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A Timely Reprint

**COMMUNISTS
RUN MORATORIA**

Staff Study by the
House Internal Security Subcommittee

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REPORT!

COMMUNISTS RUN MORATORIA

■ THE October 22 issue of the *Daily World*, official newspaper of the Communist Party, U.S.A., carries an article entitled "March against death Nov. 15: Peace groups unite for huge capital rally." The article reports on press conferences held here in Washington, D.C., on October 21 by leaders of the Vietnam Moratorium and New Mobilization Committees, two of the key organizations behind the so-called "Fall Offensive" praised recently by North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.

According to the *Daily World's* account, "Sam Brown, Moratorium coordinator, declared here, 'On November 15 the New Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam is sponsoring a peaceful and legal mass march and rally in Washington, D.C. Coordinators of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, as well as Moratorium supporters from around the country, plan to march. We will provide support for local Moratorium groups who will be coming to Washington and we encourage others to join us in the March on Washington.'"

Immediately following the Moratorium group's press conference, leaders of the New Mobe held their own press conference in the same room in what the [*Communist*] *Daily World*

termed a "deliberate unit demonstration" that "dashed President Nixon's hopes of driving a wedge between the two massive anti-war movements. * * *" This unity "guaranteed an 'enormous anti-war outpouring' against the war, declared the Moratorium committee."

Another group which has given its unqualified endorsement to the November demonstrations is the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, an organization which, according to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, "is controlled by members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party . . ." (The Socialist Workers Party is the largest Trotskyist Communist Party in the United States and has been declared subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities and two Attorneys General.)

SMC Executive Secretary Carol Lipman announced on October 20 that her group was backing "all anti-war activities," including the expanded Moratorium scheduled for November 13-14 (the same days as the New Mobe's "March Against Death" and SMC's November 14 student strike) and the Washington march scheduled by the New Mobe for November 15. And a Student Mobe leaflet circulated recently exhorts the faithful to "Join the Fall Antiwar Offensive" and states categorically that "SMC has endorsed and is actively building the November 15 demonstration."

This three-way collaboration is of particular interest because of the in-

dependence which some people claim for Moratorium activity.

The Fall Offensive was formulated at the National Anti-War Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, over the July 4 weekend of this year. This conference, hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, the regional affiliate of the Communist-oriented National Mobilization Committee, predecessor of the New Mobe, was characterized by an extra-ordinarily conspicuous Communist presence, especially from members of the Trotskyist Communist Socialist Workers Party and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance. The SWP's official newspaper, the *Militant*, later boasted of the "central role" of the SWP and YSA and the "key" role of the YSA-controlled Student Mobilization Committee in winning broad support at the conference for the November demonstrations.

Documents from the National Anti-War Conference show that Vietnam Moratorium Committee coordinator David Hawk was present and took an active part in the proceedings. These same documents also reveal that Hawk was a member of the conference steering committee as the representative of the Moratorium.

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee, then, was already in existence at the time of the National Anti-War Conference. The exact time of its formation is not clear, but formal announcement of the October 15 Moratorium date was made late in June, prior to the convening of the

National Anti-War Conference in Cleveland.

One of the results of the conference was the organization of the New Mobilization Committee to carry on the work of the now-defunct National Mobe in organizing the Fall Offensive. Most of the members of the conference steering committee, including Moratorium leader David Hawk, were named also to the steering committee of the New Mobe.

An official New Mobe mailing circulated later in July includes a document outlining the accomplishments of the Cleveland conference. Among the decisions made at the conference, according to this official Mobe document, was the scheduling of "the most intense anti-war campaign ever undertaken in the United States — the Fall Offensive." The program was to include the October 15 Moratorium, one of the three projects "being organized by associated groups" which the Communist-saturated National Anti-War Conference formally endorsed and incorporated into the Fall Offense.

Subsequent Moratorium and Mobe literature reflected this. The VMC, in literature mailed to editors of GI newspapers, referred to the Vietnam Moratorium Committee "and its part in the 'Fall Offensive' against the war in Vietnam" And New Mobe Offensive literature speaks of those numerous groups, including the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, which will provide the "principal resources" that will assure the success of the November actions.



Communist-led Vietniks gather at the Washington Monument on November fifteenth.

It is clear, then, that the Moratorium is indeed an "integral part" of the Fall Offensive. Organized ostensibly by an independent organization, it wound up instead as part and parcel of a program formulated and adopted by Communist-dominated "anti-war" conference. Again, so that there may be no possibility of confusion or misinterpretation, the Vietnam Committee is not necessarily Communist under Communist leadership. No doubt many of the leaders are sincerely motivated. However, as the evidence plainly indicates, the Moratorium's program and leadership have become intimately allied with a distinctly pro-Communist program and leadership.

And what of the planning for the

Fall Offensive? Documents issued by the Mobe itself leave no doubt that, from the beginning, the organization of the Fall Offensive has been characterized by blatantly heavy Communist participation.

On August 5, for example, there was a meeting of the New Mobe's San Francisco Action Project. A memorandum to the Executive Committee and Steering Committee of New Mobe from Sidney Peck, an East Coast Co-Chairman of New Mobe and former State Committeeman in the Wisconsin CPUSA, reveals the broad composition — and heavy Communist complexion — of the session. Included in the list of those invited to attend were:

- (1) Alex Forman, Joe Hill SDS;
- (2) Art Goldberg, West Coast

Bureau of the revolutionary Communist newsweekly *Guardian*;

(3) Curtis McClain, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, a union headed by Harry R. Bridges;

(4) Keith Eickmann, ILWU;

(5) Karen Talbot, employed by the official West Coast newspaper of the Communist Party, the *People's World*;

(6) Andrew Pulley, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance;

(7) Phil Shapiro, a member of the Medical Committee for Human Rights and supporter of the Black Panther Party-sponsored United Front Against Fascism;

(8) Donald Kalish, member of the Southern California Peace Action Council, West Coast Co-Chairman of New Mobe, member of New Mobe steering committee, and, by his own admission, somewhat to the left of the CPUSA;

(9) Ronald Dellums, Berkeley City Councilman and frequent speaker for the Black Panther Party;

(10) Terry Hallinan, West Coast Co-Chairman of New Mobe and member of the Communist-front National Lawyers Guild and W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America;

(11) Eleanor Ohman, delegate to the World Peace Assembly, held in East Berlin in June of this year under the auspices of the World Peace Council, international Communist "peace" front;

(12) Dr. Carleton Goodlett, West Coast Treasurer of Mobe and also a delegate to the World Peace Assembly;

(13) Irving Sarnoff, an identified member of the Communist Party, leader of the Southern California Peace Action Council, and member of the New Mobe steering committee;

(14) David Hilliard, Chief of Staff for the Black Panther Party;

(15) Harold Supriano, a founding member of the Communist Party's official youth front, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America;

(16) Barry David, Student Mobilization Committee and YSA; and

(17) Lew Jones, a long-term functionary in the Socialist Workers Party.

Thus, of the 40 people invited to attend this session to help plan the Fall Offensive, at least 17 were outright members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party, or their fronts, or were affiliated with organizations of a demonstrably pro-Communist or revolutionary nature.

On August 17-18, a New Mobe steering committee meeting to plan the "Fall Offensive - 1969" was held at the Central YMCA in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Among those invited to this meeting were the following:

(1) Allen Young of Liberation News Service, the New Left's pro-Castro, pro-Vietcong wire service;

(2) Anne Braden, identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF);

(3) David Herreshoff, member of the New Mobe steering committee and prominent supporter of fronts and causes of the Socialist Workers Party;

(4) Norman Becker, coordinator with Dave Dellinger of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, New York affiliate of the New Mobe, and member of New Mobe steering committee;

(5) Rennie Davis, New Mobe steering committee member and Vietcong supporter currently on trial in Chicago for conspiring to foment violence during the August 1968 Democratic National Convention;

(6) Dave Dellinger, East Coast Mobe Co-Chairman and self-styled non-Soviet communist;

(7) Jerry Gordon, New Mobe steering committee member and head of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, a Mobe affiliate;

(8) Fred Halstead, New Mobe steering committee member and long-time leader in the Socialist Workers Party;

(9) Arnold Johnson, New Mobe steering committee member and National Legislative Director for the CPUSA;

(10) Irving Beinin, New Mobe steering committee member and an employee of the Communist news-weekly *Guardian*;

(11) Sid Lens, East Coast Co-Chairman of Mobe and former official in the Revolutionary Workers League, designated subversive by the Attorney General under Executive Order 10450;

(12) Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the YSA-controlled Student Mobilization Committee, member of New Mobe steering committee, and formerly on the editorial

staff of the YSA's official magazine, the *Young Socialist*;

(13) Sidney Peck, East Coast Co-Chairman of Mobe, leader in the Ohio Peace Action Council, and former Wisconsin State Committeeman, CPUSA;

(14) Irving Sarnoff, former member, District Council, Southern California CPUSA;

(15) Sylvia Kushner, member of New Mobe steering committee and the Chicago Peace Council, a Mobe affiliate, and wife of Communist Party member Sam Kushner;

(16) Donald Kalish;

(17) David Hawk, member of New Mobe steering committee and coordinator of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, which is closely allied with the New Mobe;

(18) John Froines, currently on trial in Chicago for conspiracy to foment violence during the August 1968 Democratic National Convention;

(19) Terry Hallinan;

(20) Unnamed representatives of the YSA, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, and Veterans for Peace (founded in January 1966 by Communist Party member Leroy Wolins);

(21) Otto Nathan, Communist and member of New Mobe steering committee;

(22) Dagmar Wilson, leader in Women Strike for Peace who has proclaimed publicly her advocacy of the North Vietnamese cause;

(23) Dr. Benjamin Spock, sponsor of the New Mobe's November demonstrations, member of the National

Council of the Communist-run National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and supporter of the Communist-created Freedom and Peace Party;

(24) Carleton Goodlett;

(25) Louis Goldblatt, member of the Communist Party and official in the Communist-led ILWU;

(26) John Wilson, formerly of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and leader of the National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union, an offshoot of the Student Mobilization Committee, and a member of the New Mobe steering committee;

(27) Pvt. Joe Miles, member of the New Mobe steering committee and Young Socialist Alliance; and

(28) Allen Myers, member of New Mobe steering Committee and editor of SMC's *GI Press Service*.

The official minutes of a Chicago Steering Committee meeting on September 12 reveal participation by the following persons:

(1) Sidney Lens;

(2) Irv (Irwin) Bock, member of New Mobe steering committee and the Communist-founded Veterans for Peace;

(3) Tony De Leon, representing the Student Mobilization Committee;

(4) Rennie Davis;

(5) Sylvia Kushner;

(6) Ben Friedlander, identified member of the CPUSA; and

(7) Jack Spiegel, identified member of the CPUSA and a leader in the united front Chicago Peace Council.

In addition, two members of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee were

present at this session; Joe Valadez and Rob Roberts.

Topics discussed at this meeting included the October 15 Moratorium and the November student strike. Among the organizations scheduled to participate in activities looking forward to these demonstrations were Veterans for Peace, the Chicago Peace Council, and the DuBois Clubs, all of which are under definite Communist influence or control.

On September 13, there was a meeting of the New Mobe's Washington Action Committee in Washington, D.C., with the following people among those present:

(1) Irving Beinin;

(2) Barbara Bick, member of Women Strike for Peace and among the American delegates at the Communist World Peace Assembly in East Berlin, June 21-24, 1969;

(3) Don Gurewitz, staff employee of New Mobe and member of the YSA-controlled Student Mobilization Committee;

(4) Fred Halstead, leader in the SWP;

(5) Gus Horowitz, member of New Mobe steering committee and a "leading SWP activist in the antiwar movement," according to the *Militant*;

(6) Carol Lipman;

(7) Allan Myers;

(8) Otto Nathan;

(9) Sid Peck; and

(10) Peer Vinther, member of New Mobe steering committee and the SWP's Young Socialist Alliance.

One item of business at this meet-

ing is perhaps of particular interest. Susan Miller of the Mobe staff reported, according to these official minutes, that the Moratorium Committee will end major support to the "March Against Death," Mobe action scheduled for November 13-14, just before the mass rally on November 15. This shows irrefutably that, despite any surface indications conveyed by regular press accounts, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee's support of the New Mobilization Committee's plans is by no means recent or fresh — *that it has been a matter of settled fact for at least five weeks.*

The Steering Committee of the New Mobe met in Washington on the following day, September 14. According to the official minutes of the session, Sidney Peck acted as chairman, with the following people listed as being among those present:

(1) Marc Beallor, member of New Mobe steering committee and representative of the Communist Party-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America;

- (2) Barbara Bick;
- (3) Rennie Davis;
- (4) Dave Dellinger;
- (5) Don Gurewitz;
- (6) Fred Halstead;
- (7) Arnold Johnson;
- (8) Carol Lipman;
- (9) Allan Myers;

(10) Abe Weisburd, who has served on the administrative committee of Mobe's New York affiliate, the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, as the representative of Trade

Unionists for Peace, described by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as an organization "set up by the Communist Party;" and

(11) Leroy Wolins, member of Mobe's Washington Action Committee, founder of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, and identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

At this meeting, a committee was set up to handle legal and police problems anticipated in connection with the November march. On this committee, among others named, is SWP leader Fred Halstead. The March Against Death Committee includes SMC leader Carol Lipman, with Moratorium coordinator David Hawk among those also suggested. The committee to decide the program for the November rally consists of ten members, among whom are SWP member Fred Halstead, non-Soviet communist Dave Dellinger, former CPUSA Wisconsin State Committeeman Sidney Peck, and CPUSA National Legislative Director Arnold Johnson.

Peck, according to the minutes, "reported that the Black Panther Party will be relating to the demonstration on the West Coast." Members of a committee to deal with such "Black and Third World Participation" includes Dellinger, Weisburd, and Rennie Davis, with YSA member Andrew Pulley among those also suggested for membership.

The minutes further reflect that Fred Halstead was "hired immediately to work on logistics" for the march, while Carol Lipman and Arnold John-

son were named to serve on a committee concerned with "International Aspects." The committee on "Labor Participation" includes Weisburd, Beallor, Peck, Lens, Halstead, and Johnson (six of the seven designated); and the "Promotional Material" committee includes, of the ten named to serve, Gurewitz, Lipman, Wolins, Peck, and Dellinger.

The important subject of "Youth Participation" is being handled by a committee of five members, including SMC leader Carol Lipman, Vietnam Moratorium Committee coordinator David Hawk, and W.E.B. DuBois representative Marc Beallor.

On September 18, the New Mobe held a press conference in New York City to publicize the Fall Offensive. New Mobe leaders, according to a Mobe press release dated September 18, "revealed detailed and comprehensive plans for a fall 'offensive' of anti-war activity." Among those present at this news conference were Benjamin Spock; Mobe Co-Chairman Stewart Meacham, Dave Dellinger, and Cora Weiss; and Vietnam Moratorium coordinator David Hawk.

The official New Mobilization Committee publication, the *New Mobilizer*, carries in its September 25 issue a lead article entitled "Fall Offensive Sky-rockets — Meetings Held with over 5000 in 50 Key Cities!" In this article, there are capsule accounts of numerous meetings held around the country during the week of September 15. Conducted by "New Mobe traveling teams," these sessions resulted in area

offices being established "in between seven and ten locations" Plans for both the October 15 Vietnam Moratorium and the November New Mobe demonstrations were laid at meetings in the following listed cities: Milwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin; Columbus and Toledo, Ohio; Portland, Maine; Miami, Florida; New Orleans; and Dallas-Fort Worth. The New Orleans session included representatives from Women Strike for Peace and Students for a Democratic Society.

A meeting held near St. Louis, Missouri, on September 27 and 28 provides us with yet another instance of major Communist participation in Fall Offensive planning. According to public press accounts, which are confirmed by other information which has come to me, this meeting was called to plan for the October 15 Moratorium and the November 15 march on Washington. Among the groups sponsoring the session were Students for a Democratic Society and the Young Socialist Alliance. One of the featured speakers at the September 27 evening session was YSA member Andrew Pulley. Two discussion leaders were identified as Communist Party member Hershel Walker and YSA member Larry Swingle, a St. Louis area contact for the New Mobe. Another Communist Party member, Orville Leach, was present at the conference; and a key workshop on organizing resistance to the Vietnam war among military personnel was led by two members of the Communist Party: Hershel Walker and Elliot Waxman.

And, as a final piece of evidence of Moratorium-New Mobe collaboration prior to the October 21 formal announcement mentioned earlier, an article in the *New York Times* for Sunday, October 5, stated flatly: "Student organizers of the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium joined forces yesterday with the National [New] Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The two organizations held a news conference and together pledged 'the most massive and, we hope, final demonstration against the war in Vietnam.' Both actions are a part of a 'Fall Offensive'" This item confirms the statement made by Susan Miller at the September 13 Washington Action Committee meeting — *a good two-and-a-half weeks before the October 21 announcement* in Washington.

Two conclusions must be drawn from this mass of evidence. First, it is obvious that collaboration between the Vietnam Moratorium and New Mobe people has existed from the beginning. No matter what Moratorium partisans may try to claim, the cold fact is that VMC plans and leadership have meshed precisely with the plans and leadership of the New Mobilization Committee.

A second conclusion to be drawn is that the leadership of the New Mobilization Committee is top-heavy with Communists and pro-Communists, including members and partisans of both the Communist Party, U.S.A., and, most particularly, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Add to this the

unqualified endorsement given to both the Vietnam Moratorium and the New Mobe marches by the YSA-controlled Student Mobilization Committee, along with the very active participation of both YSA and SMC activists in Fall Offensive planning around the country, and we can see the all-too-clear pattern that emerges.

This pattern is not one of legitimate, sincere protest against presumed inadequacies in our Vietnam policies. Rather, it is one of blatant Communist manipulation, exploitation, and subversion. From the very beginning in Cleveland at the National Anti-War Conference, the Communist presence has been conspicuous. Whenever major planning sessions have been held — whether in San Francisco, Philadelphia, Chicago, or Washington — the trained members and supporters of the Communist and Socialist Workers Parties have been present, lending their invaluable expertise.

Just look for a moment at some of the organizations officially represented in the New Mobilization Committee:

(1) the Chicago Peace Council, several of whose leaders are known Communists and/or closely associated with Communists, represented by such people as Sylvia Kushner and Sid Lens;

(2) the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, New York Mobe affiliate in which Communists of varying hues have played an extraordinarily active role, represented by Dave Dellinger and Norma Becker;

(3) Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, organized in Chicago during January

1966 by Communist Party member Leroy Wolins, a member of New Mobe's Washington Action Committee;

(4) the revolutionary Communist newsweekly *Guardian*, represented by Irving Beinin and Art Goldberg;

(5) the "Conspiracy," an organization made up of defendants currently being tried for conspiracy to foment riots during the August 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, represented by Dellinger and Rennie Davis;

(6) the Student Mobilization Committee, YSA-controlled, represented by Carol Lipman and Allen Myers;

(7) the Student National (formerly Non-violent) Coordinating Committee, represented by Eric Jones;

(8) the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, official youth front for the Communist Party, U.S.A., represented by Marc Beallor;

(9) the Communist Party, U.S.A., officially represented by National Legislative Director Arnold Johnson;

(10) the Socialist Workers Party, represented by such SWP stalwarts as Fred Halstead, Harry Ring, and Gus Horowitz; and

(11) the SWP's official youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance, represented by Peer Vinther, Joe Miles, and YSA National Chairman Larry Seigle.

In addition, at least four national leaders of the New Mobe and participants in Mobe planning and strategy sessions were delegates from the United States at the World Peace Assembly held in East Berlin during

June 1969: New Mobe steering committee member and identified Communist Irving Sarnoff; New Mobe West Coast Co-Chairman Carlton Goodlett; Eleanor Ohman; and steering committee member Barbara Bick. This tie is extremely significant because of its international character. As pointed out above the Assembly was sponsored by the World Peace Council, long-standing and notorious international Communist "peace" front.

Surely, the evidence is conclusive. Despite participation in the New Mobilization Committee-Vietnam Moratorium Committee-Student Mobilization Committee Fall Offensive by sincere pacifists and others concerned with our foreign policies, the dominant presence is clearly a Communist one.

In the words of the Communist Party's West Coast newspaper, the *People's World*, "the Moratorium is being viewed not as the climax or high point but the opening shot of the Fall Offensive against the war." The usage may have been inadvertent, but it is nonetheless apt; the Fall Offensive is indeed a "shot" — a shot at the heart of America during a time of crisis.

Let those who choose to continue to participate in this Fall Offensive do so with no illusions. No matter what their intentions, the result will only be aid to the cause of the Communists in Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi — and their adherents and agents here at home. — STAFF STUDY BY THE HOUSE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE ■ ■