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;

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X Deleted Page(s) X
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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: November 25, 1960

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-28695)

SUBJECT: THOMAS HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C

also Tom

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 - 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)

ENCLOSURE

REC- 89

100-438281-X
~~100-434264~~

MCT 6-46

EX- 107

12 NOV 28 1960

SUBV. CONTROL

NOV 29 1960

~~5 0 DEC 5 1960~~

4-22 (Rev. 1-22-60)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

12/1, 1960

- [ ] Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
- [ ] Service Unit - Room 6524
- [ ] Forward to File Review
- [ ] Attention _____
- [x] Return to Rothwell Forsyth 1252
  Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

- [ ] Regular Request (Analytical Search)
- [x] All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
- [ ] Subversive References Only
- [ ] Nonsubversive References Only
- [ ] Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- [x] Restricted to Locality of Ill, Mich, Cal
- [x] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup
- [ ] Variations

Subject Thomas Hayden
Birthdate & Place
Address

Localities

R# _____ Date 12/1 Searcher Initials FWB

Prod. _____

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
	100-434264	
NI	52-13703	
NI	~~31-51391~~	
NI	~~25-322570~~	
NI	~~94-1-5038-239~~	
	Appx 25 Refs Out of Loc.	
	Not Listed	
	Com.	
NI	91-1036-3	
	4 B.d's	
	Bus Not Searched	
I	100-3-81-9112	

The Michigan Daily

"When Opinions Are Free Truth Will Prevail"

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 implicat[illegible] for 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

(✓) Michigan Daily
Editor: Thomas Hayden

Date: 11-13-60
Edition: (Rec'd RA 11-21-60 VIA MAIL)
Page: 4 Col: 1
Title of Case:

100-438281-X
434264

ENCLOSURE

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, longshoreman 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

A MAJOR PORTION of the article centers on the still-controversial turbulence in San 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 sit-ins "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 actual Party member. Or if Student X and Communist X oppose the House Committee, then the student is an obvious Red.

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 City College of New York.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 6/15/62

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436225)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6296) (P)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
IS-C

OO: NEW YORK

THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC.
(EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
IS-C

Re Bureau letter dated 5/29/62, captioned "THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC."

Investigation Atlanta reflects that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, a former resident at 560 Moreland Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga., moved from Atlanta on or about 5/1/62. He left with postal authorities, Atlanta, a forwarding address of "in care of SDS, Room 405, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, New York."

In regard to THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, he was interviewed by Agents of the Atlanta Office on 10/12/61, in connection with a racial matter, wherein HAYDEN claimed his Civil Rights were violated in assault occurring at Mc Comb, Miss., on 10/9/61. On this occasion, HAYDEN was described as follows:

Sex	Male
Race	White

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (100-37056)(Info)(RM)
1 - Detroit (Info)(RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Milwaukee (Info)(RM)
3 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6296)(The U.S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC.)
(2 - 100-New)(THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)

MCT - 46
REC- 91
436284
JUN 18 1962

51 JUN 25 1962

AFM:cth
(11)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

56 JUN 28 1962

SUBV. CONTROL

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

DOB	12/11/39
POB	Detroit, Michigan
Height	5'10½"
Weight	145 - 150 lbs.
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Medium
Employment	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 NY in letterhead memorandum dated 5/25/62, captioned, "STUDENT 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.

SAC, Atlanta (100-6296) July 2, 1962

REC-2 438281-2

ST-102

Director, FBI ~~(100-436224)~~ 1 - Mr. Kitchens
1 - Mr. Rosack

THOMAS EMMETT 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 information of all offices receiving copies of this communication, [redacted] b3 b7E

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 [redacted] b3 b7E This memorandum should be submitted by return mail.

1 - Chicago (100-37056)
1 - Detroit
1 - Milwaukee
1 - New York
1 - Washington Field

TPR:blw (10)

MAILED 3
JUL 2 1962
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

55 JUL 12 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FD-36 (Rev. 12-[illegible])

F B I

Date: 6/21/62

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6296)(RUC)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
IS-C

THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INC.
(EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)

Re Atlanta airtel captioned as above dated 6/15/62.

On 6/19/62 Miss CONNIE CURRY, [redacted], advised that THOMAS HAYDEN, a representative of "Students for Democratic Society" (SDS), 112 E. 19th St., New York, New York, and who resided formerly in Atlanta, Ga., was planning definitely on going to the Youth Festival During Summer, 1962. She advised that she does not know a close associate having first name of "AL" who is also going but understood that a BOB ROSS was going to the Festival with TOM HAYDEN. No additional data regarding ROSS was known to Miss CURRY other than he was also probably connected with SDS.

b6
b7C

REC-9 100-438281

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (100-37056)(RM)
1 - Detroit (Info.)(RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Milwaukee (Info.)(RM)
2 - WFO (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6296)(EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)
(1- 100-6387)(THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)

AFM/rlw (12)

ST-102

4 JUN 23 1962

7-5

SUBV. COPY

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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
Height	5'10½"
Weight	145 pounds
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown

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

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (~~100-436224~~) 100-438281 DATE: 7/3/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-148904) (RC)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
IS-C
(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
(5)

REC- 28

100-438281-3

16 JUL 3 1962

SUBV. CONTROL

EX 101

60 JUL 12 1962

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/12/62

FROM : 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.

3 - Bureau
(1-100-436224)
1 - Atlanta (100-6296) (Info)
2 - New York
1 - WFO

RAN:pjh
(7)

REC-22 100-438251-4

EX-115

11 JUL 13 1962

SUBV. CONTROL

63 JUL 24 1962

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-436224

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-01-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

Optional Form No. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (~~100-436221~~) DATE: 7/17/62

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6387) (RUC)

SUBJECT: 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 [redacted]

Confidential Source #3 is

Confidential Source #4 is

b7D

100-438221-5

ENCLOSURE

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)

REC- 52

25 JUL 18 1962

EX 101

Copy to: State [redacted] Legat Bonn
by routing slip to: Sen, Paris, Leo's London
info action
date: 7-24-62
by: [illegible]

b3
b7E

SUBV. COVERED

57 JUL 24 1962

ALL APPROPRIATE OFFICES AND AGENCIES NOTIFIED OF DECLASSIFICATION VIA BLS 6/25/76 AND [illegible]

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.

DECLASSIFIED
6.21.76
AJD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
July 17, 1962

[redacted]

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

On June 19, 1962, Miss CONNIE CURRY, [redacted] 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. b6 b7C

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 BOB ROSS, 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.

[redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED
354 OCT 12 1970

ENCLOSURE
100-435245-5

RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

On October 12, 1961, THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, 560 Moreland Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia, advised representatives 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
Height	5'10½"
Weight	145 to 150 pounds
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 Movement. 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

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.

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 defunct as 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.

[redacted]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-40690) RUC.

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
(8)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/27/79 BY~~

13 ENCLOSURE

REC- 50 EX-100

REC- 49 100-438281-6

18 AUG 10 1962

EX-108

SUBV. CONTROL

57 AUG 30 1962

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 100-436224

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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:

Father: John F. Hayden, born 1907 at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and is a citizen of the United States. HAYDEN

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

MRS. JOHN F. HAYDEN

He indicated that he was last married on October 1, 1961 to Sandra Cason Hayden who was born [redacted] at [redacted] This marriage has not been terminated and his spouse is residing with him at the above address. b6 b7C

MRS. THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

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."

AGENCY [redacted] Prague, Rom, London, Paris b3 b7E

REQ. REC'D

DATE FORW. 8-20-62

INIT. INTV.

BY

100-438281-6

COPIES DESTROYED

ENCLOSURE

354 OCT 12 1970

RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

He was described on application as follows:

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

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.

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, captioned "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.

3 - Detroit
6 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
3 - Atlanta (REGISTERED MAIL) (ENC. 4)
(1 - 100-6367 THOMAS E HAYDEN)
(1 - 100-6396 USFC)
3 - New York (REGISTERED) (ENC 4) (1 - 100-142451 USFC)
CLS:CAB
(15)

NOT RECORDED
183 JUL 23 1962

6 AUG 3 1962

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-436224-287

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-16-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Director, FBI DATE: 9/20/62

FROM : Legat, Bern (100-465) (RUC)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

On 7/30/62 information in Atlanta memorandum dated 7/17/62 was furnished to the following sources with a request that this office be advised if subject comes to attention:

[redacted] (U)

b7D

Information furnished to the Embassy sources was classified ~~confidential~~. (U)

4 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison)
(1 - Atlanta)
1 - Bern

WFD:mls
(5)

REC- 51

100-413828 1-7

EX-102

9 SEP 27 1962

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF Clara Fritz DATE 10/25/79 [illegible]

Copy to Atlanta
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 9-27-62
by [illegible]

SUBV. CONTROL

58 OCT 2 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-1 GSK/JS 10-23-99
REASON - FCIM II, 1.2.4.2 (1)
DATE OF REVIEW 9-20-99
Computer # 5110

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-01-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 12/9/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224) 438281 7P2172 CG, NK 12-16 mc

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-39500) (RUC)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

Re Newark airtel 12/3/64.

Chicago file review concerning captioned subject was submitted to Newark by letter dated 10/6/64 entitled "THE NEWARK FULL EMPLOYMENT PROJECT;RM" Newark file 157-1608.

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

CNF:mec
(6)

REC-21 100-438281-8

EX-117 1 DEC 11 1964

58 DEC 17 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

C C - Wick

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 10/22/64

Transmit the following in AIRTEL
(Type 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
OO: 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.

6 - 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 - 100-47717) (BAYARD RUSTIN)
(1 - [redacted]

OAC:MJ
(14)

100-438281
NOT RECORDED
29 OCT 29 1964

CARBON COPY

ENCLOSURE

b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-1850-8

58 NOV 3 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NK 157-1608
NK 100-48052

The first source used in enclosed letterhead memorandum is [redacted], who furnished the information orally to SA OLIVER A. CHALIFOUX. b7D

The second source is [redacted]

The third source is [redacted]

The fourth source is [redacted] (by request.) b6 b7C b7D

Enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified confidential because data reported by [redacted] could result in identification of a confidential source of continuing value and compromise his future effectiveness. b7D

One copy of the letterhead memorandum is being furnished to Secret Service locally.

DECLASSIFIED
6-21-96
AJB

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-10-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

CONF[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Newark, 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 [redacted] 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.

b6
b7C

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.

[redacted]

100-438281

ENCLOSURE

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.

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 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. This 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. This 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.

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

best available copy

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

[illegible], New Jersey

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

October [illegible], 1[illegible]

	[illegible] COUNTY [illegible]
Title	[illegible] IN RACIAL MATTERS
	RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Information cited and captioned as above, at [illegible], New Jersey.

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.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 10/16/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

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

Re Newark tel and LHM 7/28/64 and Newark letter to New York 9/25/64 captioned "The Newark Full Employment Project".

The title of this case is being marked changed to reflect the current name of the organization. The new name appears on throwaway handbills being distributed by the organization.

100-438281

5 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
(1 - ~~100-436224~~) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Detroit (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
8 - Newark
(1 - 100-47808) (CARL WITTMAN)
(1 - 100-) (THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN)
(1 - 100-46920) (DAVE NEEDLEMAN)
(1 - [redacted]) b7D

OAC/raz
(19)

100-438281
NOT RECORDED
OCT 23 1964

157-1850-5

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

68 OCT 29 1964

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.

This communication is classified ~~confidential~~ since information from NK T-1, T-2 and T-4 could result in identification of informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness and because of NK T-3's [redacted] b7D

One copy of this LHM is being furnished to Secret Service locally.

The following sources were used in LHM:

NK T-1
NK T-2
NK T-3 [redacted] b7D
(by request)

NK T-4
NK T-5 [redacted]
(by request)

DECLASSIFIED 6.21.76 AJD

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-10-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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 Mamie Hayes, [redacted] 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.

b6
b7C

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 [redacted] and her residence at [redacted] The agreement was signed by Hayden 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.

b6
b7C

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

[redacted]

100-438281

ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

Ter[redacted] of Agreement for 123 Rid[redacted]ood Avenue

Landlady: Mrs. Mamie Hayes, 105 Shanley 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
   i. instruct first-floor tenants not to use second-floor bathroom
   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

3. 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. Hayes. 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.

Mamie Hayes
Mamie Hayes
[redacted]

Thomas Hayden
Thomas Hayden
194 Ridgewood Ave.

b6
b7C

Palestine Watkins
Palestine Watkins
[redacted]

Carl Wittman
Carl Wittman
[redacted]

The above named persons having appeared before me, I affix my seal, this 8th day of October 1964

Elie Newman
Notary Public of New Jersey.
Comm exp May 19th 1968

[redacted]

NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

NK T-1 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.

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

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 UNION PROJECT

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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 abovabove 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

438281-9

Director, FBI (100-436224)

REC 61

1 - Mr. Pettit

THOMAS EMMITT HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C

EX-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 [redacted] b3 b7E

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

BGLP:baf (4)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 25
DEC 11 1964
COMM-FBI

64 DEC 21 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-16-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 12/3/64
Date:

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48095) (P)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

Re Newark letter to Detroit, 11/27/64.

[redacted] (protect, by request, contact insufficient to judge his reliability) advised, 12/1/64, he went to Washington, D. C., 11/28/64, to participate in gathering of civil rights groups endeavoring to keep Mississippi delegates to Congress from being seated. [redacted] Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), led by TOM HAYDEN, CARL WITTMAN, and BARRY KALISH, also in Washington representing NCUP. While in Washington, [redacted] WITTMAN were introduced by HAYDEN to two girls HAYDEN said were his cousins. [redacted] heard HAYDEN say these girls are employed in some high Government office and handle security information. HAYDEN indicated these girls not in sympathy with HAYDEN's activity in civil rights, and HAYDEN commented he is probably black sheep in his family. HAYDEN claimed these girls reside together in apartment, Arlington, Virginia, and one cousin is very close to him because they were raised together. WITTMAN sat and talked with girls.

b6
b7C
b7D

3-Bureau (RM)
2-Atlanta (RM)
2-Chicago (100-39500) (RM)
2-Detroit (RM)
2-Newark
1-157-1608, NCUP

OAC:jcj
(11)

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF~~
~~DATE~~

100-430814

REC 61
EX-101

~~DECLASSIFIED BY ON 11/12/94~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

DEC 4 1964

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON - FCIM II 1.2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 12/3/84
~~Computer # 5110~~

Let - Newark 12/15/64
D. D. Wick

Approved: RWB
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBV. CONTROL

[redacted] did not recall name of girls but provided following description of them: b7D

UNSUB #1

Sex	Female
Race	White
Hair	Blond, medium length
Height	Approximately 5 feet 6 inches (in high heels)
Age	20-21
Weight	120-130 pounds
Build	Slim, petite
Appearance	Very attractive
Characteristics	No unusual characteristics or marks.

UNSUB #2

Sex	Female
Race	White
Hair	Brunette
Height	Approximately 5 feet 6 inches (in high heels)
Age	Approximately 23
Weight	120-130 pounds
Build	Slim, petite
Appearance	Very attractive
Characteristics	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.

[redacted] U. S. Post Office, Swarthmore, 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 b6 b7C

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. [redacted] 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. (U) 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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-28-2021 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 12/9/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224) 438281

FD217 SM + NK 12-15-64

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

4/12/99 spr mailing

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6/12/96 BY SP8 Bj/Bwg~~

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

#260,152

Attached for the Bureau are 12 copies of a LHM regarding visit by subject to Jackson, Mississippi, over week-end of 12/4-7/64. Attached LHM is furnished Jackson for its information.

Sources used in attached LHM are:

NK T-1 [redacted] (Protect by request) b6 b7C b7D

NK T-2 [redacted] PSI b7D

3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
(1 - 157-) (NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT)
(1 - 157-) (MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY)
2 - Jackson (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
(1 - 157-) (MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY)
5 - Newark
(1 - 157-1608) (NCUP)
(1 - 157-1720) (MFDP)
(1 - 100-48052) (CIRM)
(1 - [redacted] b7D

100-438281-10

OAC:jah
(10)

REC- 11

DEC 15 1964

C. C. Wick

DEC 16 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: _____ Sent _____ Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

100-442529
157-1850-
62-109555

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6/25/96 AND: mwg
NOTIFIED OF DECLASSIFICATION VIA E/S 6/25/96.

NK 100-48095

NK T-3

NK T-4

b7D

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.

DECLASSIFIED
6.21.76

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

November 9, 1964

DECEMBER

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER -C

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 [illegible] 4/12/89 ON 6/12/86 #260,152

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.

[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

DEC 16 1964

100-438281-10

[redacted]

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

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.

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-28-2021 BY [redacted]

5010-107
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-~~436224~~) 438281 DATE: February 23, 1965

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-28695) (RUC)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C
(OO: NEWARK)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/6/99 BY

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

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. He received an A.B. degree on 6/17/61, having majored in the field of English.

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.

A clipping from the "Ann Arbor News", 10/11/61, reports that HAYDEN and another officer of the National Student Association were dragged from their cars as they drove beside a Negro anti-segregation march in Mc Comb, Mississippi.

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. He completed 40 hours of study, leaving in May of 1964. No advance degree had been conferred for this graduate study.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Newark (RM) (Enc. 21)
(1 - 100-48095)
(1 - 157-1608)
1-Detroit
LMC/dd
(5)

EX-112
REC-120 100-438281-11
8 FEB 25 1965

58 MAR 5 1965

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

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 1906, 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 12/23/64, Mrs. JOHN F. HAYDEN, 14842 Craig Court, Warren, Michigan, was contacted telephonically by SA COOPER, utilizing the pretext of [redacted] 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 Hou~~r~~se 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 1Y.

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 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. 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 HAYDEN, wife, ESTHER, residing at [redacted] b6 b7C 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.

Julie A. Voreck

[redacted] b6 b7C

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 VORECK.

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, [redacted] This individual is probably the subject's cousin referred to in referenced Newark airtel to Bureau dated 12/3/64. b6 b7C

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.)

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 10/11/61.

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

DE 100-28695

Complexion	Fair
Marital Status	Married
Wife	SANDRA HAYDEN, nee CASON

Mrs. Thomas Emmett Hayden

N.J.
Texas

TELETYPE UNIT
JAN 16 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

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.

~~SA~~ SPECIAL AGENT PERSONNEL FBI ATTENDED PUBLIC MEETING IN MANHATTAN CENTER,
~~NYC~~ NEW YORK CITY, 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
HELD UNDER AUSPECIES OF THE FIFTH AVENUE PEACE PARADE COMMITTEE, ~~NYC~~ NEW YORK CITY.

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

END PAGE ONE

JAN 25 1966

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
140 JAN 20 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-123974

62-111617-9

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

HOWEVER EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL IS DEMANDED AS WELL AS NO OCCUPATION BY UNITED STATES ~~U.S.~~ FORCES. MEETING TERMINATED APPROXIMATELY FIVE PM. DETAILS OF MEETING WILL BE INCORPORATED IN REPORT BEING PREPARED BY NEW YORK OFFICE. ~~NYO.~~

END;

WA..MSE

FBI WS WASH DC

cc- Mr. Sullivan

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (~~100-436224~~) 100-438281

DATE: MAR 2 1965

FROM : 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. 100-438281-11
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.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/13/81 BY

REC-109

100-438281-12

21 MAR 4 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

2 - Bureau RM
2 - Newark
(1 - 157-1608) (NCUP)
DRS:grw
(4)

6 MAR 10 1965

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

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-28-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 12/21/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224) 438281- FD217 6. NR. 1-7-65 ml mrg

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM-C

RE: New York tel, 12/18/65, 14 in captioned matter.

Enclosed is original and seven copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination. Two copies each are being furnished NYO and WFO.

LHM is classified SECRET [redacted] in view of information obtained from NK T-1 [redacted] which information if revealed could jeopardize security of these sources, AND COULD REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO CAUSE SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY.

Sources utilized in attached LHM are as follows: b3 b7D b7E

NK T-1 [redacted]	New York tel, 12/18/65, captioned as above
NK T-2 [redacted]	Documentation of [redacted]
NK T-3 unidentified source	New York tel, 12/18/65, captioned as above

3-Bureau (Enc.3) (RM)
2-New York (Enc.2) (RM)
2-Washington Field (Enc.2) (RM)
3-Newark
(1-100-47373) (SDS)
[redacted] b7D
BJC:lmd
(10)

REC-133 100-438281-13 1-6-66 18 DEC 22 1965

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

69 JAN 21 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

Copy to State end
by routing slip for Legats
info action
Date 1-5-66 Paris
by TGM/cen

E C Wick

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
NOTIFIED OF UPGRADE IN SECURITY
6/25/76

NK 100-43095

NK T-4 Instant LHM

[redacted] b7D

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:	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
Race:	White
Sex:	Male
DOB:	12/11/39
POB:	Detroit, Michigan
Height:	5'11"
Build:	Slender
Weight:	150
Hair:	Black
Eyes:	Brown
Complexion:	Sallow
Residence:	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.

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-16-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

[redacted]

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Newark, New Jersey
December 21, 1965

~~SECRET~~

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C

NK T-1 advised on December 13, 1965, 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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (U)

[redacted] ~~SECRET~~

~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

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

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354 OCT 12 1970

100-438281-13

ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

SECRET

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. (U)

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

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. (U)

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. (U)

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, (U)

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

1

SECRET

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.)"

[redacted]

SECRET

[redacted]

[redacted]

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

[redacted]

[redacted]

SECRET

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey
December 21, 1965

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

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.

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.

SECRET

TELETYPE UNIT
DEC 18 1965
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Wick
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

$

FBI NEW YORK

515 PM URGENT 12-18-65 AXS

TO DIRECTOR,---1--- ENCODED (100-438281)

FROM NEW YORK (100-148904) 2P

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, SM-C.

RENEW YORK AIRTELS TO BUREAU DECEMBER FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE ENTITLED "HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, IS-C."

[redacted] [redacted] ADVISED DECEMBER THIRTEEN NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE THAT HERBERT APTHEKER, DIRECTOR OF AMERICAN INSTITUTE 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, PURPOSE OF THIS TRIP WAS NOT DETERMINED

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

RECORDS, SABENA AIRLINES, NEW YORK CITY, REFLECTED AS OF DECEMBER FIFTEEN NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE THAT HERBERT APTHEKER AND STAUGHTON LYND HAVE RESERVAGIONS ON SABENA FLIGHT FIVE FOUR EIGHT TO LEAVE J. F. KENNEDY AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY, SUNDAY, DECEMBER NINETEENTH NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE AT EIGHT THIRTY PM, EN ROUTE BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, AT BRUSSELS, THEY BOARD FLIGHT OK FIVE THREE SIX, DECEMBER TWENTY NINETEEN SIXTY

END OF PAGE ONE

REC-81 100-438281-14

JAN 6 1966

DEC 10 2 25 PM '66

SECRET

51 JAN 12 1966

(U)

b3
b7D

SECRET

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 THESE INDIVIDUALS TO HANOI. THOMAS HAYDEN PROBABLY IDENTICAL WITH THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, NEWARK SUBJECT, WHO HAS BEEN AFFLIATED WITH STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE. WASHINGTON 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. (U)

ELR

FBI WASH DC

SECRET

-22 (Rev. 1-22-60)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

Dec 18, 1965

- [ ] Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
- [ ] Service Unit - Room 6524
- [ ] Forward to File Review
- [x] Attention Dungus
- [x] Return to Duty Agent 800RB
  Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

- [ ] Regular Request (Analytical Search)
- [ ] All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
- [x] Subversive References Only
- [ ] Nonsubversive References Only
- [ ] Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- [ ] Restricted to Locality of _____
- [ ] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup
- [ ] Variations

Subject Thomas Emmett Hayden
Birthdate & Place 12-11-39 Detroit Mich
Address

Localities

R# Date 12-18-65 Searcher Initials

Prod.

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
I	100-438281	
I	44-18407	
	62-109555-18	
	62-109555-20, 21	
	100-3-81-9130	
	100-427723-48	
	100-436224-249	
	100-439048-527 PA#8777C, 115	
	157-6-28-139	
	157-446-2	
	157-1850-5, 10	
	Thomas E.	
	44-18747	
	62-22005-2	
	62-109555-62	
	72-1495-227 E PA#36	
	100-10355-1014 PA#5	
	~~100-399830-82 PA#3~~	

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Thomas Emmett Hayslen

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 12-18 Searcher Initial

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
Thomas E.	
157-6-28-139	
157-467-1	
Thomas	
44-19646-31 EP# 265	
62-110048-445	
[redacted]	b3 b7E
100-15252-118 EP# 183	
100-399830-51 P# 70	
100-436224-386 EP# 2; 398 EP# 10.	
100-439048-527 P# 87, 770, 115	
100-439048-350, 615 P# 9, 10, 20, 21, 60	
[redacted]	b3 b7E

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 12/23/65

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.

3 - Bureau
2 - New York (RM)
(1-100-148904)
(1-100-80532)
1 - Newark (100-48095)(RM)
1 - WFO

GTT:sch
(7)

AIRTEL

REC 30 100-438281-15
1-6-66
14 DEC 23 1965

EX-103

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 12/29/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436224)

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

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies for the Bureau, two for New York and one for Newark, of LHM setting forth travel plans of subject.

Information included in LHM describes issuance of a passport to the subject for proposed travel to Europe. It is to be noted that recent newspaper articles reflect that HAYDEN was traveling to Hanoi with Professor STAUGHTON LYND and HERBERT APTHEKER.

Copy to State, Legat Paris, Manila
by routing slip for
☐ info ☒ action
date 1-5-66
by IJM/CSM

3 - Bureau (Encl.11)
2 - New York (Encl.2)(RM)
1 - Newark (Encl.1)(RM)
1 - WFO

GTT:Sch
(7)

AIRTEL

11 - ENCLOSURE

REC-133 100-436281-16

1-6-66

18 DEC 30 1965

DEC 30

SUBM CONTROL

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

50 JAN 12 1966

b3
b7E

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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."

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354 OCT 12 1970

100-438281-16

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

b6
b7C

The following description of Hayden appeared in his passport file:

Height:	5 feet, 10 inches
Hair:	Black
Eyes:	Brown
Occupation:	Community organization specialist

This document contains neither [illegible] of [illegible] and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-28-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Mack
1 - Mr. McNiff

(SC) 100-438281

Date: January 24, 1966

To: Office of Special Investigations
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
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 address of [redacted]

b6
b7C

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

100-438281-17

Enclosures - 2

REC- 57

JAN 25 1966

TJM:sss
(6)

DECLASSIFIED 6-21-76

EX-102

NOTE:

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.

[redacted]

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

BY COURIER SVC.
87 JAN 25
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Wick
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

70 FEB 3 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Upon removal of classified material, this letter becomes unclassified.

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-16-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~
[redacted]

(SC) 100-123974
100-396916

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Mr. Franck
1 - Mr. McNiff

Date: December 21, 1965

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
SECURITY MATTER - C

THOMAS HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C

This is to confirm information telephonically furnished by Special Agent Howard W. Little of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the evening of December 18, 1965, to Duty Officer J. J. Kelly of the State Department and [redacted] to the effect that Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and one Thomas Hayden (not further identified) were scheduled to depart New York City at 8:30 p.m. on December 19, 1965, on route to Brussels, Belgium. From Brussels they would continue on to Prague, Czechoslovakia, on December 20, 1965. (U) (S)

b3
b7E

It has been previously ascertained that the destination of Aptheker and Lynd is Hanoi, North Vietnam. The purpose and final destination of Hayden's trip is unknown at this time. (U)

1 - Manila (see note page two)
4 - Paris (see note page two)
2 - New York (see note page two) 100-86538
2 - New Haven (see note page two) 100-18293
2 - Newark (see note page two)
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)
1 - 100-438281 (Hayden)
TJM:baf
(22)

CLASSIFIED BY [redacted] 4417 GTT/rjd
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2,3
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

~~SECRET~~

DUPLICATE YELLOW [redacted]

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

100-438281
NOT RECORDED
128 DEC 22 1965

[redacted]
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

51 JAN 24 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

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. (U)

1 - Director
[redacted]

b3
b7E

Attention: Deputy Director, [redacted]

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. (U)

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

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. (U)

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) ~~(S)~~

~~SECRET~~ [redacted]

DUPLICATE YELLOW

SECRET

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 nor the Security Index. He has been active in the civil rights movement and has been affiliated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. (U)

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

NOTE:

This letter is classified ~~"Confidential"~~ SECRET as it contains information furnished by [redacted], the unauthorized disclosure of which information could reasonably result in the identification of this source and be detrimental to the national defense interests of this country. (U) b7D

DUPLICATE YELLOW

SECRET

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-28-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

DOWNGRADED

~~TOP SECRET~~

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET
11/18/16 ESSM24K32

SAC, Newark (100-48095) 2/1/66

Director, FBI (100-438281) 1 - Mr. McNiff

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF 11/25/79

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Information was received by the Bureau in January, 1966, from a most sensitive and reliable source to the effect that Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden had on their recent peace mission stopped in Moscow, Russia. During a discussion in Moscow, Aptheker and Lynd expressed the view that it would be difficult to set up an organization (probably a medical aid committee) in the United States to aid the North Vietnamese, as such action would constitute aid to the enemy. Aptheker suggested, however, that if such an organization were set up in Canada by the Canadian Communist Party, he would be able to influence a great number of people in the United States to use it as their "channel." (U)

According to information provided by this source, Lynd left a very favorable impression; but, it was noted, Aptheker related that Hayden was very mildly anti-communist and objected to being involved in anything that could be labeled as communist. On the other hand, Aptheker stated that Lynd would not back out of any discussion simply because he did not necessarily agree with all phases of the discussion. (U)

~~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.~~ (U)

REC-61

2 - New Haven (100-18293)
3 - New York (100-80532) (100-4931)
1 - Detroit [redacted]

100-438281-18

MAILED 3
FEB 1 - 1966
COMM-FBI

TJM:llp
(15)

11 FEB 2 1966

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1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-123974 (Herbert Aptheker)
1 - 100-396916 (Staughton Lynd)
1 - 100-3 (CPUSA)
1 - [redacted]

CLASSIFIED BY 4417 GTC
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

~~TOP SECRET~~

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Wick
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

54 FEB 7 1966

Letter to Newark
RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
100-438281

NOTE:

b3
b7D
b7E

YALE PROFESSOR IS VISITING HANOI

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 without 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 of embarrassing the organization with which he is affiliated, rejected it a [illegible] before the scheduled departure.

Mr. Lynd 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 escalated, 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 as gifts or loans from individual friends. One of us, Professor Staughton Lynd, has specifically been asked to make this fact-finding effort by the magazine Viet Report, to the editorial board of which he belongs."

Viet Report, a monthly, is published in New York. It is edited by Carol Brightman, a 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 Reconciliation 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 opposed 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 document," he said, "but a memorandum that could be taken from meeting to meeting in this country."

Mr. Aptheker is the director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies here. He has filled a number of Communist party posts. He is often cited in the party press as "one of America's most eminent historians."

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 United States, brought a suit challenging the foreign travel restrictions on American Communists. The suit was upheld.

Mr. Hayden, 26 years old, is an organizer for the New Community Union Project in Newark. The project, which was set up by the Students for a Democratic Society, seeks to organize 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.

Records

5- File DNE COPY IN 100-438281 (Hayden)

100-438281-
NOT RECORDED
191 JAN 17 1966

JAN 17 1966

TELETYPE UNIT
JAN 9 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Wick
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

9-00 PM URGENT 1-9-66 PJK

TO DIRECTOR 2

FROM NEW YORK /100-80532/

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, IS-C

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, SM-C

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, SM-C

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 [redacted] OBSERVED BY SPECIAL AGENT PERSONNEL. LHM FOLLOWS. REGISTERED MAIL COPIES O NEWARK AND NEW HAVEN.

END

RPT FBI... WAS H DC

JAN 13 1966

Memo Baumgardner to Sullivan 1/10/66 EBR/pdn

100-443201

NOT RECORDED
37 JAN 13 1966

51 JAN 18 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-16-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 1/6/66

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
IS = C; ISA 1950

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
SM - C

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

Re NY airtel to Bureau 1/4/66.

Enclosed for Bureau and offices listed, are copies of LHM in above case concerning anticipated return of subjects to US, from Hanoi, North Viet Nam. The sources utilized in attached LHM are identified as follows:

5 - Bureau (100-123974)(Enc. 7)(RM)
2 - Newark (100-40690)(THOMAS HAYDEN)(Enc. 2)(RM)
2 - New Haven (100-18293)(STAUGHTON LYND)(Enc. 2)(RM)
1 - New York (100-110521)(STAUGHTON LYND) 43
1 - New York (100-148904)(THOMAS HAYDEN) 43
1 - New York (100-154785)(VIDEM)(Sec. 43)
1 - New York (100=155867)(Viet Report)(Sec. 43)
1 - New York

VJA/kss
(15)

CARBON COPY

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
174 JAN 11 1966

ENCLOSURE

51 JAN 13 1966

b7D

1st Source
2nd Source

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

This LHM is classified "[redacted]" 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. ASCHERL.

The 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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-16-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
January 6, 1966

SECRET

[redacted]

Bufile 100-123974
NYfile 100-80532

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 Hanoi, North Viet Nam. It is noted that they departed from John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, on December 19, 1965. (U)

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. (U)

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 (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.

SECRET

[redacted]

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification
CLASSIFIED BY 4417 GTM/gd 6/22/76
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE 100-438281

Herbert Eugene Aptheker;
Staughton Craig Lynd
Thomas Emmett Hayden

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 Policy in Viet Nam. (U)

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." (U)

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." (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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 United States. (U)

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. (U)

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: (U)

Carol Brightman
[redacted]

John McDermott
[redacted]

Martin Nicolaus
[redacted]

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b7C

MASS

(U)

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. (U)

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

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. (U)

A characterization of the SCTC is set forth in the Appendix attached hereto. (U)

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. (U)

"The Worker" September 22, 1964, page 7, Column 1, described Arnold Johnson as National Public Relations Director, CP, USA. (U)

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

Herbert Eugene Aptheker;
Staughton Craig Lynd
Thomas Emmett Hayden

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

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) ~~(S)~~

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. (U)

[illegible]

APPENDIX

1.

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, [redacted] a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee advised as follows:

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Declassified Authority
NARA, Date 11/13/2014

APPENDIX

2.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR
TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC)

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 1/4/66

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
IS - C

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
SM - C

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

[redacted], furnished the following information on 1/3/66: (U) b7D

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

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

100-438281

VJA/kss
(12)

RECORDED
162 JAN 6 1966

CARBON COPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

CLASSIFIED BY 4417 GTL/yd 6/22/76
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

53 JAN 1 2 1966

ALL APPROPRIATE OFFICES AND AGENCIES NOTIFIED OF CLASSIFICATION PER R/S 6/22/76

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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." (C) (U)

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

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 subjectsto US and the reception planned for them will be available shortly from sources other than [redacted] which information can be disseminated . (C) (U) b7D

best available copy

REGISTERED MAIL -
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

JAN 5 1966

Dear Mr. Keagley:

Information has been furnished to this Department by the Federal Bureau of Investigation reflecting that Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Emmett Hayden are traveling to North Viet Nam.

The information, contained in FBI memoranda dated December 9, 1965 and December 14, 1965 reflects that the above individuals would depart from New York on December 19, 1965, arrive in Prague on December 20 and proceed from there to Hanoi.

Herbert Aptheker is the bearer of Passport No. E 681400 issued on July 10, 1964. Staughton Lynd was issued Passport No. [redacted] on December 8, 1965 at Boston. Thomas Emmett Hayden was issued Passport No. F 1027114 on December 16, 1965 at New York. None of these individuals have passports validated for travel in North Viet Nam.

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

This Department is presently in the process of checking with its posts in the Far East in an effort to obtain further information and evidence concerning the travel of these individuals. We will keep you advised of all developments.

Sincerely yours,

14 JAN 6 1966

Abba P. Schwartz

The Honorable
J. Walter Yeagley,
Assistant Attorney General,
Criminal Division,
Department of Justice.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CC: Director, FBI

58 JAN 19 1966

NAT. INT. SEC.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6
b7C

62-111917-3

100-438281

REC'D JAN 7 1966

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
January 6, 1966

Bufile 100-123974
NYfile 100-80532

[redacted]

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

[redacted]

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 6-10-81 BY 2842~~

ENCLOSURE

~~100-445466~~

PMW/BA/Cab

100-438281-19

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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 I-94 reflected Lynd's residence as [redacted] He claimed United States citizenship and used Passport Number [redacted] b6 b7C

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 6-12-81 BY 2842 PMJ/BA/Cab~~

~~445166-1~~

100-438281-19

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.
NY 100-148904

[redacted]

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, Brooklyn, New York, and Staughton Lynd of New Haven, Connecticut on their trip to Prague, Czechoslovakia, leaving New York December 19, 1965. (U)

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 F1027114. (U)

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. (U)

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). (U)

[redacted]

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 6-12-81 BY 8842
PMD/BA/cab

100-438281-19
ENCLOSURE
~~100-445166~~

[redacted]

Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden
Security Matter - C

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (U)

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: (U)

"1. Named after the founder of the American Communist Party. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, 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, 1948, p. 270).

3. Among organizations created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the Party, 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). (U)

[redacted]

[redacted]

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 3-4-64)

Date 1/24/66

To:

[X] Director

FILE BU 100-438281
NK 100-48095

Att.: Room 827RB

[ ] SAC

Title THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

[ ] ASAC

[ ] Supv.

[ ] Agent

[ ] SE

[ ] IC

[ ] CC

[ ] Steno

[ ] Clerk

ACTION DESIRED

[ ] Acknowledge
[ ] Assign ____ Reassign ____
[ ] Bring file
[ ] Call me
[ ] Correct
[ ] Deadline ____
[ ] Deadline passed
[ ] Delinquent
[ ] Discontinue
[ ] Expedite
[ ] File
[ ] For information
[ ] Initial & return
[ ] Leads need attention

[ ] Open Case
[ ] Prepare lead cards
[ ] Prepare tickler
[ ] Recharge serials
[ ] Return assignment card
[ ] Return file
[ ] Return serials
[ ] Search and return
[ ] See me
[ ] Send Serials ____
to ____
[ ] Submit new charge out
[ ] Submit report by ____
[ ] Type

SUBV. CONTROL
CONSOLIDATION

[ ] Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

Re Routing Slip referencing NK airtel 1/19/66.

Amended page of LHM submitted with additional page (page four, characterization of AIMS).

16-ENCLOSURE

SAC R. W. BACHMAN
RWB
mm

See reverse side

Office NEWARK

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 1/19/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

Re Newark airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 12/21/65.

Enclosed is original and seven copies of a letterhead memorandum reporting subject's return to the United States.

Letterhead memorandum is classified ~~confidential~~ in view of information reported by [redacted] and used in characterization of HERBERT APTHEKER. This information, if revealed, could jeopardize the security of this informant.

b7D

DECLASSIFIED 6.22.76

(U)

Copy to: end State [redacted] Legate Paris Manila
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 2-4-66
by R JM/cer

b3
b7E

REC-35

100-438281-20

2 JAN 20 1966

3-Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
1-Newark
BJC:jmc
(4)

ENCLOSURE

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: E. G. Wick Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Newark, New Jersey
January 19, 1966

[redacted]

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C
AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

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. (U)

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 Flight 119 from Paris, on January 9, 1966. (U)

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

At an airport news conference, Lynd related information they had gathered during their stay in North Vietnam. Among those seen by the three was Pham Van 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. (U)

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. (U)

[redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED
354 OCT 12 1970

100-438281-20

ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

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. (U)

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (U)

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

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. (U)

[redacted]

1

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

Legat, Bern

January 26, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT APTHEKER
SM - C
Bufile 100-123974
Bern file 100-771

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 YELLOW

57 FEB 2 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

1/13/66

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 made the subject of an LHM, 5 copies of which are enclosed. b3 b7D b7E

[redacted] and the [redacted] could furnish no information regarding the subjects' stop at Zurich.

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

7 - Bureau (5 encls)
(1 - NYC, 1 encl)
(1 - New Haven, 1 encl)
1 - Liaison (sent direct)
3 - Bern
HDG:rn
(11)

ENCLOSURE

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
199 JAN 26 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

57

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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

"Declarations on their Way Through in Zurich. "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 contents are not to be distributed outside your agency."

100-43X281

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."

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

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.

Original filed in: 66-17391-2830

100-438281-

NOT RECORDED
176 FEB 10 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1/24/66 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 or subject matter files.

67 FEB 14 1966

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 1-21-66

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record ~~100-445166~~

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."

Original filed in: 66-1731-2822

100-438281
~~100-445166~~
NOT RECORDED
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 or subject matter files.

FEB 4 1966

Director, FBI (100-396916) 1/19/66

Legat, Manila

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, Aka
SM - C
(OO: NH)
(Manila file 100-51)(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.

100-439281
NOT RECORDED
170 JAN 27 1966

7 - Bureau
(1 - Foreign Liaison)
(1 - New Haven)(Info)
(1 - New York)(Info)
(1 - Newark)(Info)
3 - Manila
RBH:ejg
(10)

ORIGINAL FILED IN CASE FILE

20 FEB 1966

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 1/12/66

CONFIDENTIAL

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in Plain Text or Code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
IS-C; ISA, 1950

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
SM-C

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM-C

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 PMC/BAK
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-12-86
release 1x2

ReNYairtel to Bu, 1/9/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau and offices listed are copies of LHM pertaining to the arrival of the above three subjects at the Port of New York on 1/9/66, on their return trip from Hanoi, North Vietnam.

5 - Bureau (100-123974) (Encl. 7) (RM)
2 - Newark (100-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (Encl. 2) (RM)
2 - New Haven (100-13293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (Encl.2) (RM)
1 - New York (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND) (#43)
1 - New York (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (#43)
1 - New York (100-154785) (VIDEM) (#43)
1 - New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Approved Sent M Per
Special Agent in Charge

NOT RECORDED
98 JAN 24 1966

ENCLOSURE

55 FEB 1 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The confidential source utilized in the attached LHM is [redacted]. (U) b7D

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.

DECLASSIFIED 6-22-76

Special Agents who observed the arrival 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 108th INTC Group and Secret Service.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

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 12, 1966

[redacted]

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 Hanoi, 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.M.

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

100-438287

Herbert Eugene Aptheker;
Staughton Craig Lynd
Thomas Emmett Hayden

b7E

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."

[redacted]

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

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 Moscow 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 Mr. Hayden, 26, a community organizer and one of the founders of the Students for a Democratic

[redacted]

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Herbert Eugene Aptheker
Staughton Craig Lynd
Thomas Emmett Hayden

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

[redacted]

[redacted]

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."

[redacted]

[redacted]

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).

[redacted]

[redacted]

Herbert Eugene Aptheker
Staughton Craig 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)"

[redacted]

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 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."

Thomas J. Hayden

100-438281
~~100-445166~~

NOT RECORDED
199 JAN 18 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-12-66 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 or subject matter files.

JAN 24 1966

4-3 (Rev. 12-1-65)

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

Tolson
DeLoach ✓
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen ✓
Sullivan ✓
Tavel
Trotter
Wick
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

SD-01

URGENT 1-12-66

TO DIRECTOR

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.

HENRY D. GRUSH

RECEIVED: 8:31 AM CAB

NY previously advised by cover UBL

5 CPR

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

100-438281

~~100-445166~~

NOT RECORDED

102 JAN 14 1966

JAN 13 1966

MR. SULLIVAN

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-1239746

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

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."

100-438281
~~100-445166~~
NOT RECORDED
199 JAN 18 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-10-66 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 or subject matter files.

66 JAN 21 1966

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974) DATE: 1/6/66

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
IS - C;
ISA - 50;

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
SM - C;

Thomas Emmett Hayden, aka

THOMAS HAYDEN
SM - C

ReBulet to USDS, WDC, dated 12/21/65, in above entitled matter and NYairtel to Bureau, 12/20/65, concerning HERBERT APTHEKER.

Enclosed for the Bureau and offices listed are copies of LHMs pertaining to captioned individuals. Separate LHMs have been submitted on APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN verifying their departure from NY on 12/19/65. Copies are furnished NH and NK in accordance with Bureau instructions.

The LHM on APTHEKER is marked "Confidential" since it incorporates information furnished by [redacted]. The LHM on HAYDEN is marked "Confidential" because of information furnished by [redacted] of [redacted] (Concealed at his request) and [redacted], Sources 1 and 2 respectively in this LHM.

b6
b7C
b7D

5-Bureau (Encls. 18)(RM)
2-New Haven (100-18293)(STAUGHTON LYND)(Encls. 11)(RM)
2-Newark (100-40690)(THOMAS HAYDEN)(Encls. 11)(RM)
3-New York (100-80532)
(1-100-110521)(STAUGHTON LYND)(#44)
(1-100-148904)(THOMAS HAYDEN)(#43)

VJA:jth
(12)

ENCLOSURES

MCT-18

REC 5 ME

100-438281-19

~~100-445166~~

DECLASSIFIED 6-22-76 AJB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ALL APPROPRIATE OFFICES AND AGENCIES NOTIFIED OF DECLASSIFICATION THIS DATE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 PMD/BAP 6-12-81
REASON-FCIK II, 1.2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-6-86
per release 190-125-41 (Sect 5)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED 165 JAN 1966

66 JAN 18 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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 [redacted] referred to in attached LHMs was made by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL. b7E

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 1/31/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (~~100-436224~~)

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 LYND; 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 LYND. Details of their trip is located in referenced report of NYO.

REC-48 100-438281-21

3- Bureau (RM)
1- Newark (RM)
1- New York

14 FEB 1 1966

AJC:ltr
(6)

B.C. Wick

SUBV. [illegible]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

[redacted]

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

February 8, 1966

1 - Mr. Reddy

Director, FBI

100-433381

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

Declassified 10/24/75 WNP 6922 Dept adv. 10/24/75 NY adv. 6/25/76

62-111917-147

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl 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 [redacted] Since the source 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 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 [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] 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 Apthekor, Lynd and Hayden and recalled that he had read about their trip to North Vietnam in local newspapers. He did not recall any specific statements by

b7D

100-123974
100-396916
100-433281

DUPLICATE YELLOW

[redacted]

57 FEB 15 1966

New York
EBR:jas (8)

[redacted]

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

[redacted]

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

Aptheker, Lynd or Hayden that they were en route to North Vietnam. [redacted] is unwilling to testify since he fears testimony would reflect unfavorably upon his employment with Air India and might possibly result in recriminations by friends of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden. b7D

This letter confirms information furnished today by Special Agent Edward S. Eddy of this Bureau 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.

[redacted]al" as it relates to possible prosecutive plans involving current informants, the disclosure of whom could adversely affect the national defense.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

[redacted]

TELETYPE UNIT
FEB 7 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Deloach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

V

FBI NEW YORK

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

TO DIRECTOR ///9///

FROM NEW YORK (100-80532) 1 PAGE

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

[redacted] 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. FOR SAME REASONS [redacted] DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED BY DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEY. [redacted] STATED SUBJECTS MADE NO STATEMENT AS FAR AS HE RECOLLECTS THEY WERE BOUND FOR VIETNAM. [redacted] IDENTIFIED PHOTOS OF SUBJECTS AND RECOLLECTED THAT HE HAD READ ABOUT SUBJECTS' TRIP IN LOCAL NEWSPAPERS.

END

WA..MSE

FBI WASH DC

b7D

62-111917-14

ORIGINAL FILED IN CASE FILE

2 FEB 9 1966

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
145 FEB 9 1966

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-22-2021 BY: [redacted]

TELETYPE UNIT
FEB 7 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

SECRET

FBI NEW YORK

230 PM URGENT 2-7-66 JAM

TO DIRECTOR /3/ 100-123974 ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK 100-80532 2P

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

(U)

RE BUREAU TEL DATED FEBRUARY FOUR, SIXTYSIX, AND REPORT SA VINCENT J. ASCHERAL JANUARY TWENTYFIVE, SIXTYSIX.

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT T-THREE IN REREP AND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER ONE IN NEW YORK LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM DECEMBER FOURTEEN, SIXTYFIVE, IS [redacted] b7D A CONFIDENTIAL TECHNIQUE AND UNAVAILABLE TO TESTIFY. T-FOUR IN REREP IS [redacted] CONCEALED AT HIS REQUEST. [redacted] OBTAINED THIS INFORMATION FROM FLIGHT RESERVATIONS IN POSSESSION OF FAY APTHEKER, WITHOUT LATTER-S KNOWLEDGE. FAY APTHEKER IS WIFE OF HERBERT APTHEKER. (U)

END PAGE ONE

FEB 9 1966

SECRET

NOT RECORDED
FEB 9 1966

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

69 FEB 16 1966

62-111817-13

SHE IS [redacted] AND HANDLED FLIGHT RESERVATIONS INDEPENDENTLY FOR SUBJECTS. INASMUCH AS ABOVE INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED BY [redacted] NOT IN REGULAR COURSE OF BUSINESS AND WAS NOT LEGALLY IN HIS POSSESSION, HE WOULD NOT BE COMPETENT OR FAVORABLE WITNESS AS TO SAME. [redacted] WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO BE INTERVIEWED BY DEPARTMENT ATTORNEY AND IS NOT WILLING TO PUBLICLY TESTIFY SINCE IF HE DID, HE WOULD CERTAINLY LOSE HIS JOB. [redacted] PASSENGER AGENT, AIR INDIA, NOT AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW UNTIL EVENING FEBRUARY SEVEN, SIXTYSIX. RESULTS OF INTERVIEW WILL BE FURNISHED BUREAU. (U)

b7D

END

RPT

FBI WASH DC

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-22-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

~~SECRET~~

Date: 2/7/66

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL _____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

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. (S) (U)

On 2/4/66, NY 694-S* advised that on that date he conferred with ARNOLD JOHNSON, Public Relations Director of the CP, USA, who told him the following: (S) (U)

5-Bureau (100-123974) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (RM)
(1-100-) (STAUGHTON 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)
1-[redacted] b7D
1-NY 100-110521 (STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND) (43)
1-NY 100-148904 (THOMAS HAYDEN) (43)
1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (42)
1-NY 100-16029 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (42)
1-NY 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER) (42) 100-438291

ACB:eac
(16)

~~SECRET~~

NOT RECORDED
178 FEB 11 1966

CARBON COPY

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

69 FEB 16 1966

CLASSIFIED BY 4417 GTT mjd 6/22/76
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

ALL APPROPRIATE OFFICES NOTIFIED OF CLASSIFICATION WA RTS 6/25/76. AJD:mp

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-123974

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. (S) (U)

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

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 aforesaid 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". (S) (U)

NY-09 650PM URGENT 2/4/66 DLH

TO NEW YORK

FROM DIRECTOR 2P

TELETYPE UNIT
FEB 4 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT 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 FIVE SETTING OUT INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] 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 [redacted] 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

b7D

100-428281

NOT RECORDED
87 FEB 8 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

62-111812-12

69 FEB 11 1966

"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 MONDAY, FEBRUARY SEVEN NEXT.

END

JY..AWS

FBI NEW YORK

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-29-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

February 3, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Franck
1 - Mr. McNiff
1 - Mr. Reddy
1 - Mail Room

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 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 Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden.

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 January 9, 1966.

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 [redacted] is also attached.

b7E

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

100-123974
100-396916
100-438281

[redacted]

Enclosures - 10

EBR:jas (8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

100-438281-
NOT RECORDED
184 FEB 4 1966

50 FEB 10 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-117917-11

[redacted]

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE:

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

DECLASSIFIED
~~6/22/76~~
~~AND~~
10/24/75
WND/6922
Dept adv
10/24/75

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-22-2021 BY: [redacted]

5010-108-03

GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATE[redacted]MENT

Memo[redacted]um

b6
b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/11/66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-

SUBJECT: THOMAS HAYDEN
SM-C

b7D

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, on February 7, 1966, advised SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN that the January 29, 1966, issue of the "National Guardian" carried an extensive article on page 6, columns 1-4, captioned, "Excerpts from Speech at New York Meeting--Hayden's Report on Vietnam Trip." In connection with this article, there appears in column 4, paragraph 3, under dateline Peking the following: (U)

"Our Chinese host was an editor of a major magazine and a revolutionary dating back to the 1920s. He had studied history at Berkeley in the 1930s, and is erudite and cosmopolitan." (U)

b7D

[redacted] remarked that in his opinion the individual HAYDEN was referring to was undoubtedly TANG Ming-chao. TANG had attended the University of California, Berkeley, California, in the 1930s and was a fellow classmate of RICHARD CRILEY of Chicago, an individual elected to the District Committee, CP of Illinois, in 1959. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, TANG was a contact for the CP, USA in the CP of China. As of 1963, TANG was in Peking and held the position as Deputy to the National People's Congress and was a Vice Chairman of the China Reconstructs Editorial Board. He is still believed to hold this position with that publication. (U)

The above is being furnished for information.

~~NO DETERMINATION~~

~~CLASSIFIED BY 6922 WHP/ph~~
~~EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~

REC. 3 100-438281-22

2-Bureau (RM)
1-Newark (Info)(RM)
(1 - 100- (THOMAS HAYDEN)
3-Chicago
[redacted]
(1 - 100-18080 (RICHARD CRILEY)

b7D

FEB 23 1966

RWH:MDW
(6)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) BY [illegible] DATE 9/30/76

FEB 28 1966

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (~~100-436224~~) DATE: 2/23/66

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-40690)(RUC)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C
(OO:NY)

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.

REC 8

EX 105 100-438281-23

2 - Bureau
2 - New York (RM)
2 - Newark (RM)
1 - WFO

GTT:sch
(7)

2 FEB 23 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

MAR 3 1966

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

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 2/23/66

Transmit 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 U.S. PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT
CONSPIRACY

ReBuairtel to NY, 2/17/66, and report of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL, dated 1/25/66, at NY.

[redacted] Panel Source (NY T-7) is available for interview by a Department attorney and also available for possible testimony. [redacted] In NY airtel to Bureau, 11/28/61, the Bureau was advised that [redacted] was scheduled to appear in [redacted] before a Federal Grand Jury, on [redacted] per subpoena issued at request of Department [redacted]

b3
b7D

[redacted] Panel Source (NY T-6 in referenced report), advised on 2/23/66, that he did not desire to

b7D

NOT RECORDED
MAR 3 1966

3-Bureau (100-123974) (RM)
1-NY (100-80532)
VJA:kxk/rmv
(5)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

39 MAR 1966

be interviewed by a Department attorney in this case, and moreover, did not wish to testify. [redacted] b7D [redacted] which has existed for some time, and stated he was apprehensive as to the effects such testifying or interview would have on his health. He offered this concern for his health as the condition which would preclude any interview or testimony.

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:

[redacted] [redacted] b7D

All of these are current active security informants NYO.

[redacted] will be recontacted, however, to determine b7D 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.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 2/21/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via 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 [redacted] 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.

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
MAR 3 1966

③ - Bureau
1 - WFO

GTT:sch
(4)

AIRTEL

MAR 2 1966

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-123974

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

5

FBI

Date: 2/18/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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

ReBuairtel, 2/17/66, captioned as above.

[redacted] Panel Source, and [redacted] available for interview and testimony.

b7D

5-1
Bauman
Sullivan
Rosen
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

100-123974-
NOT RECORDED
MAR 3 1966

1-912

(3) - Bureau
1 - WFO

GTT:sch
(4)

(AIRTEL

MAR 2 1966

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

100-438281

2/17/66

1 - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

To: SACs, New York (100-80532)
Miami
Washington Field (100-44569)

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
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. Aschori dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York.

It is noted that the symbols T-6 and T-7 relate to panel sources [redacted] respectively, and that T-8 is [redacted] former [redacted] b7D

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

Department also requested advice as to availability of confidential informants WF T-1 and T-3 in Washington Field LHM dated January 25, 1966. These symbols relate to panel source [redacted] and PSI [redacted] respectively. b7D

Washington Field sunairtel availability of [redacted] and [redacted] for interview by Department attorneys and for possible testimony.

EBR:jas/sss
(8)

MAILED 8
FEB 17 1966
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
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Holmes
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1966 MAR 2

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
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Sullivan
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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/11/66

FROM : F.J. Baumgardner

1 - ~~Mr. DeLoach~~
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bartlett
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Reddy

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

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 via Red China. To date, the only such evidence developed emanates from inadmissible sources and from Lynd's wife. She, of course, is not competent to testify.

It was suggested to the Department that possibly representatives of [redacted] 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, [redacted] representatives may have heard such statements. b7E

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.

EBR:jas (6)
Enc.
100-123974

2/14/66
CC & 2 letters handed to Bob McCarthy, State. Letter will be sent over asap

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

15 FEB 23 1966

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
102 FEB 24 1966

60 MAR 1 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

SAC, Newark (100-48095)

EX-114 REC-135

Director, FBI (100-438281) - 24

4/1/66

1 - Mr. Mack
1 - Mr. Reddy
1 - Mr. McNiff

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

Reurlet March 10, 1966.

In response to your inquiry set forth in referenced letter, the [redacted] on March 18, 1966, advised this Bureau that their agency has not had any operational interest in Hayden. b3 b7E

With regard to your consideration that subject be interviewed, it is pointed out to you that the matter of subject's recent trip 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:llp
(6)

MAILED 11
MAR 31 1966
COMM-FBI

NOTE:

Subject in late 1965 and early 1966, took an 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 [redacted] 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. b3 b7E

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-22-2021 BY: [redacted]

~~TOP SECRET~~

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office	Office of Origin	Date	Investigative Period
NEWARK	NEWARK	2/10/66	12/20/65-3/4/66

Title of Case	Report made by	Typed By:
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN	BERNARD J. CONNELL	and

Character of Case

SM - C

CC TO: GEO 8/10/67
AUG 16 1967
BY: [illegible]

DOWNGRADED

SUMMARY

REFERENCE

Newark airtel to the Bureau dated 1/19/66.

P

ADMINISTRATIVE

Special Agents, who interviewed THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN on 10/21/66, were SAs CHARLES T. HAYNES and RICHARD O. HAMILTON. (U)

Special Agents VINCENT J. ASCHERL and ANTHONY CANTAGALLO observed subject's appearance at Manhattan Center, NYC, on 1/10/66. Other sources listed below were also present and reported HAYDEN's appearance and speech at this affair, however, it was not felt desirable that these sources should be individually listed. These sources are as follows: (U)

Approved [illegible] Special Agent in Charge

Do not write in spaces below

Copies made:
6 - Bureau (100-438281) (RM)
1 - New York (100-30532) (Info) (RM)
1 - New Haven (Info) (RM)
3 - Newark (100-48095)

100-438281-24

REC 5

EX 105

5 MAR 11 1966

Copy to Legat Rome by routing slip for ☒ info ☐ action date 5-18-66 by [illegible]

Notations:

Copy to RAC - State by routing slip for ☒ info ☐ action date 3-17-66 by [illegible]

Yeagley 3/22/66 [illegible]

SUBV. CONTROL

Copy to Pres Comm Civil Disorders by routing slip for ☒ info ☐ action date 12-18-67 by [illegible]

b3
b7E

CLASSIFIED BY [illegible] 4417 6/22/76
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2, 4
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

~~TOP SECRET~~

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET 11/18/76 ESTMB

[redacted] b7D
Panel Source

[redacted]
Panel Source

[redacted]

(U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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 [redacted] b3 b7E
[redacted] In letter of 12/15/64, the Bureau (U)

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 [redacted] no mention was made in this report of the subject's interest in the 8TH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL. (U) b3 b7E

By letter dated February 1, 1966, 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. (U) (~~T.S.~~)

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. (U) (~~T.S.~~)

By memo dated 2/11/66, information was reported that [redacted] furnished on 1/28/66. This informant reported 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 follow the CP, USA line. (U) (~~S~~) b7D

In furnishing the above information, the Chicago Office

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. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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

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. (U)

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 [redacted] 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 b7E

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
NK T-1 [redacted]	100-48095-4
NK T-2 [redacted]	100-48095-4
NK T-3 [redacted]	100-48095-4
NK T-4 [redacted]	

b7D

(U)

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
NK T-17 [redacted]	[redacted]

b7D

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:

[redacted] b7D
Contacted 3/1/66
By SA RUSSELL H. HORNER

[redacted]
Contacted 3/4/66
By SA OLIVER A. CHALIFOUX

[redacted]
Contacted 3/3/66
By SA JAMES A. MARLEY, JR.

LEAD

NEWARK

AT NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. 1. Will await reply from Bureau concerning any possible operational status subject may have with [redacted] b3 b7E

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-22-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: BERNARD J. CONNELL
Date: 3/10/66

Office: Newark, New Jersey

Field Office File #: 100-48095

Bureau File #: 100-438281

Title: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis: Subject born 12/11/39, in Detroit, Michigan, was student 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 HERBERT APTHEKER 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. (U)

P

DETAILS

I. BACKGROUND

A. Birth Data

Records of the Detroit, Michigan, Department of Health, 2 Woodland Avenue, Detroit, reviewed by SA LAWRENCE M. COOPER, JR., on December 17, 1964, contained certificate of birth number 26198 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 father was JOHN FRANCIS HAYDEN, 5826 Iroquois, Detroit, Mich. age 33 approx 1906 in Milwaukee Wisc. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

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.

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. APPROX. 190 Hayden MRS. John Francis Hayde (U)

Mich.

B. Citizenship Status

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

C. Education

1. High School

On January 21, 1965, 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. (U)

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. (U)

2. College

NANCY KREMKUS, 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, 1961, having majored in the field of English. (U)

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. (U)

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 HAYDEN 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 affairs. 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. The source stated that HAYDEN's main 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. (U)

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 (U)

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

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. (U)

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. (U)

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)

NK 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 obstructing traff	
PD Ann Arbor Mich	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN #45277	9/17/63	loitering in a pub bldg Sec 9:26 (18) Chap 108 Title IX	
SO Ann Arbor Mich	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN #IB 26989	9/17/63	loit	
PD Newark NJ	THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN #102379	10/14/64	A & B	(U)

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: (U)

"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. (U)

"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. (U)

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. (U)

"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. (U)

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

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

"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." (U)

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

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." (U)

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: (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

A characterization of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST 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. (U)

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. (U)

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (U)

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

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 (U)

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. (U)

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 to the North Vietnam struggle. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

2. "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

A characterization of the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" is contained in the appendix hereto. (U)

The "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" of November 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. (U)

NK 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. (U)

3. March on Washington, November 27, 1965

NK 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. (U)

4. 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 8th 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. (U)

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

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. (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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (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.

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

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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". (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

NK T-16 advised on February 16, 1966, that HERBERT APTHEKER in late January, 1966, commented to a group of COMMUNIST PARTY leaders in New York City, about his recent visit to Hanoi with STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN. He stated that he felt that the team of LYND, HAYDEN and APTHEKER should be used at large public gatherings. He urged people to issue invitations to have them speak

(U) ~~(C)~~ and

either as a group or individually, but that he thought that the main thing was to have their views made known. He 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. (U)

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. (U)

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
Race	White
Date of Birth	December 11, 1939
Place of Birth	Detroit, Michigan
Height	5'10"
Weight	150 lbs.
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Sallow
Build	Medium
Occupation	Community Organizer

(U)

NK 100-48095

Marital Status	Divorced, April 1, 1963 from SANDRA CASON HAYDEN
Parents	JOHN FRANCIS HAYDEN 14842 Craig Court Warren, Michigan - Father
	GENEVIEVE GARITY HAYDEN 1217 East 4th Royal Oak, Michigan, - Mother
Education	Graduate, University Of Michigan 1961 (U)

APPENDIX

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 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. (U)

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.)" (U)

1

~~NK 100-10295~~

"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. (U)

APPENDIX

YALE SOCIALIST UNION

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. (U)

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)

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey
March 10, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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.

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

Best available copy

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

March 1, 1966

Director, FBI
100-438271

1 - Mr. Reddy

INTERNAL SECURITY
SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES
CONTROL ACT
(1)

PROCURING ARMS TO VIETNAM
ISSUE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORTS
SMITH ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to your letter dated February 28, 1966, requesting advice as to the availability for testimony at a possible future trial of the captioned subjects of certain sources listed in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ashenfelter dated January 26, 1966, at New York, New York, and in the memorandum dated January 28, 1966, at Washington, D. C.

The source designated as T-6 in the report of Special Agent Ashenfelter has advised that due to a serious heart condition he is apprehensive as to the effect testifying would have on his health. Accordingly, he does not desire to testify.

The source designated as T-7 in Special Agent Ashenfelter's report is [redacted] is available for interview by Department attorneys and for testimony if necessary. [redacted] has previously [redacted] and, in December 1964, was made available to the Department for testimony at the first trial of the Communist Party, USA, for failure to register pursuant to Section 7 of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

b6
b7C

The source designated as T-8 in Special Agent Ashenfelter's report is currently furnishing security information of extreme value and is not available for interview or testimony.

[redacted]

4 - New York (100-[illegible])
1 - Washington Field (100-44850)

EBR:jas (8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAR 4 1966

MAILED 7
MAR 1 1966
COMM-FBI

CONTENTS FILED IN

best available copy

[redacted]

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 [redacted] at which [redacted] Lynd and Layton spoke on their travel to North Vietnam. 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. b7D

The source designated as NF T-1 in the memorandum dated January 24, 1966, of Washington, D. C., is [redacted] is available for interview and for testimony if necessary. b6 b7C

The source designated as NF 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 [redacted], and copies of the tapes were made available to this Bureau's Washington Field Office. It is not known whether [redacted] had permission to record the speeches 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 [redacted] are available for review by Department attorneys. b7D

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

[redacted]

2/23/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: SAC, Detroit

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
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 Aptheker, IS-C."

Page five of referenced LHM 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 LHM setting out in as much detail as possible Aptheker's remarks which related to his recent visit to Hanoi.

EBR:jas (4)

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
50 MAR 4 1966

MAILED 6
FEB 28 1966
COMM-FBI

100-

MAR 1 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-123974-5

55 MAR 8 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

100-438281-

2/28/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: SAC, New York (100-80532)

5-1

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE 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 Hanoi, North Vietnam.

Expedite.

Enclosure

EBR:jas (4)

62-111917-25

100-123974-38

ORIGINAL FILED IN

MAILED 8
FEB 28 1966
COMM-FBI

MAR 7 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DIRECTOR, FBI 2/23/66

LEGAT, PARIS

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
IS - C
(Bufile 100-123974)
(PAR file 100-875) (RUC)

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
SM - C
(Bufile 100-396916)
(PAR file 100-2402) (RUC)

THOMAS HAYDEN
SM - C
(PAR file 100-2403) (RUC)

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 [redacted] b7D

The [redacted] b7D

16 - Bureau (Encs. - 2)
(1 - Liaison Section)
(3 - New York, ~~100-80532~~, Info.)
(3 - New Haven, 100-18293, Info.)
(3 - Newark, Info.)
1 - Bern (Info.) (sent direct)
1 - London (Info.) (sent direct)
3 - Paris

NWP:eim
(21)

100-438281
NOT RECORDED
70 MAR 2 1966

70 MAR 8 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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

b7D

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 AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-05-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 2/15/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48754)

SUBJECT: GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
INFORMATION CONCERNING
IS

Re Airtel and LHM dated 2/9/66, at Newark.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 14 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy is being designated for Milwaukee since that office is origin in the NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

ENCLOSURE

A copy of the LHM is being sent to [redacted] since that agency has expressed an interest in this rally.

b7D

7-Bureau (Encs. 14) (RM)
(1-100-) (NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM)
(1-100-431952) (SANE)
(1-100-439048) (SDS)
[redacted]

b3
b7E

1-Milwaukee (100-14700) (NCCEW) (RM)
12-Newark
(1-100-43600) (SANE)
(1-100-47873) (SDS)
(1-100-48230) (VIDEM)
(1-100-48095) (THOMAS HAYDEN)
(1-100-43321) (PETER SHUCHTER)
(1-100-46529) (MARTIN LEICHTUNG)
(1-100-32471) (CLARENCE COGGINS)
(1-100-7448) (JOSEPH MAGLIACANO)
(1-100-24870) (EARL HARRIS)
(1-100-35106)
[redacted]

b7D

100-438281
NOT RECORDED
139 MAR 1 1966

8 FEB 16 1966

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI
RAO
DATE FORW:
HOW FORW:
BY:

RHH:jmc
(20)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per
Special Agent in Charge

57 MAR 4 1966

ORIGINAL FILE IN 100-438281

Sources used in the LHM are as follows:

b7D

NK T-1 is [redacted]

NK T-2 is

NK T-3 is

NK T-4 is

NK T-5 is

NK T-6 is

NK 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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-23-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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. (U)

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. (U)

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 to the end of the rally. (U)

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. (U)

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 brought home from Vietnam. (U)

Thomas Hayden was the next speaker. He referred to his recent trip to North Vietnam and his experiences there. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.~~

ENCLOSURE 100-438281-

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. 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. (U)

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. (U)

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)

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 but were never allowed to have them. (U)

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". (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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

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: (U)

"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." (U)

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 (U)

GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END
THE WAR IN VIETNAM

G.L. Mitchell 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. (U)

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. (U)

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

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. (U)

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). (U)

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

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

GREATER NEWARK COUNCIL TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

JOSEPH 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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

On September 27, 1965, NK T-6, who 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. (U)

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

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. (U)

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 January, 1965. (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. (U)

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 Minded 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 LNVP. 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 were 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.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281) DATE: 3/10/66

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN - DOB 12/11/29
SM - C

Re report of SA BERNARD J. CONNELL dated 3/10/66 at Newark.

In planning the future course of this investigation, consideration has been given to requesting Bureau authority to interview the subject. Several factors indicate that this would be the next logical step. These factors include: Statements made by HERBERT APTHEKER that he considers the subject to be mildly anticommunist, statements indicating the COMMUNIST PARTY would be willing to accept the subject for membership, lack of any statements or activities of the subject prior to his trip to Hanoi indicating any disloyalty to the United States, possible intelligence information possessed by the subject as a result of his trip to Hanoi.

It is also felt that subject's trip to Hanoi and his statements since his return may qualify him for the Security Index since they may establish reasonable grounds to believe his loyalty would be with a Sino-bloc country in the event of armed conflict between United States and a Sino-bloc country. Prior to recommending subject's inclusion on the Security Index on this basis, an interview of the subject to explore his present attitude appears desirable.

The subject's possible connection with [redacted] mitigates against both interview and inclusion of subject's name on the Security Index. In this regard the Bureau's attention is called to the fact that [redacted]

The Bureau is therefore requested to determine whether or not [redacted] in the subject so that Newark can more intelligently direct the future course of this investigation.

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DESTROYED
OCT 12 1970

"3-18-66 Cal Tenney advised that Pappich THAT [redacted]
TN Hayden TJM"

REC-43 100-438281-25

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Newark
WVM:aas
(3)

MAR 25 1966

Letter to SAC UK 4/1/66 TJM:LLP"

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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Total Deleted Page(s) = 11
Page 103 ~ b3; b7E;
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DATE 08-11-2021 BY: [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	JAN 25 1966	12/10/65 - 1/19/66

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
CHANGED HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN	VINCENT J. ASCHERL	mek

CHARACTER OF CASE

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM;
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;
LOGAN ACT;
CONSPIRACY

The title of this case is marked "Changed" to reflect the full names of LYND and HAYDEN.

REFERENCE:

Buairtel to NY, dated 1/11/66.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

- P* -

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~ Spl. GSK/DCB 4-16-80
~~REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 1-25-86

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SAS who observed subjects at Manhattan Center, NYC, 1/16/66, were SAS VINCENT J. ASCHERL and ANTHONY CANTAGALLO.

SAS who conducted physical surveillances at John F. Kennedy International Airport in observing subjects were: SAS ASCHERL, CANTACALLO and GERALD W. MURPHY.

Reply to action by routing slip for action ☐ info ☐ date received

SPECIAL AGENT IN Ccharge

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1-108 INTC Group, NYC (Enc. 1) (RM)
1-Secret Service, NYC (Enc. 1) (RM)
4-New York (100-80532)

100-438818
NOT RECORDED
101 MAR 18 1966
17 JAN 27 1966

MCT-41
REC-117

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	[illegible]	State (Bud)	[illegible]	[illegible]
Request Recd.	(Verbal)			
Date Fwd.	2/3/66	2/2/66	2/2/66	2/1/66
How Fwd.	Letter	12/5	0-14	0-14
By	[illegible]	EBR/jas	[illegible]/jas	

Notations

ENCLOSURE

STAT. STUDIES

54 MAR 28 1966

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect identities of informants NY T-1, NY T-2, NY T-3 and NY T-8. 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. (U)

Information copies are designated for Newark and New Haven since HAYDEN and LYND, respectively, are security subjects in those Divisions. u

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: (U)

[redacted] [redacted] (U) b7D

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. (U)

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. u

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
NY T-1 [redacted]	
NY T-2 [redacted]	

b7D

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
NY T-3 [redacted]	
NY T-4 [redacted] (per request)	Instant report
NY T-5 [redacted]	
NY T-6 [redacted] Panel Source	[redacted]
NY T-7 [redacted] Panel Source	[redacted]
NY T-8 [redacted]	Instant report

b6
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b7D

LEADS:

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-24-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - 108 INTC Group, 118 E. 16th St., NYC (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: VINCENT J. ASCHERL
Date: 1/25/66
Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-80532
Bureau File #: 100-123974

Title: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND;
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character: UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM;
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;
LOGAN ACT;
CONSPIRACY

~~THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~
4-16-80
~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~ 8016 SL/DR/STW
~~REASON - FCIM II, 1.2.4.2~~ 2.3.
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 1-28-86

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. Five tape recordings and written material in 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 to have interviewed certain Hanoi officials and also representatives of the Viet Cong during their ten-day visit in North Vietnam. u [redacted]

- P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

~~CLASSIFIED BY 4417~~
~~EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~
GTI/mjd 6-28-76

~~SECRET~~

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.

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: (U)

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 (U)

The seven statements, referred to above, are listed in detail on page 25 of this report. (U)

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

(U)

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. (U)

[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. (U)

[NY T-2
July 6, 1965] (U)

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. (U)

AIMS is characterized in the appendix of this report.

[NY T-3
December 13, 1965] (U)

SECRET

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 Optimisn 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." (U)

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: (U)

Passport E681400 was issued to HERBERT APTHEKER on July 10, 1964. Passport not valid for travel to Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea, and Vietnam under Communist control. Passport will expire on July 9, 1967, and may be renewed for two years. (U)

Application for passport was dated June 26, 1964, at New York, New York, and contained following as indicated by HERBERT APTHEKER: (U)

He indicated he was last married on September 4, 1942, to FAY P. APTHEKER, born on February 28, 1905, at New York, New York. (U)

Date of Birth	July 31, 1915
Place of Birth	Brooklyn, New York
Residence	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	5' 10"
Hair	Gray-brown
Eyes	Green
Marks and Scars	None
Occupation	Author

(U)

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] C (U)

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 [redacted] at Boston, Massachusetts, on December 8, 1965, for proposed travel for "Christmas vacation two weeks" to "Europe (itinerary not yet definite)" to "see friends." In 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. (U)

b6
b7C

This individual stated that he was born on [redacted], at [redacted] and his file reflects that his birth certificate has been seen by passport authorities. He gave his permanent residence as [redacted]. 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 [redacted] on [redacted] 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. (U)

b6
b7C

The following description appeared in his file: u

Height	5' 11"
Hair	Brown
Eyes	Blue
Marks	Scars on right shoulder and right calf
Occupation	Professor

u

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed by SAS of the FBI on 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. u

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. u

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.

(U)

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 Emmett Hayden no LDC (U)

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 [redacted] The file contains a notation that he identified himself with New Jersey driver's license HO 954-74065-12392, dated December 30, 1964. (U)

b6
b7C

The following description of HAYDEN appeared in his passport file:

Height	5'10"
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Occupation	Community Organization specialist

(U)

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: (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/3/66

Date

[redacted] Passenger Agent, Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, on December 19, 1965, furnished the following information: (U)

b7D

He examined United States Passport E 681400 which was presented to him by HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, 32 Ludlam Place, Brooklyn, New York, on December 19, 1965, 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. (U)

HERBERT APTHEKER departed on this flight and was to arrive in London, England at 8:30 a.m., London time, December 20, 1965. HERBERT APTHEKER had a connecting flight on British European Airlines departing London at 11:00 a.m., December 20, 1965, en route Prague, Czechoslovakia. (U)

On 12/19/65 at John F. Kennedy International Airport File # NY 100-80532

by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek Date dictated 12/27/65

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 1/3/66

[redacted] Passenger Agent, Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, on December 19, 1965, furnished the following information: (U) b7D

He examined United States Passport Number F1027114, which was presented to him by THOMAS E. HAYDEN, 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, on December 19, 1965, prior to the latter's departure on Air India Flight 116 which left John F. Kennedy International Airport on December 19, 1965, at 9:00 p.m. THOMAS HAYDEN departed on this flight and was due to arrive in London, England at 8:30 a.m., London time, on December 20, 1965. THOMAS HAYDEN had a connecting flight on British European Airways (BEA) departing London, England at 11:00 a.m. December 20, 1965, en route Prague, Czechoslovakia. [redacted] exhibited the [redacted] (U) b7D b7E

On 12/19/65 at John F. Kennedy International Airport File # NY 100-110521

by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek - 11 - Date dictated 12/27/65

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 1/3/66

[redacted] Passenger Agent, Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, on December 19, 1965, furnished the following information: (U) b7D

[redacted] on December 19, 1965, by STAUGHTON C. LYND, [redacted] 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 a connecting flight on British European Airways departing London at 11:00 a.m., December 20, 1965, en route Prague, Czechoslovakia. (U) b6 b7C

12/19/65	John F. Kennedy International Airport	NY 100-110521

On 12/19/65 at John F. Kennedy International Airport File # NY 100-110521

SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek

by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek Date dictated 12/27/65

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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. (U)

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. (U)

"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 Says 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. (U)

The W.E.B. Du Bois Club is characterized in the appendix of this report. (U)

IV. PROCESSING THROUGH UNITED STATES INS AND UNITED STATES CUSTOMS

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/17/66

Date

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, 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. (U)

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 [redacted] and KLEIN, Badge number [redacted] (U) b6 b7C

APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately 7:45 PM. (U)

On 1/9/66 at JFK International Airport Queens, NY File # NY 100-80532

by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL;arf Date dictated 1/14/66

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

1.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION 1, 12, 66

Date

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. (U)

100-80532

100-348038

On 1/9/66 at New York City File #

by SA GERALD W. MURPHY/iah Date dictated 1/10/66

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 1/12/65

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. (U)

On 1/9/66 at JFK Airport New York, New York File # 100-80532

by SA A. J. CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr Date dictated 1/11/66

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 1/12/66

On January 9, 1966, approximately 7:20 p. m., DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kennedy Airport, New York City, made available [redacted] This form was filled out by HERBERT APTHEKER upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport on Pan Am Flight 119 from Paris, France. The following information was on the form: (U)

b7E

[redacted]

Mr. FARRELL processed APTHEKER through Immigration and Naturalization Service upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport. (U)

On 1/9/66 at Kennedy Airport, New York, New York File # 100-80532

by SA A. J. CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr Date dictated 1/12/66

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/12/66

Date

On January 9, 1966, at approximately 7:20 p. m., DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kennedy Airport, New York City, made available [redacted] This form was filled out by THOMAS E. HAYDEN upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport, New York City on Pan Am Flight 119 from Paris, France. The following information was on the form: (U)

b7E

[redacted]

Mr. FARRELL processed HAYDEN through Immigration and Naturalization Service upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport. (U)

1/9/66 On JFK Airport New York, New York at File # 100-80532

SA A. J. CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr by

1/12/66 Date dictated

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/12/66

On January 9, 1966, at approximately 7:20 p. m., DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kennedy Airport, New York City, made available [redacted] 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)

b6
b7C
b7E

[redacted]

Mr. FARRELL processed LYND through Immigration and Naturalization Service upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport. (U)

On 1/9/66 at JFK Airport New York, New York File # 100-80532

- 21 -

by SA A. J. CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr Date dictated 1/11/66

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/17/66

Date

Captain JOSEPH ROONEY, Staff Officer, United States Customs, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, Queens, New York, furnished the following information: (U)

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: (U)

THOMAS E. HAYDEN
227 Jelliff
Newark, New Jersey
United States resident

STAUGHTON C. LYND

[redacted]

b6
b7C

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. (U)

On 1/9/66 at JFK International Airport Queens, NY File # NY 100-80532 1/14/66

by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL;arf Date dictated

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 1/17/66

Mrs. EVA KLEIN, Badge Number [redacted], Inspector, United States Customs, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, Queens, New York, furnished the following information: (U)

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b7C

On January 9, 1966, at 7:15 PM, she processed THOMAS E. HAYDEN, 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, through the United States Customs at the airport. He arrived on Pan American Flight 119 from Europe. As part of her official duties she checked his baggage and retained the following items from his baggage for a determination by Customs as to their possible subversive character: (U)

1. Certain statements protesting the United States Policies in Vietnam.

2. Two books by HO CHI MINH, Volumes three and four. (U)

3. Five tape recordings.

On 1/9/66 at JFK International Airport Queens, NY File # NY 100-80532

by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL;arf Date dictated 1/14/66

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 1/13/66

Mr. SEYMOUR GOLDBERG, Customs Inspector, Badge Number [redacted], stated that he was on duty on January 9, 1966, when Mr. STAUGHTON LYND came through Customs at the airport. (U) b6 b7C

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. (U)

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. (U)

Mr. GOLDBERG stated that he would be willing to testify and stated he had made no independent notes concerning the occurrence. (U)

On 1/11/66 at JFK International Airport File # NY 100-80532

by SA BERNARD G. HARRINGTON and SA WILLIAM A. DATZ/cjs - 24 - Date dictated 1/13/66

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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: (U)

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: (U)

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: (U)

"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 (U)

On 1/11/66 at United States Customs House Bowling Green, NYC File # NY 100-80532

by SA JAMES D. BRODY:arf Date dictated 1/1 /66

- 25 -

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"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"

(U)

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. (U)

V. PRESS INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECTS, JANUARY 9, 1966, AND COVERAGE OF ACTIVITIES IN NORTH VIETNAM

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

Mr. CAINE stated that he had no further conversation with Mr. LYND than that previously referred to. (U)

On 1/11/66 at JFK International Airport, NY File # NY 100-80532

by SA BERNARD G. HARRINGTON and SA WILLIAM A. DATZ/cjs Date dictated 1/13/66

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Mr. CAINE stated that he would be willing to testify and stated further that he had made no notes concerning the occurrence. (U)

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. 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. (U)

NY 100-80532

On 1/11/66 at JFK International Airport File #

SA BERNARD G. HARRINGTON and
SA WILLIAM A. DATZ/cjs

by -31- Date dictated 1/13/66

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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. (U)

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)

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/17/66

Date

RASA GUSTAITIS, Reporter, New York ~~Herald Tribune,~~ 230 West 41st Street, New York, New York, advised as follows: (U)

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.

(U)

On 1/9/66 at New York, New York File # NY 100-80532

by SA J. STEWART KAISER/jwm Date dictated 1/14/66

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FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1. Date 1/18/66

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. LOGEMAN Mr. LOGEMAN stated his home address was [redacted] telephone 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. THOMAS HAYDEN and Mr. HERBERT APTHEKER. (U)

b6
b7C

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. LOGEMAN said HAYDEN then read about a page and a half of this statement and HAYDEN made no departure from this script. Mr. LOGEMAN advised he asked HAYDEN how they had been treated by Customs and LYND replied "It seemed to be routine". Mr. LOGEMAN asked if they expected any action taken later against them, to which LYND said "As to the future, I don't know". Mr. LOGEMAN 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. LOGEMAN 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 contents of these tape recordings. HAYDEN also said (U)

On 1/11/66 at New York, New York File # NY 100-80532

by SA GERALD W. MURPHY/jv - 34 - Date dictated 1/13/66

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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. (U)

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. LOGEMAN 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" female 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. LOGEMAN 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)

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1.

Date 1/17/66

Mr. HENRY LOGEMAN of [redacted] 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 He 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: (U)

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b7C

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 at Floral Park, New York File # NY 100-80532

by SA HERBERT P. LARSON/jv Date dictated 1/14/66

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"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. (U)

"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. We talked with soldiers from the NLF army who were visiting the North. 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 (U)

"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. (U)

"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. (U)

"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)

"contact with the government of the DRV, either at Hanoi 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. During the current pause, while the United States has waited for a so-called 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 Pleikhu. 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 (U)

"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. (U)

"So long as American policy remains obviously two-sided, 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.' (U)

"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)

"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.' (U)

"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 en 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 we 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)

"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." (U)

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 Servicemen in 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. (U)

HERBERT 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. (U)

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. (U)

A.J. MUSTE, at this point, read to the meeting a message addressed 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 theAmerican people against the JOHNSON 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. (U)

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 16, 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, 1966

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, 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 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. (U)

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:

> "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)

APPENDIX

1.

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, [redacted] a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee advised as follows: b6 b7C

(U)

APPENDIX

2.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR
TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC)

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. (U)

APPENDIX

1.

"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

[redacted]

b6
b7C

JOHN MC DERMOTT

[redacted]

MARTIN NICOLAUS

[redacted]

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.

(U)

2.

"VIET-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. (U)

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."

(U)

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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).

(U)

CONFIDENTIAL

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 have furnished reliable information in the past.

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Date: 3/2/66

Transmit the following in CONFIDENTIAL
(Type in plain text or code)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: Director, FBI (100-438281)

FROM: SAC, Detroit (100-28695) (RUC)

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C
(OO: NEWARK)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY LETTER OR SLIP (S) OF DATE 1-27-76

3/8/66 07 tick for conv. Pg.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies and for Newark two copies and for Chicago one copy of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

One copy of LHM is being furnished to G-2, Detroit, Mich.

Sources utilized in LHM are as follows:

Source #1 is [redacted] (Source of information - protect by request) who was contacted on 2/25/66 by SA MELVILLE H. SHANNON. b6 b7C

Source #2 is [redacted] (Panel source), who furnished information set forth in LHM on 3/1/66 to SA SHANNON. (U)

Source utilized to classify HERBERT APTHEKER is [redacted] (U) b7D

Enclosed LHM is classified confidential to protect the identity of sources utilized who are of continuing value.

ENCLOSURE

REC-107 100-438281-27

3 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
2 - Newark (100-48095) (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - Chicago (100-40903 SDS) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
4 - Detroit
(1 - 100-30957 SDS)
(1 - 100-16293 HERBERT APTHEKER)
(1 - 100-33546 STAUGHTON LYND)

15 MAR 25 1966

FJP/rms
(10)

Copy to State [redacted] b3 b7E
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 3-22-66
by

C. C. Wick

Approved: MAR 31 1966 Sent M Per
Special Agent in Charge

53

SEE SUPERVISOR. ADD. DISCRIMINATOR.

DECLASSIFIED 6-28-76

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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

[redacted]

[redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED
354 OCT 26 1970

ENCLOSURE

100-438281-27

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

[redacted]

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 [redacted] offered to train 100 Vietnamese men to take over the Government at a cost of $25,000.00 each. b3 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.

[redacted]

[redacted]

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.

[redacted]

[redacted]

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

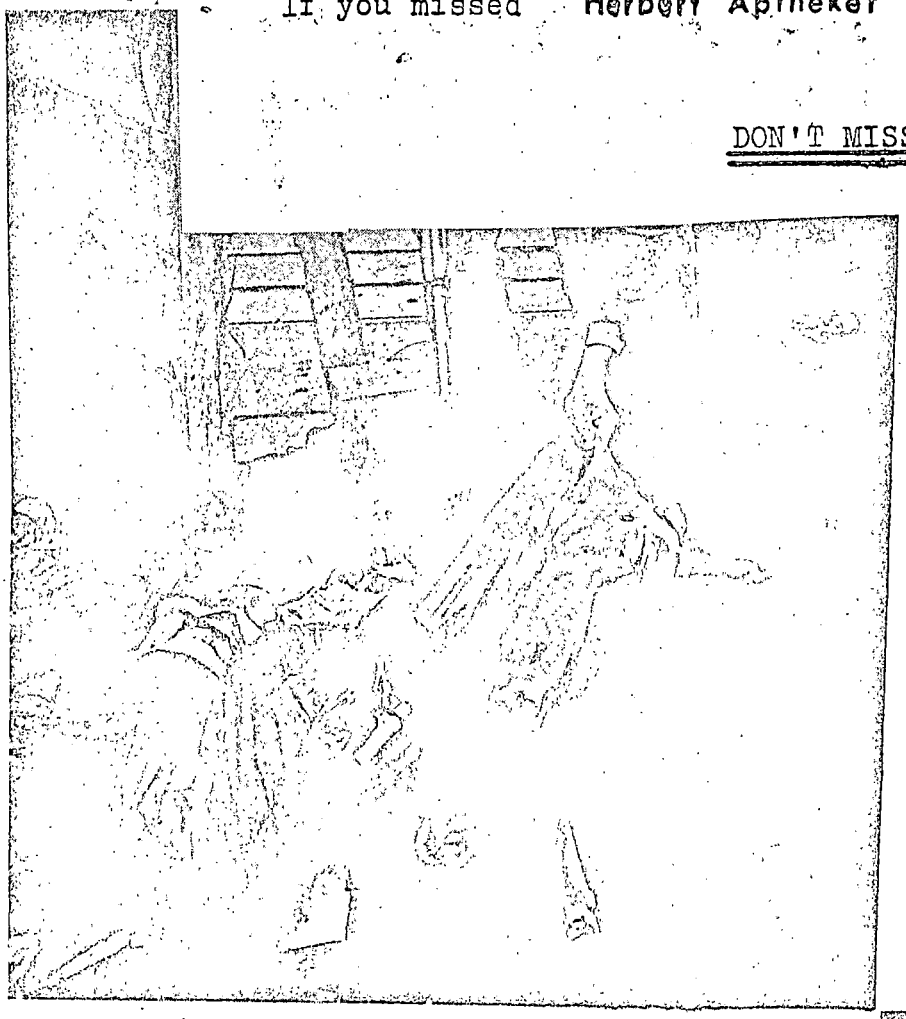
A source advised on February 22, 1964, that at a meeting of the Portland (Oregon) Communist Party Youth Club held on February 20, 1964, a report was given by JAMES R. BERLAND of the Reed College Communist Party Youth Club concerning a meeting of the National Party Youth Commission (Communist Party) previously 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.

[redacted]

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 Democratic Society

One of the organizers of the
Newark Community Union Project

Sponsored By
Wayne Students for a Democratic Society
And
Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam

[redacted]

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.

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[redacted]

[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Detroit, Michigan
March 2, 1966

Re: Thomas Emmett Hayden

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2-22-66

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[redacted]

[redacted]

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 3/1/66

Transmit 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, 2/23/66. 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
[redacted]

JERE T. FARRAH
[redacted]

HARRY GOLDSMITH
[redacted]

LILY GOLDSMITH (same address)

b6
b7C

NOT RECORDED
178 MAR 11 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

3 - Bureau (100-123974) (RM)
1 - New York (100-80532) (42)

VJA:gmd
(5)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

50 MAR 22 1966

Interviews with above individuals are being conducted, and positive information received will be incorporated in FD 302.

[redacted] was recontacted 2/24/66. He stated that [redacted] had furnished no additional details concerning his flight with subjects than he [redacted] had previously furnished to NYO. He interjected no opposition to any contemplated interview with [redacted] by NYO and was of opinion that [redacted] would cooperate fully with Bureau. b7D

Based on results of above contact with [redacted] it is recommended that [redacted] be interviewed along lines set forth in referenced Bureau airtel. UACB, such interview will be conducted and results furnished promptly to Bureau in FD 302. b7D

OK

Aptheker and Hayden Speak, Too

5,000 Hear Prof. Lynd Defend Trip to Hanoi

By Rasa Gustaitis
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Almost 5,000 members of the old and new Left packed the Manhattan Center yesterday to hear what three Americans had to tell about their forbidden journey to North Viet Nam.

The standing-room-only crowd that filled the hall and spilled into a seventh-floor ballroom into which the speeches were piped listened earnestly and sympathetically for four hours to Herbert Aptheker, a leading Communist theoretician; Thomas Hayden, one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society, and Staughton Lynd, assistant professor of history at Yale University. All three attacked United States Viet Nam policy.

The meeting had almost a religious air, with the Rev. A. J. Muste, 80, dean of the fighters for pacifist causes, presiding. It even included a collection to help the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, which sponsored the assembly.

AUDIENCE

Most of the audience was either youthful or silver-haired. Middle-aged citizens were few. "That's the McCarthyite generation, they've become apolitical," 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. Hayden and Deirdre Griswold, editor of Partisan magazine, organ of Youth Against War and Fascism.

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 1/17/66

PAGE 3

FOWARDED BY NY DIVISION ___

NOT FOWARDED BY NY DIVISION X

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED

SERIALIZED ..... FILED

42 JAN 18 1966

FBI — NEW YORK

ENCLOSURE

100-438281-

ENCLOSURE

100-80532-6748

The three retu ned travelers face a possible $ 000 fine and five years in p on for violating the State epartment's ban against tra el to North Viet Nam. But n action has been taken aga st them so far.

They returned Jan. 9 from the trip that i cluded stops in Moscow, Pra ue and Peking and 10 d s in North Viet Nam.

Prof. Lynd h l sought to tell what the t learned in meetings with igh officials of the Viet C g's political arm, the Natio l Liberation Front, and Nort Viet Nam to the Senate Fore n Relations Committee.

He read a t egram from Sen. J. William ulbright, D., Ark., the commit ee chairman, that "there are no plans to hear you." The senator suggested he pass o to the State Department "a y pertinent information."

Prof. Lynd sai he had been visited by a Sta Department official and tal d with him for two hours i New Haven. But he felt thi was insufficient to convey North Vietnamese attitude

Mr. Aptheker, head of the Institute for Ma xist Studies, was first to spe k.

"Everywhere re air raid shelters," he began. "Atop them children play, and watching the hildren are grandmothers. hey are the targets."

"CHAUVINISM"

He went on to describe lakes and flowers, literary peasants, bicyclists and innocent women victimized by the "chauvinism, racism, colonialism . . . that lie at the base of the aggressive foreign policy now dominating Washington."

But he ended on a milder note, stating he was now convinced peace was well on its way.

Mr. Hayden spoke mainly on the political relationships 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 the most public attention since his return, spoke after the collection.

His talk with the State Department official, he said, "deepened the conviction which was at the heart of the journey: that if there is unclearness about what one's antagonist means, an appropriate procedure is to go ask him."

He said he viewed the trip as an expression of what President Johnson had expressed—the willingness to knock on any door in search for peace.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 3/3/66

Transmit 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

100-438

NOT RECORDED
184 MAR 11 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ReBuairtel to NY dated 2/28/66.

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 94D

2 - Bureau (Encls. 3)(RM)
1 - New York

ENCLOSURE / ENCLOSURE

letter to yearling 3/10/66 EBR for (enc)

4 MAR 4 1966

VJA:ljs
(5)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M _____
Special Agent in Charge

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)—There has been no significant reaction in Hanoi 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 Hanoi.

He and two other Americans, Thomas Hayden, a student leader, and Herbert Aptheker, a leading theoretician of the United States Communist party, arrived in Hanoi last Tuesday by way of Moscow and Peking. Their trip is sponsored by Viet Report, an American magazine critical of United States policy in Vetnam.

The magazine's associate editor, John McDermott, said in New York Tuesday that the three men had gone to Hanoi to clear up what he called conflicting reports of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong position.

Will Report on Return

In the telephone interview, Mr. Lynd said: "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."

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 interests 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 Hanoi to the lull since Christmas in United States air raids on North Vietnam, Mr. Lynd replied: "Nothing of any significance."

The assistant professor of history declined to comment on the possibility that he and his two associates may be prosecuted for visiting Hanoi without permission of the State Department. If found guilty they may face five-year prison sentences, $5,000 fines, or both.

Mr. Lynd consulted Mr. Hayden and Mr. Aptheker and said they did not want to say anything more by telephone—except this: "Please convey my love to my wife and children."

The Yale teacher has been identified with pacifist groups. He is regarded as a spokesman for the "new left" movement in the United States. This movement has contended that the United States has failed to explore adequately peace possibilities in Vietnam.

Mr. Hayden is a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The telephone call from Moscow to Hanoi went through Peking. When it was first placed, the Russian operator reported that Peking's line to Hanoi was down. Almost two hours later, the call came through. Mr. Lynd could be heard clearly but sometimes faintly.

NY Times 1/1/66
p. 3

100-434281

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 3/15/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Papich
1 - Mr. Bartlett
1 - Mr. Reddy

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

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 inquired whether there was any possibility that either the State Department [redacted] b3 b7E

EBR:jas (7)

CONTINUED - OVER

5 MAR 18 1966

100-438794 NAT'L INT. SEC.

NOT RECORDED
170 MAR 21 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN CASE FILE

62-111917-36

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. It was 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.

Alvey also referred to information furnished by the Bureau regarding [redacted] b3 b7E [redacted] would be available under subpoena duces tecum from the company which handled the transmittal and delivery.

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 [redacted] 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. b3 b7E

ACTION:

For information. You will be kept advised of developments in this case.

MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107-02

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 3/16/66

FROM : Legat, Rome (105-2046) (RUC)

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 [redacted] American Embassy, Rome, Italy, which is classified ~~Confidential, No Foreign Dissemination.~~ It should be noted that the [redacted] referred to therein is the abbreviation for the [redacted]

b3
b7D
b7E

Rome indices contain no references to TOM HAYDEN.

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Copy to contact Fred Newark
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 4-19-66
by IJM/CSA

REC- 99

100-438281-28

~~445468~~

(3) - Bureau (Encs. 3) ENCLOSURE
(1 - Foreign Liaison)
1 - Rome (105-2046)
JSL/hcs
(4)

MCT-12

MAR 22 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

APR 26 1966

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

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - DeLoach
1 - Mohr

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 3/24/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Wick
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Franck
1 - Reddy

SUBJECT: STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO
NORTH VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Tavel
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

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.

100-443801

The complaint avers that Lynd has no plan, intent or expectation of traveling to Albania or the communist-controlled portions of China, Korea or Vietnam 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 persons. The complaint claims that the denial of the above rights is in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

NOT RECORDED
107 MAR 29 1966

EBR:pdb
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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 travel to 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.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 3/21/66

FROM : S. J. Papich

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.

[redacted]

b3
b7E

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
(4)

Dept advised by letter 3/22/66

MAR 23 1966

100-438851

NOT RECORDED
145 MAR 25 1966

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Sullivan
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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 21, 1966

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - DeLoach
1 - Mohr
1 - Wick
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Reddy

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

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 him. 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, [redacted] 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.

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On 3/14/66 Department Attorney Brandon Alvey orally discussed this case with Supervisor E. B. Reddy, as set out in

Enclosure

CONTINUED--OVER

EBR:pah
(7)

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

NOT RECORDED
145 MAR 25 1966

5 APR 8 1966

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 Bureau, 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 [redacted] "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.

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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

Buckley is not on the Bureau's mailing list, but our relations with him have been cordial and he was furnished a mimeographed copy of "Masters of Deceit."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be transmitted to Mr. Buckley.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-25-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

"X" ~~SECRET.~~ 10th March, 1966.

A secret and reliable source in Great Britain. which must be protected. [redacted]

b7D

2. It is requested that no action should be taken which might compromise our source.

b7D

MAR 1 0 1966

Enclosure.

5 APR 5 1966

ENCLOSURE

1 ENCLOSURE

100-432281-

NOT RECORDED
184 APR 6 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-432916-94

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-25-2021 BY: [redacted]

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b7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- **100-438281**) DATE: **4/19/66**

FROM : SAC, **NEWARK (100-48095)**

SUBJECT: **THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN**
SM - C

Card filed
Cards sent OO
5/11/66 an

[X] It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

[ ] The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only)*:

Name **THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN**		
Aliases		
[X] Native Born	[ ] Naturalized	[ ] Alien
[X] Communist	[ ] Socialist Workers Party	[ ] Independent Socialist League
[ ] Miscellaneous *(specify)*		
[ ] Tab for Detcom	Race **White**	Sex [X] Male [ ] Female
Date of Birth **December 11, 1939**	Place of Birth **Detroit, Michigan**	
Business Address *(show name of employing concern and address)* **Newark Community Union Project 444 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey**		
Key Facility Data Geographical Reference Number REC-82 100-438281-29 Responsibility		
Interested Agencies		
Residence Address **227 Jelliff Avenue Newark, New Jersey**		

EX-108

16 APR 20 1966

~~SECRET~~

2 - Bureau RM
1 - Newark
RJC:MJ (3)

REGISTERED MAIL

50 MAY 24 1966

CLASSIFIED BY 4417
~~SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE~~
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
GTT/ajd 6.28.76

SUB CONTROL

M. E. ROW

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). (U)

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 unauthorized trip to North Vietnam in December, 1955, and January, 1966, in company with HERBERT APTHEKER of the CP, 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, LYND, and himself. (U)

Subject has not been identified as a member of the COMMUNIST PARTY. Information was received from [redacted] 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 b7D

despite all his shortcomings, they would take him in and work on him to reform him and make him follow the CP, USA line. THIS INFORMATION FROM [redacted] WAS FURNISHED WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN ANY REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SINCE, BY ITS VERY NATURE, IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCE. IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET OUT IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION. b7D

SECRET

Subject was one of the individuals cooperating with the [redacted] in connection with the EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL (U) b3 b7E

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of subject's recent unauthorized trip to North Vietnam with APTHEKER and LYND, it is being recommended that he be placed on the Security Index of the Newark Office. (U)

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION TJM:baf 5/6/66

[redacted] (U) b3 b7E

[redacted] info furnished by [illegible] Paquet
Cal [illegible] 3/18/66 5/6/66 [illegible]

100-438281-NR-4/12/66

CHANGED TO

25-533293-NR

NOV 16 1966

mt 1 BQR

[redacted]

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

April 11, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM
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, 1966, 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
100-438281

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
126 APR 14 1966

Declassified 6/28/76 4417 CTT

EBR:jas (6)

NOTE: Classified [redacted] as the enclosure is so classified. Enclosure so classified since it contains information, the disclosure of which could reveal the sources and adversely affect the national defense.

[redacted]

DUPLICATE YELLOW

[redacted]

ORIGINAL FILED IN CASE FILE

62-111917-52

AAG NOTIFIED OF INCLUSION PROVISIONS
WH R/S 6/23/76

SAC, New York 4/7/66

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
SOUTHERN CHRIS LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
ICSAN 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.

EBR:jas (4)

62-111917-50
62-123974

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-438281

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NOT RECORDED
200 APR 8 1966

2 APR 8 1966

1 ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

50 APR 20 1966

Tolson
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MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

0-19 (Rev. 11-30-65)

Tolson
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Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Wick
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

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

Robert Silver
Frank McGee

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 P. 11
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 3/27/66

letter to STY 4/7/66 - Eddie Rogers

File

ENCLOSURE
100-438281-
ENCLOSURE

100-432281-3C

CHANGED TO

25-533293-3X

NOV 16 1966

mt / [illegible]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

DATE: 5/13/66

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;
STAUGHTON CRAIG 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.

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
141 MAY 17 1966

5 MAY 16 1966

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - New Haven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (RM)
1 - Newark (100-40690) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (RM)
1 - New York

NAT. INT. SEC.

VJA;ats
(5)

5 1 MAY 23 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan
5010-108

62-111917-54
100-123974-63
INDEXED

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-25-2021 BY [redacted]

5010-106-03

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 5/6/66

FROM : [redacted] (P)

b3
b7E

SUBJECT: TOM HAYDEN
[redacted]

Re Romelet 3/16/66.

At [redacted]

On April 28, 1966, the [redacted]

b3
b7E

It is requested that Bureau files be reviewed for any pertinent information concerning HAYDEN and the "Students for a Democratic Society" which may be disseminated to [redacted]

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(U)

(U)

5/18/66

EXP. PROC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-439048

REC- 41

100-438281-31

(3) - Bureau
(1 - Foreign Liaison)
1 - [redacted]
JSL:lw
(4)

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MAY 13 1966

54 MAY 27 1966

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 Q&K/LP
REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2, 1.5
DATE OF REVIEW 5/6/86
computer # 5110

SUBV. CONTROL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-438291-32,33
CHANGED TO
25-533293-5,6

NOV 16 1966

mt/Bgj

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-25-2021 BY: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEWARK	NEWARK	8/19/66	7/20/66 - 8/18/66

TITLE OF CASE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

REPORT MADE BY: BERNARD J. CONNELL MJ

TYPED BY:

CHARACTER OF CASE: SM - C

CC TO: OEC
REC'D 8/14/67
AUG 16 1967
ANS. per Hanlon
BY:

REFERENCE:

Report of SA BERNARD J. CONNELL, 3/10/66, at Newark.

C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

By letter dated March 16, 1966, [redacted] advised they had on 3/10/66 received from the [redacted]

[redacted]

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Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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

COPIES MADE:

6 - Bureau (100-438231) RM GTI/gd

1 - Secret Service, Newark RM 6-28-76

3 - Newark (100-48095)

REC-82 100-438231-34

EX-104

AUG 22 1966

ENCLOSURE

Referred to Res Comm Civil by routing slip for Director
☑ info ☐ action
date 12-18-67
by

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RHO	State	[redacted]	SS Photo
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	8-31-66	8-31-66	8-31-66	8-31-66
How Fwd.	ns	ns	ns	FD376
By	TJ MH	TJ MH	TJ MH	TJ MH

Notations

SUBV. CONTROL

consideration

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57 SEP 8 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NK 100-43095

In view of the classification placed [redacted] on this 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. b3 b7E (C) (U)

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. (U)

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:	Location:
NK T-1 [redacted]	Instant Report - Page 1.
NK T-2 [redacted]	[redacted]
NK T-3 [redacted]	[redacted]
NK T-4 [redacted] Panel Source New York Office	[redacted]
NK T-5 [redacted]	[redacted]
NK T-6 [redacted] Panel Source New York Office	[redacted]
NK T-7 [redacted] PSI Chicago, Illinois	[redacted]

b3 b7D b7E (C) (U) b7D (C) (U)

B

COVER PAGE

NK 100-48095

Identity of Source:	Location:
NK T-8 [redacted] Panel Source Chicago Office	[redacted]
NK T-9 [redacted] (by request)	100-48095-275.
NK T-10 [redacted] (by request)	100-48095-270.
NK T-11 [redacted] (by request)	100-48095-270.
NK T-12 [redacted] (by request)	100-48095-270.
NK T-13 [redacted]	[redacted]
NK T-14 [redacted]	[redacted]
NK T-15 [redacted]	Documentation of [redacted]

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NK 100-48095

Identity of Source:	Location:
NK T-16 [redacted] of the Chicago Office	100-48095-1A-8.
NK T-17 [redacted] New York Office	100-47873-560.

b7E

(U)

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D

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FD-305 (Rev. 5-2-66)

NK 100-48095

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available. (December, 1965)
   Date photograph was taken _____.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
6. ☒ This report is classified ~~confidential~~ _____ 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.

DECLASSIFIED 6-28-76 BJP

7. ☒ Subject previously interviewed *(dates)* 10/12/61
   ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed 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.

8. ☐ 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.
9. ☒ 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 pro-chinese ideological line and is reported to "out-radical the radicals"

10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
    ☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because *(state reasons)*

E*

COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FD-376 (Rev. 11-12-65)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 19, 1966

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. **Bureau file 100-438281** **RE: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN**
Newark file 100-48095

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 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. ☒ 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:

   (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.

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,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 3
U. S. Secret Service, **Newark** RM

Enclosure(s) **2**

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

[redacted]

UNITED 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,

[redacted]

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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 18, 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 HAYDEN.

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 HAYDEN'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 HAYDEN's appearance at the "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" forum on February 24, 1966, and noted that in his talk, HAYDEN stated that he saw a need for a great mass movement against the economic problems in the United States. HAYDEN 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 28, 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 program was 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 Bulgaria; 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 BOSTON UNIVERSITY, MARCH 13, 1966:

Page 3 of the March 22, 1966, issue of "The Worker" carried an article which showed that TOM HAYDEN 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 MARXIST STUDIES is contained in the appendix hereto.

NK T-15 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 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. 3

Commenting on a question from the audience that refusal to serve under the draft could result in serious jail sentences, HAYDEN 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.

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.

In response to a question from the audience as to what Americans can do to influence American foreign policy in Vietnam, HAYDEN 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, TOM HAYDEN 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.

HAYDEN 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

HAYDEN 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."

HAYDEN 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 people who oppose the draft and the tests.

NK T-11 stated on April 7, 1966, that at the Plenary Session, addressed by HAYDEN, HAYDEN 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 HAYDEN 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 HAYDEN 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 HERBERT APTHEKER and STAUGHTON LYND. In his remarks, HAYDEN 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.

HAYDEN 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.

HAYDEN 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 LYND 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 TOM 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 their Congressmen 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. Their 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 18, 1966, NK T-17 made available the March-April, 1966 issue of "STUDIES ON THE LEFT." This issue listed THOMAS 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 TOM HAYDEN.

APPENDIX

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, U.S. of America (CP,USA) 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 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.

APPENDIX

NK 100-43095

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.")

1.

NK 100-48095

APPENDIX

"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

[redacted]

NK 100-48095

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 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 LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted]

FD-323 (Rev. 11-20-61)

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.

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-25-2021 BY: [redacted]

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b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	3/29/66	2/1 - 3/17/66

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN	VINCENT J. ASCHERL	rc

CHARACTER OF CASE

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM;
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;
LOGAN ACT;
CONSPIRACY

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 BOLD

COPIES MADE:
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- Secret Service, NYC (RM)
- New York (100-80532)

100-[illegible]

NOT RECORDED
170 APR 4 1966

62-111917-49

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	Pres Comm			
Request Recd.	Civil Disorder			
Date Fwd.	12/18/67			
How Fwd.				
By	[illegible]			

Notations

57 APR 13 1966

NY 100-80532

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-80532-6935
	[redacted]
	[redacted]
	100-80532-6817
	[redacted]

b7D

NY 100-80532

INFORMANTS: CONT'D

Identity of Source	File Where Located	
NY T-13 [redacted] (concealed per request)	[redacted]	b6 b7C b7D
NY T-14 [redacted] (concealed at his request)	[redacted]	
NY T-15 [redacted] (concealed at his request)	[redacted]	b6 b7C b7D
NY T-16 [redacted]	[redacted]	
NY T-17 [redacted] (Detroit Office)	[redacted]	b7D
NY T-18 [redacted]	[redacted]	
NY T-19 [redacted] (San Francisco Office)	[redacted]	
NY T-20 [redacted]	[redacted]	b7D
NY T-21 [redacted] Panel Source of the New Haven Office	[redacted]	

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-22-2021 BY: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-108-INTC Group, NYC (RM)
1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: VINCENT J. ASCHERL **Office:** New York, New York
Date: 3/29/66

Field Office File #: 100-80532 **Bureau File #** 100-123974

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 had decided to visit North Vietnam. His declared objective was to stop the killing in Vietnam." SAUL ROSENBAUM, [redacted] advised that while on business trip in Europe, he 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. (U)

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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
b) HERBERT APTHEKER (Speeches)	12 - 18
c) STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN	18 - 19
III. Appendix	20 - 29

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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: (U)

"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 done, and to hear for myself the viewpoint or viewpoints from that other side, therefore, is one that I could not forego Perhaps I shall be of some service, however modest, in removing the layers of falsehood 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." (U)

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 3/8/66

SAUL ROSENBAUM [redacted] furnished the following information on March 3, 1966:

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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 these individuals which was displayed to him.

Mr. ROSENBAUM did not engage in conversation with these individuals beyond a few casual words. He 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. ROSENBAUM 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.

(4)

On 3/3/66 at 270 Madison Avenue, New York City File #NY100-80532

by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL:arf Date dictated 3/7/66

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. (U)

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.

(U)

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. (U)

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 subjects 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." (U)

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. (U)

APTHEKER states in his article; "Clearly I believe the Vietnamese feel that their 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 thought 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 Hanoi'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. (U)

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, "On January 8, 1966, Premier PHAM VAN DONG of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam received the three-man US. peace mission, consisting of HERBERT APTHEKER, THOMAS HAYDEN and Prof. STAUGHTON LYND. (U)

"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 place 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." (U)

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. (U)

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. In it 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 DRV 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 bomb and destroy our country and we carefully distinguish between the present rulers of America and the vast majority of the American people." (U)

"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. (U)

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 people." 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. (U)

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." (U)

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 platform 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. (U)

Symbolizing that support at its noblest is the name of NORMAN R. MORRISON, 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." (U)

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 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." (U)

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. (U)

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: (U)

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 CPs 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. (U)

NY T-3
February 16, 1966

A meeting of the Friday Night Forum was held on January 21, 1966, at the Continental Ballroom, Newark, New Jersey. 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 city. 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 a prisoner 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 Vietnam. APTHEKER claimed that the North Vietnamese have no control over the Viet Cong, and there is a difference between the North Vietnamese Army and the Viet Cong. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

NY T-13
February 11, 1966

On February 11, 1966, HERBERT 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. (U)

NY T-14
February 11, 1966

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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. (U)

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: (U)

"Hanoi, 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)

"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. (U)

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)

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.)"

(0)

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.)"

(b)

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.

(0)

APPENDIX

1.

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.

(U)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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
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Page 4 ~ b7E;
Page 5 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 7 ~ b7D;
Page 37 ~ Duplicate;
Page 38 ~ Duplicate;
Page 39 ~ Duplicate;
Page 40 ~ Duplicate;
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Page 87 ~ b7E;
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Page 89 ~ b7E;
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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

7/26/67

SECRET

AIRTEL

1 - Mr. Smethurst

ST-104

REC 13

To: SAC, Newark (100-48095)

From: Director, FBI (100-438281) 37

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C; IS - CANADA

Attached is copy of letter dated 6/29/67 from [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

Contact established sources and informants for data concerning this matter and furnish results in form suitable for dissemination to [redacted] b7D

Enclosure

BMS:ngp
(4)

NOTE: Subject together with Herbert Aptheker and Staughton Lynd traveled to North Vietnam in December, 1965, at invitation of North Vietnamese Government. [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

MAILED 9
JUL 26 1967
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Classified by 4417
Exempt from GDS, Category 1
Date of Declassification Indefinite

NK adviced of class. by RLS 7/21/76

56AUG 2 1967

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

SECRET

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 11 1967
ENCIPHERED

~~SECRET~~

OTT03 500PM JL

URGENT 8-11-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (100 [redacted] 1484) (0) 2P (U)

b3
b7E

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, IS-VIETNAM.

b7D

[redacted] (U)

[redacted] (U)

Exempt from GDS, Category 1, 3
Date of Declassification: Indefinite

62 AUG 25 1967

11 AUG 22 1967

SECRET

PAGE TWO

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] POINT OUT HAYDEN [redacted] AND FBI b7D

INTEREST IN HIS ACTIVITIES AND THAT SOURCE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE.

END. (U)

~~PLS CORRECT OTTAWA FILE NUMBER TO READ 100-1484~~ (U)

PCR

FBI WASH DC

xerox - 2

TIME CODING UNIT
12:44:00 2 11 DEC

SECRET

FD-122 (Rev. 1-20-67)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-438281) DATE: 8/4/67

RWB/vm

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

Cards UTD
Cards Sent OO
8/15/67

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

ENCLOSURE DETACHED AND HANDLED SEPARATELY

Re: FD-122 dated 4/19/67

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only)*:

Name

Aliases

☐ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien

☐ Communist ☐ Socialist Workers Party ☐ Miscellaneous *(specify)*

☐ Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race	Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.

Lecturer and Head of Newark Community Union Project from residence

Key Facility Data

Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____

Interested Agencies _____

Residence Address

100-438281

REGISTERED MAIL
2-Bureau
1-Newark
BJC:gjh
(3)

NOT RECORDED
16 AUG 9 1967

56 AUG 17 1967

SUBV CONTROL

FD-366 (5-6-64)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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 88
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 8-11-67
by [illegible]

100-438281

NOT RECORDED
16 AUG 9 1967

FD-122 DETACHED

SUBV. CONTROL

59 AUG 11 1967

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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEWARK	NEWARK SECRET	8/25/67	7/20 - 8/18/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN	BERNARD J. CONNELL	mafn

CHARACTER OF CASE

SM-C

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

REFERENCES: Report of SA BERNARD J. CONNELL dated 8/19/66 at Newark.
Bureau airtel dated 7/26/67.

-P-

(Info class per first Release)
CLASS. & EXT. BY [illegible]
REASON: FCIM II, [illegible]
DATE OF REVIEW 8/25/[illegible]
Comp # 5118 J.9.9.7

9.6.67 OR NK 1965 pg 1 & 4 former pg 5 & 6 [illegible] pg 7 [illegible] 11/5/79

ENCLOSURES

TO BUREAU

Two copies of FD-376.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Under date of 10/24/66, the [redacted] b7D

[redacted] CIES

~~AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (3) OF~~ [illegible]

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes

APPROVED RWB RMD SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

6 - Bureau (100-438281) (enc. 2) (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Newark (RM)
3 - Newark (100-48095)

COPIES DESTROYED

4 SEP 20 1972

100-438281-39 DEC 8

EX 101

12 AUG 28 1967

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	RAO	SS	Red Comm	
Request Recd.			Air Disposal	
Date Fwd.	9-6-67		12/18/67	
How Fwd.	0-6	FD-376		
By	PZ		MFH	

Notations: appropriate offices and agencies advised of classification & class. by RLS 7/21/76 ORIT

~~SUBV CONTROL~~

Classified by 4217
Exempt from GDS, Category 1
Date of Declassification Indefinite
7/19/76

55 SEP 7 1967

SECRET

NK 100-48095

[redacted] b7D

(U)

INFORMANTS

Informant	Location
NK T-1 is [redacted]	Instant report Pg. 1 [redacted]
NK T-2 is [redacted]	[redacted]
NK T-3 is [redacted]	[redacted]
(U) NK T-4 is [redacted]	Documentation of [redacted]
NK T-5 is [redacted]	[redacted]
NK T-6 is [redacted]	[redacted]
Ariz. (by request)	
NK T-7 is [redacted]	

b7D

(U)

b6
b7C
b7D

(U)

NK 100-48095

NK T-8 is [redacted] [redacted] b7D

NK T-9 is [redacted] [redacted]

NK T-10 is [redacted] [redacted]

NK T-11 is [redacted] (U)

NK T-12 is Documentation of [redacted]

NK T-13 is Documentation of [redacted]

NK T-14 is Documentation of [redacted]

NK T-15 is [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted]

(Protect by request)

LEAD

NEWARK

At Newark, N.J. Will attempt to ascertain any plans subject has to attend Expo '67 during period 9/22-24/67.

(U)

FD-305 (Rev. 5-2-66)

NK 100-48095

SECRET

1. [X] Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. [ ] The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. [X] Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau. SECRET
4. [X] A suitable photograph [X] is [ ] is not available. Date photograph was taken 12/65.
5. [ ] Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. [X] This report is classified "Confidential" because *(state reason)* of information furnished by NK T-1 through NK T-14 could reasonably result in the identification of informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

downgraded 7/1/76 — cover page classified (S)

7. [X] Subject previously interviewed *(dates)* 10/12/61.
   [X] Subject was not reinterviewed because *(state reason)* due to the many speaking engagements that this man fills and the fact that there is no indication that he would be receptive to an interview at this time, it is not deemed adviseable to interview him since he could possible use any interview to embarrass the Bureau.

(u)

8. [ ] 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.
9. [X] 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 December, 1965 and January, 1966.

(u)

10. [X] Subject's SI card [ ] is [X] is not tabbed Detcom.
    [ ] Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because *(state reasons)*

COVER PAGE

D*

SECRET

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. NK 100-48095
Bureau 100-438281

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 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. ☒ 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:

   (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.

6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

(a)

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (1)
U. S. Secret Service, Newark (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

Enclosure(s) (1) (RM) *(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)*

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

~~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: August 25, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-48095 Bureau File #: 100-438281

Title: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis: 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

~~COPIES DESTROYED~~
~~9 25 SEP 7 1972~~

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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 APTHEKER 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.

F. PHOENIX COMMITTEE ON VIETNAM

"Dovecail" 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 of SDS. 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.

NK 100-48095

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.

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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.

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 Newsletter," 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

b7D

[redacted]

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 VICTOR AGOSTO. 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.

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, [redacted] 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. b6 b7C

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

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.

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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.

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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.)

CONFIDENTIAL

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 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.

[redacted]

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

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 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.

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FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-43095

Title THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference Report of SA BERNARD J. CONNELL dated and captioned as above at Newark, New Jersey.

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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. (U)

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. (u)

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. (u)

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. (u)

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

~~Classified by 4417~~
~~Exempt from GDS, Category 1~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

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9 25 SEP 7 1972

ENCLOSURE

100-438281-40

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 ten days 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. (u)

"The 'three --- Yale Poofessor Staughton Lynd, 36; Herbert Aptheker, 50, Communist Theoretician and Director of the American Institute for Marxist 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 ---' ". (u)

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 distri uted outside your agency.

SECRET

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 Marxist 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 East 30th Street, New York City. (U)

SECRET

SECRET

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.

(u)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Newark, New Jersey
September 21, 1967

~~SECRET~~

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

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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. (u)

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

~~SECRET~~
GROUP I
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 9/22/67

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C

b3
b7E

Re New York teletype 8/29/67, entitled "LIBERATION MAGAZINE" (Bufile [redacted]).
Bureau letter to Newark 9/8/67, in same caption.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of a LHM concerning subject, and two copies of LHM for New York.

b7D

The source set forth in LHM is former [redacted].

LHM Pres Comm Civil Disorders
Copy to
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 12-18-67
by MFH

5-Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
[redacted]
b3
b7E
2-New York (100-128969) (LIBERATION MAGAZINE) (Encs. 2) (Info) (RM)
3-Newark
(1-100-49670) (LIBERATION MAGAZINE) 100-438281-41
GEJ:jes
(10) 8 ENCLOSURE

REC 16

1a SEP 27 1967

C. C. - Bishop

LHM [redacted] State, Ottawa
Copy to
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date SEP 26 1967
by MFH

Sub Approved

REC. COPY AND COPY OF ENCL. PROVIDED TO
UNREC COPY OF ENCL. ON FILE

Approved: RWB/dm Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

57 OCT 4 1967

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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 who 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.

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100-438281-41

ENCLOSURE

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:

Name:	Thomas Emmett Hayden
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
Date of Birth:	December 11, 1939
Place of Birth:	Detroit, Michigan
Height:	5'10"
Weight:	150 pounds
Hair:	Black
Eyes:	Brown
Complexion:	Sallow
Build:	Medium
Occupation:	Community organizer
Marital Status:	Divorced, April 1, 1963 from Sandra Cason Hayden
Parents:	John Francis Hayden 14842 Craig Court Warren, Michigan - Father Genevieve Garity Hayden 1217 East 4th Royal Oak, Michigan - Mother
Education:	Graduate, University of Michigan, 1961

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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.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 10-27-67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel REGISTERED
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI (100-438281)

SECRET

From: Legat, Ottawa (100-1484) (RUC)

Subject: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
IS - VIETNAM

Remytel 8-11-67.

Enclosed are the original and two copies of [redacted]

b7D

ENCLOSURE

9 - Bureau (Enc. 3)
1 cc - Liaison Direct
1 cc - Legat, Paris
1 cc - Legat, London
1 cc - Legat, Bern
1 cc - Newark
1 cc - New York
1 - OTT
MLI:jhc

Classified by 4417
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC- 23

100-438281-

Copy to Paris, Bern, London, by routing slip for NY
☑ info ☐ action
date 11-14-67
by WTF/ab

Copy to Newark by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 11-7-67
by WTF/ab

15 OCT 30 1967

SECRET

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

70 NOV 1 1967

LEG-7 (Rev. 12-22-65)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SECRET

TO Director, FBI (100-438281) DATE: 9/29/67

Legal Attache, OTTAWA (100-1259) ( )

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SM - C

Reference: Newark LHM dated 9/21/67.

Dissemination, as outlined below, was made on dates indicated to foreign agencies listed: (U)

[X] One ~~copies~~ copy of re LHM.

[ ] Pertinent information from

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF Classification DATE 10/25/79 GAT/RLS

Name and Location of Agency	Date Furnished
[redacted]	9/29/67

b7D

Copy to Newark
by routing slip for
[X] info [ ] action
date 10-3-67
by

Classified by
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

100-438281 - INTUFE

NOT RECORDED
10 OCT 2 1967

(3) Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
1-Ottawa
MLI/vmm
(4)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 GCK/JS 10/24/79
REASON FOR REVIEW 3
DATE OF REVIEW 9/29/87
com/#5116

SECRET

INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

NK & Send Ottawa advised of class by 7/21/76 DCH/rh

59 OCT 5 1967

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 11/14/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-48095)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
SECURITY MATTER - C

Re NK airtel and LHM dated 9/22/67 in captioned matter.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM concerning the subject reporting his return to the U.S.

b3
b7E

LHM [redacted] State, RAO
Copy to
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 11-22-67
by

3- Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2- Newark
BJC:lgl
(5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-68 100-438281-44

NOV 16 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

70 NOV 29 1967

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

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, 1967, 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 noted that Hayden was representing an anti-war committee and that the North Vietnam Government

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ENCLOSURE 100-438281-44

communicated their interest in releasing prisoners during talks with American antiwar leaders in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in October, 1967.

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES G[illegible]NT

Memorandum

SECRET

TO : Director, FBI (100-438281) DATE: 11/22/67
Attention:

FROM : Legat, Paris (100-2403) (P)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
IS - VIETNAM (U)

Re Legat, Ottawa airtel to Bureau 10/27/67, with enclosure (S) (U) of report from [redacted] b7D

XX On 11/22/67 dissemination was made of pertinent portions of [redacted]

to:

[redacted] b7D b7E

(S) (U)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-1 CTW 10/24/79
REASON - FCIM II 1.2.2 1.5.3
DATE OF REVIEW 11/22/97
Comp # 5110

Remarks: As additional information is received from sources alerted to our interest in this matter, it will be furnished. (S) (U)

Paris advised of class. by RIS 7/21/76

100-438281-45

SECRET

1 - Bureau
1 - Paris
JFF:eim
(2)

REC-74 NOV 27 1967

55 DEC 7 1967

Classified by
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

EX 106

INDEX

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-30-2021 BY: [redacted]

5010-106
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438281)

DATE: NOV 22 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-40690) (RUC)

SUBJECT: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
IS - NORTH VIETNAM

Re WFOlet and LHM, 12/29/65.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau, Newark and New York are 14, 3 and 3 copies, respectively, of LHM, incorporating information concerning the subject contained in the files of the Passport Office, reviewed by SA O. M. SMASAL.

[redacted] b7D b7E

Identity be protected. (U)

The LHM is classified "Confidential" since it contains information from [redacted] b7E which is so classified.

ENCLOSURE

4 - Bureau (Enc. 14)
[redacted] b3 b7E
(1 - 100-123974) (THOS. HAYDEN ET AL; UNAUTH TRVL TO NORTH VIETNAM; MISUSE US PPT; LOGAN ACT)
(1 - 100-) (CZECHOSLOVAK PEACE COMMITTEE)
3 - Newark (100-48095) (Enc. 3) (RM)
3 - New York (100-148904) (Enc. 3) (RM)
4 - WFO
(1 - 100-45394) (THOS. HAYDEN, ET AL)
(1 - 100-47032) (AM CITZNS VISITING NORTH VIETNAM)
(1 - 100-47078) (CZ PEACE COMMITTEE)

EX-102
REC 7 100-438281-46
13 NOV 24 1967

OMS:shy
(14)

LHM Copy to [redacted] Sl. Rlo, ON by routing slip for OSI, ACSI
☑ info ☐ action
date 12-6-67
by [illegible]

LHM Copy to Pres Conn Civil by routing slip for Director
☐ info ☐ action
date 12-18-67
by [illegible]

b3 b7E

54 DEC 8 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 OMS/ [illegible]
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12-22-77

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12-18-81

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 100-123974 100-386

CONFIDENTIAL

Any additional information which may be received from the [redacted] in this matter will be forwarded to the Bureau and interested offices. b7E

CONFIDENTIAL

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

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b7E

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