.p.6 (30) (Inspector Millard T. Meers, Philadelphia, PD)

b3b7E

**b7**D

75.5

SEGRET

Dr. and Mrs. Vincent Karusaitis,
on 3/31/66 and/or 4/7/66 advised that Thomas Hayden and Abbott
Small, student at Swathmore College, were close friends of Michael
Allen Meeropol, (100-439805) oldest son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg
and the Karusaitis' son-in-law.

Add. info. according to "New York Daily News," 1/10/66.

100-439805-43 encl.p.2,3 (6)

On 4/29/66 Dwayne Allen, a representative of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV), spoke in Los Angeles at a special meeting of various peace-oriented groups held under the sponsorship of the Emergency Council on the Crisis in American Foreign Policy (100-443953). During his speech he announced that prior to the end of May, 1966, Staughton Lynd, Herbert Aptheker and Thomas Hayden would hold a press conference in either New York or Washington, D.C. to announce a "summer project" of "Peace Crusades" throughout the U.S.

Add. info.

100-443953-15 p.9,29

advised that a "Youth Symposium on the New Left 6/10-14/66" (105-154352) was held at Conway, New Hampshire. Tom Haydon, SDS, was among those in attendance. This symposium ended at noon June 12, due to the fact that those who attended had completed their discussion.

On the evening of 6/12/66, a meeting was held in the meeting house at World Fellowship, Conway, New Hampshire. Some of the individuals who attended the symposium remained at the World Fellowship meeting and were asked to review what happened at that symposium. Bob Pfefferman reported that Tom Haydon and Bob Zelner had discussed their work; one talked regarding the Hill Community Project in New Haven, Connecticut, while the other talked about the Bob Cook (phonetic) campaign.

SI 61-9200-287 p.l (Rev. Robert H. Lewis, panel source Epping, N.H. (protect identity) furnished program)

SERRET

-21-

b7D

ь6 ь7с

ь3 ь7Е



Patrick J. McGahn, attorney, Atlantic City, N.J. furnished a mimeographed letter dated 8/12/66 (included in this reference), requesting those receiving the letter to obtain names and addresses of all friends and acquaintances now on active duty (or in the active reserve or recently discharged veterans of Vietnam) who were likely to sign a public statement of dissent from American policy in Vietnam. Replies were to be sent to Keith Lampe in care of "Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam" (100-445217) 5 Beekman Street, New York City. One of the endorsers was Tom Hayden.

Add. info.

100-445217-30 encl.p.1,24

The "National Guardian," issue of 7/9/66 carried an article that concerned the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee (FHTDC) (100-446189) which stated that among those who had agreed to sponsor the defense committee was Tom Hayden, SDS.

panel source and Newark source of information (protect identities) late while that on 8/29/66 and 8/30/66, respectively, a booklet entitled the "Fort Hood Three" contained a list of names of its sponsors. Included among the sponsors was the name of Thomas Hayden.

109-446189-7 p.7,13,14,18 (7) SI 100-446189-6 p.1

The advised that Tom Hayden and his group of 40 Negroes from New York, all members of a social action project, went to Montreal, Quebec Canada on 9/3/66. Hayden was also accompanied by Connie (surname unknown).

Tom Hayden inquired on 9/5/66 as to how they could get the Vietnamese stuff on the bus going back to Newark, New Jersey. Hayden stated that to get the stuff through customs, they would have to break up the case and spread the contents among the key people. Hayden was advised by Demetrius Roussopoulos that Hayden would be better off to contact Lucia Kowaluk regarding this Vietnamese stuff. RCMP was unable to enlarge on the foregoing.

(continued)

ъ6 ъ7С

b7D

SBACE

SEGRET

(continued)

It was reported that Roussopoulos had received a letter from Stokley Carmichael and Paul Goodman advising that they were both willing to attend a conference as speakers. Roussopoulos further advised that it would be a good idea to have the conference at Sir George Williams University in Montreal and that he had received replies from Hayden and Stanley Ryerson who agreed to attend the conference as speakers. The conference was believed to be sponsored by the "Student Union for Peace Action" (100-443195).

was unable to comment further concerning this conference.  $\mathbb{I}$ 

100-443195-15 encl.p.1,2

The  $\perp$  advised on 10/7/66 that Clayton Ruby (phonetic) recently informed Lucia Joan Kowaluk that there was another package supposed to be coming from North Vietnam. Kowaluk in turn asked Demetrius Ioannou Roussopoulos if he had received this package. Roussopoulos replied that he had not received any package lately and that Tom Hayden was most likely coming to Montreal on Labor Day week end (September 3 through 5, 1966) with his people from the project\* and that he would see Hayden then. Ruby stated the package in question was to go to Tom Hayden via Roussopoulos and Kowaluk's sister, Alice Tweedie Kowaluk in New York. informed Kowaluk that Hayden was worried about this package. Kowaluk stated that she did not see why Hayden was worried as she had sent two packages by registered mail before and Alice Tweedie had Tom Hayden was believed identical to Thomas Emmett picked them up. Hayden.

100-443195-14 encl.p.1,2 (13,28)

\*NCUP, Newark, N.J.

furnished information and material in connection with the National Leadership Conference held at Cleveland, Ohio on 9/10-11/66 when the "November 8 Mobilization Committee" (62-111181) was founded.

Included in this material was a copy of a resolution adopted by the National Leadership Conference in Cleveland. The name of

(continued)



ь7D

ь7р

ь6 ь7с ь7р (continued)

Tom Hayden appeared on this resolution among those who supported and encouraged sending medical aid to the people of North Vietnam; protesting production of instruments of chemical warfare; opposition of the war in Vietnam; refusing to pay all or part of one's federal taxes; and establishing peaceful and open contacts with North Vietnam, mainland China and the National Liberation Front.

62-114181-10 encl.p.12

An article entitled "The Story of Snick From Freedom High to Black Power," by Gene Roberts appeared in "The New York Times," newspaper, dated 9/25/66. Article stated that Tom Hayden, founder of SDS, had worked with "SNCC" (100-439190) also known as "Snick" in McComb, Mississippi in 1961 and 1962.

100-439190-A New York Times, 9/25/66 (22)

The following references in the file captioned "VIDEM": contain information pertaining to the SDS and NCUP activities of Thomas Hayden from the Summer 1964 - 10/21/66 in various parts of the U.S., North Vietnam, and China in connection with protests against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Hayden attended and or partici- ' pated in various types of activities that included meetings, rallies and demonstrations of peace and civil rights groups.

Hayden travelled to North Vietnam and China on an unauthorized peace mission in late December 1965 and January 1966 with two other individuals. Hayden made numerous speeches regarding this trip and his experiences with the North Vietnamese people and their desire for peace.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

ъ3 b7E



(continued)



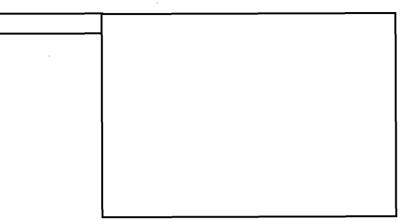
(continued)

REFERENCE



#### SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

b3 b7Е





The following references in the file captioned "Racial Matters" contain information pertaining to the activities of Thomas Hayden in connection with racial matters throughout the U.S. from the Summer 1960 - 10/29/66.

Hayden, student leader at U of M, held various student offices, visited college campuses regarding student organizations, crusaded for student government affairs and worked on integration matters. He was a delegate to the National Student Congress and headed various community projects of SDS to improve interracial neighborhoods. Hayden was coordinator of a national nenviolence—movement and he participated in civil rights and peace demonstrations. He was arrested at a demonstration in Albany, Ga. and later when on trial was physically removed from the courtroom when he and others on trial disobeyed orders to sit in designated space. Hayden made an unauthorized trip to North Vietnam with two other individuals, returning January, 1966. He indicated he was not connected officially with the CP but had many sympathies with them.

REFERENCES

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-2-334 p.1 157-6-28-121 encl.p.1 -139 encl.p.2,3 157-6-31-1294 encl.p.41,42 157-6-37-2317 encl.p.7

157-6-47-936 encl.p.2

(9,14,13,26)

(27)

(37)



Whittier Alexander Sengstacke, Jr., Tennessee State University student, Nashville, Tennessee (protegt identity) made available samples of literature distributed at the November 25-26, 1966, "Southern Student Organizing Committee" (SSOC) (100-442367) conference held at Memphis, Tennessee. Included was the "Student Social Action" by Thomas Hayden, originally published by SDS and a pamphlet, "The Power of the Dixiecrats," by Tom Hayden, originally published by SDS, reprinted by SSOC.

100-442367-46 encl.p.32,35 (6,23)

b7D

b7D

On 12/1/66 furnished two documents concerning a conference to plan a National Student Strike for Peace to be on 12/28-29 at the University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street. One of the documents was captioned "A Call for National Student Strike for Peace" (100-446761) with subheading "Toward Ending the War in Vietnam...Toward Ending the Draft...Toward Ending University Participation in the War Effort..." and listed the name of Tom Hayden, Newark Project, SDS among the initial sponsors for the conference.

advised that these documents were received by Rene Sandoval, Texas Coordinator of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America.

100-446761-2X encl.p.3 (25)

The following references in the file captioned "Students for a Democratic Society" (SDS) contain information pertaining to the activities of Thomas Hayden, a co-founder and officer of this organization, from 6/11/62 - 4/21/67 in various parts of the U.S. and North Vietnam. Thomas Hayden and Alan Haber, then students at the University of Michigan, were co-founders of the SDS. Hayden drafted a booklet entitled "The Port Huron Statement" that was published by SDS and described therein as the first official statement of the SDS and represented the collective thought of the inspirational founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan on June 11-15, 1962. Hayden also authored pamphlets that were distributed by SDS. He organized the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) which was run by SDS. Hayden attended and/or participated in various types of activities, including meetings, rallies and demonstrations of peace and civil rights groups. Upon his return to the U.S. from his unauthorized trip to North Vietnam, Hayden made numerous speeches about this trip.

(continued)

SECRET

-27-

### (continued)

## SEGRET

As of 3/10/66 Hayden was writing a book concerning this trip in cooperation with Staughton Lynd, a Yale University professor and Herbert Aptheker of National Committee of CP, USA, the two individuals who accompanied him. Background information is set out in these references concerning Thomas Hayden.

#### REFERENCE

#### SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-101 p.4 -323 encl.p.3 -330 encl.p.6,8 -337 encl.p.18,19,46,62 -358 encl.p.6,9 -363 encl.p.2 -527 p.77C,87,115 -1004 p.3,7,38,45 -1384 p.35,79,85,95	(22) (22) (22) (22) (22) (5,13,22) (6,13,22) (6,22)
100-439048-5-32 encl.p.1,3,5 -51 p.50,52	(50) (50)
100-439048-10-47 p.27,28	(H,20)
100-439048-11-26 p.20	(4)
100-439048-12-1 p.16,17	(,20)
100-439048-15-19 p.9,10,20,21,52,53,60 -52 p.9,41,42,44,45 -61 p.61,69,74,107,108 -101 p.8,9,70,71,100	`(5,20) (5,13,20) (5,20) (5,20)
100-439048-28-1 p.110	(,20)
100-439048-30-20 p.15	(20)
100-439048-31-6 p.7 -11 p.3 -18 encl.p.4 -20 encl.p.3 -34 p.5,6,10,13,25 -52 p.1,8,17-19	(5,20°) (20°) (20°) (21°) (21°) (5,21°)
100-439048-32-37 p.3,18	(5,21)

(continued)

#### (continued)

REFERENCE

## SECRET

#### SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-439048-34-57 p.33,41,42 -85 encl.p.2,12,15 -89 p.24,25	(21) (21) (21)
100-439048-36-28 p.7	(21)
100-439048-37-33 p.7 -55 encl.p.27,48-62	(21) (5,21)
100-439048-38-20 p.9-13,17	(25 4, 5 fc)
100-439048-39-9 p.18	(21)
100-439048-45-64 p.15	(21)
100-439048-47-12 p.26 -26 p.13,25,37	(22)

The Bureau obtained at Union Square Park, NYC a copy of Volume 1, Number 1, May, 1967 issue of the Tri-Continental Information Center Bulletin (TCICB) published by "Tri-Continental Information Center" (TCIC) (100-447368) 1133 Broadway, NYC. This bulletin described in detail this organization, its origin, scope, location, and its aims and purposes. It listed the names of its sponsors and officers. This issue contained an article entitled "Tri-Continental Information Center Founded" which stated in part as follows:

"The Center arranged a fact-finding visit of U.S. observers to <u>Puerto Rico</u> from April 15-20. The group included Bonnie Barrow, National secretary of CORE; Lois Reivich of the North American Congress of Latin America; Tom Hayden, former president of SDS; Jesse Allen of NCUP; and Jose Stevens from DCA. The group participated in the April 16 island wide march to protest the war in Vietnam, the drafting of Puerto Ricans for Vietnam, and the upcoming plebiscite...."

It was noted that this serial indicated that the TCIC was a CP front and supported by CP funds.

100-447368-9 p.16 (28)



Confidential Source Security,

b7D

2/25-26/67, a forthcoming SSOC Conference in May or June 1967, and proposals and statements by various key SSOC leaders. Information therein included data relating to the proposal by SSOC to prepare a library of tape recordings. Among the individuals suggested as a possibility of getting a good set of tapes was Tom Hayden. It was indicated that the tapes would give a wide circulation of SSOC's views.

100-442367-72 encl.p.9

\*\*\*\*

#### REFERENCES REVIEWED BUT ONLY LISTED IN SUMMARY:

The following references on Thomas Hayden located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division were reviewed and found to be identical with the subject of this summary; however, the information contained therein has not been included:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

64-330-330-367

(34) (74)

b7**E** 

**b3** 

# SECRET REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Differences in source will be noted on the search slip.



REC/67/AC // 6

MEMO FOR RECORD: 270905 Deg 67
SUBJECT: Request for Television Interview with
1. At 270905 Dec 67, undersigned received a phone call from
Bob Mead, CBS_TV News, Wash DC (296-1234) requesting authority to
of Mead stated that he has/a CBS camera crew
at home, that had agreed to discuss his plans on camera provided DA approved. I informed Mead that we had
no "muzzle" on or the other two returned PW and that I
would phone discuss the CES request and ascertain his wishes in the matter.
2. At 270910 Dec 67, undersigned placed a call to
stated that a CBS film crew from Charloute b6  MC was camped in his driveway. He said the CBS people had asked him b70
to consent to an interview on his intended and shown
him a copy of NY TIMES story in 27 Dec issue (copy attached) said he had no objection to addressing the subject of his planned
enable them to pursue other matters about his recent captivity.
3. After discussion of the matter,elected to refuseb6 the interview and said he would inform the CES crew of his decisionb70
and asked I inform Mead at CBS, Washington believed that
crew might leave camera and sound "on", ask him other questions which he might refuse to answer or discuss, and otherwise not honor any
prior agreement on subject matter to be covered. Since he could to be not determine how film would be edited/used, he thought he should
refuse the interview. Mead so informed by me at 270925 Dec 67told cre
4. (PROTECT SOURCE): also stated that he had received b7c
a call from TOM HAYDEN, conveying Christmas greetings, on Sunday,
phone number at which he can be contacted - Refor to be furnished copped
later. said that Hayden showed unusual interest in his plans to meet with press, inquiring when he would tell his saoryANant7 1968
whether DA contemplated any releases/press conferences. Hayden also
stated he was going to a meeting in Cuba "next month" (believes February, but could be Beburryy1968). Hayden stated that he wanted
to stop by and seeone day soon and asked if would
have any objections stated that he informed Hayden that if he was in the area, he would "buy him a cup of coffee."
Purpose of this visit is unknown, according to No mention made of anyone accompanying Hayden during such a visit.
also said that Hayden told him that Joan Maez, who exparently knew
Capt ROWE, still captive, in college, was writing/has written NLF asking for Rowe's release into her (Baez's) custody. states
he has passed all this info to intell personnel in Bragg area.
5. (PROTECT SOURCE): also added that he asked HAYDEN box be obtained whisted phone nymber. Fayden told
that it was obtained from Jackson, whom he had called earlier.  unhappy about fact Jackson gave out unlisted home phone.
1 0 1000 X

**AIRGRAM** 

□ CABLEGRAM

 $\square$  RADIC

**XXXTELETYPE** 

Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Travel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Tolson — DeLoach Mohr —— Bishop — Casner

11:36 PM URGENT 1-23-68 CDC

XÓ DIRECTOR

FROM NEW ORLEANS

THOMAS HAYDEN, IS - NORTH VIETNAM.

Soll Cope of The There

CLAUDE SMITH, U.S. CUSTOMS PORT INVESTIGATOR, NEW ORLEANS INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, MOISSANT FIELD, NEW ORLEANS, LA., ADVISED THIS DATE THAT UPON ROUTING INSPECTION OF BAGGAGE, HE DISCOVERED MATERIAL WHICH HE FELT MIGHT BE OF INTEREST TO THE FBI. SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI EXAMINED THE REFERENCED MATERIAL THIS DATE LOCATED IN THE LUGGAGE OF THOMAS HAYDEN WHICH ARRIVED AT 6 PM, JANUARY 22 LAST, IN A SUITCASE AND SMALL BOX. THIS LUGGAGE WAS OFF LOADED IN NEW ORLEANS.

HAYDEN DID NOT CALL FOR THE LUGGAGE AND CUSTOMS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ASCERTAIN THE FLIGHT ON WHICH THE LUGGAGE ARRIVED IN NEW ORLEANS.

CONTAINED IN THE MATERIAL EXAMINED BY SPECIAL AGENTS

IS A LETTER ADDRESSED TO "REN" AND SIGNED TOM WHICH CONTAINED

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION VERBATIM:

CC93205

NINDE

54 FEB6

1968

4.2	(Rev.	7-20-	8.75
4-3-	ınev.	/-20-	0/1

□ AIRGRAM	□ CABLEGRAM	□ RADIO	XXXTELETYPE
	GUDEFOILUIT		

PAGE 2. FROM NEW ORLEANS

Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callaban
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivon
Tavel
Trotter
Tele, Room
Holmes
Gandy
 · – – -
i

Tolton \_\_\_\_ Del.orch

"A MASSIVE CONFRONTATION WITH OUR GOVERNMENT -- THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- AS IT HOLDS ITS CONVENTION IN CHICAGO THIS SUMMER IS BEING ORGANIZED. THERE WILL BE A DEMONSTRATION TO DRAMATIZE THE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO FEEL UNREPRESENTED. AND IN FACT DISGRACED AND USED. IN OUR GOVERNMENT-S POLICIES ON THE DOUBLE CRISIS OF VIETNAM AND RACISM. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WILL PROTEST NOT ONLY THE WAR AND RACISM BUT THE MOCKERY THAT DEMOCRACY HAS BECOME. THE UNDEMOCRATIC METHOD OF CHOOSING DELEGATES-THROUGH MONEY AND 'PULL' -THE NAMES OF DEMOCRATIC WILL GO EXPOSED AND OPPOSED. CONTRIBUTORS WHO PROFIT FROM DO-NOTHING POLICIES, FROM WAR AND RACISM, WILL BE REVEALED AND THEIR PRIVATE COMFORT DISTURBED. THE IRRELEVENCE OF THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE DEBATE. IN A CONVENTION WHOSE GOALS ARE LAID DOWN BY LYNDON JOHNSON ALONE-WILL BE ATTACKED. THE STREETS WILL BE CLOGGED WITH PEOPLE DEMANDING PEACE, JUSTICE AND PARTICIPATION IN ALL OF AMERICAN AND THE WORLD WILL LOOK ON AND JUDGE WHETHER LYNDON JOHNSON OR THE DEMONSTRATORS ARE BETTER REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICA-S TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY

<b>□ AIRGRAM</b>	□ CABLEGRAM	□ RADIO	XXX TELETYPE
------------------	-------------	---------	--------------

PAGE 3, FROM NEW ORLEANS

AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. IF THE PRESIDENT FINDS IT NECESSARY TO EMPLOY TROOPS-FRESH FROM VIETNAM OR THE GHETTOES-TO SECURE HIS NOMINATION, THAT WILL BE AN HISTORIC ADMISSION OF THE BREAKDOWN OF REPRESENTATIVE AND MEANINGFUL GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA. A GOVERNMENT WHICH PLANS OR ALLOWS THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD EACH AND EVERY DAY WILL INEVITABLY BE FORCED TO PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS."

PROGRAM.

"GOAL: TO APPLY MAXIMUM PRESSURE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AT ALL LEVELS FROM NOW THROUGH THE 1969 ELECTION; BREAK VOTERS AWAY FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NEGROES INTELLECTUALS, LIBERAL INDEPENDENCE.) TO INCREASE THE MILITANCY OF THE PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE COST OF GOING ON WITH THE WAR AND RACISM; TO REACH OUT AND BROADEN THE RANKS OF THE PROTEST MOVEMENT BY STRESSING HOW THE INTERESTS OF MILLIONS OF AVERAGE AMERICANS ARE VIOLATED BY THE WAR AND RACISM.

□ AIRGRAM □ CABLEGRAM	<b>□ RADIO</b>	<b>IXX TELETYPE</b>
-----------------------	----------------	---------------------

DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Catlahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Tolson .

PAGE L. FROM NEW ORLEANS

"1. DEMONSTRATE AND PROTEST WHEREVER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OR RECRUITERS APPEAR. CREATE A CLIMATE OF NOSTILITY, CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT LACKS AUTHORITY AND CONSENT.

"2. EXPOSE AND PROTEST THE WAY IN WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY REPRESENTS MONEY, WAR, AND RACISM BUT NOT PEOPLE.

CAMPAIGN IN ALL THE GHETTOES FOR THE EXPULSION OF EASTLAND.

PROTEST THE POSITIONS OF DODD, JACKSON, SYMINGTON. ATTACK ENGLEHARD'S TIE TO JOHNSON. ATTACK THE TEXAS CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES WHICH PROFIT OFF VIETNAM. HOLD TEACH-INS AND CAMPUS PROGRAMS ON ALL FORMS OF COMPLICITY WITH VIETNAM AND RACISM. PICKET THE AFL-CIO HEADQUARTERS FOR SELLING OUT THEIR ORGANIZATION TO JOHNSON.

"3. EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR MC CARTHY, KENNEDY, FULBRIGHT, ANTI-WAR OR BLACK CANDIDATES IN THE PRIMARIES, CREDENTIALS AND PLATFORM STRUGGLES. REMAIN INDEPENDENT, HOWEVER, OF ALL PARTY FACTIONS.

"4. EXPOSE AND PRESSURE STATE AND LOCAL PARTY DELEGATIONS.

LEGAL CHALLENGES. LOBBY THEM ON THE ISSUES THE CONVENTION

AND THE PARTY FACES. DEMONSTRATE AND ATTACK PARTICULARLY

I AIRGRAM LI CABLEGRAM LI RADIO XXX I ELE I	<b>□ AIRGRAM</b>	□ CABLEGRAM	□ RADIO	XXX TELETYPE
---	------------------	-------------	---------	--------------

10(40)
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Cosper
Callahan
Conred
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivon
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

PAGE J, FROM NEW ORLEANS

CORRUPT DELEGATES.

"5. SUPPORT TO THE BLACK MOVEMENT IN ANY CHALLENGES MADE AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS.

"6. SUMMER OF ORGANIZING, EDUCATION, DEMONSTRATION:
FOR THE CONVENTION AND BEYOND. SUPPORT FOR BLACK REBELLIONS,
DRAFT RESISTANCE. 'VIETNAM SUMMER' EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS.
COMMUNITY-ORGANIZATION PROJECTS. FORMATION OF COORDINATING
COMMITTES TO PLAN ATTACK ON CONVENTION.

"7. MASSIVE CONFRONTATION IN CHICAGO. DEMONSTRATE
AT ARENA, DEMONSTRATE AT HOTELS, DEMONSTRATE ALONG ROUTES,
BLACK DEMONSTRATIONS, PRESS CONFERENCES: MESSAGE FROM NLF,
ATTACK ON LBJ BY GARRISON, BLACK LEADERS PRESENT UNIFIED
DEMANDS, SYMBOLIC ACT BY DRAFT RESISTERS, ETC.

"A. LENGTH: TWO WEEKS, WITH PERHAPS ONE WEEKEND OF REALLY MASSIVE TURNOUT.

"B. SCALE: 5Ø-1ØØ,ØØØ FULL TIME; 5ØØ,ØØØ ON SPECIAL WEEKEND.

"C. MANY-SIDED. SEPARATE OFFICES, SEPARATE GROUPS
ACCORDING TO INTEREST OR REGION, SEPARATE TACTICAL EMPHAESE, = ETC.

🗆 AIRGRAM 🗀 CABLEGRAM 🗀 RADIO 🕱 🖂 🗀 ELETY 🖼
---

Tolson DeLoach Moht -Bishop . Cosper Callahan Conrad. Felt. Gale Rosen . Sullivan Tavel .. Trotter Tele, Room Holmes Gandy \_

PAGE 6, FROM NEW ORLEANS

"D. DEMANDS: END THE WAR AND BRING JUSTICE TO AMERICA."

ADMINISTRATIVE:

TELETYPE FOLLOWS WITH SUMMARY OF OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION CONTAINED IN MATERIAL EXAMINED BY SPECIAL AGENTS. LHM FOLLOWS.

AIRMAIL COPY TO CHICAGO.

RECEIVED: 1:06 AM (1-24-68) LRC





SAC, New Orleans

February 9, 1968

Director, FBI (100-438281)

THOMAS HAYDEN IS - NORTH VIETNAM

b3

b7E

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated 1/26/68.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

Internal Security Section), sent 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: direct with enclosure

EB 9

Tolson -

DeLoach \_\_

MLM:ccb

#### TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

ALLOCUTION OF MR. NGUYEN VAN HIEU ON THE OCCASION OF THE RETURN OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS, RELEASED BY THE FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM, TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS, IN PHNOM-PENH, ON NOVEMBER 11, 1967

Dear friends,

On October 31, acting in accordance with an order of the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation, the Headquarters of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam decided to release three American war prisoners. Here are the names of these prisoners:

- Edward Johnson,
- James Alex Jackson, Jr., and
- Daniel Lee Pitzer.

This is not the first time that the National Front of Liberation is releasing war prisoners, because this measure involves humanitarian policies of the Front.

The righteous and implacable hatred of our people against American aggressors, who have waged an extremely cruel war against our people and have used to that effect means of extermination of unprecedented barbarism, is quite well known.

It also is known that our enemies have submitted combatants of the Front, and even captured civilians, to mistreatments similar to those used by fascists and have thus contemptuously violated all international laws.

On the other hand, the Front consistently respects its principles which, regarding the matter of treatment of

55 TEANSLADED BY:

1 47 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 V

MAX L. MIUSHKOVICH:ccb EMOLOSURE February 2, 1968

161-438281-

WAY IN THE

war prisoners, are set in the fundamental documents of the Front. It is clearly indicated in our Political Program that American, satellite and puppet war prisoners

"will be humanely treated and benefit from our policies of clemency" (Chapter II, Point 12).

In addition, by releasing American prisoners in general and Negroes in particular, we would like to respond to the good will favoring peace and justice of the American progressive population which is opposed to the aggressive war of American imperialists in Vietnam.

Furthermore, we would like to express our solidarity with and our support of United States Negroes who are fighting for their fundamental civil rights.

The Front of National Liberation and the South Vietnamese population highly appreciate the movement of intellectuals, clergymen, women, students and workers of all kinds which exists in the United States in favor of the discontinuation of the unjust war waged by the American Administration against our country. This movement asks for the withdrawal of American troops and for the recognition of the Front of National Liberation...

We were gladdened by the steady development of this movement which has, in addition, increasing support in all the countries throughout the world. This could be established by the manifestations which occurred on October 21.

We wholeheartedly support the courageous fight of the Negro population. This fight is in complete harmony with the just combat of the South Vietnamese population. This combat is aimed at:

- democracy,
- peace,
- neutrality and
- prosperity.

Unquestionably, the revolt of the black population has pitilessly unmasked the hypocrisy of the United States Government which pretends to play the role of defender of freedom in the whole world.

Ferocious and bloody repressions have been undertaken against Negroes in localities such as:

- Selma,
- Watts and
- Newark.

Nonetheless, we are quite convinced that, in spite of that, nothing can extinguish the bright flame of liberty in the hearts of millions of Americans.

The progressive population of the United States as well as the justice-loving people throughout the world perfectly understand that the United States policies of aggression in Vietnam will certainly be defeated.

This population and people understand that our (South Vietnamese) people have confidence in their own forces and in the support of all of mankind and that our people are determined to fight until final victory.

I take advantage of this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the American progressive organizations whose representative is now here. These organizations are struggling against the United States war in Vietnam.

These organizations have quickly replied to our appeal by their willingness to aid the soldiers, released by the Front of National Liberation, to return to their families.

May the representative be kind to transmit our fraternal greetings and our best wishes for success to all those who, in the United States, work for a real peace in South Vietnam and that means peace in a country completely disencumbered of American and satellite troops and of their bases, where people are free to settle their own affairs without foreign interference.

As for the American soldiers who benefit from the clemency of the Front, we wish them good health and happiness.

Let us hope that, with the aid of their compatriots who are already struggling against the insane policies of the United States Government in Vietnam, these soldiers might make a useful contribution to this struggle because they have actually seen that the aggressive war will inevitably be a fiasco.

Finally, I wish to express my homage to the great understanding of the Royal Government of Cambodia which has facilitated this simple ceremony and the transit of the American soldiers released by the Front.

We believe that this understanding is due to the humanitarian feelings which animate Samdesh Norodom Sihanuk, the Chief of State of Cambodia to Whom (sic) we would also like to express our deep gratitude.

- By order of the Central Committee of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam,
- in pursuance of the humanitarian policy of clemency of the Front of National Liberation of South Vietnam toward prisoners,
- in response to the good will of the American progressive population favoring peace and justice and opposing the aggressive war in Vietnam of American imperialists, and in order to express our solidarity with and support for the fight of American Negroes for their fundamental civil rights, a fight which is in complete harmony with the just combat for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity of the South Vietnamese people,

the Headquarters of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam

DECIDE:

### Article I

To release the three American war prisoners whose names follow:

- Edward Johnson, Sergeant, Counsellor of the 1st Battalion, 31st Regiment, 21st Division of the puppet army, identification No. \_\_\_\_\_ captured in the battle of Luc-phi, Go-quao, Province Rach-Gia on July 21, 1964;
- James Alex Jackson, Jr., Medical Sergeant of the Special Forces No. 5, identification No. captured in Binh-Hung, Province Camau on July 5, 1966 and
- Daniel Lee Fitzer, Sergeant of the Group of Counsellors No. 96, identification No. captured in Tan-Phu on October 29, 1963.

ь6 ь7с These three prisoners have manifested sincere remorse for the crimes which they committed toward the South Vietnamese people. In addition, they respected our laws and regulations during their detention.

#### Article II

The units of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam should aid the three abovelisted prisoners to return, in the best condition, to the American people and to their own families.

On October 31, 1967

The Headquarters of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of South Vietnam

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10 MAY 1962 EDITION GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6 UNITED STATES GOVE MENT

## $oldsymbol{M}$ emorand $ar{u}$ m

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE:

1/26/68

(ATT: FBI LABORATORY, TRANSLATION SECTION)

SAC, NEW ORLEANS

(P)

ъ3 b7E

SUBJECT:

THOMAS-HAYDEN

IS - NORTH VIETNAM

ReNOairtel and LHM, 1/24/68.

Enclosed is one copy of a three-page typewritten letter, written in French and entitled "ALLOCUTION DE M. NGUYEN VAN HIEU A LA REMISE DES MILITAIRES AMERICAINS LIBERES PAR LE FNL DU SUD VIET NAM OU REPRESENTANT DES ORGANISATIONS PROGRESSISTES AMERICAINES A PHNOM-PENH LE 11 NOVEMBRE 1967", and one copy of a notice entitled "ORDRE DE LIBERATION".

The Translation Section of the FBI Laboratory is requested to translate the enclosures and to furnish the results to New Orleans.

It is not necessary to return the enclosures as New Orleans has other copies of this material.

100-438281

Let to New Dalrage W/2000 (4) (4.710) man told klas)

≠ Bureau (Enc. 2)ENCLOSURE

- New Orleans

PDF:mbc (5)

NOT RECORDED

16 JAN 29 1968

T-19859 MLM: deb

COPY AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB.

FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

	то :	Director, FBI	(Bufile- 100	<b>-</b> 438281	) DATE	: 2/5 <b>/6</b> 8		
	FROM :	Word New	ARK (100-	48095)			<u>.</u>	
	SUBJECT:	THOMAS SM - SD	emmett hay S	DEN		Card Card	s UTD is Sent 00	
£		Re:	FD-122 da	ted 8/4/	67			
	It is reco	ommended that a on the above-ca	Security Index Ca	rd be	X The Securi be change	ity Index Card on the d as follows (specify	e captioned in y change only	ndividual shoul ://:
	Name					<u> </u>		
	Aliases		·					
						,		
A								4. 1. j
AND	<b>)</b>	Nativ	e Born	Naturaliz	zed	Alien	6.	
HED ATE		nist Social	ist Workers Party	Miscellar	neous (specify)		<u> </u>	
DETACRED SEPARATE		Date of birth	Place of birth				Race	Sex Male
	Business A	ddress, Name of	Employing Concer	n and Address	, Nature of Employ	ment, and Union Affi	liation, if an	
ENCLOSURE HANDLED								
EN.	Key Facility	y Data	·		<del> </del>		<del></del>	
S∕   	Geograph	nical Reference	Number			Responsibility		
					<del></del>			
	Residence A	Address		631 Hun Newark,	terdon St. N.J.			

REGISTERED MAIL

2-Bureau 1-Newark BJC:gjh (3)

馬爾姆。農

100-438281-NOT RECORDED .5 FEB 9 1968

51 FEB 1 5 1968 9

(07) dri: UM

: 0.7.

DIBLICATE YELLOW

essneata 'N 'H 'In e I - IE. D. E. Euloa desnort A & TM -- Nr LI-H-Ejohq

costourag neg erndledelta4 How Koth Fixua on roa wikster BOSEOFF Creacrand Cincipateri Curcesso Ever Poston

Director, FRI (100-446997) : Borg

(CLSIALLOW LEW) LARRICKLION OF THE MEW LEGT

TELETY

(Severited) ITV58E-001 - I

1 - ICO-CYLEGO (CFIACLE)

esitivition bea asion qidarahasi Tishi to Sausted islandivibul eaedl . . eron evirgurath bne furefine to emror redo bas denouncing the United States and enling for civil disobedience groups are extremely active and most vocal in their statements in the Students for a Democratic Society and anti-Victora war standividud anates teat guidanthan andicacian bedainviduals eved noy ,enotiasing to "they be "to vogetto ent robus ilsi prefus home funcetigations of organizations which-

in these organizations, could be considered to be Key Activists.

(1) - 100-43883 (Hardon) (Tesaids) Vestee-eor -(unpava) 866195-001 -

(cival) 880812-001 -

r - 100-24sies (2004) - 100-444388 (Dancanberg)

1888 Eh-001

Que or on

8361 FS-NAL 391

PLE

£ď

J\30\08

Airtel to SAC, Boston
RE: INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT
(REY ACTIVISTS)
100-446997

At this time, the Bureau is designating the following individuals as Key Activists in the "new left" movement:
New York, Gregory Alan Calvert, Linda M. Dannenberg, Jerry Clyde Rubin, Steven Edward Halliwell; Chicago, Carl Albert Davidson,
Charles Clark Kissinger, Robert Milton Pardun; Boston,
Nicholas Michael Egleson, Michael Louis Spiegel; Cincinnati,
Carl Preston Oglesby; Cleveland, Sidney Morris Peck; San Francisco,
Mario Bobert Savio, Robert Scheer; Newark, David Dellinger,
Thomas Emmett Hayden.

Of this group, the following are not on the Security Index: Calvert, Dannenberg, Halliwell, Pardun, Spiegel, and Egleson. The offices handling these individuals are instructed to immediately reopen their investigations concerning them and submit reports together with a recommendation concerning their Security Index status. When considering these individuals for the Security Index, particular attention should be placed to current Bureau instructions on page 45, Section 87D, of the Hanual of Instructions concerning the Security Index criteria and especially Item (C).

Furthermore, an intensive investigation of each of the above-mentioned individuals should immediately be initiated with the objective of developing detailed and complete information regarding their day-to-day activities and future plans for staging demonstrations and disruptive acts directed against the Covernment. Because of their leadership and prominence in the "new left" movement, as well as the growing militancy of this movement, each office must maintain high-level informant coverage on these individuals so that the Bureau is kept abreast of their day-to-day activities as well as the organizations they are affiliated with, to develop information regarding their sources of funds, foreign contacts, and future plans.

In the event adequate live informant coverage is not immediately available on these individuals, other types of coverage such as technical surveillances and physical surveillances should be considered as a temporary measure to establish the necessary coverage.

Airtel to SAC, Boston INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT (KEY ACTIVIST)

100-446997

Each recipient office in which a Key Activistresides is instructed to submit a separate letter to the Bureau within 30 days from the date of this communication under the caption of each individual outlining what steps have been made to insure adequate informant coverage of these individuals.

Each recipient office is also instructed to remain alert for the addition of any individuals in their respective territories which would warrant intensified investigation and who fit the Key Activist category and sulet their recommendations to the Bureau. In the future, when submitting communications concerning the individuals designated as Key Activists, these words should be added after the character except on communications such as reports and LHMs which will be disseminated outside of the Eureau. This will facilitate handling these cases at the Bureau. should also be submitted to the Bureau every six months concerning these Key Activists.

This matter is being closely followed by the Bureau and you are expected to give the investigation of them individual continuous attention.

## NOTE:

Item (C) on page 45 of Section 87D of the Manual of Instructions states that consideration should be given to placing those persons on the Security Index who have anarchistic or revolutionary beliefs and are likely to seize upon the opportunity presented by a national emergency to endanger the public safety as shown by overt actions and statements within the past three years.



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

JAN 1 6 1968

FBI LIAISON:

RESIDENCE:

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

RE:

Thomas Emmett HAYDEN

BORN:

December 11, 1939

PLACE: Detroit, Michigan

631 Hunterdon Newark, New Jersey

100-438281

Unknown

BUREAU FILE NUMBER:

PASSPORT NUMBER:

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE:

H1351965 issued December 28, 1967

at Washington, D.C. (valid to

January 31, 1968)

Note: Passport was validated for

one round trip to Cuba during

January 1968

ATTORNEY:

TRAVEL PLANS

PORT OF DEPARTURE:

DATE OF DEPARTURE:

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION:

PROPOSED LENGTH OF STAY:

COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED:

PURPOSE OF TRIP:

Unknown

December 30, 1967

Air

106-438281-

Two weeks

13 JAN 23 1968

Cuba

Research and writing

PASSPORT OFFICE

PT/L - Robert D. Johnson

11)

DERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN241968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI WASH DC

AM UR

FBI NEW ORLS

107GENT 1-24-68 RDC

O DIRECTOR

FROM NEW ORLEANS (105-NEW)

THOMAS HAYDEN. IS - NORTH VIETNAM.

EXAMINATION OF THE CONTENTS OF HAYDEN'S LUGGAGE BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI ON JAN. TWENTHITHEE INSTANT REFLECTS SEVERAL LISTS OF AMERICAN PILOTS CAPTURED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. ONE SUCH LIST INCLUDES THE PILOT'S FULL NAME, BIRTH PLACE, RANK, SERIAL NUMBER, TAKE-OFF BASE, TYPE OF AIRCRAFT AND DATE THE PILOT WAS SHOT DOWN.

ALSO INCLUDED IN THE MATERIAL EXAMINED WAS A LETTERHEAD ENTITLED "LIBERATION" FIVE BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ONE ZERO ZERO THREE EIGHT. AMONG NAMES APPEARING IN T LETTERHEAD IS THOMAS HAYDEN, LISTED AS ONE OF THE ASSOCIATE EDITORS. ANOTHER LIST OF CAPTURED PILOTS APPEARING ON A "LIBERATION LETTERHEAD" HAD THE FOLLOWING NOTATION "LIST OF AMERICAN PILOTS IN DETENTION CAMPS WITH WHOM WE HAVE HAD SOME CONTACT." THIS LIST ALSO INCLUDES THE NAMES OF WIVES AND PARENTS AND THEIR ADDRESSES IN THE U.S.

54 FEB6 | 1968 | XEROX | 1968

Mr. Tolson Mr. DeLoach Mr. Mohr\_ Mr. Bishop. Mr. Casper. Mr. Callahan Mr. Conrad Mr. Felt. Mr. Galo\_ Mr. Rosen. Mr. Sullivan & Mr. Tavel... Mr. Trotter. Tele. Room\_ Miss Holmes Miss Gandy

COARCR

of the state of th

15 JAN 30 1968

MINISTER

PAGE TWO

THE MATERIAL ALSO CONTAINED A TYPEWRITTEN LETTER MARKED "SAMPLE" IN PENCIL. ADDRESSED TO MRS. POLLACK (THE NAME MELVIN POLLACK APPEARED ON ONE OF THE PILOT LISTS) FROM TOM HAYDEN IN CARE OF THE LIBERATION ADDRESS. THE LETTER ADVISES THAT A LETTER FROM MELVIN POLLACK WAS ENCLOSED WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN TO HAYDEN BY NORTH VIETNAMESE OFFICIALS WHILE HAYDEN WAS IN HANOI IN OCT .. YEAR NOT INDICATED. HAYDEN STATES HE WAS INVOLVED IN THE RELEASE OF THREE U. S. SERGEANTS HELD PRISONER IN VIETNAM. HE ADVISES THAT ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT MEET POLLACK. HE MET OTHER PILOTS AND HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT THEY WERE TREATED WELL. HE STATES HE WOULD LIKE TO MEET MR. AND MRS. POLLACK AND DISCUSS THE MATTER. HE ALSO INDICATES THAT RECENT INCREASED BOMBING OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG HAS PROBABLY ENDED ANY CHANCE OF POSSIBLE RE-LEASE OF THE PILOTS. HE ENDS THIS LETTER WITH A HOPE THAT AN EARLY END TO THE WAR WILL BRING MELVIN HOME TO THEM. END PAGE TWO

### PAGE THREE

LETTERS CONTAINED IN HAYDEN'S LUGGAGE SHOW HE RECEIVED RESPONSES FROM PARENTS AND WIVES OF CAPTURED PILOTS EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE INFORMATION HE FURNISHED TO THEM AND SOME ALSO EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO MEET HIM. THIS INFORMATION WAS SOMETIMES IN THE FORM OF A LETTER FROM A CAPTURED PILOT.

THE MATERIAL ALSO CONTAINED A LETTER FROM HAYDEN

TO GOVERNOR HARRIMAN DATED DEC. FIFTEEN LAST WITH A RETURN ADDRESS OF LIBERATION AS NOTED PREVIOUSLY. THIS

LETTER REFLECTS GOV. HARRIMAN INDICATED AN INTEREST IN

HAYDEN'S SUSPENDED PASSPORT AND ASKED IF HE MIGHT RECEIVE

PASSPORT VALIDATION FOR A TRIP TO CUBA IN JAN. AS HE WAS

A JOURNALIST AND WAS IN THE SAME CATEGORY AS DAVE DELLINGER

AND OTHER LEFT WING JOURNALISTS. HE INDICATED PLANSTO

ATTEND A CULTURAL CONFERENCE IN HAVANA WHERE HE PLANNED

TO SPEAK WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF NORTH VIETNAM AND THE

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (NLF).

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

THE MATERIAL ALSO CONTAINED COPIES OF THE ORDER OF LIBERATION FOR THREE AMERICANS BY THE NLF DATED OCT.

THIRTYONE LAST AND WRITTEN IN FRENCH. A STATEMENT BY HAYDEN WAS ALSO INCLUDED IN THE MATERIAL IN SUPPORT OF THE NLF AND THE RELEASE OF THESE THREE PRISONERS.

ADMINISTRATIVE: WILL REFERENCE NEW ORLEANS TELETYPE JAN. TWENTYTHREE INSTANT.

LHM FOLLOWS.

AIRMAIL COPIES TO NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC

FBI STEINING

CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERI I AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION TE 07-02-2021 BY:					
FEDERA	LBUREAL	J OF INV	ESTIGATION		
MEXICO CITY	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	1/31/68	1/8 - 25/68		
TITLE OF CASE	<u>.                                    </u>	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED 81		
THOMAS HAYDEN		•	RUSSELL JEAN GRAY, JR. imt		
		IS - CUB	·A		
Puro			217 74		
SYNOPSIS			Air		
Subjection on 1/5/63. Subjection Cultural Congress	ject is a journa	ites citizen, list who was	traveled to Cuba sent to cover the		
		RUC			
REFERENCE					
"Cultural Congre	ork airtel and I ess, Havana, Cub	HM dated 12/2 pa, 1/4-11/68	27/67 entitled; IS - Cuba."		
To da	te, monitoring o	f return tra	vel from Cuba		
	HMENTS CLAIMED	Açqui			
CONVIC AUTO. FUG. FINE	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES TAL	PENDING OVER ONE YEAR YES NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS YES NO		
APPROVED MA	SPECIAL AGE IN CHARGE		NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
10- Bureau 10- Liaisor	n Section)	100	438381-55		
(4 - WFO) 1 - Mexico City		Andrew Property	5. 1968 EL-28		
COPIES DESTROYED 9 25 SEP 7 1972		3 FEB	5. 1958 5. 101 b		
Dissemination Record	of Attached Report	Notations			
Agency AGO A	he der to		The state of the s		
Date Fwd. 2-9-6. How Fwd.	TUK + WFO	- diss	ropriate offices & agences		
By Man State Control of the Control	INPRAJE		DRHIM.		

LIMITED CLASSIFICATION REVIEW

This document was not reviewed in its entirety. Classification review was limited to:

By Conly

on/0/24/19
by 57/1 914/01
File 1/00-43828/
Serial 55

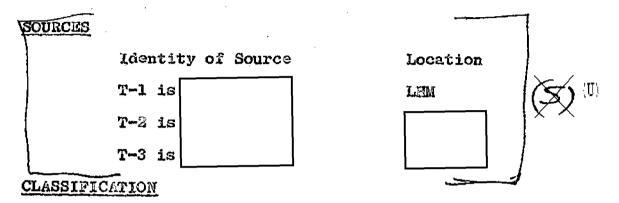
HER 3 3 FR bW . P. B.

0.327 Mag.

Al-emy

B BY WIELL OW.

has failed to disclose the subject's return. When such information is received, it will be promptly furnished to the Bureau and interested offices.



This LEM is classified SECRET - No Foreign
Dissemination in order to protect whose compromise could reveal investigative coverage of a diplomatic establishment of a foreign power. Should his information in the future be downgraded, the LHM should be reclassified CONFIDENTIAL to protect other sources of continuing value whose compromise could affect the national defense.

LEADS

WFO

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

- 1) Will review subject's file at the United States Passport Office, passport number \_-1341965, to determine if travel to Cuba was authorized.
- 2) If travel was not authorized, will direct office covering subject's residence to conduct investigation per Section 105G, page four, Manual of Instructions.

Two extra copies of this report are provided for that purpose.

COVER PAGE

b7D

ь7D



# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 31, 1968

### THOMAS HAYDEN

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be Estributed outside your agency.

advised the Cuban

Embassy in Mexico, D.F., that TOM HAYDEN would be among the journalists traveling to Cuba to cover the Cultural Congress of Havana scheduled for January 4 through 11, 1968. (T-1

The Cultural Congress of Havana had the publicly stated purpose of obtaining unity of action in the "anti-imperialist" fight and in defense of the cultural nucleus of the countries of the "Third World" against "imperialist" intellectual exploitation.

The passenger manifest of Cuban Aviation Company flight 465 from Mexico, D.F., to Havana, Cuba, on January 5, 1968, listed THOMAS HAYDEN as passenger number 27. He was shown to be the bearer of United States passport 1351965 with a Cuban Courtesy Visa. destined to the Hotel Nacional in Havana and carried no luggage.

1/16/68)

lassified by xempt from GDS Category Date of Declassification Indefinite

SHCRET No Foreign Dissemination

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SRCRET

THOMAS HAYDEN

The file pertaining to the subject at the Mexican Department of Immigration was unavailable for review as it has been charged out personally to the Minister of Government (Interior).

(T-3 - 1/12/68.

2\*



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUST FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

January 31, 1968

### THOMAS HAYDEN

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is located to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Reference is made to a memorandum dated and captioned as above.

T-1, T-2, and T-3, referred to in referenced memorandum, have furnished reliable information in the past.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MEXICO CITY	BUREAU	1/31/68	1/8 - 25/68	
THOMAS HAYDEN		RUSSELL JEAN GRAY, JR. CHARACTER OF CASE		imt
	·			

## SYNOPSIS

Subject, a United States citizen, traveled to Cuba on 1/5/68. Subject is a journalist who was sent to cover the Cultural Congress of Havana.

RUC

## REFERENCE

New York airtel and LHM dated 12/27/67 entitled "Cultural Congress, Havana, Cuba, 1/4-11/63; IS - Cuba."

## ADMINISTRATIVE

To date, monitoring of return travel from Cuba

		AC	COMPLISHMENTS	CLAIMED		ACQUIT-	4
ONVIC	AU TO.	FUG,	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		CASE HAS BEEN:  PENDING OVER ONE YEAR YES NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS YES NO
APPROV	ED .			SPECIAL A IN CHAR		DO N	OT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
	0 <b>-</b> Bi () (-)	ureau l — Li 4 — WR exico	iaison Sec (O) City	tion)			b3 b7E
	Diss	emination	Record of Attac	hed Report	Notati	ons	
Agency							
Request F	Recd.				1		
Date Fw	d.	<u>-</u>	1				
How Fw	d.						
Ву							

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOI/PA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Total Deleted Page(s) = 179

Page 3 ~ Duplicate;

FOI/PA# 1360161-000

Page 4 ~ Duplicate;

Page 5 ~ Duplicate;

Page 16 ~ Duplicate;

Page 17 ~ Duplicate;

Page 18 ~ Duplicate;

Page 19 ~ Duplicate;

Page 20 ~ Duplicate;

Page 21 ~ Duplicate;

Page 22 ~ Duplicate;

Page 23 ~ Duplicate;

Page 25 ~ Duplicate;

Page 26 ~ Duplicate;

Page 27 ~ Duplicate;

Page 31 ~ Duplicate;

Page 32 ~ Duplicate;

Page 34 ~ Duplicate;

Page 35 ~ Duplicate;

Page 36 ~ Duplicate;

Page 37 ~ Duplicate;

Page 38 ~ Duplicate;

Page 39 ~ Duplicate;

Page 40 ~ Duplicate;

Page 41 ~ Duplicate;

Page 42 ~ Duplicate;

Page 43 ~ Duplicate; Page 44 ~ Duplicate;

Page 45 ~ Duplicate;

Page 46 ~ Duplicate; Page 47 ~ Duplicate;

Page 48 ~ Duplicate;

Page 49 ~ Duplicate;

Page 50 ~ Duplicate;

Page 51 ~ Duplicate;

Page 52 ~ Duplicate;

Page 53 ~ Duplicate;

Page 54 ~ Duplicate;

Page 55 ~ Duplicate;

Page 56 ~ Duplicate;

Page 57 ~ Duplicate;

Page 58 ~ Duplicate;

Page 59 ~ Duplicate;

Page 60 ~ Duplicate;

Page 61 ~ Duplicate;

Page 62 ~ Duplicate;

Page 63 ~ Duplicate;

Page 64 ~ Duplicate;

Page 65 ~ Duplicate;

Page 66 ~ Duplicate;

Page 67 ~ Duplicate;

Page 68 ~ Duplicate;

Page 69 ~ Duplicate;

Page 70 ~ Duplicate;

Page 71 ~ Duplicate;

Page 72 ~ Duplicate;

Page 73 ~ Duplicate;

Page 74 ~ Duplicate;

Page 75 ~ Duplicate;

Page 76 ~ Duplicate;

Page 77 ~ Duplicate;

Page 78 ~ Duplicate; Page 79 ~ Duplicate;

Page 80 ~ Duplicate;

Page 81 ~ Duplicate;

Page 82 ~ Duplicate;

Page 83 ~ Duplicate;

Page 84 ~ Duplicate;

```
Page 85 ~ Duplicate;
```

- Page 86 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 87 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 88 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 89 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 90 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 91 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 92 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 93 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 94 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 95 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 96 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 97 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 98 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 99 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 100 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 101 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 102 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 103 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 104 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 105 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 106 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 107 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 108 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 109 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 110 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 111 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 112 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 114 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 115 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 118 ~ b7E;
- Page 123 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 130 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 131 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 132 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 133 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 135 ~ Duplicate; Page 136 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 143 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 144 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 145 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 146 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 147 ~ Duplicate; Page 148 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 149 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 150 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 151 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 152 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 153 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 154 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 155 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 156 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 157 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 159 ~ Duplicate; Page 160 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 161 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 163 ~ b7E;
- Page 175 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 176 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 177 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 179 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 180 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 181 ~ Duplicate; Page 182 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 183 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 187 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 191 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 192 ~ Duplicate; Page 193 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 194 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 198 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 199 ~ Duplicate;
- Page 200 ~ Duplicate;

Page 201 ~ Duplicate; Page 202 ~ Duplicate; Page 203 ~ Duplicate; Page 232 ~ Duplicate; Page 233 ~ Duplicate; Page 234 ~ Duplicate; Page 235 ~ Duplicate; Page 236 ~ Duplicate; Page 237 ~ Duplicate; Page 238 ~ Duplicate; Page 239 ~ Duplicate; Page 240 ~ Duplicate; Page 241 ~ Duplicate; Page 242 ~ Duplicate; Page 243 ~ Duplicate; Page 244 ~ Duplicate; Page 245 ~ Duplicate; Page 246 ~ Duplicate; Page 247 ~ Duplicate; Page 248 ~ Duplicate; Page 249 ~ Duplicate; Page 250 ~ Duplicate; Page 251 ~ Duplicate; Page 252 ~ Duplicate; Page 253 ~ Duplicate; Page 254 ~ Duplicate; Page 255 ~ Duplicate: Page 256 ~ Duplicate; Page 257 ~ Duplicate; Page 258 ~ Duplicate; Page 259 ~ Duplicate; Page 260 ~ Duplicate; Page 261 ~ Duplicate; Page 262 ~ Duplicate; Page 263 ~ Duplicate; Page 264 ~ Duplicate; Page 265 ~ Duplicate; Page 266 ~ Duplicate; Page 267 ~ Duplicate;

#### XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

X Deleted Page(s) X

X No Duplication Fee X

X For this Page X

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Date: 12,20/65

`			ра се:	12,20,00	5	
į	Transmit t	the following in				, -
		4 7° 17 40 40 40 7° .	(Type in pl	ain text or cod	8	
	Via	AIRTEL			<u> </u>	
			(Pric	ority)		;
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (1	00-123974)		Man Man	<b>;</b>
	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (10	0-80532)	•	1147 P3	
0.1	SUBJECT: _	HERBERT EUGENE A	PTHEKER	- <del>' \\</del>	57E	
0.		ISA 1950 (00: NY)		5	· O' MA	1
	"THOMAS EN	Renyteletype to MMETT HAYDEN; SM-	·C".		23.9	, ]
	of an LHM	Enclosed for the concerning APTHE	KER	and the second s	) b70 n 1/2 1	下管
		Confidential sou		_/		1
	his future	This LHM is clase of information effectiveness affect on the nati	and such impai:	rment could have	an DIAN SE	OF ANCE
0-17 MY (133) 1-6-66 df	° (1 - 1	100-130319 (VI k (Enclosures 2) 100-40690) (THOMA	IS EMMETT HAYD	Pilace delivered	ДДД Б7Е ВС	* 100/100
0-9 NK,114	(1 - ) 1 - New Y	aven (Enclusures 100-18293) (STAUC ork (100-148904) ork (100-110521)	·2) (RM) HTON LYND) (THOMAS HAYDE: (STAUGHTON LY	EN) (43) & 50 50 50 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	V / Y / M	3
ENCLOS	New Y	ork (100-154786) ork (100-80532)	(VIDEM) (43)		1985	にはいい
A CONTOUR	(15.)	· MARAN	<u>D</u>	62-111917 NOT RECORDER		
Υ΄ . ,	Approve	a: Y / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /		·	er	
DEC	- /5Å. <b>^</b> 5	ENCY O RECUITE FORW. 12/2-1/65	Copy to Lyde	TANT	5C. b3 b7E	
	DEP OF		1 12/21/16	3		,*

NY 100-80532

furnished information to SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL. APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN were observed departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, NYC, 12/19/65 by SA ASCHERL.

New Haven and Newark will submit LHMs on STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN, respectively. For the information of these offices, Passenger Agent, Air India, advised SA ASCHERL on 12/19/65 that STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN, in the company of HERBERT APTHEKER, boarded Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, which departed Kennedy International Airport, NYC, 9:00 PM, en route London, England. At London, England, all three individuals had connecting reservations on British European Airlines Flight departing London, England, 11:00 AM, 12/20/65, for Prague, Czechoslovakia.

exhibited the I-94 on THOMAS E. HAYDEN which reflected his current address as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, traveling on Passport Number F1027114. Photo in NYO file on THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, NY 100-148904, is identical with THOMAS E. HAYDEN observed in the company of LYND and APTHEMER departing Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65.

STAUGHTON LYND was also identified from photo in NYO file 100-110531 on STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, Professor at Yale University.

advised that he checked passports of above three individuals to determine if they were in order and that all three had the same itinerary to Prague, Czechoslovakia

It should be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN were originally scheduled to depart New York on Sabena Flight 548 departing at 8:30 PM, 12/19/65. However, this flight cancelled at the last hour and they immediately booked passage on Air India Flight 116 departing 9:00 PM, 12/19/65.

As a security precaution, it was not deemed advisable at the Air India Terminal to press their personnel for a review by Special Agents of all I-94s departing on this flight. However, it is anticipated these I-94s will be in the possession of INS, NYC, on 12/21/65. A review will be conducted at that time to determine if possible whether any other individuals of interest to the Bureau departed for London on this Air India Flight.

b7D

ъźр

٠. ١٠٦٥

NY 100-80532

It should be noted that no information has been received by the NYO as to the specific purpose of the trip to Hanoi on the part of the above three individuals. However, it is possible that said trip will be used for propaganda purposes against United States involvement in Viet Nam.

REGISTERED MAIL -RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

JAN 5 1966

Deer Fr. Yeagley:

Information has been furnished to this Department by the Federal Bureau of Investigation reflecting that Merbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Ammett Dayden are traveling to North Viet Nam.

The information, contained in FBI memoranda dated December 9, 1965 and Fecember 14, 1965 reflects that the above individuals would depart from New York on December 19, 1965, arrive in Prague on Lecember 20 and proceed from there to Hanoi.

Herbert Aptheker is the bearer of Passport No. 3 681400 issued on July 10, 1964. Staughton Lynd was issued Passport on December 8, 1965 at Boston. Thomas Entett Hayden was issued Rassport No. F 1027114 on December 16, 1265 at lew York. Home of these individuals have passports velidated for travel in North Viet Nam.

In view of the presently evailable information these cases are referred to you for consideration of prosecution under 8 UCS 1185 and 18 UCS 1544.

This Department is presently in the process of checking with its posts in the Dar Bast in an effort to obtain Eurther information and evidence concerning the travel of these individuals. We will keep you advised of all developments.

Sincerely yours, 62-111917-

ic Mil 6 ggs

Abba P. Cohwartz

The Henorable 1.113 ;

Assistant Attorney General,

Internal Security ivision, Department of Justice.

I V

34 EV COLONIA

ь6 ь7с

MECORDED COPY FILED !

- HARECORDED C

# U.S. Going Slow in Punitive Action Against Lynd

By JOHN W. FINNEY Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10-For fear of upsetting its current peace offensive, the Johnson Administration is deliberately

assistant professor and his two Vietnamese War. carried out because, according traveling companions violated. This position helps explain, to officials, the consulate reptraveling companions violated This position helps explain to ornelass, the consumer traveling companions violated This position helps explain to ornelass, the consumer travel united States laws and regula-according to officials, why the resentatives had no contact wit tions' governing travel by Government has thus far made Mr. Lynd on his return by way the resentative Moscow and Paris.

Hanoi.

But both the State and Juscriminal charges.

Under United States laws an information Mr. Lynd may have acting on orders from the American citizen is forbidden brought back on Hanoi's peace terms. The State Department so slow in taking any legal action against Mr. Lynd and his been interpreted by the execution against Mr. Lynd and his been interpreted by the execution against Mr. Lynd and his been interpreted by the execution against Mr. Lynd and his been interpreted by the execution of generally considered to be the leading theoretican of the Communist party in the United States and who which travel has been prospected by the State Department tention of going to a country to the United States and who which travel has been prospected by the State Department tention of going to a country to the United States and who which travel has been prospected by the State Department tention of going to a country to the United States and who which travel has been prospected by the State Department tention of going to a country to the State Department.

Lynd Back in Class Special to The New York Times NEW HAVEN, Jan. 10 — Mr. Lynd said here today that the states with the intention of going to a country to the State Department.

Lynd Back in Class Special to The New York Times New HAVEN, Jan. 10 — Mr. Lynd said here today that the states with the intention of going to a country to the State Department.

at Kennedy International Air- and Cuba. port on their return from a private fact-finding trip to explore Hanoi's terms for a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam War.

#### Hanol Reaction Weighed

punitive action could beeloud the passport of anyone who vio-

Vietnam Might Hart the Efforts to Gain Peace

tions' governing travel by Government has thus far made Mr. Lynn on the Land American citizens in their unno move to recall the passports of Moscow, and Paris, authorized 10-day visit to of the three and is postponing Neither the Administration on whather to bring nor the legislative a decision on whether to bring nor the legislative branch

les; and Thomas Hayden, a all American passports are founder of the Students for a stamped invalid for travel to "physical withdrawal of American Democratic Society.

Albania, Communist China, The three arrived last night North Vietnam, North Korea Republicant to end the war in Vietnam.

#### Passport Recall Possible

Behind this Administration common and immediate punidecision, according to officials, tive step, however, is the Adis a concern that any immediate ministrative action of revoking this afternoon.

the current peace offensive be-lates the law.

The State Department how "legality" of his trip, Mr. Lynd replied:

The state Department how replied:

The State Department how replied:

"I hope the United States deportating table.

Thus, the fear of Administrathough such a step is not being trip as an effort to exemplify the president's offer to knock would seize upon any action procedure that has been followed.

Fears Penalty Over Trip to lowed in the past is to send a letter withdrawing a passport. The letter is delivered to the passport holder by immigration authorities upon his return to the United States,

Administration is deliberately refraining from any immediate against the three, who ostension Lynd for traveling to North bly were on a peace - making Vietnam.

In the opinion of State Devidence of American lack of inpartment legal experts there is terest and hypocrisy in achievonly for return to the United ing a peaceful settlement of the States. But this action was not carried out because, according carried out because, according

Neither the Administration

Vietnam.

However by the Unit The maximum criminal pendits troops "would be a prerequity for violation of the law is uisite." Mr. Lynd said at a news a \$5,000 fine or five-year important or both. The more ed on his talks with North

Mr. Lynd met his first class

Asked how he regarded the "legality" of his trip, Mr. Lynd

a "clear decision" ed States to remove		
or praces to temore		
would be a prereq- Lynd said at a news	- "	The Washington Post and .

Times Herald The Washington Daily News ...

The Evening Star \_ New York Herald Tribune .

New York Journal-American \_

New York Daily News \_\_ New York Post -

The New York Times \_\_

The Baltimore Sun \_\_\_\_ The Worker .

The New Leader \_

The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_

The National Observer \_\_\_

Deleted Copy Sent Jan Man (Name)

by Letter 1-6-7

Per FOLA Request Collection

62-111917-7 10-123794UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

The Director

DATE:

1-11-66-

FROM

: N.P. Callahan

The Congressional Record

Values A21-A22. Congressman Fisher, (D) Tesas, extended his remarks concerning the unauthorized trip to Hanol by three American citizens, Norbert Aptocher, Mauchton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden, and pointed out that it has been reported by the press that the Justice Legarinant is reviewing several laws that might be applicable to this quant horized trip. He stated "Loca this conduct constitute a violation of our laws? That is the question the Justice Department is now trying to determine. If there is substantial oridence of their guilt, then it would been that they should be prosecuted. - - - - Moreover, their travel in deliance of the law which requires them to clear the trip with the Linte Department would seem to

Deleted Copy Sent Las M Lowe by Letter 11-6-

present an open-and-shut case against them."

Per FOLA Request

NOT RECORDED 199 Jan 18 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-10-15/3was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed Bregulatise or subject matter files.

5-113 (1-10-61)

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date \_\_\_\_1-16-66

Attached relates to public meeting Sunday at which Herbert Aptheker, Straughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden, who returned from "Peace Mission" to North Vietnam related their activities in Hanoi. Internal Security Division of Department has been furnished complete details and is considering prosecutive action under several statutes. Information regarding meeting is being furnished Internal Security Division and Department of State.

DTS TÖT

wcs/DT)

# LIMITED CLASSIFICATION REVIEW This document was not reviewed in its entirety. Classification review was limited to: Page Paragraph, Page Paragraph · Synofsis 5-31-79 File + 62-111919 Serial of these pgs +Ha previous nehense was made inverterence to the Tom Housell + Same Forda

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

30

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS ENMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM

MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

ReButel 2/4/66 and urtels 2/7/66.

Department has requested that airline records and any other sources be checked in an effort to develop evidence to establish the complete itinerary of subjects from the time of their departure from the United States until their arrival in Hanoi, North Vietnam.

It is noted that in the report of Special Agent
Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, information is set out under the caption "Itinerary of Subjects" to the effect that the subjects traveled to London, England, via Air India, Flight 116, on 12/19/65 and to Prague, Czechoslovakia, on British European Airlines, flight number unknown, which was scheduled to depart from London at 11 a.m., 12/20/65. There is no information from an admissible source regarding subjects further itinerary. It is noted that upon return to the United States, the subjects admitted in a statement to the press that they traveled to Hanoi via London, Prague, Moscow, and Peking,

While it is doubtful that evidence to establish the above complete itinerary can be developed. New York should assure that no possibility is overlooked in this regard. Suairtel whether all possibilities have been exhausted in an effort to develop the information requested by the Department regarding the complete itinerary of subjects.

Sullivan

Tavel

Trotter

Wick

EBR: jas (4)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Holmes Gondy MAIL ROOM

THE W

Finally, it was requested that we be furnished copies of any documents or other material which may have been taken from the subjects by Customs Agents upon their return to the United States. In the event it is not practicable to copy a document because of its bulk, a description of such material will suffice.

1 - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

To:

SACs, New York (100-80532)

Minui

Washington Field (100-44569)

From: Director, FEG (100-123974)

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
HISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT — COMSPIRACY

By letter February 15, 1966, the Department requested advice as to the availability for interview and testimony of the confidential informants designated as T-6, T-7 and T-6 in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York. b7D

It is noted that the symbols T-6 and T-7 relate respectively, and that T-8 is

for interview by Department attorneys and for possible tostimony. The Bureau will handle the question relative to the availability of

Department also requested advice as to availability of confidential informants WF T-1 and T-2 in Washington Field LMK dated January 25, 1966. These symbols relate to panel source respectively.

Texhington Field sumirtel availability of for interview by Department attorneys and for Possible testimony.

EBR: jas/sss

MAR 2

Dellosch

Contad \_\_ Felt \_\_\_

Gate

Rosen

Gulliven

Tavel

Trotter

Tele, Room

Holmes

Gandy

Mohr \_\_\_\_ Wick \_\_\_\_ Casper \_\_ Callaban

19667

FEO 833 1000

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

WR

1 - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

To:

SAC, New York (100-80532) (2-1/19)

From:

Director, FBI (180-123974)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reurairtel 2/17/66.

The members of the crew of the 12/19/65 Air India Flight Number 116 from New York to London who were in a position to and might have entered into a discussion with Aptheker, Lynd or Hayden while en route to London should be interviewed to determine whether any admissions were made by any of the three that their ultimate destination was North Vietnam.

If the manifest for this flight is available, passengers who reside in the New York City area should be similarly interviewed. Pictures of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden may be utilized in connection with any interviews conducted. Submit FD 302's if any positive information developed.

MAILEU 22 FEB 23 1966

Tolson.

DeLoach

Callahan

Felt . Gale

Holmes

feasibility of interviewing Saul Rosenbaum who was allegedly on the same flight with Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden from Prague to Moscow. Since Rosenbaum was apparently on a valid business trip to the Soviet Union, this information would be known to the Department of State and possibly other movernment agencies and an approach to Rosenbaum could possibly be made on the basis that he was known to have traveled to the Soviet Union at approximately the same time as Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden and that he was being contacted to determine the possibility that he might have encountered them in Moscow.

It does not appear that such an approach would jeopardize

Conrad SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Rosen Sulliva Tavel Trotte Room

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

(16)?

Airtel to New York
RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

however, your recommendation regarding interviewing Rosenbaum should be submitted to the Bureau following contact with

### NOTE:

In connection with possible prosecution of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden for unauthorized travel to North Vietnam, we are attempting to develop evidence that at the time they departed from the United States, they had the specific intent to travel to North Vietnam. Information from Air India confirms travel as far as Prague but no further. State Department is conducting inquiry at London, Prague and Moscow for any pertinent information.

Information that Saul Rosenbaum of New York City was on the flight with Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden from Prague to Moscow was obtained by informant Saul Rosenbaum. Although Rosenbaum is not the subject of a security investigation, the president of the company by which he is employed is the subject of a security investigation in New York. This company does a substantial business with the Soviet Union in textiles.

- 2 -

b7D

## FB1

		Date: 2/17/66 1	
Tra	nsmit the following in		
		(Type in plaintext or code)	
Via	AIRTEL		
	•	(Priority)	
	TO :	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM :	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	
	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	
		ReBuairtel, 2/9/66.	
	recontact originall Air India He furnis flight in number 91	Passenger Agent, Air India, ennedy International Airport, Queens, NY, was ed by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL 2/15/66. He had y advised that subjects departed New York on Flight 116 on 12/19/65, for London, England. hed additional information that their connecting London on British European Airlines was flight 8, departing London 12/20/65, and arriving Prague, wakia, same date.	b7D
	informati that he h	could furnish no further on concerning subjects' itinerary. It is noted as declined to testify in this case,	b7D
C.	informati	on received from on 12/28/65, to the	ь6 ь7с ь7р
		on was obtained by informant  REC 8  (100-123974) (RM)  23	191
	U ]-NY (100 VJA:rmv (6) Approved:	(343) 8 FEB 18 1866  9-80532) (42)  Sent M Per Market MAN	ь3 ъ7Е
		cial Agent in Charge	

NY 100-80532

Scheuer and Company are textile brokers and are	<b>b</b> 3
doing a substantial business with the Soviets in textiles.	b7E
of the company and is subject of	
Information concerning	
and his company has been furnished the Bureau (refer Burile	
. SAUL ROSENBAUM is not subject of security	
Investigation NYO.	
	·
is being recontacted for any possible	b7E
additional information bearing upon ROSENBAUM's travel with	
APTHEKER. Direct contact with ROSENBARM by MYO in this	
matter might je <u>opardize</u> security of Results of	
recontact with will be furnished promptly to	
Bureau and further consideration will be given by NYO to	
an interview with ROSENBAUM, as soon as recontact with	
can be arranged.	

at Washington, D. C.

The source designated as T-S in the report of Special Agent Ascherl has advised that he is apprehensive as to the effect testifying would have on his bealth. Accordingly, he does not desire to testify.

9961 The source designated as T-7 in Special Agent <u>hacherl's report is</u> is available for interview by Department attorneys and for testimony if necessary.

The source designated as T-8 in Special Agent Ascherl's report is currently furnishing security information of extreme value and is not available for interview or testisony.

avallable to the Department for testimony at the first

DeLooch Mohr Wick . ₩<del>Ž</del> - New York (100-80532) Callahan 2 - Washington Field (100-44569) Contact Felt EBR:jas (8) Gale . Bosen . Sullivan Tovel: Trotter .

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Holmes .

Gandy .

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Was Made



## Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

For your further information, it has been determined that an additional source of this Bureau's New York Office was present at the January 16, 1966, meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Mayden spoke of their travel to Morth Vistnam. This source is being contacted to determine his availability for interview and possible testimony. You will be advised in this regard in the immediate future.

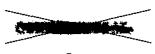
The source designated as WF T-1 in the memorandum dated January 25, 1956, at Washington, D. C., is

is available for interview and for testimony if

The source designated as WF T-2 in this memorandum originally signified her availability for interview and testimony but later reconsidered her position and expressed an unwillingness to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to testify.

For the Department's additional information, both sections of Staughton Lynd's January 24, 1966, speech at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., were recorded by James McGovern, the hotel's security officer, and copies of the tapes were made available to this Bureau's Washington Field Office. It is not known whether McGovern had permission to record the speeched from either Lynd or the organization which sponsored Lynd's appearance. It has been determined, however, that the recordings were made in a room adjoining the speaker's platform and were taped through the hotel's loud-speaker system. The copies of the recordings prepared by McGovern are available for review by Department attorneys.

NOTE: Classified "Confidential" as it relates to possible prosecutive plans involving current informants the disclosure of whom would adversely affect the national defense.



RI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE	- 1
ATE 07-07-2021 BY: 5010-106 A & bt	6
Tolson b	
UNITED STATES GO RNMENT	1
Memorandum Gallohan Casper Callohan	
Contad	
Felt	- 1
TO Mr. W. C. Sullivan DATE: 2/18/66	1
Sprives Tavel	
1 - Mr. DeLoach Trotter	
FROM : F. J. Baumgardner 1 - Mr. Sullivan Holmes	
1 - Mr. Baumgardner Gondy	, I
1 - Mr. Rozamus	
SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER 1 - Mr. Reddy	1
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND	
THOMAS EUGENE HAYDEN	$\langle \  $
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM	
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT	
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	.` ]
By letter 2/15/66, the Department inquired regarding the	
availability of certain sources for testimony in the possible future	
trial of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden for their recent unauthorized	
travel to Vietnam.	'
	)
Three of the five sources listed by the Department	١
Plare panel sources and another is a potential security informant. There	
	- 1
since they were directed by the New York and Washington Field Offices	
should be no difficulty with reference to these four sources testifying since they were directed by the New York and Washington Field Offices to cover certain activities for the specific purpose of testifying	
if this case should come to trial.	ļ
<b>D</b> 7D 0	
The fifth source listed by the Department is	}
one of our top-ranking informants. This	İ
informant	
and has recently been instructed	
<u></u>	
addition, the informant's	
The state of the s	
<u>vi.</u> ( <del>1</del>	
<b>9</b> ()	
*	
The information furnished by this informant in which the	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.	-
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.  [Section 1] REC-67 CONTINUED - OVER	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.  REC-67  CONTINUED - OVER	
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.  REC-67  CONTINUED - OVER  MAR 2 1966	1-+
The information furnished by this informant in which the Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.  REC- 67  CONTINUED - OVER  MAR 2 1966	
Department is interested relates to the January 17, 1966, session of a National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, during which Aptheker spoke regarding his trip to North Vietnam and regarding his meeting with members of the Central Committee of the North Vietnam Communist Party.  REC-67  Continued - Over  Classified by 4417 Community 1 MAR 2 1966	1
	1+-
	1
Exempt from GDS Category 2 Date of Declassification Indefinite	
Exempt from GDS Category 2	

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EUGENE HAYDEN

CONTEDENTIAL

b7D

ь7D

### **OBSERVATIONS:**

Ε	Since it appears that the testimony of would be purely cumulative since Aptheker has made statements similar to that he made at the National Committee meeting at other meetings which were open to the public and regarding which testimony is available from other sources and further in view of the key Party assignments to be handled in the near future by both the informant it is felt that the Department should be advised that this informant is not available for interview or testimony in connection with any future prosecutive action against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden.
	RECOMMENDATION:
	If you approve, the Department will, at the time we furnish information regarding the availability of other sources, be advised that is currently furnishing security information of extreme value and is not available for interview or testimony.
	Why with give

1000

CONFIDENTIAL

		Dαte: <b>2/21/66</b>	
Transmit t	he following in	(Type in plain text or code)	
, ' <i>/</i>	AIRTEL		
Via		(Priority or Method of Mailing)	
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM:	SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)	
	SUBJECT:	HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY ReWFOairtel to Bureau, 2/18/66.	100
	<b>ad</b> vised o testimony	psi mentioned in referenced being available for interview and testimony, on 2/19/66, that after discussing her possible with her husband, her husband had expressed that she not testify in the above captioned	
	STAUGHTON tapes wer Washingto	For info of the Bureau, WFO is in possession of tapes of each session of talks given by LYND on the evening of 1/24/66. The original e made available by the Security Officer of the on Hilton Hotel. The Bureau may wish to make ses available to the Department for review.	
	3 - Burea 1 - WFO	n 62-111917-22	•
	GTT:sch (4)  AIRTEL 3 1865	1 / 1/1/1/1 - GUER	
	oved: () L; () (	Agent in Charge	

F 6 (Re	, 5-22-64
**	2.

FBI

			Date: 3/2/66	
Trans		following in	(Type in plaintext or code)	
Via _		AIRTEL	(Priority)	
				_
		TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
		FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	
man na hang manakan kan da	C	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	
			ReNYairtel to Bureau, 3/1/66.	
, included the second of the s		the same as did to R. COLES also on address	In addition to the individuals from the New y area listed in referenced airtel who took  Air India Flight from New York, on 12/19/65, he subjects, it is pointed out that JULIAN, United States Passport Number was this flight.  JULIAN R. COLES gave an address of Inquiry at this of Mrs. WILSON JOHNSON determined that JULIAN bes reside there.	ь6 ь70
	<i>.</i>	and JULT	The JOHNSONs are friends of the COLES family	ь6 ь70
	r ?	3 - Bure	reside in Belgium and ne was this trip to visit them.  (2-1/19/7-28)  eau (RM) cimore (RM) (encs. 3) REC-29  York	<u> </u>
6		VJA:gfb (7)	EX-113	
(:,	Approv			
		Spec	cial Agent in Charge	

NY 100-80532

For the information of the Baltimore Office, above subjects departed New York, on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, bounded for London, England. Their ultimate destination was Hanoi, North Vietnam.

Department attorneys wish to determine whether subjects made any admissions while en route to London, that their ultimate destination was Hanoi. Accordingly, certain of the passengers aboard this flight will be interviewed.

It is believed that JULIAN R. COLES was in close proximity to the subjects, since he was bounded for Brussels, Belgium, and may have had a previous reservation on Sabena Flight 548, which was scheduled to depart from John F. Kennedy International Airport at 8:30 p.m., on the same date.

This flight was canceled at the last moment. It will be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN had earlier reservations on Sabena Flight 548, and at the last moment they booked passage on Air India Flight 116, when the Sabena flight was canceled.

If an interview with JULIAN R. COLES is desired, the Bureau is requested to so instruct the Baltimore Office.

Enclosed for Baltimore is one photograph of each of the subjects, which should be displayed to COLES in the event the Bureau instructs that he be interviewed.

	ION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:	A COLUMN TO A COLUMN TO SERVICE STATE OF THE SERVIC	į
EBI AUTOMATIC DATE 10-18-201	DECLASSIFICATION GUICE 21 BY:	The n	b6
<b>7</b> /.			ь7с
		Mr. W.k	
_	FBI	1-	
•	Date: <b>3/3/66</b>		
•		A A A A	
Transmit th	ne following in	113/11/12	
	AIRTEL REGISTERED	Barter_	
Via	(Priority)	With Reason.	
		Mas Gandy	
	TO: Director, FBI (100-123974)		
13	FROM: SAC, Detroit (100-16293) /	J. J. J.	gar.
1997	31 /- x	S. A. L. Carlot	
Mon	HERBERT APTHEKER; STAUGHTON LYND;	7	
2 W	THOMAS HAYDEN	to the	
	UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM	5	
}	MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	1411	
<i>!</i>	in the second se		
:	Re Bureau airtel to Detroit, 2/28/66.	· (1)	;
	Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of an	LHM COL	•
	relating to captioned matter.		
	The source utilized in enclosed LHM is		b6
المنتقع مرايي	, whose identity is being protected at hi		b70
\$37. dr	request. He attended the described meeting at Ann Ar	bor,	
175	Mich., and on 2/11/66, made available to the Detroit a tape recording made by him on the evening of 2/10/6		
	APTHEKER spoke. This tape recording is in the proces		•
,,,,,	being transcribed at Detroit and upon completion of s	ame,	
	copies will be designated the Bureau and appropriate	offices.	
	The information contained in enclosed LHM was obtaine		
	audio review of the tape recording. This information being attributed to as the original sour		b6
	being attributed to as the original sour he is the individual who made the tape recording aail		ъ70
	The LHM is classified confidential to protect the ide the source utilized in enclosed LHM in view of the fa		
	he has a potential of future value to the Detroit Off		
,.	ENCLOSURE 1-912 94D REC-83		
	3 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM) 5 62-1/1917	79	
	2 - Detroit	- 3/	
	(1 - 100-29519 PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF CP LEADERS) MHS/rms	ì	<sub>ኬ</sub> ን
ļ	(5) AGRICY AGRICA		b3 b7E
	C. C. Wick 3/7/		
	FOW rollar.		
(Appro	Љф!AR 1 С 1966 Sent М Рег		
	Special Agent in Charge		

n Reply, Please Refer to lile No.

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan March 3, 1966

Re: Herbert Aptheker

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on February 11, 1966, advised that on the evening of February 10, 1966, Herbert Aptheker spoke at Rackham Auditorium, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Aptheker, in his speech, commented on his recent trip to North Vietnam.

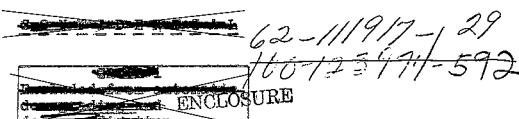
He opened his speech by quoting remarks attributed to President Abraham Lincoln made when he was a newly-elected Congressman from the State of Illinois, during which time a war was going on with Mexico. At that time, Lincoln was critical of the actions of President Polk and accused him of deceiving the public about the circumstances of that war.

Aptheker stated that everywhere in North Vietnam, there are air raid shelters and the attitude of the people of North Vietnam is one of calm determination. He stated that the North Vietnamese love their children and their independance. They pride themselves in their villages, their farms and their labors.

He stated that due to the bombing of certain areas in North Vietnam by United States planes, travel in these areas is only at night.

He stated that he had a conversation with a Roman Catholic priest in North Vietnam who asked what the North Vietnamese had done to America and why were the Americans bombing the North Vietnamese. He stated that this bombing is cruel and inhuman.

Aptheker stated that he had visited the (German) concentration camps 21 years ago while in the United States field artillery. There he saw the ovens used for cremation. He stated that now the crematoria are being made in the United States, are portable, and are napalm and phosphorus bombs which are dropped on the North Vietnamese.





Re: Herbert Aptheker

Aptheker indicated that the interest of the United States in North Vietnam actually lies in its natural resources such as tin, tungsten, etc., which we desire to keep available for our use.

Aptheker commented on the Geneva Agreement of 1954, comparing it to the Treaty of Paris of 1783. He stated both treaties were entered into after prolonged negotiations by defeated colonial powers. In the earlier case, the defeated colonial power was Great Britain and in the latter case, France was the defeated colonial power. In the former case, the colonial people who received their independence were the American people and in the latter case, the colonial people who received their independence were the Vietnamese.

The Geneva Agreement of 1954 was a generous one offered by the victorious Vietnamese people to the defeated French colonialists. Thus the Geneva Agreement of 1954 represented concessions to the French and created a temporary non-political division of Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. This agreement required the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and prohibited the introduction of foreign troops into Vietnam by anybody for any reason whatsoever and set down procedures for re-unification of Vietnam. Aptheker cited several quotations which indicated that the United States should withdraw its troops from Vietnam, recognize Vietnamese independence and allow for unification of North and South Vietnam.

Aptheker stated that he has reason to know that the Vietnamese take very seriously the agreements reached at the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the workers and Communist Parties of the world. There it was agreed that a prime task was to exert every effort to further the cause of national liberation and to prevent world war. Both were viewed as two sides of the same anti-colonial effort. The present struggle against the United States Government's policy of aggression in Vietnam is held to be exactly that kind of a struggle. This war in Vietnam, then, is an attempt at achievement of national liberation and prevention of world war by the North Vietnamese.

Aptheker advised that the Vietnamese emphasize the distinction between the American people and the current policy of the United States. They value most highly the impressive efforts for peace being waged by a segment of the American





Re: Herbert Aptheker

people and do not seek the defeat of the United States. They are not waging war against the United States and do not seek the destruction or capture of American cities. Instead, they are seeking to defeat the American aggression upon their soil. They seek to defeat the American Government's aggressive foreign policy as expressed in the bombing and burning of their country, and that is all they seek.

Aptheker called for a reversal of the present foreign policy of the United States, saying that such a reversal would be in the best interests of the people of Vietnam, of the United States and of the entire world. He called for a withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam; the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam; a reconvening of the Geneva Conference participants; and a general secret election in Vietnam supervised by the Geneva International Commission.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

March 10, 1966

Director, FBI

REC. 13

EX-10 1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to your letter dated February 24. 1966, referring to the fact that the captioned individuals had apparently been interviewed in Hanoi, North Vietnam, by a correspondent of "The New York Times" and requesting advice as to the name of this correspondent and as to his availability and willingness to testify in the event prosecutive action is initiated in this case.

It has been determined that the interview referred to in your letter was conducted telephonically from Moscow, USSR, by the Associated Press Correspondent in that city. There is attached a copy of an article datelined December 31, at Moscow, entitled "U. S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction." This article which appeared in the January 1, 1966, issue of "The New York Times," clearly points out the details of this telephonic interview.

In view of the above facts and since the information 🕾 obtained by the Associated Press correspondent was based on a telephonic interview as described, no attempt will be made to have this correspondent interviewed by the Department of State in Moscow in the absence of a specific request from you.

Enclosure

Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 1/-Per FOLA Request

EBR: jas (4).

Casper Jilli

Collahan Conrad Felt \_1 Gole Bosen Sallivan Tayel. Trotter

MAILED 3 a 10 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

SAC, New York

From:

To:

Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

Attached is a copy of a letter from the Department dated March 4, 1966, suggesting the feasibility of interviewing John McDermott, Associate Editor of "Viet Report," in an effort to establish the intent of Staughton Lynd to travel to North Vietnam;

Suairtel your observations and recommendations as to whether an interview should be conducted with McDermott.

Enclosure

NOTE:

. 51966

Tolson

Mohr Wick

DeLbach

Casper.

Newspaper accounts of the recent unauthorized Etravel to North Vietnam by Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden indicate that Lynd allegedly undertook this travel as a reporter for the magazine "Viet Report" which is published in New York City and which is critical of United States policy in Vietnam. Although McDermott, who is Associate Editor of this magazine has openly discussed with the press Lynd's travel to North Vietnam and his association with "Viet Report," it is felt, because of the nature of the magazine, that New York s observations and recommendations regarding an interview with McDermott should be obtained.

Collahan Contod EBR:jas (4) Felt .

Gale Rosea Sul!ivan Tavel Trotte

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNIVERSORDED COPY FILED

ENCLOSURES FOR BUREAU (S)

Bufile 100-128074

Airtel dated 3/7/66





(Staughton Lynd, assistant professor of history at Yale University, traveled to Hanoi in December 1965 on a fact finding mission attempting to clarify the peace terms of the North Vietnam government and the southern National Liberation Front. He traveled with Thomas Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, and Herbert Aptheker, a leading Communist theoretician. Staughton Lynd, a "radical pacifist" has been in the

forefront of many activities undertaken by sections of the peace movement and was also active in the civil rights movement, developing the program for the first Freedom Schools in Mississippi.

Washington area Women Strike for Peace invited Mr. Lynd to speak about his trip and the following speech was given to 1,000 people at the Washington Hilton Hotel on January 24th.)

# "WHAT SHOULD THE UNITED STATES DO IN VIETNAM?"

During the last month, millions of people in this country and around the world have dared to hope that peace might be possible.

#### U.S. PEACE OFFENSIVE

Now the President, the Secretary of State and other Administration spokesmen tell us: For a month we have made every possible effort on behalf of peace. We have offered to knock on any door, to go to any place, to talk with any group about peace in Vietnam. We have offered unconditional discussions. We have clarified our war aims. But from the other side no response has been forthcoming. Reluctantly, therefore, we must prepare to fulfill our commitments and to continue to resist aggression, with whatever manpower the task requires.

This, roughly, is the American government's assessment of the purpose and result of its celebrated peace offensive.

#### OPPOSITE ASSESSMENT

I disagree fundamentally with this assessment. Conversations with spokesmen of the North Vietnamese government and the National Liberation Front in Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi suggest the following evaluation:

- 1. Despite the bombing pause, the United States government has confinued to esculate the war. Thus it has authorized "hot pursuit" into Cambodia, admitted the bombing of Laos from bases in Thailand, admitted the use of toxic chemicals, and landed in South Vietnam since December 20th new troops approximately equal in number to the total number of North Vietnamese troops allegedly there. The message signalled by our military actions has been a confused message, and it would be tragically unfair and premature to draw conclusions from the DRV and NLF response thus far.
- 2. Neither by word nor deed has the United States government indicated a readiness to knock on the door of those with whom we are fighting: the National Liberation Front. This confirms the other side in its suspicion that the United States government still insists on controlling the political destiny of South Vietnam. When Administration rhetoric refers to knocking on any door, speaking with any group, but Administration action declines direct contact with its immediate antagonist, how can

it expect its peace offensive to be regarded as sincere?

- 3. Accordingly, I believe that the Vietnamese people, the American peace movement and world public opinion, are justified in saying to the United States government that if the "peace offensive" stops now it will rightly be regarded as a public relations maneuver; and that if the Administration wishes the world to believe that it has exhausted the possibilities of peace, it must:
- a. Continue the bombing pause indefinitely, to give the DRV and NLF time to digest the United States initiative.
- b. Clarify this initiative by military deesculation in South Vietnam as well as North Vietnam.
- c. Unequivocally declare its readiness to talk directly with the National Liberation Front about the concrete political circumstances under which the United States would withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

This formulation of those indispensable further actions which a thoroughgoing peace initiative requires is strikingly similar to that presented yesterday by Martin Luther King and hundreds of other clergymen from all over the world in their moving appeal. Let me say a word more about the meaning of direct contact.

### DIRECT CONTACT

Mr. Moyers and a variety of auxiliary sources have apparently agreed that on December 29th an official passed a note to an official of the government of North Vietnam. If it is true, it is welcome news. But it seems to me at least that the transmission of one letter hardly fulfills the December 20th promise to pursue peace relentlessly, not just to be available for it but to find ways and means of bringing the enemy to the conference table. Nor does it mitigate in any way the failure to make contact with the NLF.

#### TALKING TO THE OTHER SIDE

Our trip illustrated the possibility of talking -- not just passing notes, but talking -- with the other side. If President Johnson wished to knock on the NLF door, he could do so by simply picking up the telephone. I know this because I did it myself last Friday morning. Wishing to inquire before tonight as to the Front's most recent statement of its position, I placed a call after breakfast to the NLF office in Prague. Within an hour and a quarter I was speaking to a Front representative who, incidentally, was fluent in English.

I am not so simple-minded as to suppose that wars can be ended by after-breakfast telephone calls. But somehow, someway there must be a beginning in dialogue with our antagonist. Words on paper and the good offices of third parties just cannot take the place of direct conversation. Therefore, in all seriousness I ask whether President Johnson has the right to order a resumption of bombing, the doubling of American troops, and the general escalation of the terrible mutual slaugh-

ter in Vietnam, until he has picked up the phone.

I might add that the representative of the Front to whom I spoke, while making it quite clear that his words were not definitive, said that so far as he knew there had been no American effort to make direct contact with the NLF.

#### WORLD OPINION

World public opinion supports the demand. that the United States government talk directly with the Front. An open letter of European intellectuals took this position before our group left the United States December 19th. Last Thursday, January 20, the Secretary General of the United Nations expressed the same thought. On January 22nd the New York Times reported Secretary Rusk's belief that world response to the United States' peace offensive had been "overwhelmingly favorable"; and yet a story on the next page of the same paper for the same day stated that in Japan, the Asian nation most sympathetic to the United States, "most Japanese seem to feel that Washington is unrealistic in trying to exclude the National Liberation Front from attending the peace negotiations as a full par-

The fourteen points enunciated by President Johnson just after Christmas revealed a hopeful flexibility about many aspects of a peace settlement, particularly in endorsing the eventual reunification of North and South Vietnam. But on this question of dealing directly with the NLF the Administration showed no flexibility at all. It still clings to the notion that the Front can make its voice heard as part of a North Vietnamese delegation, as if to forget the insistence of John Jay, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin in 1782 that England make peace with them not with their French ally.

#### "AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH"

The Administration's refusal to recognize the NLF stems from its theory that what we face in Vietnam is "aggression from the North." But that theory commands less and less support from responsible observers, even in the United States. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., one of the Administration's two principal defenders at the National Teach-In here last May, stated in New York ten days ago that the war in South Vietnam began as a spontaneous uprising against the Diem regime.

Columnist Richard Starnes, one of the harshest critics of peace activity here in Wash-ington last August, wrote last Friday:

Diem was almost wholly a creation of Washington, and particularly of the CIA. There has never been any shred of credible evidence that any significant numbers of South Vietnamese ever vowed allegiance to Diem. . . . Moreover, the fact is that substantial North Vietnamese intervention did not take place until after the Diem regime refused to hold the elections that had been the bedrock of the Geneva accord. . . . The State Department's white paper of February 1965 tried to prove that there

had been significant North Vietnamese intervention, and failed significantly.

Parenthetically, one wonders why, if Washington is as eager as it says it is to discern some North Vietnamese "response," Robert McCloskey confidently brushed aside the fact that no contact with North Vietnamese troops has been reported in South Vietnam since the peace offensive began. I continue to believe that this may have been why Premier Pham Van Dong, in his written answers to our questions, went out of his way so categorically to deny the presence of any DRV "forces" in the South.

#### "SO-CALLED NLF"

In his January 21st press conference Secretary Rusk gratuitously referred to the "so-called National Liberation Front" and then asserted that "the overwhelming majority" of the South Vietnamese people "want something other than the Liberation Front has been offering." This statement flies in the face of ex-President Eisenhower's assertion in his memoirs that 80% of the people of Vietnam would have voted for Ho Chi Minh at the end of their war with France; it contradicts Senator Russell's statement on television last summer that a majority of the people of South Vietnam would probably vote for Ho if a plebiscite were held today; and it is hard to reconcile with Senator Mansfield's report that total Vietcong strength is "steadily increasing despite . . . serious casualties" and that while "the majority of the population remains under nominal government control . . . dominance of the countryside rests largely in the hands of the Vietcong." While we were in North Vietnam, an authoritative article by "observer" in the Hanoi People's Daily quoted Walter Lippmann as follows:

The Secretary of State has conditioned our withdrawal from Vietnam with the establishment in Saigon of a stable and sure government which has nothing to do with the Vietcong who are now occupying more than half the country. Such a condition practically means that we shall never withdraw from Vietnam.

#### MAJOR FACTOR LEFT UNDONE

In sum, then, the major thing which the United States peace offensive has left undone is recognition of the NLF. So long as we refuse this, we keep not just the Front but Hanoi as well from coming to the conference table. The third point in North Vietnam's four point proposal for peace settlement is settling the affairs of South Vietnam in accord with the program of the NLF. Does this mean acceptance of the full Front program, or would the other side be satisfied if the Front were guaranteed inclusion in any peace talks and any future South Vietnam government? Mr. James Leonard, Deputy Director of Far Eastern Research for the State Department, told me on January 11th that there is "endless debate" in the Department about this question. Is it presumptuous to suggest that if we are confused about the meaning of point three that we try asking those who wrote it? Is it impossible

that if the United States accepted point three in its minimal sense of direct dealing with the Front, other aspects of constructing a government in South Vietnam might suddenly become more negotiable?

#### SOME FLEXIBILITY

We received a strong impression on our trip that such flexibility does exist in the negotiating position of the other side. We were told in Prague that there were many ways and means of creating the national coalition government for which the Front program calls. In Hanoi it was emphasized that once the American intention to withdraw was clear, then -- these are the words of the DRV liaison officer to the International Control Commission -- "some points in a political settlement could be negotiated" and "concrete details can be discussed. " Both the Front program and the declaration of the first Front Congress in 1962 explicitly call for South Vietnamese elections by universal suffrage and secret ballot, with all political parties and mass organizations guaranteed the right to present candidates. Premier Pham Van Dong, in his written answers to our questions, explicitly envisioned free general elections to decide the question of reunification. Are our own goals really so far from these that we can in good conscience further escalate the carnage without more effort at clarification than one melodramatic month affords?

#### SECOND INADEQUACY

If the first major failure in the United States peace offensive has been its failure to knock on the NLF door, the second key inadequacy has been the Administration's vagueness about the withdrawal of American troops. Would American troops at once be withdrawn as soon as we were certain that no DRV troops were in the South? Or, as both Secretary Rusk and Mr. Moyers have suggested since the peace offensive began, would American troops remain until we were assured that the government of South Vietnam would not go Communist?

This ambiguity was stressed by Hanoi radio on December 30th. Commenting on the President's fourteen points, the broadcast conceded:

They said they agreed to hold "negotiations without preconditions, " to "talk at any time, anywhere and with any government"; that they were ready to implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and approved the reunification of North and South Vietnam; they also declared that it is possible to discuss the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam along with the other proposals put forth by the U.S. or its henchmen; that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation might explain its viewpoint at the conference table; they also proposed a ceasefire from both sides when the talks begin, and so on and so forth.

"But," Hanoi radio continued, "there is one and the

most fundamental thing which they have never mentioned: the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam."

#### OUTRAGEOUS VIOLATION

By this the Vietnamese do not mean physical withdrawal of all troops before negotiations. What they do mean is that the presence of American troops in their country seems to them an outrageous violation of the principle of self-determination; and in particular, that no election could be free so long as foreign troops remained.

#### DEEP ROOTS

I came to understand through my trip that this attitude toward foreign troops is no mere negotiating position, but has deep roots in Vietnamese history. Secretary Rusk is wont to speak of North and South Vietnam as "neighbors." The Vietnamese find this singularly insulting. They say that quite apart from the Geneva Agreements, which stipulates clearly that the 17th parallel is provisional, history and culture make Vietnam "one country, one people!" The rhetoric of North Vietnam is more nationalist than Communist; their slogan, quite literally, is "liberty or death." The war against ourselves is viewed as a continuation, not only of resistance against the Japanese and French, but of a centurieslong struggle for nationhood and independence against China. We were ceaselessly reminded that the Chinese and Vietnamese languages are quite different; that the Vietnamese have their own style of music, architecture, cooking and family life; that -- as they put it -- "we take advice from every one but (here usually came a little laugh) we make our own decisions." When we asked what Ho meant when he said that Vietnam would help the United States withdraw on a red carpet, we were referred to the invasion of Vietnam by the Ming dynasty in the 15th century, when, having captured the Chinese general staff, the victorious Vietnamese built boats so that the Chinese could go home without loss of face.

#### COMMUNISTS ALSO NATIONALISTS

Americans must understand that Communists can also be nationalists. They are people who feel as strongly about home and family and the good things of life as we, but to quote Ho again, they will fight for twenty years if need be to expel all foreign troops. I recall the interpreter in Prague who carefully explained the NLF stand on amnesty, and then added: "But if the sky should fall after you withdraw, that would still be a Vietnamese problem."

Perhaps I can convey something of what we felt by taking you through our trip with me, with the help of a diary. . . .

Monday, December 20, the day President Johnson offered to knock on any door and travel anywhere in search of peace. Herbert Aptheker, Thomas Hayden and I flew to Czechoslovakia en route to Hanoi.

#### MEET NLF IN PRAGUE

Knocking on Hanoi's door began at the Prague office of the National Liberation Front. After breakfast on the 21st, we climbed several flights of dingy stairs to a suite of rooms near our hotel in the central city. Here we were received by Nguyen Van Hieu, a member of the NLF central committee and the Front's "permanent representative" in Czechoslovakia (the word "ambassador" is avoided since the NLF has not declared itself a government).

The scene would prove characteristic of our three weeks' Christmas journey: a Vietnamese spokesman and his interpreter; a table with teacups, fruit and candy; and the three self-appointed wise men following their inward star.

#### CHRISTMAS TRUCE

Hieu told us that the American press misunderstood what the Front said about a Christmas truce. It was not a proposal. The Front, he continued, has for years observed a unilateral cease-fire both at Christmas and during the Buddhist Lunar New Year a month later. At such times persons living in Saigon-controlled areas are permitted to visit their families in what the Front calls "liberated zones."

Hieu added that the Front also provided Christmas celebrations for American prisoners of war. We had no opportunity to check this out, but we did learn from a captured American pilot in Hanoi that his North Vietnamese prison served a much appreciated Christmas turkey dinner.

Since we were guests of the North Vietnamese Peace Committee, the North Vietnamese embassy was where we made arrangements about visas and planes: a complicated process, since the conversation went from Vietnamese to Czech to English and back. In Prague as in Moscow the DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the term used by the North Vietnamese government to describe itself) embassy is physically at some distance from the office of the Front, as if to emphasize the Front's political independence. Ambassador Phan Van Su, an elderly exprofessor, plied us with more fruit and the delicious Vietnamese sausages rolled in flour. We began to realize that the most serious physical danger to us might prove toasts and banqueting. The ambassador also remarked in passing that mail might seem a small thing, but that because the Saigon government refused to negotiate with Hanoi about exchange of mail, neither he nor the embassy secretary had heard from their families in eleven years.

We were to meet many such persons who had regrouped to the North under the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, expecting a two-year separation from their families until the nationwide election in 1956 which the Agreements required. The election, of course, never came. For these Southern exiles, reunification is something more than an abstract dogma.

#### NLF IN MOSCOW

Wednesday, December 23, we flew from

Prague to Moscow. Having been told by earlier travellers that we would not meet spokesmen for the Front in Hanoi, we used this stopover, too, to contact representatives of both DRV and NLF.

Snow was falling as our taxi approached the North Vietnamese embassy in Moscow at noon on Thursday, but the driver assured me (I speak broken Russian) that it would stop before our scheduled flight to Peking, eleven hours later. DRV Ambassador Nguyen Van Kinh received us just as a three-man Canadian delegation, on their way home after fifteen days in Hanoi, was leaving his office. The Canadians told us they had not been allowed to visit South Vietnam or areas near the 17th parallel, on grounds of safety.

Ambassador Kinh emphasized what we would hear repeatedly from others: that the United States offer of "unconditional negotiations" is felt to contain several implicit conditions. One is that the United States insists on keeping troops in Vietnam so long as it believes them necessary, which the Vietnamese say violates the Geneva Agreements. Another implicit condition, from the standpoint of the other side, is that the United States demands the permanent partition of Vietnam. The Vietnamese say this, too, violates the Geneva Agreement's stipulation for reunification elections in 1956. Finally -- and as I suggested earlier, I believe this is the key to the whole situation -- the Vietnamese stress the refusal of the United States government to deal directly with the NLF. They concede that the Geneva Agreements did not deal explicitly with the creation of a provisional government in the South, but they insist that any solution which purports to express the Geneva Agreements' underlying principle of self-determination must include a group so broadly supported as the NLF.

One thing Kinh said was hopeful, however. Asked whether the DRV would permit international supervision of a future peace settlement, the ambassador replied that his government had always recognized the International Control Commission and reported violations to it. As for the future role and composition of the ICC, that could be determined by an international conference composed of the same parties as at Geneva.

#### IMPRESSIVE MEETING

Perhaps the most impressive interview of our whole trip was with the Front representative in Moscow, Dang Quang Minh. This 56-year old man, another member of the NLF central committee, was first imprisoned in 1930. During the Japanese occupation of Vietnam in World War II, he was again imprisoned for five years. As he spoke harsh thoughts to us in a musical, almost inaudible voice, one had the sense of having penetrated through a fog of bureaucratic arrangements and travel plans to the very mind of the Vietnamese revolution.

Minh said the problem is that the United States still hopes to occupy South Vietnam. America, he continued, knows that counter-insurgency "special war" has failed, knows that 1965's "escalation" has failed, but still does not understand the

strength of "people's war." Therefore, according to Minh, the United States still hopes to improvise a victory.

From Minh's point of view, the NLF has already made significant concessions. The Geneva
Agreements provided for reunification in two years;
now, said Minh, the Front is willing that much
more than two years go by before North and South
Vietnam are united. Further, the Front envisions
a coalition government for South Vietnam which
would include all "patriotic" mass organizations
and all individuals who reject American agression.
Such a coalition government would not ally with
Moscow or Peking but would, according to this
spokesman, pursue a neutralist foreign policy.

Having conceded this much Minh said as we drank tea and peeled oranges, the Front would not concede more.

#### NO REAL PEACE

Finally Minh struck a note which would predominate in our talks when we reached Hanoi. "The South Vietnamese cherish peace more than any other people in the world," declared the grim veteran. "The desire for peace may be seen in the fact that in the intervals of fighting we continue to build. The war cannot prevent the people from building a new life. In the past five years we have helped fourteen minorities to create written alphabets. 2,000,000 hectares of land have been distributed to individual farmers." But he added (as they all add), there can be no real peace until we are independent.

#### ON TO PEKING

The sleek cigar-shaped Aeroflot took off from Moscow just before midnight. Until almost dawn I typed notes on our talks in Prague and Moscow. Looking down in the early light one saw the broad Siberian rivers, then the mountains of Outer Mongolia stretching in icy confusion to the horizon, finally the flat, dun-colored loess plains of North China. We landed in Peking early in the afternoon of December 24th, were met at the airport by members of the DRV embassy, and driven through a human sea of bicyclists, donkey carts, and buses to the Peace Hotel.

There we learned to our dismay that no plane would travel to Hanoi till Monday the 27th. Even then, since the Hanoi airport is not big enough for jets and the bi-weekly plane from Peking has only twenty-four seats, it was uncertain there would be room for us. We lay on our hotel beds, listened to the strange sounds of the frosty Peking night, remembered it was Christmas Even, and wondered if our peace offensive would come to a dead stop in the heartland of Communist belligerency.

#### AN ANSWER

Three seats on Monday's plane materialized, and as we flew southward toward Hanoi I sought to sort out my preliminary thoughts about the other side and peace. By the time the flat fields of North China, so much like our own Middle West, had given way to the gleaming rice pools and terraced hills of the South, I felt I had an answer: What the

"enemy" is waiting for is an American decision to withdraw. We need not physically withdraw all troops before negotiations; once having come to the decision, we could expect much flexibility from our antagonists in making practical arrangements; but, as it seemed to them, sooner or later we would see what the French and Japanese had seen before us: that the cost of staying was excessive and it was time to go.

#### TWO RELATED POINTS

Our ten days in Hanoi led to no basic revision of this conclusion. Two other, related points were underlined by conversations in North Vietnam with dozens of persons ranging from Premier Pham Van Dong and five visiting heroes of the NLF army to ordinary workers and peasants and, last but not least, the interpreters who we came to know best of all. First, that whatever the nature of the tie between Hanoi and the Front, the NLF struggle in the South has strong local roots which we will neglect at our peril. Second, that the negotiating position of the United States as clarified by President Johnson's fourteen points and the negotiating position of the DRV as clarified for us by Premier Pham Van Dong, were so close that peace seems tantalizingly near.

Nguyen Minh Vy, who comes from that part of South Vietnam where the American army is building a huge military base at Cam Ranh, spoke of the Diem regime:

For the thousands of years of our history there was never such terror as under Diem. I was arrested by the French. But they imprisoned only persons who had committed concrete crimes. After imprisonment one could live a normal life. Diem arrested people on ideological grounds. If you were a former resistance member that made you automatically a Communist. They said, tear down the picture of Ho, tear down the red flag, and we'll set you free. Otherwise we'll imprison you forever.

Vy went on to speak of the strategic hamlets in which, between 1961 and 1963, the United States sought to enclose ten million of the fourteen million people of South Vietnam:

In South Vietnam people are dispersed, especially in the mountains. The mountaineers lived completely freely. They have their own gardens, their own fields, their own fish ponds.

What will happen when these people are concentrated? They must have permission to go out to till the land. They went out in the morning and came in at the evening like buffaloes and oxen. There was forced labor. Taxes. Their sons were taken for the army. If they protested they were called Communists. They couldn't bear it. This was the reason for the fall of Diem.

Vy described the beginning of resistance:

Houses were burned to drive people into the hamlets. Two things Diem did were most shocking to the people: he dug up the graves of ancestors, and he burned houses.

If you resisted you were killed. Following the imperialists, Diem killed people to make an example of them. If you asked to live in your former house you were considered a Communist and killed. Until 1959 the struggle only meant to urge implementation of Geneva, to demand assurance of freedom rights, to demand land. The main thing was to demand to be alive. The Diem regime did not give you a hope of living otherwise.

"For the people of South Vietnam," Vy asserted, "the struggle means existence itself."

#### INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER

Our ninety minute interview with the Premier came on January 5th in the flower-surrounded presidential palace. Again there was tea; again interpreters; again the three unauthorized Americans; but this time the speaker was the second most powerful man in the nation we are fighting.

"The Vietnamese people," stated Premier Pham Van Dong,

feel they are fighting for a just cause against barbarous aggression. That is the central reality. The same thing happened when you fought against the British. It is very simple.

Like so many others, the Premier insisted that the Vietnamese passionately want peace. "This building," he said pointing to the room around us, "might be destroyed and that would be a loss. But our grief is about the children, the women, the old and young people who are killed. We feel pain in our heart because of these sufferings." One wondered why the killing had to continue. The Premier answered: "But peace at what cost? All the problems lie here. We must have independence. We would rather die than be enslaved."

#### IS PEACE IMPOSSIBLE

As a succession of planes whirled us back past Nanning, Wuhan and Peking, past Irkutsk, Omsk and Moscow, past Prague, Zurich and Paris, and so to New York City, the question kept recurring: Both sides now take their stand on the Geneva Agreements; both sides favor the eventual withdrawal of all foreign troops; both sides favor free general elections to reunify North and South; is peace really impossible?

#### CABLE TO SEN. FULBRIGHT

Since we have been back, nothing has been said or done to us by way of legal reprisal. We regard our trip as intended not for negotiation but for clarification. Like Felix Greene, Lord Fenner

Brockway, William Warby and other fact-finders who have talked directly with the DRV and NLF, we asked questions and brought back a report about the answers. Our hope is that the government will choose to regard our trip as an expression of the President's intent to knock on any door and travel anywhere in search of peace. In this spirit, we cabled from Hanoi to Senator William Fulbright asking an opportunity to present our findings to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### FULBRIGHT ANSWERS

A telegram has been received from Senator Fulbright, as follows:

YOUR GROUP'S REQUEST HAS BEEN CONSIDERED BY THE COMMITTEE BUT THERE ARE NO PLANS TO HEAR YOU. IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO I WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU PASS ON TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION OBTAINED DURING YOUR TRIP TO NORTH VIETNAM.

We are disappointed that the United States Senate, with its ultimate constitutional responsibility for war and peace, has shown so little interest in direct contact with the only Americans who have been to Hanoi in recent months.

#### IF I COULD SPEAK

What would I say if I could speak to Senator Fulbright's committee? Something like this:

You, gentlemen, have deeply disappointed the American people by your failure to exercise your constitutional responsibility over war and peace. Article I, Section VIII of the Constitution gives to Congress and only to Congress the power to declare war. Yet this Congress has permitted the President to land 200,000 soldiers in Vietnam without even public hearings by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, let alone a responsible Congressional debate.

#### 1964 CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

I would go on to say that the Congressional resolution of August, 1964, from which the President derives his power to act, explicitly requires the United States to act in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. Yet, in contrast to the action of President Truman in 1950, one year after escalation of the war in Vietnam the United States has still not formally brought the problem before the only body legally authorized to designate a threat to world peace. I would tell Senator Fulbright that many Americans agree with the opinion expressed by Marriner Eccles, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, on January 3rd, that the United States is in Vietnam "as an agressor in violation of our treaty obligations under the United Nations Charter."

#### NUREMBERG TRIBUNAL

Then I would call attention to the Nuremberg Tribunal. On that occasion the United States sent German soldiers and decision-makers to death and life imprisonment for what we carefully defined as "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity." Among these crimes were indiscriminate destruction of civilian populations, and torture and murder of prisoners of war. It is common knowledge that actions of this kind take place in Vietnam. On August 6, 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, Time magazine stated: "the marines have begun to kill prisoners." We claim that our chemicals are not toxic and our gases are not lethal, but on January 13th the Brisbane Courier Mail reported that Corporal Robert Boutwell was killed despite the protection of a gas mask when trapped in a tunnel amid the fumes of so-called tear gas grenades. What of the women and children crouching in such tunnels without gas masks? Every one knows that American bombers routinely decimate unprotected villages on the mere suspicion that guerillas may be among the population. Perhaps it will help us understand the NLF rejection of the United States peace offensive if we read again its January 5th statement that the United States has introduced in South Vietnam "a mobile bacterial and chemical warfare institute and thousands of tons of noxious chemicals and gases strictly banned by international law," that in the first seven months of 1965, 700 square kilometers of crops were destroyed by toxic chemicals, that between December 7th and 14th, 46,000 people were affected by chemicals sprayed in Ben Tre province alone.

#### HIGHER LAW

Senator Fulbright, I would continue, many of us who have been freely denounced as law-breakers feel that in refusing to commit such acts we obey the higher law of the Nuremberg Tribunal. Such a one is David Mitchell, who rests his refusal to be drafted on the twin grounds that Congress has not declared war and that the Vietnam war violates the Nuremberg judgments. Others are the twenty-nine young men who go before an appeals court in Ann Arbor tomorrow for sitting-in at a draft board October 15th. Their plea? That this is an unconstitutional and aggressive war, in violation of the Nuremberg Tribunal. Still others are the 7,000 persons, myself included, who have signed the Declaration of Conscience against the War in Vietnam. Among the signers are religious figures like Daniel and Philip Berrigan, scientists such as Linus Pauling, literary personalities such as Harvey Swados and Maxwell Geismar; also included are W. H. Ferry, Eric Fromm, Milton Mayer; not least are Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington, Robert Parris, organizer of the Freedom Democratic Party, and James Bevel, organizer of the Selma to Montgomery March.

#### DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

All these persons have signed the following Declaration of Conscience against the War in Vietnam:

Because the use of the military resources of the United States in Vietnam and elsewhere suppresses the aspirations of the people for political independence and economic freedom;

Because inhuman torture and senseless killing are being carried out by forces armed, uniformed, trained and financed by the United States;

Because we believe that all peoples of the earth, including both Americans and non-Americans, have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the peaceful pursuit of happiness in their own way;

Because we think that positive steps must be taken to put an end to the threat of nuclear catastrophe and death by chemical or biological warfare, whether these result from accident or escalation

We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the

armed forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in.

Those of us who are subject to the draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve.

We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment, or to work in the fields of military research and weapons development.

We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam.

#### ESCALATE WITHOUT US

Senator, I would conclude, we who have committed ourselves to this Declaration honor the brave men on both sides of the war, But we are not at war with the people of Vietnam. If the war escalates, it will escalate without us.



We represent a resolute stand of women in the United States against the unprecedented threat to life from nuclear holocaust.

We are women of all races, creeds and political persuasions who are dedicated to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

We cherish the right and accept the responsibility of the individual in a democratic society to act to influence the course of government.

We demand of governments that nuclear weapons. tests be banned forever, that the arms race end, and that the world abolish all weapons of destruction under United Nations safeguards.

We urge immediate planning at local, state, and national levels for a peace-time economy with freedom and justice for all.

We arge our government to anticipate world tensions and conflicts through constructive non-military actions and through the United Nations.

We join with women throughout the world to challenge the right of any nation or group of nations to hold the power of life or death over the world.

(Policy statement agreed upon by 82 women from 15 states at first national conference, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 1962; later affirmed by local groups.)

- I would like to contribute to the work of Women Strike for Peace and to be kept informed of your activities.
- A minimum contribution of \$5 brings you the national bulletin of WSP, THE MEMO, for one year.

Name	Enclosed p	please find \$
Street		
City	State	Zip



Make check or money order payable to



WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE 2016 P Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20036 Telephone: Area Code 202-232-0803

## FBI

		Date: 3/7/66	 
	nit the following in _ AIRTEL	(Type in plain text or code)	37
Via		(Priority or Method of Mailing)	
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM:	SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)	,
	Subject:	HERBERT APTHEKER; STAUGHTON LYND; THOMAS HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT;	MALLA
		LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY.	HE !
	Bureau, v	Enclosed herewith are 10 copies of LHM for the vith 2 copies each for New Haven and New Yor	the
	LYND for to London	LHM describes request by ACLU attorney reptemporary passport facilities for LYND to tand Oslo.	resenting ravel
	and milit	LHM being disseminated locally to Secret Sary intelligence agencies.	ervice
	newby, /3/	Passport Office files reviewed by SA RICHA	RD A.
	State to	WFO maintaining contact with U.S. Department ascertain dates of proposed hearings for LY	ent of MD and
	/0 Bures	1 de 1 9/2	
	2 = New 1	Haven (Enc. 2) (RM) York (100-80532) (Encl. 2) (RM)	7_33
	2 - WFO	00-44061) (VIDEM)	
	GTT:sch	5 MAR 14 1966	a Wh
	AIRTEL	50	
(	pproved	Sent M Per	<u> </u>

ь3 ь7**е** 



# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C... March 7, 1966

### HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON, LYND THOMAS HAYDEN

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), as reviewed by a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on March 4, 1966, revealed that a letter had been received from one Edward J. Ennis.

privileges of Staughton Lynd. Ennis, describing himself as a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), advised that organization has agreed to assist Lynd in his passport matters and that he and one David Carliner, Esquire, Washington, D.C., who is associated with the ACLU, have agreed to appear as Lynd's attorneys.

Ennis stated that he was requesting that Lynd be extended temporary passport facilities in order to go to London, England and Oslo, Norway, in April, 1966. He stated that Lynd has been invited by the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament to attend a meeting over the Easter weekend in London and has also been invited by the Norweigan Students Association to attend a teach-in on Vietnam in Oslo over the following weekend. He stated that Lynd expects to be away from the United States from about April 7, 1966, to April 18, 1966.

Ennis also requested the USDS to set up hearings on the cases of Lynd and Thomas Hayden as soon as possible. He was particularly anxious in Lynd's case in view of Lynd's desire to travel in early April.

As of March 4, 1966, no date had been set for the hearings of Lynd and Hayden and no action has been taken concerning the granting of temporary passport facilities to Lynd.

This common amining notice to the first of the first agency; in the first agency; in the first agency;

ENCLOSURE

b6 b7С

#### FRI

Date

3/8/66

		Date: 370700
<b>Fransmit</b>	the following in	
	AIRTEL	(Type in plaintext or code)
Via	——————————————————————————————————————	
	—	(Priority)
3	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)
UP	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)
	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG. LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN REC UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT-CONSPIRACY
	1	
	New York	Re Bureau airtel to New York 2/23/66 and airtel to Bureau 3/1/66.
	furnished names and Air India B. GILL, Purser.	Mr. K. GOVINDAN, In Charge of Flight Operations, a, JFK International Airport, Queens, NY, d to SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL on 3/2/66, the d whereabouts of two of the crew members of a Flight 116, 12/19/65. They were respectively Flight Purser and M. SHANDAS, Assistant Flight Results of contacts with Mr. GILL and Mr. SHANDAS, forth below.
	and Engi with the could fu The rest air host	Mr. GOVINDAN stated that the cockpit crew, in of the Commander, Flight Officer, Navigator neer, would on a normal flight have no contact passengers and it was extremely unlikely they rnish any pertinent information in this case. of the crew on this flight consisted of four esses who are now based in Bombay, India, and expected to return to the United States for three months.
	4 Bureau 2-New Ha 2-New And Haw Yo 1-New Yo	(RM)(ENCLS, 5) ENCLOSURE ven (100-18293) (Encls. 2) (RM) (100-48095) (Encls. 2) (RM) Z MAR 9 1966 ork (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND) ork (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN)
COI	l-New Yo	1 (1.18)
	(12)	
App	roved:	SentM Per
` `		gent in Charge

NY 100-80532

In view of the above, no further effort will be made at this time by NYO to contact additional members of the crew.

MIKE SHANDAS, Assistant Flight Purser, Air India, was contacted 3/2/66, at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, NYC. Mr. SHANDAS stated he served as Assistant Flight Purser on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, en route from JFK International Airport, London, England. Mr. SHANDAS was shown photographs of above subjects, but stated that he could neither identify them nor recall them by name. Mr. SHANDAS stated he had no recollection of these individuals whatsoever.

Mr. B. GILL, Flight Purser, Air India, was similarly contacted at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, NYC, on 3/2/66. GILL acknowledged that he was part of the crew on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, but he could not recall the subjects. GILL stated he could not identify photographs of the subject which were displayed to him.

Enclosed for Bureau and offices listed are copies of FD 302 setting forth information furnished by SAUL ROSENBAUM on 3/3/66. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated that he is willing to be interviewed by a Departmental attorney, but would prefer not to testify in court for business reasons. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated the parents of STAUGHTON LYND reside in one of the company's buildings, namely 75 Central Park West, NYC, an apartment building.

The following American passengers aboard Air India Flight 116 which departed JFK International Airport on 12/19/65, for London were interviewed:

HARRY and LILY GOLDSMITH, were contacted on 3/2/56. They advised that they were aboard Air India Flight 116 on 12/19/65, en route from New York to London. They stated that they did not know anyone on the flight and had no conversation with anyone aboard, except the flight personnel.

Mr. DENIS P. BISCHOFF who was contacted on 3/2/66. He advised that he is employed by Air India, but that he was not on Air Flight 116 on 12/19/65, en route from New York to London. He did not make the trip.

ь6 ь7с

b6 b7С MY 100-80532

Mrs. JERE T. FARRAH,

was interviewed 3/2/66. She stated that she travelled with her husband to London on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65. They travelled First Class and had no contact with Economy class passengers. It should be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN travelled Economy class on this flight. Mrs. FARRAH stated that neither she nor her husband had any pertinent information to furnish concerning captioned individuals. She could not identify photographs of the subject as anyone she had observed aboard this flight.

b6

b7C

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Director, FBI

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT — CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to my letter dated March 1, 1966, regarding the availability of certain informants and sources of this Bureau for interview by Department attorneys and for possible future testimony in the captioned matter.

The source mentioned in paragraph one, page two, of referenced letter as having attended the meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, on January 16, 1966, has advised that for purely personal reasons he does not desire to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to be considered as a potential witness in this case.

It has been determined, however, that Miss Rasa Gustaitis, a reporter for the "New York Herald Tribune," covered the January 16, 1966, meeting for her newspaper. A copy of an article prepared by Miss Gustaitis entitled "5,000 Hear Prof. Lynd Defend Trip to Hanoi" is attached. As indicated, this article appeared in the January 17, 1966, edition of the "New York Herald Tribune."

As you will recall, Miss Gustaitis also covered the press conference held by the subjects upon their return to the United States on January 9, 1966, and she has indicated a willingness to testify to the statements made by subjects at this press conference. In this regard, your attention is directed to page 33 of the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, captioned as above.

Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, captioned as above.

| Separate | Looch 
07-21-2021	BY:		• • •
	•	FBI	
		CONFIDENTIAL Date: 3/8/66	
ransmit the f	ollowing in	(Type in plaintext or code)	
ia	YTI/TED	(Priority)	a
7		Classician by 6855 or 7	2317
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974 Pate La Dietocalità Contra	
1 5 Y	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	117-60
by Ler Per FC	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT-CONSPIRACY  APPROPRIATE AGENCIES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(E) OF DATE	34
roia Request		Re NY airtel to Bureau dated 3/2 / Was contacted 3/4/66 and it was	
Sent >	to testi Departme	ally determined from him that he is unwilling 'fy in this matter or to be interviewed by a ntal attorney. Stated that he fears	-
	his pres In superior	orable reaction on the part of his superiors at ent employment, formant expressed the opinion that his present s might be "shocked" at the revelation that t had attended the Manhattan Center Meeting on	
	1/16/66;	and they might not be impressed with the fact ormant attended this meeting at the behest of further stated that he lives in and some of his neighbors	2,
	the abov might br	aintances might be sympathetic to the cause of e subjects. Any testimony that he would give ing recriminations against himself and members amily, if not bodily harm	1 60 .
1.30		In view of the above and since	77
		ecommended that his name be furnished to the	5.5
	Departme 42Bureau	ent for consideration as a witness MAR 9 1936 [Encis. 2] FARMLOSURH	~ ~ /
	1-New You	ork (ADM) (42)	á
	VJA:arf (7)	TV White	
•		BULL TO THE TANK THE	
Approve	u;	Sent M Per	

best available copy



MY 100-80532

Enclosed for Bureau are two xerox cooler of Herald Tribune article entitled "5,000 Hoar From Type Defend Trip To Hanoi". This appeared to Kerola Tribune. 1/17/66, Page 5 and was written by reported 11.5. CUST ITIS of the Herald Tribune staff. In this work of this GUSTAITIS covers the meeting at Manhattan Center on 1/16/66, at which above subjects spoke. In the report of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL dated 1/25/66 on Page 33 appears an interview with Miss GUSTAITIS in which she reported on the press conference given by subjects at JFK International Airport, 1/9/66; it will be noted that RAGA GUSTAITIS stated she would be willing to testify.

The Bureau may wish to furnish this information to the Department with a copy of the attached newspaper article.

1 - Mr. Reddy

To:

SAC. New York

From:

Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

Reurairtel 3/3/66.

The Department has requested the identity of the Associated Press reporter in Moscow who conducted the telephonic interview with subject Lynd in Hanoi on 12/31/65. The article regarding this interview appeared in the January 1, 1966, edition of "The New York Times" captioned "U.S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull in Raids Produces No Reaction."

Your attention is directed to an article in the January 9, 1966, issue of "The New York Times" captioned "Lynd Says Hanoi Denies Getting a Direct U. S. Bid." This article is datelined 1/8/66 at Moscow and was written by Peter Grose. It relates to a press conference held by the subjects at the Moscow Airport on January 8, 1966, while they were en route back to the United States. The possibility exists that Peter Grose may be the reporter who conducted the telephonic interview with Lynd on 12/31/66.

Expedite.

EBR:jas (4)

Tolkon DeLogch Moht -

Troller Tele, Roox Holmes

Gandy

Above information requested by Department Attorney Brandon Alvey on 3/14/66.

Wick Casper Callahan Contad Tavel.

MAIL ROOM \_\_\_\_ TELETYPE UNIT \_\_\_\_

ISAR 1-5 1966 COMM-FEI

ENREG COPY FELLS IN

1 - Mr. Reddy

ŧ

MICHAEL CON MICHELLEN IN

To:

SAC, Washington Field

Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

Reurairtel 2/21/66 transmitting tape recordings of the speech made by Staughton Lynd at the Washington Hilton Hotel on the evening of 1/24/66.

After reviewing these recordings, Department Attorney Brandon Alvey requested that inquiry be made to determine whether the management of the hotel has any objections to the utilization of these recordings and to the testimony of Security Officer James McGovern at a possible future trial of this case.

In addition, Department Attorney Alvey made reference to the fact that on approximately 1/4/66 subjects directed a cablegram from Hanoi to Senator William Fulbright in Washington, D. C., requesting an opportunity to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Department Attorney Alvey requested that investigation be conducted to ascertain the identity of the company which handled the cablegram in Washington, D. C., and to determine whether the company's copy of the cablegram will be available for production under a subpoena duces tecum in the event this case should go to trial. It has been determined that either Western Union, International Telephone and Telegraph Company or the Radio Corporation of America would have handled this cablegram in Washington, D. C.

Handle above investigation expeditiously and suairtel.

62-11/9/7-38 Above information requested by Department Attorney NOTE: **REC-18** 

MAILED &

MAR 15 1966

COMM-FBI

19 MAR 16 1966

Del.dopb

Corper Callahan

Trotter Tele. Ec Holmes Gandy

MAIL ROOM

EBR:jas (4)

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To:

SAC, New York

From:

Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM Misuse of United States Passport LOGAN ACT

Page six of the 1/11/66 issue of "The Worker" contains an article entitled "Aptheker Statement Prior to Trip." This article quotes a statement allegedly issued to the press by Aptheker before leaving for North Vietnam on December 19, 1965.

Since such a statement clearly indicates specific intent by Aptheker to violate the travel restrictions on his United States passport prior to leaving the United States, you should ascertain whether any of the legitimate New York City newspapers received a copy of Aptheker's statement and whether it received press comment prior to Aptheker's departure from New York City for Vietnam on December 19, 1965.

Expedite.

EBR: jas (4)

19 MAR 17 1966

MAILED 19 MAR 15 1966 comm.co.

Callabia

54

Gale Bosen Sallivan

Tavel Trotter

62-11917-44 HO 123971-617

ENCLOSURES FOR BUREAU (2)

Bufile 100-123974

WFO file 100-45394

Airtel dated 3/21/66

best available copy

versile hillery is circle killing were do ed wer of encol ary and a property LE BETTION TILLIAN FULBRICIES CHOMBENTI SENSFE COMMITTEE CO FOT 1100 OCTUBIOLO SCALLE OLL ICE CAMPULES ABORTO CONTRACTOR

NOTE WITHOUT CERTIFIED PROJECTION VIETNAM REQUEST OFFICE AND ACCUST VOLT CONDENSEE MAY THES MAY CONDITIONS STOP PLEASE REAS ESSET TO STREET OF LINE AL COURT OF HER RAVEN COUR

THE PARTY LINE NEEDS APPRECIATION OF PARTY

	FBI 1
•	Date: 3/16/66
Trans	if the following in
Via_	AIRTEL
<del></del> -	(Priority)
مارين.	TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)  FROM: MSAC, NEW HAVEN (100-15601) (P)  SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER IS - C; ISA 1950 UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM, MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT, LOGAN ACT,
<i>T</i>	CONSPIRACY  (OO: NY)  former PSI of NHO on the evening of 3/14/66, advised that APTHEKER, on the evening of 3/18/66, would speak at 37 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut. Specific sponsor and context of APTHEKER's speech unknown to the source.
	4 Bureau (RM) (1 - 100-3-114, CP,USA, Public Appearance of CP leaders) 2-New York (100-80532) (1 - 100-145839, CP,USA, Public Appearance of CP leaders) 3-New Haven (1 - 100-18050, CP,USA, Public Appearance of
	(1 - 100-18050, CP,USA, Public Appearance of CP leaders)  LSG: mam (9)  MAR 17 1966
	norowed: Sont M. Por

Special Agent in Charge

b7D

March 22, 1966 Mr. William E. Buckley 1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. DeLoach

- Mr. Wick

- Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Reddy

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I received your letter of March 18, 1966, and greatly appreciated your kind comment concerning my book, "Masters of Deceit." It was a pleasure to have had an opportunity to autograph a copy-for you.

I can well understand your concern about the status of the matter involving the unauthorized and illegal travel to Hanoi by the individuals you mentioned in your letter. The Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately conducted extensive investigation into the matter and furnished the results of that investigation to the Department of Justice. Recently, the Department of Justice requested this Bureau to conduct additional investigation. is being done on an expedite basis, and the results are being furnished promptly to the Department as received. The final determination as to when and if prosecutive action will be initiated is, of course. to be made by the Department of Justice. All that this Bureau can do at this point is respond to the requests of the Department in an effort to obtain the evidence which it feels is necessary to make that determination.

I hope the foregoing will be of assistance

to you.

100-123974

CDB/pcn

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Casper ... NOTE: Gale

MAR 221966

DeLoach 💄

See memorandum Baymgardner to Sullivan dated 3/21/66 re Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Staughton Craig Lynd, Thomas Hayden, Unauthorized Travel to North Vietnam, EBR/pah.

MAIL ROOM 🔲 TELETYPE UNIT 📖

b6 b7C

NAREGORDED COPY FILED IN

Mr. Felt. b7C Mr. Æale. Mr. Kosen Mr. Trotter Tele. Room.. Miss Holmes. Miss Gandy. The purpose of this letter is to pursue some written information I UNITECORDED COPY FILED IN MAR 23 1965

Mri Casper Mr. Callahan

Mr. Conrad .

WILLIAM E. BUCKLEY

**b**6

March 18, 1966

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Federal Bureau of Investigation Pennsylvania Avenue and Ninth Street

Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Director

My last association with you was when I was a Vice President and Director of Henry Holt and Company and we published your fine book, MASTERS OF DECEIT. I have an autographed copy of which I am very proud.

have from the Department of Justice. Some time ago I wrote to Attorney General Katzenbach asking to know what the Department of Justice intended to do about Messrs. Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden and their unauthorized and illegal visit to Hanoi. Mr. Katzenbach referred the letter to one Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley who has been giving me a pleasant but uninformed series of responses, and to quote from his last letter dated March 15, he says, "About all that we can say at this time is that the FBI is still investigating these matters." He told me the same thing some weeks ago, and I am certain the FBI has long since finished their investigation of these three men. an about this; (2)

My only interest is in seeing justice done, and I think it is rageous that Staughton Lynd and Company continue to pursue their usual procedures without our Government taking any action.

REC- 82

Any information you can give me will be appreciate

I am presently a Vice President of

Sincerely.

Company but my interest in this matter is purely personal.

MAR 21 1966.

wishes.

March 23, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

The following information is being furnished pursuant to the request of Department Attorney Brandon Alvey on March 14. 1966.

b3 b7E

With reference to the utilization of the tape recording of Staughton Craig Lynd's speech at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., on January 24, 1966, the hotel's Security Officer, James McGovern, has advised that hotel officials object both to the use of the tape recording and the testimony of McGovern at a possible future trial "due to possible adverse publicity." McGovern added, however, that, if the recording and his testimony become "absolutely vital to the Government's case," the hotel management will reconsider the problem.

With reference to the cablegram sent by subjects from Hanoi to Senator William C. Fulbright, requesting an opportunity to appear before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, it has been determined that this cablegram was handled by Western Union. A subpoena duces tecum

<del>100=12</del>3974

EBR:pan

(4)

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

War

Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Floori
Holmes
AR 30 1966

Tolson -DeLoach

Casper

Bosen

Callatian
Conrad \_
Felt \_\_\_
Gale \_\_\_

TELETYPE UNIT

should be directed to Mr. Roscoe W. Griggs.

in the event the file copy of this cablegram is needed for trial purposes. Attached for your information is a typed facsmile of the cablegram in question.

The additional investigation requested by Mr. Alvey is being handled expeditiously and the results will be transmitted in the immediate future.

Enclosure

### NOTE:

Memorandum 3/15/66 from Baumgardner to Sullivan reported the discussion with Department Attorney Alvey regarding the status of this case and set out the additional investigation requested by Alvey. The only remaining item consists of the identification by the New York Office of the Associated Press reporter in Moscow who interviewed the subjects telephonically from Moscowwhile they were in Hanoi. When the identity of this reporter is ascertained, the Department of State will be requested to expeditiously interview him with reference to this telephone call.

March 31, 1966

UNRECORDED COPY 10 24 PF 年1

PIR

Director, FBI

**REC-24** 

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Pursuant to the request of Mr. Brandon Alvey on March 14, 1966, it has been determined that Henry Bradsher is the Associated Press reporter who conducted a telephonic interview with Staughton Craig Lynd from Moscow, Russia, to Hanoi, North Vietnam, on December 31, 1965. The substance of Bradsher's interview was reported in "The New York Times" of January 1, 1966, in an article entitled "U.S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction."

In view of the recent action of the Department of State in the passport matter involving Professor Henry Stuart Hughes, this Bureau does not deem it advisable to request the Department of State to obtain from Bradsher the complete details regarding his telephonic interview with Lynd. The Department of Justice, however, may desire to initiate such a request.

Mr. Alvey's attention was called, on March 14, 1966, to an article in "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, on January 11, 1966, entitled "Aptheker Statement Prior to Trip," which purported to be a statement prepared by Aptheker for the press prior to his departure from the United States on December 19, 1965. A review has been made of the clipping file of "The New York Times" for the period December 17 through December 22, 1965, and it was determined that these issues contained no statement issued to the press by Aptheker prior to his departure from the United States. Arrangements have been made to review the microfilm copies of other New York City daily newspapers for the same period and, if it is determined that any of these newspapers received a copy of Aptheker's statement to the press, inquiry will be instituted to determine complete details.

100-396916\_

EBR/pah:pcn

(4)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Delobob Casper Callahan .

Conrad .

Tavel.

March 22, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

Attached for your information is a copy of the January, 1966, issue of the magazine "Viet Report."

It will be noted that Staughton Lynd is listed as a member of the Advisory Board of "Viet Report" and that practically the entire issue is devoted to the material gathered by Lynd and Thomas Hayden during their recent trip to North Vietnam. A report submitted by Herbert Eugline Aptheker is to be carried in a future issue of this magazine.

Enc.

EBR: jas (4)

REC. 4862-11/91 MAILED O MAR 22 1966 COMM.FBI

TO MAR 23 1956

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Mr. Tolson Mr. Dat. Mr. Me ţ. WILLIAM E. BUCKLEY ъ6 Mr. Conrad Mr. Felt. ь7С Mr. Gale Mr. Rosen Mr. Sullivan Mr. Tavel. Mr. Trotter. Tele. Room. Miss Holmes March 25, 1966 Miss Gandy. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover Director Federal Bureau of Investigation United States Department of Justice Washington, D. C. HERENT OF THERIT Dear Mr. Hoover: My thanks for your letter of March 22 and it is hoped that the Department of Justice will soon make its position known concerning the Americans who made unauthorized and illegal trip to Hanoi. REG. 105 APR 5 1966 Best regards. Cordially. William E. Buckley May I also add that it will be a sad day for our country when you find it necessary to retire as None Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOI/PA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET FOI/PA# 1360161-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 9

Page 47 ~ Duplicate;

Page 51 ~ Referral/Consult; Page 52 ~ Referral/Consult;

Page 54 ~ Referral/Consult;

Page 55 ~ Referral/Consult; Page 56 ~ Referral/Consult; Page 57 ~ Referral/Consult;

Page 58 ~ Referral/Consult;

Page 59 ~ Referral/Consult;

#### XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

X Deleted Page(s) X

X No Duplication Fee X

X For this Page X

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Coming in April

ORDER NOW!

## MISSION TO HANOI

By HERBERT APTHEKER

With Prefaces by Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden

A report on the historic fact-finding mission, containing impressions written down fresh during the visit to North Vietnam, conclusions about peace prospects and policy, a documentary supplement including new material, and a selected bibliography. Illustrated with photography taken during the visit.

Cloth \$3.75, Paperback \$1.25



5 paperbacks for \$5,00

## International Publishers

381 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_



# ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED THEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED BY LODGE BY LODG

The Washington Post and
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The Nutional Observer
People's World

18 8 W 1/7/6/11

62-11/9/7-50

ENCLOSURE - DE LA

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

The March 27, 1966, issue of "The Worker" contains an advertisement on page 11 regarding a book written by Aptheker entitled "Mission to Hanoi." The article further indicates that prefaces by Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden are included and that the book is "a report on the historic fact-finding mission" recently undertaken by Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden to North Vietnam.

You should obtain and transmit to the Bureau two copies of the paperback edition of this book which will sell for \$1.25 and is available through the International Publishers, 381 Park Avenue South, New York City.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED** EBR: jas (4) HEREINIS LINCLASSIFIED BY LOGIST MISTEP 100

8 1966	APR 6 1966 comm-fbi
) ENCLO	SURE AND
O APR	18196

:Tolson DeLocch

Casper

Tovel. Trotter nie. Roos MAILED 4

1966 APR 8

HERBERT APTHEKER was introduced by a Moderator. This introduction was indistinct due to background noises.

HERBERT APTHEKER - Thank you very much. I appreciate the courtesy of this invitation. The Secretary of State, Mr. RUSK, in speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, on the sixth of January of this year, said, quote, nearly one third of the world are asleep at any given moment. The other two thirds are awake and are probably stirring up mischief somewhere. Sort of an unusual way of putting the world's problems (laughter). LYND, Mr FAYDEN and myself have just returned from that part of the world where concerns (?) are stirring up mischief, day and I've noticed, since my return particularly, although this is not too new, in Asia, that ... Some gentlemen (?) editorials were quite upsetting, as to whether or not I am a patriot ..... they said so several times in print inquiring as to whether a Communist has any liber rights left in this country, and attorneys will let me know tomorrow. But, in terms of pointed opposition with war, this government conducts, to the expression of such pointed opposition, why war is going on, presumably is the essence of my offense. If this is treasonous it has been indulged in by some strange traitors. ABE LINCOLN, for example. He permitted himself to say to the President of the United States, during a war, that I with my obviously lesser courage, have not yet permitted myself to Thus, Mr. Lincoln's speech of January, 1848, while this country was engaging in a war, of course, it was an old fashioned war, it was declared, a declared war, Mr. Lincoln characterized President POLK's message as, quote, the sheerest deception. Mr. Lincoln said that he was certain, that President Polk, I am quoting, is deeply conscious of being involved, that the President feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him. The President, said Mr. Lincoln, trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze on the exceeding brightness of military glory, that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood, that serpant's eye that charms to destroy. denounced the President. Polk is urging the national honor, the security of the future, the prevention of foreign interference and even the good of, not Vietnam, the good of Mexico as a moment of so called ... and war. As to the more terminating ... of securing peace, the President is equally blundering, untruthful and indefinite. First, he says, it is to be brought (?) by the more vigorous prosecution of the war on the vital parts of the enemies country. That, apparently talking himself tired of that point, the President drops down to a half despairing tone and tells us that the ... people distract, distracted and divided by contending factions and The government is subject to constant changes by successive revolations and coups, continued success of our arms may fail to secure a satisfactory peace. The President is a bewildered, confownded and miserably perplexed man, God grant he may be able to WShow there is not something about his conscience more painful than all his mental perplexity, said Mr. Lincoln, one of the well known

yclosúre,

HEREINIS UNCLASSIFIED

HEREINIS UNCLASSIFIED

ATTE 9-19-80038Y 60347-NLS/6P10

traitors of the 19th century. Another clearly un-American poet, WALT WHITMAN, the same period, damned, quote, the old political parties are defunct. There remains of them nothing but empty flesh, putrid mouths, lovely speaking politicians stand back in the They tell lies trying to delude and frighten people, said Walt Whitman. I do not know how many people know our whole national anthem, including the third stanza, in which, singing the whole thing through, is almost impossible. One sings our country, triumph it must, if it's cause be just. So much for the proprieties. will now proceed in an attempt .... of what I saw and felt and then on the basis of this, and what study I have been able to put into the subject, some opinions on the war in Vietnam. Everywhere are air raid shelters. On top of them the children play. Watching the children are grandmothers. They are the target. Hanoi and it's one million people is calm, determined, but calm. Lights shops and stores, the opera, the cinema, 10,000 bicyclists. Here is the target. A large and lovely lake is in the city's center. Fronting it, I am told, were flowers. Now, these have given way to air raid shelters. Still, there are stalls where flowers are sold and as I stoll by late in the evening many women are preparing displays, binding bouquets in ... leaves. Again, the target. This lady is on a peace committee, she is pleased to meet three Americans who are friends. She has met others at international gatherings, some American women among them. They are just likewe women here, she thinks, is it not so. I mean, it seems to meto be as sentimental as we are, loving their husbands and wanting their children to grow up, so do we. Why can't this not be. is nothing like loving children, I think, except it is loving independence. Independence, freedom, loving children. Things women must have, is it not so? She is the target. village some twenty miles south of Hanoi, here live 850 families, about 4500 souls. Now, there are many less with the men in the army, allthe young men. An elderly peasant with a characteristic wisp of a beard, like uncle HO, sits in a cart and allows himself to be pulled by the faithful buffalo to his work. He is reading as the animal plows his familiar path. I say, good morning. is happy to welcome me to his village, he says, an American. I have come a long way. Others have come from my country, too, but you have come with open hands and are a friend, therefore, good morning. May I know, please, what are you reading? This? Well this is SHALLIKOFF (phn). Of course, you know SHALLIKOFF? Yes. What do you think of SHALLIKOFF? There's no doubt that he writes well, he is an interesting writer and he knows people. But, do you know something? I must say that his stories are a little pat sometimes, do you know what I mean? I mean things come out toowell, too soon. It does not happen that way all the time. a fine writer. He goes off, and next to him is his rifle for while the young men are away everyone else, the aged, the women, they are all armed. Indeed the village people tell me they have a special name for the old man's brigade. It is the gray haired force. I watched him go off into the Asian landscape engrossed

in SHALLIKOFF, his gun by his side. He most certainly is the target. What labor is here. With pride I am told of what they have built in the village that now they think is theirs. I drainage ditches, the brick homes, the bicycles, the newly planted trees, cabbage, rice, grapefruit, tangerines, the pigs they have bred, the ducks they have raised, the harvest that was good this year. What labor is here. What sweetness that now the village is theirs. The young woman in charge of the local guerilla forces says if President JOHNSON comes to take this village we will fight for it. Nobody will take it. At last this is ours, everything now we share and now that we share we no longer quarrel so much. Everything is a target. The harvest, the brick house, the pigs and ducks, this young woman with a rifle, targets of the Pentagon. Nam Ding (phn) a city of 90,000, this is the battle zone. Eleven times in the past American planes have roared across the city dropping bombs and strafing with rockets and machine guns. province in which Nam Ding is the capitol lives Many Catholics. 250,000 I am told. This evening when we come, one travels only at night, I asked if I might see the oldest Priest and I was introduced to a man about 75 years of age. Sixty years I have been in the Church, he says. In the old days of the French the Church was not free and not it is. What do you mean, Father? The old days early Mass was for the French and not for us. We had to go to late Mass. In the morning soldiers guarded the Church doors with guns and would not let us enter, only the French could enter. Why was that? Why? To keep us apart, to make us feel like intruders In those days they had two Christs, one for the in our own home. Vietnamese and one for the French. It is like in my country, Father, I say. At home we have a black Christ and a white Christ. Really, he says, I see. Then, abruptly, why is it the Americans are bombing my city? What have we done to the Americans, would you explain it to me? I do not understand. Why do they come here time after time and bomb this city? It is cruel, it is inhuman. Can you tell me why it is? My host comes and tells me we must leave. an alert, the U. S. planes are 40 miles away and we are not sure that it is safe for you. I begged to be allowed to remain but they will have none of it and I must leave. I asked the Father's pardon for leaving so quickly, of course, to myself I asked the Father's pardon for a million other things too. The police directing traffic are women. Everywhere they are women, they carry no guns and no clubs, nothing but their hands. In this terrible land of tyranny and Communist slavery everyone is armed except the police. Why do your police carry nothing at all I asked. Because, I am told, under the French and under the Japanese we had enough of the armed police and their clubs. They shot us and they clubbed usand now that the police are ours they carry nothing at all. fact is that we cannot stand to look upon the police with a club. It strikes me, then, that in Hanoi, unlike the pictures I have seen of Saigon, there are no barricades before the hotels or cafes, there is no danger from within, the danger is only from without, from the heavens. On the way home I get the free world press again, and the insanity. In the HERALD TRIBUNE of December

29 TED SALES (phn) writes from Washington that the bombing to the North Vietnam have not succeeded in dislocating it s society. He reports that in the Pentagon many are saying that, quote, now, only massive attacks, perhaps even with nuclear weapons, could cause such immediate dislocation, end of quotation. Before I came to the target area I read these things, shuddered, but now that I have been in the target area, with the children on the air raid shelters, with a 75 year old priest, with the SHALLIKOFF (phn) reading peasant of the gray haired force, now it is I do not know how to say it. It is like a nightmare. I looked upon the concentration camps 21 years ago. I saw the ovens and when my outfit arrived the places still stank. I saw it but I could not believe it. It was like a nightmare. But, then we had fought against this, we had been on the side of the inmates. If that was a nightmare, what was this? Now, the crematory were made in the United States and were portable and were called napalm and phosphorous. and journalists were coolly writing of dislocation with massive attacks and nuclear weapons. On the way home I read NEWSWEEK of January 10, 1966, and it tells me that BOB HOPE is in Saigon entertaining 10,000 troops with his inimical wit. The magazine says, quote, the soldiers roared and laughed when HOPE called the U.S. bombing raids on North Vietnam the best slum clearance project they ever had, end of quote. I remember that we forced some of the German officers to go through the concentration camp and we all filed through with handkerchiefs at our noses, and I remember that when we emerged into the air the Nazis dropped their handkerchiefs, I remember that some were laughing. The crematory constituted one huge sewage project to them, in which vermin, Jews, Communists, Poles, Russians, were wiped out. Professor Morganthal writes truly when he indicts this, quote, senseless, hopeless and brutalizing war. Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK writes truly when he declares of what U.S. armed might is doing in Vietnam, quoting Dr. SPOCK, when Hitler's armies used such tactics we called them atrocities, end of quote. And, when Hitler's armies marched he did not say what the world knew, that he wanted the oil and coal, the wheat and iron of the Ukraine, that he wanted to annihilate the idea of popular sovereignty, that he sought to extirpate Socialism. Such realistic considerations are scarce today in the noble rhetoric with which U.S. made atrocities are bedecked, but it was not always so. Thus, when the French were doing most of the fighting against the Vietnamese the NEW YORK TIMES editorialized February 12, 1950, quote, Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the north are exportable tins, tungsten, zinc, manganese, coal, lumber and rice and in the south are rice, rubber, tea and pepper, end of quotation. And, a little later, while the French still held the line, President Eisenhower permitted himself to express these thoughts in his characteristic syntac, ' at the United States Governors Conference August 4, 1953 and I quote President Eisenhower. Now, let us assume that we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. peninsula, the last spit of land hanging on down there would be

scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming. So, when the United States votes \$400 million to help the French in that war we are not voting a giveaway program, we are voting for the cheapest way we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States, our security, our power, our ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from southeast Asia, end of quotation. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, as President of the United States, tends to deliver himself when speaking formally of elevated prose. Still, one wonders whether the truer LYNDON B. JOHNSON was speaking, when as a Congressman he said on the floor of the House of the Representatives, March 15, 1948, quote, no matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant. NEW YORK TIMES of January 29th, 1966, has what I take to be a society note. It tells us that one of the two dogs the President has, the one that is male, he has recently rechristened the male dog of the President of the United States, Mr. JOHNSON, calls HO CHI HIM. Now, HO, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, from time to time rides a donkey. It is this chauvinism, this racism, this colonialism and that parasitic appetite as well as considerations of strategic position and future activities against other Socialist lands that, in my opinion, lie at the base of the aggressive foreign policy now dominating Washington. Whatever demagogic purposes may have prompted the issuance of President JOHNSON's 14 points, and whatever devious intentions may lie behind the much trumpeted peace offensive, and Mr. HARPIMAN's recent remark concerning the National Liberation Front, and the possibility of it's recognition, that the language is closer to the necessities of peace is to be welcomed, that world public opinion of the Vietnamese resistance and growing American public opinion play a part in inducing the peace offensive and extracting this off hand remark from the distinguished Ambassador is all to the good. The first point of the 14 point statement, issued by President JOHNSON on December 27, namely the acceptance of the Geneva agreement, represents the essential point of both the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. If adhered to and implemented it means an end to the war in Vietnam and the basis for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia. The Geneva agreement of 1954 was for the people of Vietnam what the treaty of Paris of 1783 was for the people of the United States. Both represented treaties entered into after prolonged negotiation, by defeated colonial powers, in the earlier case Great Britain and the latter case France, with a formerly colonial people, American and Vietnamese respectively, who had won their independence through struggle. The Geneva agreement was a generous one, offered by the victorious Vietnamese to the defeated Thus, though the Vietnamese had proposed that the temporary military line of demarcation be at the 15th parallel, and the French the 18th, the final Geneva agreement set that at the 17th, representing a concession to the French, not only of considerable

territory, but also of some two million people. But this was agreed to in Geneva as a whole and was signed by the Vietnamese because it contains the main things, to wit, the acceptance of the independence and integrity of the Vietnam nation, affirmed the temporary non-political character of the split in the 17th parallel, required the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam, prohibiting the future introduction of such troops and set down procedures for the re-unification of Vietnam by 1956. For these reasons it was signed by the Vietnamese and because they sat by as the terms were carried out by the Vietnamese people because Uncle HO asked them to do so, and HO CHI MINH is to the Vietnamese what WASHINGTON, LINCOLN and LENIN taken together represented. The Geneva agreement terminated a dirty war waged for over eight years, 1946 through '54, by the French with the massive assistance of the United States. It is universally acknowledged, as by former President Eisenhower for example, that the 1956 elections were not held vecause at the insistance of Saigon and Washington authorities, it was stated at that time in 1956, as affirmed by President Eisenhower, that Saigon and Washington refused to permit the election because it was certain that HO CHI MINH would have emerged in such election as the choice of the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people, in both the north and the south. Nevertheless, since Geneva and since 1956 the DRV has tried repeatedly, though without success, to normalize relations between South and North Vietnam. Furthermore, in three important respects as was emphasized during our journies, agreements already have been offered going further than the Geneva These are viewed upon by the NLF and the DRV as very significant concessions though I think it is fair to say that not one of a thousand Americans knows of their existence. Thus, the DRV, and raince it's formation in 1960, the NLF, have agreed to, a, the neutrality and foreign policy of the South Vietnam interim government. b. The broad coalition character of such government. c. A prolonged process for the reunification of North and South Vietnam, determined without outside interference by the people involved and confirmed by a general free election, supervised by an international controlled commission established by Geneva. None of these three points is in the Geneva agreement. All, and I repeat this was emphasized to us during our journey, all illustrated moderations by the DRV approach. Certainly their existence, undoubtedly unknown to the vast majority of Americans, refutes the Washington stereotype of the DRV and the NLF as intransient and stubborn, not to say more seeking. The fact is that after 25 years of war no people on earth craves peace more than those in Viet-But those 25 years of war were inspired by the goal of the independence and integrity of the Vietnamese nation. This is an indispensable prerequisite which runs like a red thread through a thousand years of unbroken Vietnamese history. It is an indispensable prerequisite. Not only could no government of the DRV agree to anything less but if a government did agree to anything less, the Vietnamese people would not abide by such a government. Let it be added that the very long experience of the

Vietnamese people covering thousands of years have shown them that without independence, quite literally, existence becomes either impossible or intolerable. As a single example of what is meant, in the one year 1944-45, under the combined occupation of the Japanese and the French, two million Vietnamese starved to death. Hence, without independence, it is passionately felt in Vietnam, this my journey persuaded me beyond any doubt, that any peace can only represent surrender if peace is won without independence. Such a settlement should not be expected by anyone, least of all Americans who live in a country created in a war for independence. It was independence, unity and national integrity which were the heart of Geneva and many Vietnamese wonder if it is not because of this that the highest officials in the U.S. Government, such as Secretary of State DULLES and President EISENHOWER express so low an opinion of the Geneva agreement at the time of it's siming. If the first of the 14 points of December 27 is meant in full seriousness nothing else is necessary. That point means the recognition of Vietnamese independence, unity and national integrity, forbids the presence of foreign troops in Vietnam. Let the first be solemnly affirmed and let the second process be begun, and my journey absolutely convinces me peace is well on it's way in In this connection, however, it is necessary to observe that so universally respected a commentator as WALTER LIPMANN' in his column dated December 29, after the issuance of the 14 points, concludes, quote, I believe it a grave mistake to attempt to make permanent our military presence on the Asian mainland, making this artificial and ramshackled debris of old empires permanent and committing our lives and fortunes to it's maintenance means, I believe, unending war in Asia, end of quotation. It is necessary, also, to observe that Mr. TOM LAMBERT, writing from Washington in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of December 31, several days after the announcement of the 14 points, notes that while the United States will accept, quote, a non-aligned South Vietnam, nevertheless, the United States will not let South Vietnam go to the Communists and will remain there militarily if necessary to preclude any such Communist takeover, end of quote. This ruled out the unfettered choice by the people involved, furthermore, since it depends on what Washington considers Communist it may rule out anything to the left of the present, excuse the expression, Prime Minister of the Saigon regime, who has stated that his favorite hero is Adolph Hitler. And Mr. LAMBERT went on to say in the same dispatch to quote the President's assistant, Mr. MOYERS, as repeating that the basis, the President's words, that the basic aim of the United States in Vietnam, as stated by President JOHNSON in Baltimore, April, 1965, remains namely, quote, United States demands that an independent South Vietnam securely guarantees, but the whole point of Geneva was the temporary character of the two zone separation of Vietnam and the agreement as to the unity and sovereignty of Vietnam, not north and not south, but Vietnam. One cannot affirm adherence to Geneva and simultaneously with reason insist that a basic demand is for a separate and independent and non-Communist South Vietnam. Clearly, and correctly

-7**-**

I believe, the Vietnamese feel that their strug (le is a just war for national independence. It is a continuation of an anticolonialist and anti-imperialist effort waged asgainst the Japanese, the French-American and now the American Government. think that it is indutible that the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT is a genuine broad national coalition representing the overwhelming percent of the people of South Vietnam. Further, the struggle seeks not only the cause of the triumph of the national liberation of the Vietnamese people, in addition such a victory would thwart the effort of the United States government to establish a military stronghold in Southeast Asia for purposes, I think, of exploitation and conquest of that area and as a base for further assault throughout Asia, thus clearly opening up the prospects of a general and, perhaps, even a third world war. The Vietnamese, I assure you, take very seriously the unanimous agreements reached in the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the workers and Communist Parties. There, it was agreed, that a prime task was to exert every effort to further the cause of national liberation and simultaneously to prevent world war. Both tasks were viewed as two sides of the same anti-imperialist effort. The present struggle against the United States Government policy of aggression in Vietnam is held to be exactly that kind of struggle. then a fundamental issue in the central task of our era. achievement of national liberation and the prevention of world war by implementation of the policy of peaceful co-existence. Notice to be taken that the Vietnamese emphasize the distinction between the people of the United States and the U. S. Government. They value most highly the impressive efforts for peace being waged by large, increasing segments of the American people. a historical fact, in my professional opinion, it is a historical fact that the present degree of opposition to an actual war being conducted is without precedent and the relative absence of any passionate support for such an actual war also is without precedent in the history of the United States. Let it also be observed that the Vietnamese do not seek the defeat of the United States and do not conceive of themselves as capable of defeating the United States. That is, they are not waging war upon the United States and do not seek the destruction of our cities, let alone the capture of Washington. They do not seek, like Admiral Tojo, to sign a peace treaty in Washington. They are seeking to defeat the American aggression upon their soil. They seek to defeat the American Government's aggressive foreign policy. They want American troops not to be in their country. This is what they mean by winning, nothing else. The aggressive war policy of the JOHNSON administration brings death and maiming to thousands of Americans and ruin and devastation to Vietnam. The aggressive policy of the JOHNSON administration threatens all social progress and democratic achievements in our country. There is a 3.2 percent ceiling for wage increases but there is no ceiling at all for rates of profit by corporations. There is impotence in the face of murder of civil rights workers in the United States and at the same time the capacity to send 200,000 American soldiers 10,000 miles

from home to kill peasants and burn villages. The JOHNSON policy of aggression threatens the American people with the kind of catastrophe that Hitler's policy of aggression did bring the Ger-The President of the United States speaks of our honor as a nation. Does it honor our nation to ravage a people who have done us no harm? Does it honor our nation to spread chemical poisons upon the labor of farmers in Asia? Does it honor our nation to turn children into beggers and women into prostitutes? Does it honor our nation to hurl phosphorous shells and napalm bombs and beneficient gasses upon the homes and bodies of millions of men, women and children? If to shout to the heavens in denunciation of such honor be treason, please then let my name forever be enrolled among the traitors. The truth is that a reversal of the present aggressive foreign policy in the United States is in the best interests of the poeple of Vietnam and of the United States and the entire world. Pressures for such a reversal are mounting throughout the world and they are mounting here. And, of course, here is the main responsibility. me very briefly to simply allude to three particular arguments. One is the so-called domino theory. As to this I would simply assert that, particularly since February, '65, last year, when we commenced bombing of the DPV, the domino theory has been, in effect, in reverse. Every bomb thrown has reduced the influence and prestige of the United States nation. Until now, in Cambodia, in India, in the Phillipines and in Japan, the influence tolerant (phn) of the United States are at an all time low. And, while this is especially true of Asia, here is the report from Paris of Mr. JOSEPH BARRY in the current issue of the PROSPESSIVE MAGAZINE as to Europe, quote, everywhere in Europe the Vietnam war has poisoned whatever else has been positive in American policy. has reduced to nil everything but our military leadership and made nonsense in all Europe of our claims to moral law and international order, end of quote. So much for the domino theory. Two. The affirmation that it is Chinese aggression that is the secret source of our generosity in Vietnam. Of this, there are no Chinese soldiers in Vietnam, no Chinese borders (phn) in the Chinese People's Republic. There are 200,000 American troops. Chinese do not blockade our coasts, our navy blockades their coast, and two of their ports are not usable, Hanoi (phn) and Phu Chow (phn), are stopped to all traffic by our navy. It is as though Norfolk and Philadelphia were stopped by some foreign navy. and Matsu is held by us and our creature. Quemoy and Matsu are to China what Naragansut (phn) and Staten Island are to the United It is our government which, for the first time in history, has affirmed, not only that it will not recognize another government, the Chinese People's Republic, but it has explicitly affirmed, diplomatically, openly, several times, that it seeks, as official policy, the overthrow, the destruction of the government of the Chinese People's Republic. It never did that even with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, we have now over 200,000 troops in Vietnam and approximately 65,000 in Korea. That many troops together

amounts to almost 300,000 combat troops in areas, both of which border China. If I ask just a moments consideration of what it would mean if Chinese had a quarter of a million troops, one fourth in Canada and three fourths in Mexico. I therefore affirm that, really, what ever one may say about Chinese policy, and particularly, language, the fact is that, in acts, ..... China and the United States, the United States to speak of Chinese aggression is a classical example of thief crying thief. third point, also for a minute, the charge of appeasement, of Munich, of allegedly learning the lesson of Munich, the President of the United States reiterates a thousand times, just recently again. I think here, of course, the basic approach is to the whole history of aggression, etcetera, which I do not wish to enter into. But, I do want to say this. Hitler was not appeased. Hitler was created, first by German financed capital and then by Western, including U.S. financed capital. Appeasement means grudgingly giving up. This was not done with Hitler. He was made, created, financed, urged, blown up, encouraged, he was not appeased. He was, in fact, given so much that we now know from his private conversations since published, that he was surprised at how much was given him and how quickly. He was given parity in naval strength with England. He was given the Saar, he was given Mimmel (phn), he was given Danzig. We now know that the British were planning on giving him half of Africa, he was given Austria, he was given Czechoslovakia, an enormous technical capacity of the great Skota munitions works and it's border touching the Soviet Union. Hitler was not appeased, the whole concept of appeasement is faulty. Hitler was built up as the advance guard against Socialism in Europe and for the destruction of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, who supported this policy? The support of ... came from the Right, the denunciation of it came from the Left. Was anyone more pro Munich, for instance, than the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS? No. That's why President Roosevelt bestowed Hitler's Iron Cross upon the owner of the NEW YOPK DAILY NEWS. Is there anyone more avid on the bombin; of Hanoi, Hai Phong and China than the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS and it's ilk? No. Why? Because the DAILY NEWS was the organ of pro-Fascism in the thirties and it is the organ of pro-Fascism in the sixties. Never, since the days of chattel slavery has a question of right or wrong been clearer in our country than it is today with the war in Vietnam. who opposed slavery there were many differences but finally one thing united them all, a sense of humanity and out of the sense of decency and a concern for fundamental humanity. The differences that seemed so important to the various camps in the anti-slavery effort now have interest only to historians. And, the greatest lesson they teach all of us now is this, whatever prevented unity in the struggle against slavery was helpful to the slave owners. Whatever prevents unity now in the struggle to stop the killing in Vietnam is helpful to the crackpot realists and the stone age generals. We must go to the American people in their multimillions and say to them plainly and convincingly in terms that they will understand and act upon that this war is atrocious, immoral and intensely harmful to our country and to our own

every day interest. The President of the United States has recently said that those who opposed the war were simply worriers, they present no alternative. The Geneva agreement is the alternative to aggressive war in Southeast Asia. We must do what Britain did in Ghana. We must do what France did in Algeria and in Vietnam. We must, in the first place, stop the killing, we must, in the second place, get out. (Applause) This is what Geneva says. cessation of the bombing, agree to the re-convening of Geneva under the auspices of, not of the UN, in which neither Hanoi, nor Saigon nor the NLF, nor China is represented. Implement Geneva with a broad coalition, neutral South Vietnam, neutral government, a prolonged process of re-unification, confirmed in a general election supervised by the Geneva Intérnational Commission. This the alternative, Mr. President. I refuse to admit even the possibility of failure in this great crusade. We will not fail. We will succeed, and in succeeding we will make America a beacon of decency, justice, equality and peace. Thank you. (Applause)

(As reel #2 begins HERB APTHEKER is apparently conducting a question and answer period as reel is started with APTHEKER in the process of answering a question?)

We asked the Prime Minister. He said to him that it is frequently uncertain in the United States Press, and by the military, that there are regular units of the DRV in South Vietnam. Is that true, Mr. Minister. He said, no, it is not true. He said Mr. Prime Minister this is , to us, a very important question because it is repeatedly asserted and we want to be sure that you understood our question, of course it was being translated. And, we want to be sure that we have understood your answer. Do you say to us that there are no DRV troops in South Vietnam. He said I do. W said can we put that in the form of a written question and would you answer it for us in any way that you wish, in writing, so that we may publish that as well as other questions. Yes, you may and we did, and he answered that question in writing and we have since published it, we published it on the 16th of January. We came home and published it immediately. And, in the answer he was stronger (?) than verbally, he said that the assertion of the presence of the DRV troops in South Vietnam is the sheerest fabrication. Those were his words, the sheerest fabrication, affirmed in order to give s me pretense for the American aggression and affirmed, also, as a moral sop (?) since the United States troops and their puppet prefer to be losing against the veterans of Dien Bien (phn) troops instead of simply against the MLF. But, they are simply being defeated, not by the veterans of Dien Bien Phu. Now, this was his statement and that's the first part of the answer to your question. The second is, you asked me my opinion of the veracity of this statement. My own opinion is that their answer to me is highly probable. I say this for the following reasons: One, as we said to the Prime Minister, this is a telling (phn) matter and, if what you are saying is not true, presumably it can be effectively refuted by the United States and. if

so, it would be quite damaging. He said I know that but it can not be refuted because it is true. Secondly, even the charges that come from the United States have both a limited and a highly nebulous, when carefully examined, character. Limited in that the greatest claim by the United States is seven regiments of DRV troops, this is about 8500 men altogether, 8500 as compared to 200,000 is, of course, a drop in the bucket. That's one thing. The second is that the demonstration of the actual existence of such troops, and this is a central point, dramatically has been notably weak. It has been, generally speaking, in journalistic reports, or it is reported that, or in this valley it is thought that, but they have not been made contact with, or we can not find them, so on. I would say that from the viewpoint of the craft of the historian, in terms of evidential phrases, the case made so far by the United States in this crucial point is slippery, unlike the affirmation of the Prime Minister of the It is unequivocably explicit to me. I have then answered both points. I've given you my opinion and I've given you precise (phn) in what the Prime Minister did say.

Moderator - Are there any other questions? (A question is asked in the background but can not be heard.)

APTHEKER - Did everyone hear the question? I can summarize it and see if I did allright. If not you hold your hand up. Young man said what about the facts concerning economic, material assistance by the DRV to the NFL. What about the so-called HO CHI MINH trailway and does that, did you say something else? Is that It? That's the question. I am certain about the material and economic assistance to the DRV in North Vietnam. This is already massive and is increasing from China and from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, and non-Socialist countries. I am not certain in my own mind about the material and economic assistance from the DRV to the NFL. I would offer, in my opinion, that I think it is highly probable that there is such assistance and, probable, in my opinion, that is considerable. I think that it is relatively new, it probably did notsignificantly begin until maybe 1965. That's the best that I can do. I can call your attention to the fact tha t our commanding officer in South Vietnam in 1943, General PAUL D. HARKINS, said that the weapons and materiel of the NLF was not Chinese, not the northern import (?) but came from Dien, when it was in charge, from the United States, and it was homemade. That's what the American commanding general said as late as the Spring of That's the best that I can do. Now, the existence of the so-called HO CHI MINH trail, which is supposed to go into Laos and Cambodia, has been denied both by the DRV and by Cambodia, although the United States has authorized now explicitly what it calls hot pursuit in Cambodia and hasunow admitted that aircraft from the Royal Lacation Airforce, which you gentlemen know is a tremendous air force, that aircraft from that air force is regularly bombing the Cambodia border area but the Chief of State of Cambodia says there is no HO CHI MINH trail, that there is no supply going via

Cambodia into Vietnam, but he explained this bombardment by the Royal Lacation Air Force, and they had come to our assistance in that, the border area (phn). That's the best I can do on that question. I see a hand there ...... (laughter).

A question is asked in the background but it can not be heard.

APTHEKER - Well, it is a fact that the European press has reported for several months the bombardment of Laos by United States forces. About six weeks ago, or eight weeks ago, the United States confirmed the bombardment of Laos by the United States Air Force and said that it would bombard areas in Laos that were menacing to the defense efforts of the United States in Vietnam. So, we have ... admitted that this is being done. is also a fact that this seems to have been adopted (phn) a long time ago and, apparently, special troops of the United States also participated in ground warfare there a long time ago. This is in SCELESINGER's recent book on KENNEDY, and there have been other expose' because some of this seems to have been done independently by the CIA which now not only has an independent treasury but appears to have an independent military arm, I mean independent of the President. And, this now seems to include Air Force. certainly is what SCHLESINGER says in his book. And, recently HENRY ... COMMIGER (Phn) has been repeating this. He did it very recently in the SATURDAY REVIEW. So, the bombardment of Laos by the United States, U.S.A. or U.S.C.I.A. has been common, repeated, for perhaps a year. It is now officially admitted, or if admitted is a charged word, it is now officially confirmed.

Unknown male in background - I would like to know whether or not these P.T. boats that attacked the American ships were driven by North Vietnamese, or do they exist at all, or was there an attack, or is the whole war (phn) a sham? (Laughter)

APTHEKER - You can be sure that the war (laughter makes rest of question and comment indistinct.) I was just going to say that you can be sure that the war is not a sham and you can be sure that the bombing in North Vietnam is not a sham because I looked at it.

Questioner - In Detroit and Michigan (?) that everything that we've read in our papers is probably the widest ... of anywhere in the world, is apparently untrue and trash. I was wondering now whether the attacks occurred or not. Was the bombing of the hotel in Saigon a true bombing or were the Americans dressed as Vietnamese Indians when engaged (?).

APTHEKER - Well, I'm glad that you had the chance of asking further questions so that we clarify what you actually had in mind (laughter). That is to say that you were right in ... about the P.T. boats, although I'll begin with them. Very obviously I do not know, neither do you, what happened in the Gulf of Tonkin. We know that one government, the United States Government, affirms that it's warships were attacked by P.T. boats from the DRV Navy

and our government says that, in response to this awful and aggressive assault, we would naturally reply and that, thereafter, we have naturally replied by continuing to bomb the DRV. Not only P.T. boats. The guard (phn) with the DRV, on the other hand, says that our Navy did (didn't?) attack the United States Navy. is not true and that this particular charge is a sham to justify, or rationalize, the bombardment of our country. So, what we know is that one government says there was a P.T. attack and the other government says that there wasn't. You will weigh the likelihood of a naval attack by the DRV upon the United States and I will weigh the likelihood that this may not have occurred and is used as an excuse, which has not been (proven wrong?). For instance. American planes bombed Havana, U.S. Air Force planes bombed Havana and then when they came back thirty caliber rifle bullets were put through the fuselage in the appearance that they had been hit in Havana and that they were rebel planes from the Cuban Air Force, where that we now know they were United States planes in the first place and the bullets were put in the fuselage in Miami. This we now know. Now, you asked something else, or you said something else. You said that I had made the point here that everything in our ... a sham. I did not make that point at all and, to the contrary, I quoted several times in terms of controvertory (phn) evidence ... press of the United States which has a high degree of falsification and propaganda and a considerable degree, I think, of veracity with very hard working journalists, many of whom, like Mr. RESTON and so on, are excellent and manage to get across a great deal. So, I would in no way downgrade, and did not mean to downgrade, and did not downgrade, in fact, in my presentation. You thought that this is what I think so you thought that that is what you heard, but you did not in any (laughter).

Unknown male asks indistinct question in background.

APTIEKER - Yes, I view the Senate Foreign Relations developement very positively. Not very long ago there was only one, possibly two Senators speaking out, GRUENING and MORSE, a couple of Senators raising questions, such as Mr. O'BRIEN. Today, thirty Senators tors have signed a, denunciation is too strong a word, opposition to the President's policy and about 70 (17?) Representatives and we are told, by our splendid press such as the NEW YORK TIMES ... that, actually, about twenty more Senators would have signed but for one reason or other they didn't. So, half the Senators are, opposes the President's policy. I view that as very promising indeed, a tremendous developement, and a reflection of growing popular opposition and questions here and in the world. I may say this to you also. At my suggestion the three of us wired Senator FULBRIGHT from Hanoi. This may surprise you that it was my suggestion, but it was, that the three of us asked to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Now, we had sense enough to suggest that the Senator reply to STAUGHTON LYND and, I can not speak (?), and he did. He replied to him, Professor LYND, and very courteously and said that the Foreign Relations Committee

was not then in session and, in fact, didn't plan to have such hearings. However, a secretary of Senator FULBRIGHT discussed with great length with Mr. LYND the trip, a specialist on Far Eastern Affairs came up from Washington to New Haven and interviewed Mr. LYND for about two and a half hours as to what might be done as to terminate the war and then Mr. LYND was invited by eight different Senators to come to their offices in Washington and he told me that he went with great fear and trembling but that they treated him like a hero. I said did they comment on your fellow traveler, he (laughter) said no, they didn't raise it at all and they were very meniable and agreeable and listened and urged that he continue his efforts. Now, that was about ten days before this developement so I, your question was how do I view it. I view it very positively and, in addition to former Ambassador KENNON, I call your attention to the remark of Ambassador HARRIMAN, Í don't know if you noticed that, Ambassador HARRIMAN said that he thought it right that the NLF be present in negotiations so the United States can negotiate with the NLF. Now, this certainly is not in the Honolulu declaration. On the other hand, Ambassador HARRIMAN has never said that before. And, this is, of course, a prerequisite to any serious negotiations. So, there has been certain advances, there are certain signs of real encouragement, to answer you in a nutshell.

Unknown male - Doctor, three years ago in ... the leftists and the neutralists organized a coalition to fight the ... Would you care to comment on how this coalition has worked out?

APTHEKER - Do you mean in Laos? Comment within the severe limits of my knowledge in terms ...

Unknown male - In terms of your limits (laughter), (then makes indistinct comment).

ATHEKER - Marvelous wit here (laughter). I said this because, I said this because the whole question of Laos seems, to me, to be awful scarce (?). There is, uh, long periods when I read no reports at all. Now, if people here have some principal source that they see I would be very obliged if you would tell me, but the press, generally, has been sparse, as far as I know, and that's true also in the French press which I ve tried to keen up with. Now, apparently the coalition which came into being with the 1962 agreement has largely disintegrated and, also, apparently seems to be renewed fighting, at least in part of Laos, particularly in the northern part. And, myself am dubious as to how serious that fighting is because of the sparse reports, but I think it is true that the 1962 arrangement of a broad coalition government has broken down, or has practically broken down. That is my answer, as far as I know, of this fact.

Unknown male asks indistinct question.

APTHEKER - I agree with you that this is central, or at least very important, the whole problem of developing a fully effective peace effort, because on the basis of consideration which you have very briefly summarized the anti-Communist rationale behind the policy of the government has a high degree of persuasivness, because of this. So, it is a central question (?). I must, however, labor under the difficulty of any question period in which what you raised is the central matter, in my own thinking, and try to extract from that, briefly, within the limit of the questi n period something which will reflect to you what is persuasive to me. that's a very difficult thing, especially in a country which has been so inundated with anti-Communism as this country. Now, just briefly, I think, and I can always be asserted (?) now, I think that the record of the history of diplomacy in international relations, certainly since 1946, demonstrates that the source of the cold war, the source of the arms race, the source of resistance to colonial liberation and the source of the war danger has been overwhelmingly the classical imperalist countries. I think that data in the past twenty years of international history would confirm this and I tried to do it in a book of mine called the AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE COLD WAP. I think that D. F. FLEMING does substantially that, no: doubt much better in two volumes, HOROWITZ does in his recent book, J. P. MORAY (MURPAY?) did in his study of I find that few (?), often not Communists, persuasive, dis-armament. This does not mean that this is one hundred percent so. Nothing is, historically and in human events, but overwhelmingly, I think that the source of the war danger has lain with and lays with the classical capitalist, monopolist, imperialist powers. That's the first area. Secondly, I would say that I thought (phn) it persuasive the very profound desire for peace which exists pretty universally in the Socialist countries and I would say especially in the Soviet Union. Again I can only be asserted (phn), but I think there are good evidences of that and very good reasons for it. Not least, 20 million dead in World War II, but I think it's true. I don't think that is true here, certainly not in the same degree, and certainly not in ruling circles. I think it is true, by and large, in the Socialist world and this helps per-suade me of this feud (phn) in international affairs. I think that I think that very recently the behavior, especially, of the Soviet Union international affairs has been notably moderated, has notably been in the direction of peace, and an extrordinary example of that is the amazing success in the Indian, Pakistan development. helps persuade me of this feud (phn). Specifically in the area of individual freedoms I would say by and large the development hereto (here too?) in the Socialist countries, and notably in the Soviet Union, has been in a relative sense positive. That is the Soviet Union, from the viewpoint of traditional freedoms to us, which of course is historically an anachronistic view for them, but taking that view for us, I would say that the past 20 years, and particularly the past 15, have shown very positive developments in the This is not uniform but it is generally so. I may Soviet Union. add as an interest to anybody that I have lectured (phn) often in

the Soviet Union, been there very often, and that my central point when I am there is criticism of the absence of this to the degree that it is absent and encouragement and an appeal that it be enhanced. I do not think that this is my central task in the United States as an American. I think that here my central task is what I have been trying to do and that is to radicalize, this society, to overcome the concept of Marxism as a criminal conspiracy, to undo the Mc Carran Act and to stop the aggressive foreign policy and particularly the war in Vietnam. Finally, of the two officers, of course jailing of officer, as officers is, to me, abominable. I would add on this that, you compared the United States and the Soviet Union here, this area, that infinitely more worrisome to me is what was done to the two men released by the NLF, SMITH and CORTER (phn) I believe their names are. and their disappearance from the public view of these two men and the fact that they seem to be, if not incarcerated, incommunicado. This is an extraordinary development. And, I do not know, I'm not quite clear as to why there hasn't been an eruption in this country on the basis of this rather unusual course of behavior of the United States Government in terms of incommunicado. These are some of my thoughts. Now, there additional things and that is that overall, for example, I would say that these societies which are Socialist are today infinitely preferable to those societies before they were Socialist, and I think that this is the only way that you can compare. I think that what it means to live in the Soviet Union as compared to what it meant to live in Czarist Russia, what it means to live in Socialist Bulgaria compared to what it meantto live in Bulgaria when it was free under King BORIS (phn). What it means to live in Socialist Rumania as compared to what it was under King RACHEL (phn) which I repeat is the only comparison, of course. What Cuba is today compared to what it was under Batista, I think, the evidence leads me to the conclusion that Socialism is infinitely progressive, infinitely humanistic in terms of the condition of the vast majority. I say the same thing is true in terms of what I saw in the DRV as compared to what they were when they were a French colony, and I think that this is the way to tell the truth (phn). This is the best that I can do within the limits ... this type of a question period.

Unknown male asks indistinct question.

APTHEKER - No, and I'm not after that. Right here, what I've answered here is, as persuasively as possible, to argue that this war in which our government is engaged is awful and atrocious and anti-human and contrary to our national interests, really. That's the first thing. And, second, that, therefore, the American people should become sufficiently aroused to force the change in foreign policy and that this can be accomplished. That's what I want to do, and to the best of my ability here, I want also to say that the anti-Communist obsession is an obsession and that the definition of Communism in the Mc Carran Act, the definition of Communism in our State Department, the working definition which

defines the governments that we approve of and dis-approve of, in the Dominican Republic, in Viet Nam, that this whole Anti-Communism hysteria is false, is hysteric, is insane, is not different from that of Hitler and that this must be overcome also and that one must see Marxism and Communism, not as criminal conspiracies, but as ways of life ... which may be persuasive to infinitely moral, decent and even intelligent people, far and away as the present speaker, but DREISER, DU BOIS, or ARAGON(phn), or O'CASEY or SHAW, or BERNARD, or EATON, or CATUSO(phn) that, and that our country doesn't see that, doesn't operate on this, it operates on the old, hysterical, anti-Communist basis which destroyed, ruined Germany. It ruined Japan, ruined Italy and if persisted in will ruin this country. That's my main message. (Applause)

MODERATOR - I think that we ran a little bit over our time and we won't be able to take any more questions now. The next speaker happens to be -

APTHEKER (interrupts) May I just have the opportunity of thanking you all very much. (Applause)

MODERATOR: Next there will be a discussion with DR APTHEKER, MR LEW JONES of the Young Socialist Alliance, and PROFESSOR RAPOPORT -

UNID FEMALE: .......... may be exactly whatI'll do. Join in a discussion with PROFESSOR RAPCPORT and MR JONES with respect to the Anti-War Movement in the United States. Ah, ANATOLE RAPOPORT, I'm sure is known to you all. He is a research in Conflict(ph) revolution(ph), a Father of the original Teach-In Movement, and a leader in the Peace Movement. Ah, LEW JONES is a National Committeeman of the Young Socialist Alliance and is currently on tour of the Anti-War Committees across the country, speaking on the question, "Whether or not the Anti-War Movement should call for negotiations or withdrawal". And there will be approximately twenty minutes interpretations; first by LEW JONES and by PROFESSOR RAPOPORT and then the floor will again be open to questions, also MR APTHEKER.

LEW JONES: Thank you LINDA. As you can see the tensecand amiable ways that she is wise is against me but I don't think that will get in our way and I think that we can have a personal discussion and the generational barrier won't get in our way. I want to start out by saying I had him put on the record, I know that DR APTHEKER has spent a great deal of time in his speech talking about the charge of KING and DR WEBB, and ah some uncertain connotations(ph) from FBI? The charges that they are traitors. I think that we should all go on record tonight, against that, and reaffirm that we do not think that they are traitors in their ways on a basis of their democratic rights such as anybody else does. Andthey have every right to say what they think about the war irregardless of their political views, Okay, Now tonight, our discussion is around the debate the Anti-War Movement(ph), that has been going on; around the slogan. But, I enjoyed DR APTHEKER's remarks about the sonstant hypocrisy in his presentation of the aims of the war.

And just recently there has been a few more, in just seeing the peace offensive come to a grinding halt. To be followed now, by the Great Society in Viet Nam, that he(LBJ) tried to set up in Honolulu. And that is, MR JOHNSON is now going to rebuild hospitals, brebuild villages and have social reforms all overthe place in South Viet Nam. Now of course any will get the same highly paid bureaucracy in South Viet Nam that we have in the United States implementing the Great Society. The bureaucracy or a program that does very little to solve the problems that face people in the United States and in South Viet Nam; it more or less serves as a safety valve to stop the unrest. Will these people get the same thing in Viet Nam from the Great Society there? I think so. I think it is a nice bouquet that JOHNSON has made up, to cover up what he is doing in Viet Nam. And that of course is where the real contradiction comes in. Because how do you build and rebuild a country with the same target bombing and napalming it off the face of the globe? It is qute a contradiction and I don't think that JOHNSON is going to be able to get around it. The Great Society in Viet Nam is a gimmick and very little element(ph). The gimmick is to get support in this country, a gimmick to get support in Southeast Asia, and a gimmick to get support throughout the world. The real reality faces every youth in this country, in this room, and in this country particularly if he is a male youth; is the reality of a continuing war, an escalating war. They are now calling the war in South Viet Nam; that is is going to be a war in proportion to the Korean War. With the problem of war eventually with North Viet Nam and a likely war with China and a very definite possibility of World War III, is being proposed. If the front stays along this line, we are discussing as a base. That is the reality that faces us. It is the reality of our time. And what it means to everyone of us here is the future draft, war and possible death. Well that reality, I think, gives a sense of importance to what we are discussing tonight. And that is; we are discussing in essence the future of the anti-war movement, and it is that sector in society that is opposed to war in Viet Nam and wants to see it brought to a halt. We are discussing that it is basic to that anti-war movement and debate over where that anti-war movement wants to go. What should the anti-war movement do? What should it become? What slogan should it adopt, to revolve attethis work .... around. Should it adopt a slogan for negotiated settlement in Viet Nam or should it it adopt a slogan of immediate withdrawal of foreign troops; ah, U. S. troops. Alright, now this is the base in the antiwar movement that has been going on for some time; as a matter of fact it has gone on throughout the continuous, the whole existence of the anti-war movement. What do Isay when I say 'Anti-War Movement'? I'm referring to whats popped up since last April at the SDS March on Washington, where you had all over the country independent antiwar committees popping up. There is over 300 of them now, and that is what I refer to as the anti-war movement. Well this is the base in this anti-war movement, ever since it started. PROFESSOR STAUGHTON LYND, was the one who began it, I believe, when he wrote about the destructiveness of coalition politics in the role of the Democratic Party, in Liberation Magazine along about the time of the April march on Washington.

And ever since then this debate has been going on in the anti-war momement and it has been going on hard and on a very high political level. Its gone through several subjects; it has gone through coalitionism in politics versus Independent Political Action. It has gone through exclusionary membership policy versus non-exclusionary membership policy, but now it evolves around the slogan, around the idea. What is the central slogan for the movement? Well, I think, in our discussion tonight we should put out right now, that these two slogans, whenyou discuss them, you of necessity have to discuss the perspective of the Movement. Recause, how can you discuss a slogan, that your going to evolve activity around without talking about where that activity is going to go. What is it going to do and what it is going to make the movement become. Well, let me throw out right now what I think is possible pall that you can go through when a movement is moving, that is, where can it possibly go? What possible prospectus does it have in front of it? I think there is two possible prospectus what will pull it out; one, of course, is working within the power structure, working within apparatus, working within the Democratic Party to change the foreign policy, to try to somehow maneuver within that power structure to force the war to a halt. The opposite to that, of course, is working without the Democratic Party without the Administration, without the power structure. Its that choice that the movement has made up until this time. Up until this time it has worked without the power structure. It has been purely an oppositional movement, that is, it says, stop this war, we want to replace it, we don't want to change it or do anything about it. You want to stop it and replace the foreign policy that is behind it. A rotten foreign policy that stems from trying to maintain American interests throughout the world and we are against it and we want to see it replaced. It stands repulsive there and wants to replace it. Well, that is the movements choice. I can tell you right now, I suppose many of you could tell me what JOHNSON's choice would be on these two polar perspectus. And that is, JCHNSON undoubtedly would like to see the anti-war movement within the range of his own party, the Democratic Party, and he, of course, has a very good reason for that, I think, and that is, the Democratic Party's long long history of crushing, tainting protest movements that went into its ranks. And he can start, he can go way back in the Democratic Party and follow this through. He can start with Reconstruction. The Democratic Party was used as the agent for crushing Reconstruction in The South. The PATHOS(ph) party made the big joint Democratic Party and we haven't heard so much from them since. And there is many many other examples of this, and that is why JCHNSCN would like to see the anti-war movement within the ranks of his own party. Well, my proposition is that the slogan, bring the troops home now; that is withdraw the troops is the only slogan that can really be in character with the movement that has been upset since now, it is the only slogan that can rebuild the movement and its the only slogan that can really end the war. Or, opposed to that is a slogan negotiation. It changes the character of the movement, it won't really build the movement and it brings the movement into the orbit, the general brbit of the Democratic Party which it could be brought into, to contain.

Okay, lets go on now, and examine what I've just said and see if its really the case. I want to start from a principlepoint of view, fro a democratic point of view, a democratic principle. And the democratic principle I start with is a very simple one. It is the ABC's of democratic principles. The right of nations to self-deter -mination. I think that most os us in this room tonight are for freedoms of democracy, democratic rights in general. Moreover, we are for total democracy, and as such, we support democratic rights. And one of those basic rights, ABC is a democratic right, the right of nations to self-determination. It is a right which the American Revolution recognized in 1776 and it is a right that the American Revolution forced old King George to recognize, as well. Our country was founded on the principle of the right of nations to self-deter -mination. Well, I don't think that we people in the advanced countries; such as the United States, or Western Europe or others can have any tolerance whatsoever. The idea that we have some right to tell, advise, coerce, influence countries in the colonial world, on what they should do. We can in no way think that we have any right to tell them what to do, because to think otherwise we would be right back to the old 19th century slogan, or theory, of the white man's burden. We have to respect the rights and ability of the people in the colonial countries, to do as they wish. For what does this concept self-determination mean, in Viet Nam? It means simply that we believe that the Vietnamese people have the exclusive right to decide what to do with their country; and what it should become and how it should become that. And they have that right totally free from outside intervention, influence, or coercion(ph); that is, we defend their democratic rights, just as we defend our own. But much spirit ceases(ph), the slogan, negotiations in any form flies right in the face of this right of self-determination because they are calling for negotiations to, in some way or another, recognize the right of the United Nations, United States, excuse me, to determine the future of Viet Nam. In one way or another your recognizing that the United States has some right, some interest in determining the future of Viet Nam. Well, in the course of my tour, several people brought up to me, that they support negotiations in order to implement the Geneva Agreement, which supposedly guaranteed self-determination, and they say that is why they support negotiations. Well, I think, contradiction is obvious. How Americans can megotiate something which supposedly guarantees self-determination and that is. And when they meet in the middle, how do you negotiate self-determinations? Self-determination is a black and white issue; you can't take away part of it and still have self-determination. You can't take away a part and still have the whole. Well, you may say its not whole, but the Geneva Agreement supposedly guarantees self-determination. Well, its not really the case. Lets take a look and find out. I think the Geneva Agreements do have several good provisions and DR APTHEKER named several of them. Such as, no strong military bases in Viet Nam, unification of the country; those are all good in the sense that they conform to the situation in Viet Nam, conform to the wishes of the Vietnamese people, and the United States has violated every single one of them.

And its the anti-war's duty to make sure, to try to make the United States abide by those accords. But, I don't think, on the other hand, that you can construe the Geneva accords, as a guarantee of selfdetermination. And let me explain it this way. At the Geneva Conference, where the Geneva accords were agreed apon; you had two representatives from Viet Nam, and then, representatives from Britain, France, China, Soviet Union, and the United States. They all attended that conference and they all signed it, with the exception of the United States, but the United States agreed to it. That is what happened; the decisions prescribing the fate of the Vietnamese people; were made by all these powers. That is, they all chipped in and decided the future of Viet Nam. Well, that is not quite self-deter -mination, not quite. As a matter of fact, its almost as cynical a thing as what happened at Potsdam, Yalta, and Teheran after World War II; when TRUMAN, and/or RCOSEVELT, CHURCHILL, and STALIN sat around a table and calmly divided up the world, behind the worlds back. That concept of a conference to guarantee self-determination is entirely in contradiction of the rights of self-determination. Well to go further, the Geneva accords provides for elections to unite the country under International supervision and that, I've been told, is guaranteed self-determination. Well, thats not quite self-determin -ation either. That is the kind of self-determination PRESIDENT JOHNSON would like, because it guarantees him, his interest. You see, the United States is very powerful and it doesn't have, wouldn't have too much trouble using almost any international body in the world to pursue its own interests. But, to call for international elections in Viet Nam, would be like some drips calling for internation elections, eh, elections under international control in the United States. Now, I know good old PRESIDENT JOHNSON would be a little upset by people calling for such elections in this country, and I know a lot of other people who would be too, and I think the Vietnamese people have every right to be upset, about people calling for such elections in their own country. There is a little something else to that, embarrassing, doesn't that sound like the Vietnamese people aren't capable of running their own elections. Somebody has to come in and supervise them. It gets very close, to what I would call 'showmanism'(ph), which makes it very uncomfortable to the whole thing. Well, nothing could be farther from the idea of self-determination than this idea of implementing the Geneva accord; having negotiations around that. The only way we can guarantee self-determination, I think, is just simply get the troops out and let the Vietnamese people decide for themselves, what they want to do. Well, I see that my time is running a little short here. What I want to do now is to switch to another point, on this whole argument and that is, the debate on the whole anti-war movement. The answer is actually very simple, when you look at it, and that is, look at it from this point of view. The American people as a whole have absolutely no material interest in this war in Viet Nam, absolutely none, and just think about it for a minute. Think of it in terms of the sections of the American population. Start with the negro people, can you think of any possible material interest they have in this war? I can't think of any.

What about the white working class, do they have any interest? No. What about the students? No. Now you can go through the whole population and find that they don't have any material interest in this war, except for a very small minority, and by the way, that minority nobody talks about giving minority rights to, because they already have them. And that is the minority that happens to own most of this country. The minority to make the profit on bombs, bullets, helicopters in stopping colonial revolution. So it is from that point of view, you see. Well let me say something else. You see the slogan negotiate in some way recognizes that national interest, recognizes an interest in Viet Nam for the American people, or for some sections of the American population. It is implicit within the slogan negotiate, that your negotiating about American interests. And see, so from that point of view, you have to say that the slogan negotiate, has to be brought in from without and imposed upon movements of the American people and has to be imposed upon them and against their very own interests. And for that reason, amongst others, that I'm opposed to the slogan negotiate. I think the slogan is useless to the anti-war movement, the slogan negotiate. It disregards the self-determination of the Vietnamese people and imposes the material interests on the movement, which it does not have and in the course of doing this it draws the movement closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the power structure, draws into that general orbit and by doing that it lays the basis for the (garbled) of the movement. I think the slogan was wrong, on the other hand to reaffirm the character of the movement and by doing that, it places itself in solidarity with what is going on in the rest of the world, very clearly. You see that section of the world has said goodbye to the United States, has said goodbye to United States domination, has declared its independence and is going to fight for and settle for nothing less. That is, those countries in Latin America, and Africa, and Southeast Asia. The people in Santo Domingo made that decision. They said, no more for the United States, we're going for independence and we're settling for nothing less. The people in Viet Nam are obviously makeing the same decision, they wnat their independence and they want nothing less. I think it is time for the Anti-War Movement to do the same. Declare itself in solidarity with thosestruggles, to reaffirm the character and identify those people throughout the world. Declare its independence, recognize the enemy, in Washington, in the Democratic Party. Take aim and begin the process that can really end this war. That is, rally around the slogan, bring the troops home, build the movement and bring this war in Viet Nam to a halt, once and for all. Thank you. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: And now PROFESSOR ANATOLE RAPOPORT. (applause)

RAPOPORT: With regard to the alternative which I consider to be, the, in the best interest of the United States. I find that I have nothing to add to what MR APTHEKER or MR JONES, have said. I am in complete agreement with them and If I were to talk on this subject, it would be highly redundant. There are a few points, however, which I would like to take up which may not have been mentioned or possibly certain points of disagreement. I don't share the implicit optimism -

expressed by MR APTHEKER nor that expressed by MR JONES. I do not believe that, at the present time, there is yet enough of a force in the United Stattes to effect a real reversal of foreign policy. Let us make some calculations. It is said that about 30% of the adults in this country, 'Oppose The War in Viet Nam'. You understand that this 30% involves people in the widest section of opinion. That means about 38 million adults. Cut of these, I would venture to say, not more than 10% certainly are activists, in the sense that they would be willing to do something about the war in Viet Nam; lets say 3 million. Can we then say that we have a peace movement of 3 million persons in this country? We do not have such a peace movement. Because if we had such a peace movement, in a sense of a participant movement such as a re-discipline(ph) of evolution in political party proceedings. It would be possible to take lets say one-third of these three million people, lets say one million people and put them all into Washington at one time. That is what creates a world concession, you would not have any idea what it means to have one million people in a city. The great civil rights demonstration of August 1963 encompassed some hundred thousand people, and that was tremendous manifestation. A million people in Washington would attract world-wide attention and if they all sat down and refused to be moved (laughter), as I've seen some of you youngsters do; then it would really be a revolutionary situation. We do not have such a situation in the United States. The people who are opposed to the war in Viet Nam have a wide range of opinions and only a very small minority sees this situation, as MR APTHEKER, MR JCNES, and I see it. Namely, that there is only one alternative to try, and that is, the crime must stop and the criminal must be punished. Now there is nobody to punish the United States short of the uprooting(ph) of the world. This is an unfeasible solution. So what do you mean for the United States to shift its policy? It would mean, it would mean a recognition that the policy is wrong. It would not be enough to withdraw the troops from Viet Nam. I say, I would go much farther. I insist that not only must the troops be withdrawn from Viet Nam, but the policy must be denounced and not only for moral reasons, but for political reasons. Because, that the only original contribution to international politics that was ever made by this country, and it was a very great one, although a problem, was the destruction of the old CLAUSEWITZ(ph) world. What do I mean by the CLAUSEWITZ(ph) world? It was a classical world of great powers by the great powers, in conflict of certain rules, naives(ph), and certain realizations of what the realities of international politics and war relaxed(ph). This is what CLAUSEWITZ(ph)(KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ?) maintained. The reality, presence of realities in international situations according to CLAUSEWITZ was that you pushed for as much as you could get, but you are always aware of what the other party can do to you. You never overstep your bounds. You never played for keeps. Limited war is the idea of the CLAUSEWITZIAN(ph) policy. Now this was very much the character of the world from about 1648 to 1940. The world from the 18th century on was largely dominated by the European powers, 19th century especially, and those powers vied with each other for positon of influence power and so on and they did not like to go to war if they felt that they could get away with it. This was the CLAUSEWITZIAN (ph)

The entry of the United States into World War I was a challenge to the CLAUSEWITZIAN system. Most important points, was in fact, a of the old CLAUSEWITZIAN system. Now you know that misfired. The old European powers were stronger than WILSON and he himself was much of a lunkhead(ph). So actually it wasn't ideal. This idea again in RCOSEVELT's time. When we entered World War comes up for a II, not from the view of another power vying for the position of power, but from the view of destroying a focus of world making potential in the world which was aimed at this country. So this was the one big contribution. Athough it was never realized. But it was a potential contribution that American international politics, of little thinking, made for this world. And it is precisely this contribution, which is now being the game(ph). They try to just write books about American national policy and how to conduct the cold war, war, nuclear wars; and how many is it, 49 varieties that MR KANN(ph) wrote about. These are all attempts to bring back the CLAUSEWITZIAN way of thinking; to make war respectable again. This is their aim. So that in order to put an end to it, it is not enough to simply withdraw troops from Viet Nam, an explicit addition must be made; that the United States disavow this kind of world. We canmnot expect this of the present or any foreseeable future government of the United States. The people who get in power, who get elected to the Presidency, who get to be Cabinet Ministers, get to be Senators; most of them do not think in these terms. Not necessarily because they are evil men, I don't judge men individually good or evil just because they have not had experience, which would make them think in other terms. They simply don't know. They haven't lived the way 9/10's of the world population lives and they think in terms of sticking pins in the map and thinking about national interests in terms of drawing lines on maps; lines around the 'Communist land masses'(ph) with the idea that when you draw these lines and then translate these lines to hardware(ph) they are ready to present new social ideas for cleaning up in the world and from revolutionist attacks. And this is the way they think, and they are not going to change their way of thinking, unless something very drastic happems to them. And you know what it means when something very drastic happens to them, and it will happen to us too. I'm sorry if I'm giving you a very pessimistic picture, but this is the way I see it. Is then, there is no hope, at all? Yes, there is some hope, although I would venture to say that it is a very slim one. Maybe if things continue to pester this way, eventually and gradually public resentment will raise such a pitch that the politicians will find it expedient to do something else. And when they do something else, its another thing to be drastic in their confessions, and promises to reform; and now we are going to live in a new world, its not going to be that. It is going to be rationalized entirely different. Now how do we accomplish that? Because, I believe that people It is not accomplished by slogan, and I think it is idle to argue what should be the slogan of the peace movement. We haven't got a peace movement. (applause) And it will not be unified with that slogan. Now, does that mean I'm against slogans! No. I'm not against slogans. I'm all for slogans. I'll give you another example. I'm sometimes asked whether I advocate unilaterial disarmament.

Well, to bein with I don't advocate it because I think unilaterial disarmament is only half as good as bilaterial disarmament.(laugher) And incidentally, bilaterial and multilaterial disarmament are easier to achieve than unilaterial disarmament. So being easier to achieve and better, why should I advocate unilaterial disarmament. I don't. Does that mena that I'm against those that advocate unilaterial disarmament? No, I'm not. I say I do not advocate unilaterial disarmament but I do advocate the advocates using unilaterial disarmament. You follow? Is it as different as certainly you know it by name. Well, its thinking was this. I know the slogans, whether to get out of Viet Nam or whether to negotiate or as a matter of support, I even would support GENERAL GAVIN, even him, I will support. I will support anybody who maintains that the present policy is wrong and something else has to be done. Because, whatever is done, is going to be better than what is going on right now. (applause) So, therefore what would I like to see? I would like to see. What would I like to see? (audience laughs) I would like to see a complete defeat of the present United States foreign policy (applause) and a complete reversal. I would like to see somebody get up and make the kind of speech that NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV once made about STALIN. Something of that sort. (Garbled, laughter by audience) But it won't happen in this country, we don't have these kinds of traditions; you see. We never had a PEYEVSKY(ph), we never had the Moscow Trials, we never have any of these things that the Russians pride themselves so much of. (laughter) The sudden reversal of policies and all of a sudden everything that was good is bad and everything that was bad is good. We don't have these kinds of techniques, we can't do it. So, it will not happen. Face saving operation may happen, this may be. For example, in Korea, face was saved, China, and it did not develop into the 3rd World War and I remember that very well, as many of you in this room don't, but I do. And many of us thought that this was it. This was the end. Well, we got a reprieve. Maybe we'll get another reprieve, if we get another reprieve we can continue working at it. So, therefore, I say in answer to the question, "Whether we should work within the Democratic Party or outside the Democratic Party? These are idle questions. They should not be debated here. Everybody should work where he fits to this work. If you want to organize a party of your own, go ahead. If you want to demonstrate, go ahead. If you want to write letters, go ahead. And if you want to join the Democratic Party and work from within, go ahead. Thats good too. (applause) There are lots of ways of doing it and what would be a booster, is not to belittle somebodys method because no matter what, if it changes United States policy away from the collision course, on which it is now set, this is for the best, for all of us. (Applause) The only other big thing, can we hope eventually to get you. Thanks. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: (Indistinct)

HERBERT APTHEKER: The two gentlemen who are speaking have very kindly invited me to say something. I want to say that PROFESSOR RAPOPORT labors under a misapprehension if he thinks that my views on this question(microphone interference) of MR JONES. They are infinitely closer to those professed by PROFESSOR RAPOPORT. I do not know how good that is for PROFESSOR RAPOPORT. (laughter) And I really hesitated to make that news public, but it is so. And when he began by saying that he disagreed with me in terms of optimism, does not seem enough now to change United States foreign policy. I don't either. I saw not now, I'm simply excited with joy. We're not far from love(all ph), when I think that we've made considerable advances and I have an optimistic approach perhaps, that is more so than his. I would like to spend a few minutes on the question, in terms of negotiation. Just say it quickly and sit down. negotiation may be non-negotiating, maybe The slogan of It may have intent as I think it often has had from Washington, to prevent the settlement of the war, to cover up escalation, and the makings of a war. But it may not. Negotiations happen in all wars. Every war is settled by negotiations. Including even the war which we said would not settle with anything but unconditional surrender. Even unconditional surrender has to be negotiated. And we negotiated with Germany and we negotiated with Japan. In both cases it was something else but unconditional incidentally after we got through negotiating. But in any case for once we didn't(ph) get it negotiated, unless you pursue a genocidal policy and in fact nobody would hope to get together anyway. But at some point it was over with, and the war ends, and when it does, it ended through negotiations. The DRV opposes surrender, it does not oppose negotiations. The NFL opposes surrender, it does not oppose negotiations. It has never said it opposes negotiations on the terms of JOHNSON, and I think in this, is right. Not only has it said that it does not oppose negotiations, it has a firm principle for such negotiations; the DRV in four points and the NFL in five(points). On the basis of which negotiations is to proceed. Now the quality(ph) of the peace movement has a bland and says no to negotiations, it may, and I think will, itself end up allied with the right. Because the certainly says no megotiations, Saigon says no negotiations, KY says no negotiations. So, I don't think that necessarily no negotiations is a simon pure revolutionary slogan. At any rate MARSHAL KY is a(n) (e)strange(d)(ph) revolutionary. That is his slogan. It is not mine. I think it is wrong. The DRV wants the broadest nature, by the way, of opposition to warin the United States, in regards to those people possibly to participate and the NFL has all sorts of slogans. You know the demonstrations and so on, in Saigon, the NFL is part of those demonstrations and they raise all sorts of slogans in Saigon, thats right. Thats our social security and everything else. They don't want MARSHAL KY, they want MARSHAL somebody else, whoever, he is. All kinds of opposition, those are NFL slogans. And furthermore, of course, they did negotiate at Geneva,; Geneva was negotiated. But we have been told here that self-determination is a sign of principles(ph) established in our revolution. Well we negotiated the end of our revolution. We negotiated a very long time with Great Britain and we signed the treaty of Paris.

(APTHEKER) And we got self-determination through a negotiated settlement, and there were certain terms, and the British remained a long time in our forts, they held all the forts in New York and Charleston(ph) and they remained there a long time, by agreement \_\_, and that is why retained the posts in the Northwest and the then Northwest and it took years of negotiations before we got them to leave. There were all sorts of negotiations. How much they would pay indemnity for the slaves that they took with them, and so on and so forth. So we negotiated, in a war, in which as we have been talking, MR JONES affirmed self-determination. Irrepeat, the DRV wishes to negotiate, so does the NFL. We are told that Geneva does not guarantee self-determination, but the DRV and the NFL thinks that it does. I suggest that we not be to the left (ph) as these folks(ph). (laughter). They say that Geneva guarantees their right to independence and integrity and unity and that this is the right of self-determination, and that that right was recognized by the negotiating parties, and of course self-determination has to be recognized. A new nation has to appear in community relations and that must be negotiated. So they negotiated there and that is what the DRV and the NFL want. They want back to Geneva, the agreement of Geneva. They do not see this as a cynical(ph) reform(ph). Now we are told that there must be opposition to international supervision of elections, and that this is what PRESIDENT JOHNSONwants, not at all. It depends on who is the supervisor. In Geneva was provided elections in 1956 and that was signed by the DRV and HC CHI MINGH and that government wanted and fought for it. Internationally supervised elections under the Geneva agreement and it was signed down in Washington, that said no, it is not true, that Washington wants that kind of elections. They didn't want them in '56, but that is why it wasn't down, and they don't want it now. But the DRV did want it in '56 and they want it now, and they are calling for it now. So I find myself very considerably in disagreement and not in agreement. This thing has to be negotiated, we must end this war, we must not be in the bind because of negotiations. We must have a responsible peace movement that we can gettin many of our slogans and statements, and so on, We'll be much broader, much wider, much looser, much more flexible; than the DRV and the NFL, and they know that. And they say god-speed to you. Any kind of an opposition as PROFESSOR RAPOPORT mentioned is beneficial, is good and any kind to any limit depending upon the class consciousness, opinion of the person, these ought to be welcomed. And the achievement of the end of this war, is a process, a process, a practical process and they might have won. Thank you. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: Asks if there are any questions?

UNID MALE: (in background asks question, which is indistinct).

LINDA BELISIE: (Indistinct in the background)

RAPOPORT: Although co-education(ph) is such, some \_ in particular of my professional interests. I simply don't picture this kind of experience in terms of information input(ph). It isn'tthat one reads certain things or has knowledge of some facts that determines the kind of experience, that I alluded to. It has to do with the structure of our full life. Very few people in the United States have had the kind of experiences that motivate people in poor countries to stake their lives on a revolutionary movement (ph). It isn't a matter of knowing the facts, it is a matter of having gone through certain things, and that has the spirits, in a way, we often count it as a blessing. But it has \_\_\_\_\_\_, it may be \_\_\_\_\_. Now in regards to your question, do I conceive of them changing. I don't think that people in their middle age change. I do believe that it is quite change policies but in order possible that they might for the United States to become a different kind of an influence in world affairs. I believe that the generation has to die off. I don't think they can change any of that map, so as to initiate a real change in the kind of a country we are. Not only do the experiences of the individuals have to be different, but the kind of people who rase to the position of power; it has to be a different kind of personality. We could use(ph) everyone of them today. The same kind of people would appeal to this day. See in times gone by, there were revolutions and entirely different people would come to power. The kind of revolutions they had in Rusia say, or China, or Algeria. Different kind of people with different experiences, different ways of thinking; came to power. I do not think that sucha revolution will occur in the United States, shortly, of a world catastrophe and then of course these questions will become highly academic. That is why I'm indefinite(ph). I believe that the country suffers under a tremendous hanging(ph) of not having had certain experiences and since the experiences we have had as such, that we believe that the entire world should aspire to them and you the \_\_\_\_\_. It is extremely difficult for us even to put will ourselves in place of people who are having entirely different experiences. Thats what makes it such an experience, at least in short. What happened in recent times, I don't know. Therefore, our present task is to somehow hold it and prevent for catastrophies from happening. Put as much pressure as we can for changes of policies, but you will not be able to very soon the change the character of this country. (applause)

UNID FEMALE directs question to APTHEKER or JONES and says it takes two sides of the same coin because our questions \_\_\_\_\_\_, it seems from different points of view. I'm torn when I hear MR JONES speak of a slogan - withdraw the troops now because I ve seen what slogans can do as a divisive force. Because they are hard and they are not flexible and they don't allow people with a wide range to come under the of such a slogan. But at the same time, I'm alienated by what MR APTHEKER says because I view myself as a radical in the position

of a very small radical movement in this country to be taking the heart of mine possible because you'll have to set an example(ph). There will be enough people to fill in the middle. There will be plenty of people that say negotiate, there will be plenty of people that will say take it to the UN. There won't be plenty of people to say, get the troops out now, you have no legal basis to be there, get out. And the possible and the plausible are often not the position that the radical should take. But at the same time, I saw what happened at Washington with sloganism and the way people were at each others throats who should have been embracing each other and that is why I am torn and I'd like perhaps everybody on the panel to comment about that dilemma.

#### LINDA BELISLE is indistinct

LEW JONES: Okay, I can understand the dilemma, as you say. I think first of all, that I may have been misunderstood by the members of the panel. I am for a very broad peace movement and there is something in many different slogans. But I address my remarks to that sector of the Peace Movement as the Anti-War Movement, that sector of the movement that is having a debate right now over what its future should be. And my experiences have been, from going around the country: in Washington, D. C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley, has been that people tend toward the slogan, bring the troops home. Now, I agree with DR RAPOPORT, that our movement is small and with this, I might even think that it is smaller than was estimated. I think that we have nothing but optimism for the future; in building, in the building of the movement. Because there is forces in operation right now, that is going to radicalize a lot of people. Now (JAMES?) RESTON today in his column (NEW YORK TIMES?) said that there is going to be 400 thousand troops in Viet Nam by the end of the year. That means, that war is going to get big, going to get brutal, and there is going to be a lot of Americans killed over there. The soldiers, I don't think are going to put up with a situation like that, for long. In addition, you have tax increases, we have inflation in this country and all these things operate on people. Tending to make them radicalized, tends to make them think about the war, tend to make them opposed to the war. And I think under those circumstances, the slogan, bring the troops home, will bring more people around to it, than the slogan, negotiate. But I may disagree with you, that the slogan, bring the troops home; there is not going to be many people calling for it. Because the slogan, bring the troops home; when you adopted it, it settled problems immediately. You no longer had increased taxes, to pay for the war, because you had no more war. The troops are brought home, right. The rational for inflation is taking over and you no longer have a drain of getting men to Viet Nam, they are all brought home. I think we can look forward with optimism to bringing a lot of people around the slogan, bring the troops home. So that is my answer to your dilemma.

RAPOPORT: You might not have been able to grasp what I said before. By all means do what you must. And my only advice to you is, that you not do it alone, MRS \_\_\_\_\_\_, this is the least effective way of protesting. Have some kind of an organized program, first. And second, you said it very well, people should be embracing each other instead they were at each others throats. See to it that you do not in your effort belittle the others \_\_\_\_\_\_. But by all means, do it. Because in order to do the pragmatic and the politically expedient thing, I think one of the best sports(ph) is the fun of ever loving.

APTHEKER: I'm afraid, PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, I agree again. (Laughter) I do want to say that the source of my optimism is not that of MR JONES. MR JONES is optimistic because he is sure that things are going to get much worse. He is optimistic because he is sure there will be 400 thousand troops, he is optimistic because if there are 400 thousand troops, there will be a lot more people killed. Going to have higher taxes. That is not what I'm talking about in optimism. That is not my road and I advocate that I want in terms of radicalization. No, you fight not only against the 200 thousand, you fight to get them all home. Now, on the specific dilemma, that you raised. I think a very real one. I said already I agreed with PROF RAPOPORT. I perhaps would add, this, ah, there is not necessarily a contradiction. For example, I velieve that the struggle against JIM CROW is one of the central elements in the struggle for social= ism. That is my opinion. Somebody else may not think so, and I may be wrong and it won't be the first time. Alright, suppose I'm wrong but will you struggle with me against JIM CROW? And you think that that struggle will not lead to Socialism. You may not even want Socialism. Okay, prove me wrong, please; but we will fight together against Socialism, against JIM CROWISM. (laughter) We will fight together against Jim Crow and then we will see if it leads to socialism. And we wilh fight for a more effective trade union, because I think that that is part of the way toward socialism; you don't believe(all ph). Lets nevertheless add a more effective class conscious note, and so on and so forth. I think the same thing is true with the peace movement. I believe the struggle for peace is an anti, inferring the struggle. I think the struggle itself, is a profound radical one, the most radical one that exists in the United States, which is the heart of Imperialism. And, therefore, I want to broaden it, with the kind of involvement, on any level inthat struggle and I myself have my own method. I myself see it from a long time period of time through Marxism time, and so on. And PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, I think, is altogether correct that this component to the left, is a very important thing in the whole coalition. Alright, but let it be a coalition. And let the tactic be broad. That doesn't mean that you hide what you say. You hide it, its not in coalition, but that you are fraternal and you are considerate and you do finally come to a vote and decide, and I would think, what exactly what you want. Okay, let us contribute to the peace movement, if you have a right to speak and if you are true of persuasion, so they'll come around to what you want.

APTHEKER: So, I don't, the point I'm making, that I think there is a relief in the dilemma, if its used, so to speak, emotionally and psychologically, in your own temperment in those terms. Don't hide, of course, how you feel. But at the same time insist upon cooperation with others and don't feel that way. You may be right, maybe partially right. But as you said, embrace with them on what they can agree upon. I know I've spoken long. I just want to make one more little point of a historic nature. I mentioned the antislavery movement and the divisions and how that hurt and so on and that nobody but historians remember the reasons, well that is true, but think further. One of the bitterest things was that there should not be Sunday ma-il or should there be Sunday mail. One element in the anti-slavery movement says there should be Sunday mail, mail delivery. One said there should not be. Why? Why is there not delivery on Sunday? Its because of religion. How can you have separation of church and state, really, if the state doesn't deliver the mail on Sunday. (laughter) If there must be one day they don't deliver mail let it be Monday. (laughter) Not the christian holiday of Sunday. Now this is funny, but I'm telling you people, we're tearing each other apart. Sunday mail or no Sunday mail, that is a fact. Alright we're distant and the solution of this question, in terms (ph), and so on and so on. We can't be prospectiwe(ph), but, perhaps, perhaps we can learn a little in this way, maybe not the deepest kind of experience but my profession in history, and I'd like to think that it is useful. So, I'm just telling you that, that happened. And can't we learn from that, in terms of differences in the peace movement. That I think, a hundred years from now, if we all survive and if we do, presumably we will have had a peace movement; will look a little sillyto us. Like Sunday mail. Can we get that temperment? Can we make ourselves have that temperment, in the service of peace? I think we have to. I'm not urging that we should do so and embrace. (applause)

#### LINDA BELISLE: Indistinct

LEW JONES: I just want to clear up another misunderstanding, which I hope was not intentional. That is, I did not say that things were bad and therefore were going to get worse and therefore we should be optimistic. I simply said, that there are conditions in front of us over which we have no control, so lets see what they are going to look like and then from there what do we advocate to get people around it; in the circumstances. What in those circumstances should be the best thing for us to do? And as I think, I think we can advocate a thing that should pull them because that would be these same little appeals to people. So what, on the basis of pessimism, things are getting worse and therefore we are going to get better. I think, that it stems from the fact that people are going to rise up against this war, they are not going to like it, they are going to join in this movement to end the war. And sooner or later we'll have that movement so large that we'll get those 400 thousand troops home or those 200 thousand trops, whatever number it is, and we'll end this war once and for all and bring true justice to the Vietnamese people.

UNID MALE directs question which is indistinct on China and MAO TSE TUNG to APTHEKER

APTHEKER: No. I think what has been stated and what has been interpreted here are two different things. If one reads his works (MAO TSE TUNG?) one will not find quite what you have indicated. I know no evidence, nothing nearly comparable to the overwhelming evidence in terms of the United States; relative to China and Viet Nam. None. And I do know that the DRV is very jealous of its independence. Very jealous of its independence. And so is the NFL and each is independent to a great degree of each other. and the DRV is not about to permit itself to become subordinate to China or the Soviet Union, or to the United States. I know of no evidence that China and the Soviet Union seeks subordination but I see overwhelming evidence that the United States does. (Unid male in background is indistinct) Well, I'm just telling you what I see, that is my opinion and I'm giving it to you. Now, I think. I think that since you also have my opinion, I think that there is a left interim(ph) on the Central Committee or at best a majority of the Communist Party of China, I think it is the classical kind of leftism that LENIN analyizes (ph) and I think that this can lead to a kind of adventureism which isn't in any way comparable to Imperialism; but it can lead to a kind of adventureism and there is some evidence from the mouths , for example of FIDEL CASTRO and less persuasive evidence in terms of Indonesia, although pretty good evidence. That such disasterous leftist adventureists courses seem to have been attacked(ph) and I would in no way acquaint this with Imperialism, myself.

UNID FEMALE in background talks very fast and is hard to understand

LINDA BELISLE asks UF if she has a question to which UF continues in her fast manner.

UNID MALE then directs aquestion to APTHEKER, which is indistinct

APTHEKER: Having ideals and being idealistic is not quite the same thing, in the first place. In the second place, I emphasized, I thought I emphasized the material interests. For instance I said that without independence, one of the things that struck me most there, was the experiences I didn't understand. I think I understand now, is the real meaning of independence and its not just an ideal. And what I emphasized in my talk was that without independence those people have learned that there is no existence. And when they didn't have independence, as over the French, they didn't exist. And I gave you the example of one year in which two million starved to death. There are over 30 million people altogether. So that when they are fighting for independence, I didn't mean to convey the idea that this was some sort of an abstraction, and that philosophically they were idealists. Or that this was simply an ultraism(ph). It isn't at all. It is of deepest involvement and concern it is a matter of life and death. The other thing is that these are by no means all Communists. This is the entire nation spurring(ph) action

APTHEKER: in the movement and the NFL is a very broad movement; involving whole stratas of the population. So lets not the Communist get all the credit for this and no matter how fantastic you seem to think. We are, we are in it. And the NFL could not be successfully withstanding the military power of the United States and 200 thousand troops, if it did not involve practically the entire population. And most of it is not really politics.

HERBERT APTHEKER: They haven't done so because they feel that they are not just sufficiently broad. They want to encompass all segments of the population, including those in Saigon, and since they do not yet encompass all this they do not wish to set themselves up as a government; although, as the New York 'imes and everybody else says, they had more than half the population, taxes, schools, land reforms, and so forth. And this is relevant to this because their program calls for, one of their five points, is a broad national coalition neutral non-socialist government in the prolonged interim period; that is, their rprogram, of the NFL. I repeat again that the NFL is not simply a Communist movement, it is Communist under the name invented by DNIEM(ph), but if anyone here thinks that it is duped with Communists, like we have a score, you know. The press says 150 Communists killed, 260 Communists killed, hooray for us. Well they are 250 peasants who have been killed, some oft whom may be Communists and most of whom, I can assure you are not Communists. In the program of the NFL, they also specifically talk of uniting, in this government, not only all strata, but those in the successive Saigon Administrations, this is specifically stated, who are repentant, who are repentant. And so I said, well now whats that. Well, they said those who come to the conclusion that they are serving the United States, being part of the Saigon snoopers(ph) role, and this has to be terminated. Andonly one thing, that is the national independence of Viet Nam, they say that, and thats it. Now they will say no more to you, no more. That is one phase of . The second one is, that I just suggest to you that this concern over people not being killed, is to speak mildly, ironic. In terms of our daily slaughter of thousands and thousands of people. If this is our concern, lets stop killing people.

I mean even if the idea is that we don't want executions, and so on okay, if thats the problem lets talk about that in terms of how we are assured that there are no executions; but since we are motivated by a desire that people not be killed, lets stop killing people and at the same time figure out how best we can assure that there is not mass executions. (Background voice is indistinct). Well alright, I don't know how. I don't know how. Then it is not my responsibility. I'm not in Saigon, I'm not in Hanoi. There is no evidence of a for such mass executions. There is an International Control Commission, both that the Army and NFL warned(ph) Geneva and

Control Commission, both that the Army and NFL warned(ph) Geneva and that provides for an International Control Commission to supervise an election. Why can't they not supervise to see that there are not such executions? Surely, that is easier than supervising an election, and the DRV and the NFL says that they want the ICC in control, they won(ph) at Geneva. Okay, lets do that, perhaps, but at any rate lets we discuss what we do. But meanwhile since the motivation of your questions is, that people are being killed, lets stop killing people we must, okay, I think so.

Q: UNID MALE in background, I'd like to ask MR APTHEKER, if he foresees the possibility of a violent American Revolution in the flear future? (Laughter in the audience)

APTHEKER: No, short of a war on American soil, I do not foresee any such possibility.

Q: UNID MALE in background is indistinct, but audience applauds and laughs.

APTHEKER: I don't know wat this does to the Professor, and this is a little unusual for me in the United States. I mean this kind of \_. Ah, but I just full report on me. (Audience laughs) note something there in terms of violent revolution, and I think that there is a certain assumption of may necessary identity, that is, if it isn't violent it isn't a revolution. This is quite possibly true. And the definition of revolution, in no way necessitates violence, in no way. And one may have a violent revolution as in Algeria, which of course the violence came from the reactionaries . Or what they have in non violent form, like in Ghana. In which the Prime Minister of the new Republic was taken out of jail, there was no violence, and he was sworn in as Prime Minister in his prison garb. I think that is the first time in history. Now when he appears at state functions, his state function dress is his prison garb. But that is nonviolent, so I just wanted to add that note and then I agree with PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, that if it comes to violence, to civil war, significant violence; that, I think would be consequence of catastrophic experiences and developments, such as, possibly a war but I don't see that as necessarily the only way to revolutionizing of this society. And I suggest that there are other ways, of doing so, much violence. Well not necessarily violent. Now you see that open, and anyone who closes it, I think is wrong and also silly, both.

Q: UNID MALE directs a question to DR APTHEKER. I admire your objectivity in your approach tonight and I would if it would be possible, that you could answer me a personal question. Why is it that you haven't immigrated to the Soviet Union, being you,

? APTHEKER is heard to say, if that question is mine,
I'd like to answer it. (Applause)

APTHEKER: I mean, I thought that this was a very serious and perfectly straight forward question without bringing insult or injury to \_\_\_. And by the way I have been insulted very much and answer two questions. (Mixed conversation - indistinct)

APTHEKER: I don't know how I gave you the impression that I might want to migrate. When I'm away from here, from the United States, I'm very unhappy. I miss, this country. In fact, I can get terribly schmalzy(ph) about it, and I don't want to, really, but its true, I missit greatly, I love it here. This is home where I was born, my kids are here, my wife is here, I've been very happy generally, in my relationships. I love my mother, I love my father. (audience laughs). I don't know how I became a RED. (Laughter and tremendous applause by audience). No apologies My wife is very happy. I can't wait to get up in the morning, I can't wait to get up. I would not change positions with anybody, not even PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, (laughter), nobody. So this is it and this is where I am. And in terms of being a radical, this kind of question was asked, for instance, of GARRISON(ph), He kept going back and forth to England, why don't you stay in England you love it so much over there. They were abolishing the slavery in the West Indies, they give you a lot of money; and they did you know and he was held to be an agent of QUEEN VICTORIA, he probably was. At least there is no evidence anymore. And all his papers are open. He was just a radical here, who believed that there should be a fundamental change. That is what I think, here. I'm not talking about Russia, at all and when we have Socialism here, it will be ours. We'll have it because most American poeple want it, and want it passionately. Want it so passionately that it can't be held away from us. If that is not true, we'll never have Socialism here. I think it will be true in time and when we have it, it is going to be a beaut. I have got to show you the statement, you can make the most of it you want. But when we have it, with our technique, our capacity, our energy, our ingenuity, and when we get rid of this festering(ph) kind of moral base of Capitalism, and so on. It is going to be one helluva country, you know it. So, I'm anxious to bring him(ph) by. I can taste it. That is why I (applause) it.

Q: UNID MALE directs question(which is indistinct) to PROFESSOR RAPOPORT.

RAPOPORT: I honestly do not know. I don't know what China would do. It is certainly not out of the question. The only historical experience we have is Korea, when China felt herself threatened by the approaching American troops on the Chinese border and it

looked as if these troops would cross the border. (blank) crossing the border and China entered the war with disasterous consequences for the United States. It might have been highly probable since it strict\*ly was not secret authority on this subject, not knowing what the Chinese tragedy is or what was in the minds of the Chinese leaders.

APTHEKER: Once again my view is substantially that. I would add this, if I may. And that is that the Chinese realized unless the DRV says do something. This was an important point and the DRV, I repeat is very jealous of their sovereignity and their independence, that is the whole point of the battle. And I repeat it, the Chinese or anybody else. By the way they have 160 million volunteers, the DRV. This 160 million is quite a strategic reserve and they are not by all means Chinese. There is none to spare because they have not been asked. Now, they are not anxious to ask, because that means general war in escalation and such devastation will happen in their country. They don't want that. That is the only thing that I would add. If and when the Chinese come in, one reason will be, of course; Chinese ideas, consideration, interest, what they think is necessary and son on. But you may be sure that the DRV will say please come in and help us now. Otherwise, they won't come in, nor will anybody else.

UNID FEMALE in background is heard to mention PROFESSOR AN ATOLE RAPOPORT and HERBERT APTHEKER's name. (Audience applause)

# Memorandum

:Mr. W. C. Sullivan

F. J. Baumgardner FROM

ГО

SUBJECT: STAUGHTON CRAIG-LYND-UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Mohr

DATE: 4/5/66

- Mr. Wick

- Mr. Sullivan

- Mr. Baumgardner

- Mr. Franck

- Mr. Reddy

Callahan

Conrad . Gale

Sullivon Tavel.

Trotter Tele, Room

Holmes.

My memorandum dated March 24, 1966, advised that Staughton Craig Lynd, the Yale University professor who recently returned from unauthorized and illegal travel to Communist China and North Vietnam, together with Herbert Eugene Aptheker and Thomas Hayden, and whose passport was "tentatively withdrawn" by the State Department on 2/2/66, had initiated civil action against the Secretary of State in the United States District Court, Washington, D. C. This action sought to enjoin the Secretary of State from enforcing the withdrawal of Lynd's passport and to obtain an order directing the Secretary of State to allow Lynd to travel during the period from 4/7/66 to 4/18/66 so that he may handle scheduled speaking engagements in London, England and Oslo, Norway.

Department Attorney Benjamin Flanagan advised today that on Wednesday, 3/30/66, the hearing on Lynd's petition was held before U.S. District Judge Oliver Gasch. Judge Gasch ruled that Lynd should first exhaust his administrative remedy in objection to the withdrawal of his passport through a hearing before a State Department hearing officer and an appeal from a possible adverse ruling to the Board of Passport Appeals. Judge Gasch ordered the State Department to complete this administrative procedure and to reach a decision not later than **\4/6/66.** 

62-111917 Department Attorney Flanagan said that Lynd was afforded a hearing before a State Department hearing officer on 4/1/66 at which time he was advised that the withdrawal of his passport would be cancelled if he would promise not to violate State Department travel restrictions for the entire period during which his passport will be valid. Lynd's reply was that while he would promise not to violate travel restrictions in connection with his trip to England and Norway, he would not promise that he would abide by such restrictions for the duration of the

EBR:jas (8)

CONTINUED - OVER NOT RECORDED

50PM

ORIGINAL FILED

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan STAUGHTON LYND RE:

validity of his passport. The State Department hearing officer then ruled against Lynd and the case was considered on 4/4/66 by the Board of Passport Appeals. The decision of this Board. which must be approved by the Secretary of State, is to be rendered today and will be made available to Judge Gasch tomorrow by Department Attorney Flanagan.

Flanagan said that the Department of Justice will take the position that even if Lynd agrees not to violate travel restrictions for the duration of the validity of his passport, the withdrawal should not be cancelled since Lynd has established through an earlier violation of these restrictions that he is not credible. Flanagan noted, however, that if the Board of Passport Appeals and the Secretary of State overrule the hearing officer or if Lynd agrees not to violate travel restrictions during the entire period of the validity of his passport, Judge Gasch will probably go along with the State Department and order the withdrawal of Lynd's passport cancelled.

### ACTION:

For information. You will be advised of the finding of the Secretary of State and the ruling of Judge Gasch in this matter.

MM

## ADDENDUM BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION: EBR: jas 4/5/66

At 4:15 p.m., today, Department Attorney Flanagan advised that he had just ascertained that while the Board of Passport Appeals and the Secretary of State had held that the withdrawal of Lynd's passport should not be cancelled, the State Department will issue Lynd "limited travel documents" for his trip to England and Norway during the period from April 7 - 18, 1966, on the assurance that Lynd will not attempt to violate State Department travel restrictions in connection with this According to Flanagan, the only salutary effect of this ruling by the Department of State is that whenever Lynd desires to engage in foreign travel in the future, he must apply for "limited travel documents" and must assure the Department of State that he will not violate travel restrictions. Flanagan is of the gperartopinion that Judge Gasch will approve this action by the Department of State when he is advised tomorrow.

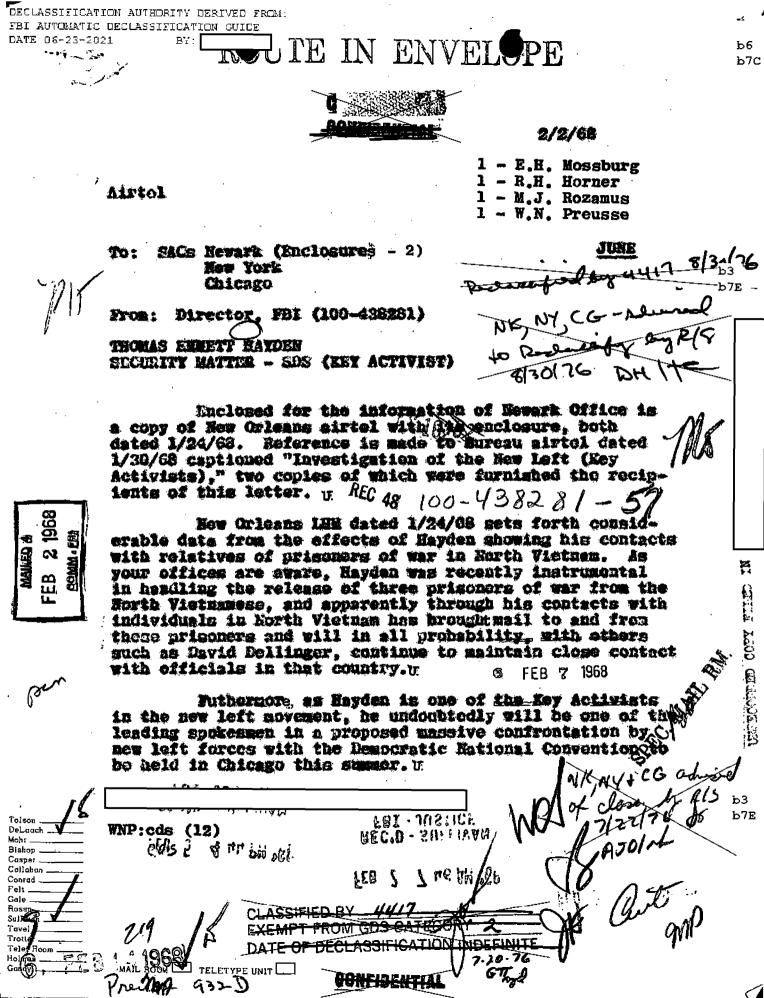
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREINIS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-19-2000BY 6026TNLD EPIOD

ENCLOSURE

62-111912-54

OPTIONS FORM NO. 10 MAY 1962 EDITION GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6 dup to 100 file sec 2 pg UNITED STATES GOVE NMENT 'emorandum ΟŤ : DIRECTOR, FBI (1<del>00, 123974)</del> 5/13/66 DATE: 🍇 AC, NEW YORK (100-80532) SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENF, APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETTUHAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM; MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT ReBulet to NY, dated 4/7/66. Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies, as instructed, of "Mission to Hanoi", a paperback written by HERBERT APTHEKER, with prefaces by STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN. International Publishers ALL RESIDENTION CONT MM 74 1966 "ENCLOSURE ATTACHED" MAY 16 1966 EX-108 ENCLOSURE 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM) I - New Maven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (RM) 1 - Newark (100-40690) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (RM) 1 - New York VJA; ats Deleted Copy, Sent (5) by Letter 1/- 6 Per FOIA Reg at 21 3 1 1966. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

```
THE ENTIRE FILE XEROX FOR
                                              b6
          ROOM 6980 EXT.
                                              b7C
        HADEN
SUBJECT:
                                              b7E
   DATE: 10/24/79
     BY: RBG
PLEASE DO NO REMOVE!
SERIALS IN FILE- 61, 60, NR(2/12/68), 57
```



COMPANIE THE

Airtol to SACE Newark RE: TROWAS EMBETT HAYDEN

As pointed out in referenced Bureau mirtel, highlevel informant coverage must be maintained on Key activists so that the Bureau is kept abreast of their day-to-day activities, as well as the organizations they are affiliated with, to develop information regarding their sources of funds, foreign contacts, and future plans.

It is noted that much of the activity concerning the matter of Hayden's end Dellinger's contects with the North Viethauese and prisoners of war is through Liberation Magazine, 5 Beskman Street, New York City, of which Dellinger is editor and Hayden is associate editor. Other individuals connected with this publication have also been in contact with individuals in Borth Vietnam as well as being instrumental in a leadership capacity in various anti-Vietnam activities in this country.

The Burcau Icels that to insure full and effective coverage of Mayden and other Key Activists such as Dellinger and the activities they are engaged in, consideration should be given to placing a technical surveillance on Liberation Magazine. New York is therefore authorized to conduct a survey to determine the feasibility of such a surveillance, provided full security is pasured AU

The Bureau should be edvised of the results of this survey together with New York's recommendation. Provided the everall needs of the Bureau do not preclude installation of this technical surveillance at the time of New York's recommendation, consideration will be given to authorizing this installation. But

Although Newark is office of origin in this case because of the prominence of Maydon's activities, New York and Chicago should remain particularly alort for any pertisent data concerning his activities and when he is in the New York and Chicago areas steps should be initiated to closely follow his activities.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/12/68

1 - Mr. Preusse

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-128988)
From: Director, FBI

"Liberation" Magazine

JUNE

b3 b7E

B

Reurairtel dated 2/7/68 concerning Thomas Emmett Hayden wherein you advised that a tesur survey of "Liberation" magazine indicates that coverage of it is feasible with full security assured.

You also state in resirted that the telephone subscription for captioned subject at "Liberation" magazine carries three different phone numbers. It is not clear whether the subscription to these three phone numbers is for Hayden or for "Liberation" magazine, and you should so advise.

By return airtel, you are to submit, as an enclosure, a copy of FD-142 which will set forth pertinent details concerning the results of this survey in connection with the installation of a tesur on "Liberation" magazine. You are also to furnish your observations regarding the potential productivity and intelligence value of this tesur as well as the possible adverse affects it could have on other investigations such as draft resistance activities on the part of members of its editorial staff.

(5) 1 - 100-438281 (Hayden)

100-43828/ NOT R.L. 3D 199 FEB 14 1968

6

FBI A	ASSIFICATION AUTHORITY AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICAT 06-23-2021 BY:	ION CUICE			,	b6 , b7
			Date: 2/7/6	8	¥.	
Tra	nsmit the following in _		Type in plaintext or code)			
Via	AIRTEL	· ·	xype in praincase or code.			
<b>-</b>			(Priority)		; ! <b>L</b> <del>- </del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del> <del>-</del>	<u>~</u>
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FB:	I (100-438281)	JUNE	,	T)
<b>→</b> ,,	FROM:	SAC, NEW YOR	K (100-148904)		A .	<b>)</b> 
	SUBJECT:	THOMAS EMMET'S SM - SDS (KEY		1 . 3	Der .	4
		Re Bureau ai:	rtel dated 2/2/6	8. <b>u</b>		. 1
	assured. Magazine CO 7-3261 City. Bu line lett	dicates covera Subscription carries teleph , all located creau authority er requested t	of Tesur Survey : age feasible with for captined sui hone numbers 267: at 3 - 5 Beekman y is requested to to show from 3 - t, New York, New	h full securit bject at Liber -1468, 267-145 n Street, New o install. Le 5 Bee <u>k</u> man Str	y ation 3 and York ased	WI CHILLIAN VOICE
	3-Bureau 1-Newark 1-New Yor HPB:tmm (6)	(RM) (RM) (RM) (RM) (RM) (RM) (RM) (RM)	REC 37 100 - 4	372 81 FEB 8 1968	NYTAKES OF SCIONATO ADD	100 Els
	C. C. Bishop	CEASSIEII	e c e 3 2 ) ED BY 44/7	Y 2 52 EC.	Jakas	
<u></u>	FEB 144.968	THE DATE OF	DECLASSIFICATION	ADEFINITE.		
•	6 FEB 16s 96	Agent in Charge	Sent		<u>.</u>	

FUNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

: 1908/100 SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM - SDS (KEY ACTIVIST)

...E: 2/14/68 DE

ReBuairtels dated 1/30/68 and 2/1/68 in the matter entitled "INVESTIGATION OF THE NEW LEFT (KEY ACTIVISTS)"; Buairtel dated 2/2/68 and New York airtel dated 2/7/68 in captioned matter; and New York airtel dated 2/8/68 in matter entitled "LIBERATION MAGAZINE, INFORMATION CONCERNING (IS)."

### RESIDENCE

Until 1/3/68, when he departed to attend the Cultural Conference in Cuba, HAYDEN resided at 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, with CONSTANCE BROWN, also white,

Upon his return to the New Jersey area on

1/25/68, he took up residence at 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey, with CONSTANCE BROWN.

who is under consideration for development as a ghetto informant, advised on 2/12/68 that he is in an excellent position to observe any activity which might occur at 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey, and he has promised complete cooperation in this matter.

## EMPLOYMENT

HAYDEN is variously described in the press and by informants as a journalist, lecturer, author, representative of the peace movement, a framer of the Port Huron Statement and a founder of SDS, head of the Newark Community Union Project (a neighborhood project of SDS in Newark), and an associate editor of "Liberation." 100-438281-61

2 - Bureau (RM)

REC AE 1 - New York (100-148904) (RM)

1 - Newark

BJC:aas

(4)

cc932 D 8 FEB #3 1968

EX-110



FEB 28 Blog S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan SPEC.

b7D

ь6

ь7c

NK 100-48095

Most recently, his name has been associated with peace groups and "Liberation" magazine. According to he maintains his office out of "Liberation" magazine office, 5 Beekman Street, New York City, with DAVID DELLINGER.

b7D

#### ACTIVITIES

HAYDEN was one of the original initiators of STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). He came to Newark, New Jersey, in 1964 as the leader of the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), an organization which was formed by SDS and which operated in the Clinton Hill section of Newark among the poor. In December, 1965, and January, 1966, he made an unauthorized trip to North Vietnam with STAUGHTON LYND, an assistant professor at Yale, and HERBERT APTHEKER, of the CPUSA.

In September, 1967, he was one of 41 Americans who attended a conference in Czechoslovakia with representatives of the North Vietnamese and also Viet Cong representatives. He did not return home upon the completion of this conference but instead traveled to Cambodia, and then it was announced in November, 1967, that he was returning to the United States and with him were three U. S. Army Sergeants who had been prisoners of war and were released by the Viet Cong to HAYDEN.

More recently, 1/4-11/68, HAYDEN attended the Cultural Conference in Havana, Cuba. Initially, he encountered some difficulty with the State Department in seeking a passport since his previous passport had been withdrawn based on information he had traveled to North Vietnam in violation of restrictions. In seeking his passport in December, 1967, for travel to Cuba, he communicated with W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, Ambassador-at-Large, who stated that he felt HAYDEN would qualify as a journalist since he represents "Liberation" magazine. While Passport Office was opposed to giving him this passport, it did, however, grant HAYDEN a passport when he agreed to certain restrictions.

Since HAYDEN's return to the United States, he has addressed the SDS chapter at Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey, on 2/5/68.

### **FUNDS**

Captain CHARLES KINNEY, Newark Police Department, advised on 2/5/68 that HAYDEN is not known to have a bank account in the Newark area.

NK 100-48095

In view of close relationship of HAYDEN to CONSTANCE BROWN, it was felt desirable to make a check of her bank account which she maintains with the National Newark and Essex Bank, Newark, New Jersey. Arrangements are effected to monitor this on a monthly basis.

#### TELEPHONE

advised on 2/5/68 and on 2/7/68 that there was no telephone service either in HAYDEN's or BROWN's name at 227 Jelliff Avenue or 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey. This same source advised on 2/7/68 that there is no phone service at 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey.

**b7**D

b7D

advised, as mentioned above, that HAYDEN, along with DAVE DELLINGER, maintains his office at "Liberation" magazine, 5 Beekman Street, New York City, (and request has been made of the Bureau by New York Office to consider technical surveillance at "Liberation" to effect coverage of DELLINGER and HAYDEN.

\* \* \* \* \*

Concerning his residences 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, and 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark, New Jersey, it is to be noted that both of these neighborhoods are almost entirely Negro and are in the ghetto area of Newark, which was the scene of Newark riot of July, 1967. Prolonged surveillances of his present residence is not feasible, and at the most only spot checks at various hours is all that can be discreetly and safely conducted.

HAYDEN, because of his past activities as a leader of a community project among the poor in this area, is especially well known, and it is logical that any prolonged surveillance could come to his attention. With his access to the media of press, radio, and television, it is possible he might use any such surveillance to the embarrassment of the Bureau.

The Newark Police Department in their investigation of the causes leading up to, and the results of the Newark riot of July, 1967, have expressed their interest in TOM HAYDEN since they consider him to be an associate of, and acquainted with, many individuals whom they know to have been active participants

#### NK 100-48095

in protests in Newark prior to the Newark riot of July, 1967. The Newark Police Department point out that the issues of condemning land in the Negro area of Newark for a proposed medical college and the proposed appointment of a white man as Secretary to the Board of Education as opposed to a Negro resulted in many disturbances at official meetings of City Boards and generated much racial unrest and ill feeling. According to the Newark Police Department, the leaders in these demonstrations at city meetings were all friendly with TOM HAYDEN, and the Police Department considers him part of the overall group that aroused the Negro people on these issues.

Because of the above, the Newark Police attempt to cover the activities of HAYDEN whenever possible. They, too, have related that any attempt to run full, discreet surveillances in this area would prove fruitless because of the suspicions that residents of this area have in any outsiders. No specific requests have been made of the Newark Police Department, but Captain CHARLES KINNEY, mentioned previously, has offered to furnish the Newark Office of the FBI any information which he develops.

Newark will await the results of recommendations of the New York Office concerning technical coverage on "Liberation" magazine which would serve as a means of covering HAYDEN's activities and plans in connection with the peace movement and possible disruption of the National Convention to be held in Chicago, Illinois. Further, Newark will continue its efforts to locate a bank account for HAYDEN in New Jersey to possibly establish his source of funds. Newark will also augment the coverage supplied by the neighborhood source with spot fisurs in the neighborhood. Newark will also maintain close liaison with the Newark Police, in view of their continuing interest in HAYDEN, to determine any information they might have on his activities, plans, or travel.

Newark is contemplating the possible use of counterintelligence methods against HAYDEN in order to neutralize his effectiveness. It is understood that no such measures would be taken until such recommendations are submitted in full to the Bureau and authorization received.

Airtel

- Bland 1 - Reddy

To: SAC. New York

From: Director, FSI (100-123974)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT CONSPIRACY

b6 per CBP b7C b7E

ReBütelcall to Special Agent (SA) Warren Marchessault, 1/10/66, relaying instructions from the Department that the following investigation be immediately conducted in the captioned matter:

- (1) Interview Customs and Immigration and Naturalization Service personnel who processed the re-entry of and Hayden.
- (2) Interview representatives of the press, radio and television who interviewed Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden at Kennedy International Airport and ascertain any admissions made regarding their travel to North Vietnam. The willingness of representatives of the news media to testify should be ascertained and they should be requested to retain handwritten notes, as well as any audio or audio-video tapes of the interviews.
- (3) Contact the appropriate official of the United States Customs Service in New York City and

EBR:pah (7)

100-396916 (Lynd) 100-438281 (Hayden)

NOT RECORDED 183 July 13 1986

NOTE PAGE 2)

1/11/66

Airtel to New York

Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN

100-123974

b7E per CBP

by Custome.					-
				Hayden	:ui17
undoubtedty	Stemma rec)	the r	etarr :	-	

SA Marchessault was instructed that interview report forms be prepared where appropriate and that the Bureau should be advised of the nature of the tape recordings in the possession of Customs so that a decision can be obtained from the Department as to whether verbatim transcripts should be prepared from the copies obtained by the New York Office.

Instructions were also furnished SA Merchessault that arrangements should be made to have panel sources attend the meeting which is scheduled to be held on Sunday, 1/16/66, at Manhattan Center. New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden are scheduled to speak on their trip to North Vietnam.

The above instructions are being confirmed by letter from the Department and copies of this letter will be furnished your office. The Department is also requesting, by separate letter, investigation to establish the itinerary of Apthoker, Lynd and Hayden and their specific intent, at the time they left the United States, to proceed to North Vietnam. Copies of this latter letter will also furnished your office in the immediate future with appropriate instructions and comments.

Since this case is receiving extensive press coverage and is of primary interest to the Administration, the investigation should be handled expeditiously and thoroughly.

NOTE:

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 1/10/66, advised that the above instructions had been telephonically furnished the New York Office and that a confirming airtel would be sent to New York.

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

January 10, 1966

F. J. Bausgardner

l - Mr. DeLoach l - Mr. Mohr

and the second of the second o

l - Mr. Wick

Herbert Eugene aptheker; Staughton Lynd; Thomas (Hayden 1 - Mr. Sullivan 1 - Mr. Bland

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM; MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT; 1 - Mr. Baumgardner 1 - Mr. Bartlett

LOGAN ACT:

1 - Mr. Reddy

CONSPIRACY

My memorandum dated January 3, 1966, set out information regarding the minauthorized travel to North Vietnam by the captioned individuals and indicated that the Internal Security Division of the Department had been in contact with the Department of State with reference to possible prosecution under the Logan Act or under statutes which proscribe misuse of United States passports and travel to countries to which travel is forbidden by the Secretary of State.

On January 9, 1966, Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden returned to the United States, arriving Kennedy International Airport via Pan American Airways. This information was furnished to Department Attorney James Welden on the morning of January 10, 1966.

This afternoon Department Attorney John Davitt telephonically advised that a letter was en route to the Bureau from
the Department requesting that the Bureau initiate investigation
to establish that Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden intended to travell
to North Vietnam at the time they left the United States on
December 19, 1965. Davitt said that now that these individuals
had actually returned to the United States, he was requesting
the Bureau to immediately take the following action:

(1)	Interview Customs and INS	personnel who processed the	_
	re-entry of	and Hayden, with	コー
		s these individuals may have	
	made that they had been in	n North Vietnam. b6 pe	r CBP
		Ъ7C	1

(2) Interview representatives of the press, radio and b7E television who interviewed Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden at Kennedy International Airport and ascertain any

100-123974

1 - 100-396916 (Lynd) 1 - 100-438281 (Hayden)

EBR/pcn 25 n iner

CONTINUED

-- OVER

JAN 15 1960

1" 7

Memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER:

STAUGHTON LYND;

THOMAS HAYDEN

100-123974

admissions made regarding their travel to North Vietnam. Davitt requested that the willingness of representatives of the news media to testify be ascertained and they should be requested to retain handwritten notes, as well as any audio or audio-video tapes of the interviews.

Contact the appropriate official of the United States Customs Service in New York City and

taken from Hayden by Customs.

taken from bore

taken from bore

taken from bore

bore

Hayden.

Hayden.

Hayden

will undoubtedly demand the return of this material.

Davitt said that a letter requesting the above investigation would be immediately prepared by the Department and transmitted to the Bureau.

At 4:15 p.m. Supervisor Warren Marchessault of the New York Office was telephonically instructed to immediately carry out the Department's instructions with reference to the three items listed above. He was instructed to prepare interview report forms where appropriate and to advise the Bureau of the nature of the tape recordings seized from Hayden before beginning to prepare verbatim transcripts. It is contemplated that

Marchessault was also instructed to have sources of the New York Office attend the meeting which is scheduled to be held on Sunday, January 16, 1966, at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden are scheduled to comment on the results of their travel to North Vietnam.

#### ACTION:

For information. The telephonic instructions to New York set out above are being confirmed by airtel and copies of the letters from the Department will be furnished the New York Office upon their receipt at the Bureau. AIRTEL

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM:

DAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

IS-C; ISA-50

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND

5M-C -

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM-C

b6 per CBP b7C b7E

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are

which are the property of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN and which were detained by U.S. Custom officials on HAYDEN's arrival at the Port of New York, on . 1/9/66, on his return trip from Hanoi, North Vietnam.

L Bureau (100-123974) (Enclo. 5) (AM) ) (STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND). A- 100-THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)
Newark (100-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (Info)
New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (Info)
New York (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND) (43)
New York (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (43)
New York (100-154785) (VIDEM) (43) - New York

New York (100-148904) New York (100-154785) New York (100-80532)

JDB: gmd (12)

NOT RECORDED

51 JAN 241966

183 JAN 19 1966

NY 100-8053	32		b7E per CBP
	The personnel		
	of the tape : D. BRODY, and I		
seven state	inclosed under ements which we stoms on 1/9/60	ere in posse	
		ted that the	ь7с the above

Date: 1/13/66

Transmit the following in

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

OT

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

IS-C: ISA-50

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND

SM-C

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

SM+C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are Xerox copies of seven statements which are the property of THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN and which were detained by U.S. Customs officials on HAYDEN's arrival at the Port of New York on 1/9/66, on his return trip from Hanoi, North Vietnam.

These statements are identified as follows:

"1. By the Democratic Republic of Vietnam State Committee of Science and Technology on the Use of Toxic Chemicals and Poison Gas by the Aggressive US Imperialists in South Vietnam.

Hanoi 10/20/65

```
5-Bureau (100-123974) (Encl. 7) (RM)
(1-100- ) (STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND)
(1-100- ) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)

1-Newark (100-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (Info) (Encl. 1) (RM)

1-New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (Info) (RM)

1-NY (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND) (43)

1-NY (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (43)

1-NY (100-154785) (VIDEM) (43)

1-NY (100-80532) (42)

NOT RECORDED

198 JAN 24 1968
```

57 FEB 4 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

"2. By the Meteorological Department of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Regarding the Criminal US Air Raids on D.R.V. Meteorological Stations and Observatories.

## Hanoi 11/29/65

"3. By the Red Cross Society of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam regarding the savage crimes of the US Government and its trampling upon the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of the Victims of war.

## 9/27/65

"4. Of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Ministry of Public Health on the US bombings of medical establishments.

Hanoi 7/15/65

"5. To the Evangelical Christians and ministers of all creeds in the USA.

Hanoi 12/23/65

"6. By the Ministry of Water Conservancy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Hanoi 9/15/65

"7. By the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam regarding the US imperialists crimes in air raiding educational institutions and massacring teachers and students.

10/12/65"

NY 100-80532

These Xerox copies were made available to	b6 per CBP
At G. Gusham Hanga Boom bill SIVC	
U.S. Customs House, Room 514, NYC.	
In addition, made available for examination two paperback books, property of HAYDEN, which were detained by U.S. Customs officials on 1/9/66. These 2 books were titled, "HO CHI MINH Selected Works III" and "HO CHI MINH Selected Works IV" consisting of 445 pages and 468 pages respectively and both published by Hanoi Foreign Languages Publishing House in 1961 and 1962.	b6 per CB b7C b7E
lalso	
1/9/66.	<b>-</b>
Enclosed herewith for Newark is a Xerox copy of U.S. Customs declaration on HAYDEN dated 1/9/66. This was made available by	b6 per CBP b7C