FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND

SUMMARY DATED 8/20/76

PART # __1__
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM: ACTING SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)
FORMERLY WEATHERMAN
IS-WUO

OO: CHICAGO

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of
a LHM entitled FOREIGN INFLUENCE-WEATHER UNDERGROUND
ORGANIZATION. Enclosed for receiving offices is one copy of LHM.
Two copies of LHM are enclosed for New York.

The basic reference material utilized for this
document is contained within the quarterly reports of STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS, during the period
from 11/5/67 through 5/70 and 4/1/71 and 8/72.

Unless otherwise designated, all data contained
herein is unclassified. The document itself, however,
maintains the classification TOP SECRET because of similarly
classified data contained therein.

Enclosure

1. Baltimore (Enc. 1)
2. Boston (Enc. 1)
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Special Agent in Charge

Approved
Knowledgeable analysts who have followed the growth of Weatherman or as it is now called, the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), are well aware of the foreign influences on the collective thoughts and actions of these revolutionaries who have consistently carried out the Marxist-Leninist conception of armed struggle in the U.S. The WUO investigation is an excellent example of the native born American who adopts the faith of an alien ideology and in behalf of his beliefs commits acts of armed violence, the purposes of which serve to acknowledge his revolutionary obligations to the international communist movement and at the same time create the conditions for revolution in the mother country. The revolutionary who has committed his destiny under the banner of Marxism-Leninism establishes his identity with a world center of revolution (in this instance Havana), develops his fraternal ties with that center and carries out in practice those actions which foster this international relationship. He ceases to be merely "domestic" when he adopts his international identity as a revolutionary. The examples of the leadership of the CPUSA in effectively carrying out the policies and purposes of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, are legion and the enclosed material shows no less the WUO carrying out the policies and purposes of the Vietnamese (DRV and PRG) and the Cuban government.

Foreign influence or control then is not simply a matter confined to those who engage in the tradecraft of gathering hard intelligence. Nor is the revolutionary acting in behalf of a foreign government in the political arena to be classified merely "domestic," the implication being a status of lesser dangerousness. "Witness" by WHITTAKER CHAMBERS provides sufficient evidence as a basis to judge the depth of allegiance between a native born American committed to a revolutionary ideology and his foreign principal--whether it be Moscow, Peking or Havana. It matters not what the target is for the revolutionary--whether gathering hard intelligence or setting bombs to further his international revolutionary commitments--the revolutionary whose actions flow from his faith (ideology) is not constrained by such limiting terminology as "domestic" intelligence. When the WUO initiated, planned and organized the Venceremos
Brigade (VB) trips they did so with the encouragement and instructions of the Cuban government. The question of foreign influence can hardly be ignored when the purposes of the VB trips primarily served the national policy of the Cubans. Likewise when the WUO placed a bomb in the nation's Capitol and then politicalized their action with an underground communique which extolled their international revolutionary identity, the question of foreign influence was sharply brought into focus.

To adequately explain the foreign influences on the adherents of the WUO, this document considered the following questions:

1. What motivated the Weatherpeople? What did they believe in? What center of world revolution did they identify with?

2. What were their international travels and contacts? Did such contacts influence their actions in the U.S.? How?

3. During their underground, how did they carry out their commitments? Were their actions international in character? Did they adopt tactics which flowed from the example of a foreign principal?

4. Who are the main adherents of the WUO? What international travel and/or contacts did they have? What did they say about their revolutionary commitment?

The above questions are answered in the enclosed document.
CG 100-40903

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(request)
From the moment in October, 1967, when Radio Hanoi announced the formation of the South Vietnamese Peoples Committee for Solidarity with American People (by the National Liberation Front (NLF), the political arm of the Viet Cong) with the objective of establishing relations with "progressive organizations and individuals in the United States," a political front was enjoined in behalf of the national interests of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam (DRV) (and the NLF), the purpose of which was to intensify the anti-war sentiment in the United States. From the initial meeting between the Vietnamese and leading anti-war activists held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in November, 1967, to the July, 1969, meeting with leading Weatherpeople held in Havana, Cuba, the influence of Vietnamese representatives on the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leadership became sharply pronounced. At the same time, the example of the Cuban revolution became the guide for the emerging American student revolutionary. With an increasing number of trips to Havana where the youthful revolutionary could learn at first hand how to create revolution, the influence of Cuba on the developing MUO was enormous.
The WUO obtained their revolutionary methodology from the Cubans and Vietnamese and, importantly, put into practice what they had learned from them. The Weathermen, of course, did not just happen to come about during the June, 1969, SDS National Convention. They fully admit their radical heritage began during experiences gained in SDS and as shown herein their international contacts with representatives of the DRV and NLF which began in 1967 increased their anti-imperialist consciousness so that by 1969 they had solidified their revolutionary commitment to include the maximum optimum of armed struggle. So, when Huynh Van Ba, representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam (PRC), instructed the WUO to "look for the person who fights hardest against the cops...Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights," the campus base was forgotten and the WUO began to recruit the greasers and assorted oddments who had displayed their hatred of authority in direct combat with police.

The WUO has existed since early 1970. Since then, their ideological statements have developed a more consistent Marxist-Leninist revolutionary stance, and along with their numerous "underground communiques" which have accompanied significant bombings throughout the country, their statements quite clearly show they continue to consider themselves revolutionaries of an international order. Their revolutionary duty lies side by side with the oppressed Third World peoples and the proletariat of the world. Hence, the international character of the WUO and the foreign influence which shaped that character was early defined and has been a constant frame of reference when considering the investigative problem inherent to the WUO.

A chronology of the WUO follows:
FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS
1969-1976
(See Section III for Chronology of Bombings and Underground Communiques)

June, 1969 The "Action Faction" of the SDS releases a detailed statement of their political ideology in the official SDS newspaper "New Left Notes." This essay concluded with the quotation "You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows" which gave rise to its adherents being called "Weathermen." (Insofar as the organization founded on the "Weatherman Statement" is now called the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), the term WUO will be used interchangeably with Weatherman throughout this document.)

June 18-22, 1969 The SDS National Convention held in Chicago, Illinois, sees the organization collapse as a student group and the WUO seizing control of the SDS National Office. Henceforth any activity run from the SDS National Office is WUO controlled. (The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) members in SDS attempted to use the SDS name in setting up their own office in Massachusetts.)

July, 1969 BERNARDINE DOHRN, ELEANOR RASKIN, DIANNE DONGHI, PETER CLAPP, DAVID MILLSTONE and DIANA OUGHTON, all representing the WUO, travel to Cuba where they meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese and Cuban governments.

August, 1969 WUO member LINDA SUE EVANS travels to North Vietnam.

WUO activists meet in Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of making final plans for their "National Action" or "Days of Rage" protests scheduled to be held in Chicago in October, 1969.

September 4, 1969 WUO women members from various parts of the country converge on South Hills High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where they run through the school shouting anti-war slogans
and distributing literature promoting the "National Action." The term "Pittsburgh 26" refers to the 26 women arrested in connection with this incident.

September 24, 1969

A group of WUO members become involved in a confrontation with Chicago Police when they refuse to clear a street during a demonstration supporting the "National Action" and protesting the commencement of an Antiriot Act trial against eight individuals charged with initiating the riots in connection with the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

October 8-11, 1969

The "Days of Rage" riots occur in Chicago in which 267 WUO members from throughout the country were arrested and a large amount of property damage was done. The four day "National Action" was kicked off by a bombing of the Haymarket police station on Chicago's Near North Side. Some of the current underground WUO members became fugitives when they failed to appear for trial in connection with their arrests during these four days.

December 5, 1969

The WUO bombs several police vehicles in Chicago to retaliate for the killing of Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders MARK CLARK and FRED HAMPTON on December 4, 1969, by Chicago Police.

November-December, 1969

The first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) departs for Cuba to harvest sugar cane. A small number of WUO members participate in this trip.

December 27-31, 1969

The WUO holds a "War Council" meeting in Flint, Michigan, where they finalize their plans to submerge into an underground status from which they plan to commit strategic acts of sabotage against the government.

February, 1970

The WUO closed the SDS National Office in Chicago, thusly concluding the major campus based organization of the 1960s.
The first contingent of the VB returns from Cuba and the second contingent departs.

By mid-February the bulk of the leading WUO members submerge into an underground status.

March 6, 1970
While one WUO "foco" is preparing to bomb a police facility in Detroit, Michigan, another group blow themselves up when their "bomb factory" located in New York's Greenwich Village accidently explodes. WUO members THEODORE GOLD, DIANA OUGHTON and TERRY ROBBINS die in this incident.

March 20, 1970
Several underground WUO members become Federal fugitives when unlawful flight to avoid prosecution warrants are issued in connection with their failure to appear for trials in connection with local cases in Chicago.

March 30, 1970
Chicago Police discover a WUO "bomb factory" on Chicago's north side. A subsequent discovery of a WUO "weapons cache" in a south side Chicago apartment several days later ends WUO activity in the city.

April 2, 1970
A Federal Grand Jury in Chicago returns a number of indictments charging WUO members with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws. Also a number of additional federal warrants charging
FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

unlawful flight to avoid prosecution are returned in Chicago based on the failure of WUO members to appear for trial in local cases. (The Antiriot law charges were later dropped in January, 1974.)

April, 1970  WUO members LINDA SUE EVANS and DIANNE DONGHI are arrested in New York by the FBI.

May 21, 1970  The WUO under BERNARDINE DOHRN's name releases its "Declaration of a State of War" communiqué. (See Section III)

July 23, 1970  A Federal Grand Jury in Detroit, Michigan, returns indictments against a number of underground WUO members and former WUO members charging violations of various explosives and firearms laws. (These indictments were later dropped in October, 1973.)

September 22, 1970  The WUO carries out the escape from prison in California of LSD promoter Dr. TIMOTHY FRANCIS LEARY. (See Section III)

December, 1970  Fugitive WUO member CAROLINE TANNER, who fled the country for Cuba, is arrested by the FBI in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Fugitive WUO member JUDITH ALICE CLARK is arrested by the FBI in New York.

April, 1971  FBI Agents discover an abandoned WUO "bomb factory" in San Francisco, California. Numerous fingerprints of WUO members are located in this apartment.
FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

September 19, 1973
Underground WUO member HOWARD NORTON MACTHINGER is arrested by the FBI in New York. Released on bond, MACTHINGER again submerges into the underground.

July, 1974
The WUO releases its book "Prairie Fire" in which they indicate the need for a unified Communist Party. They encourage the creation of study groups to discuss their ideology, but continue to stress the need for violent acts. The Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) arises from the teachings in this book and is organized by many former WUO members.

March, 1975
The WUO releases its first edition of a new magazine entitled "Osawatomie."

July 21-23, 1975
The PFOC holds its first national convention during which time they go through the formality of creating a new organization.
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SECTION I

IDEOLOGY

This Section on Ideology deals with the ideas of Weatherman. What did they believe in? Were they influenced by a foreign ideology? What did internationalism mean to them? These questions, which are at the very heart of any understanding of the political revolutionary, are fully explored here.

In analyzing the actions and motivations of any political group, one must always examine the ideology behind the actions; for actions are guided by theory. The confusion inherent in the social fabric of the nation during the 1960s and early 1970s makes a treatment of the political thought which conditioned Weatherman actions difficult and perhaps overlong. Nonetheless, Weatherman (or subsequently the Weather Underground Organization) has struggled to define a revolutionary body of thought which has both the substance of traditional Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought and New Left exceptionalism as deduced from their common experiences developed within the Students for a Democratic Society. The theoretician may well find severe contradictions in WUO logic and, of course, the changes in their stated dogma from June, 1969, to the present reveal almost complete reversals in certain aspects of Marxist theory. But two features have remained unchanged which are manifestations of their collective experiences: one, an unremitting commitment to armed struggle as the ultimate necessity to seize state power, and two, an unshakeable faith that imperialism will only be defeated through a world-wide linking up of the revolutionary process. "Revolutionaries," according to the WUO, "are internationalists."
Contained in Section I is the following:

A. Major Political Statements of the WUO: 1969-1976

This material documents the WUO’s unchanging belief in armed struggle and the necessity of the international communist movement to guide their struggles to create revolution in the United States. Also included is a commentary on those specific aspects of Marxist-Leninist dogma which relates to their changes of political positions.

B. Internationalism - WUO Statements Which Support the International Communist Movement

This material sets forth WUO leadership statements relating to their commitment to the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism with a concluding statement showing the direct influence of the Cuban revolution on Weatherman.

C. Influence of the Cuban Revolution

This material reveals the depth of the influence of “Revolution in the Revolution?” by REGIS DE BRAY on the WUO. Included are statements by confidants of WUO leaders received immediately prior to WUO entering the underground, showing their commitment to DE BRAY’s theses of guerrilla action.

D. Influence of Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung Thought

This material reflects the Weatherman acceptance of the primary contradiction facing the world as established by China; the situation during the 1969 SDS National Convention wherein MAO Tse-tung thought influenced Weatherman.
IDEOLOGY

A. MAJOR POLITICAL STATEMENTS OF THE
WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)
Formerly Weatherman; 1969-1976

Although Weatherman as an identifiable revolutionary

group came into being with the issuance of their initial
ideological statement in June, 1969, the totality of their
experiences, politically and organizationally, are inextricably
bound up with the social and political upheavals which faced the
country in the late 1960s. Their ideology was formulated
amid the confrontations they faced in the Students for a
Democratic Society (SDS) and the influence upon them from
world centers of revolution, Havana, Peking and Hanoi. The
concluding days of SDS saw the New Left activist attempting
to define a revolutionary youth movement conception, Marxist-
Leninist in content, which would relate the experiences of
the youth activist in a concrete way to their objective -
the destruction of U.S. imperialism.

Among Marxist-Leninists, the struggle for ideological
clarity is a never ending process and the key political
statements of the Weatherman show they are no different from
other like minded revolutionary scientific socialists.
Briefly, their primary ideological statements are:

June, 1969: You Don't Need a Weatherman
to Know Which Way the Wind Blows

May, 1974: Prairie Fire

Spring, 1975: Oaxacan

Summer, 1976: Osawatomie

Spring, 1976: Politics in Command

However, regardless of their continued seeking of
ideological clarity, the WUO has maintained consistency on
several key points. They are:
2) The understanding that the primary contradiction facing the world is that between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples of the world, especially Third World people.

3) That revolutionaries are internationalists and as such they have a duty and obligation to the international communist movement which "must guide it."

4) That armed struggle is the ultimate necessity of the political revolutionary which must be used in order to seize state power and defeat U.S. imperialism.

The WUO has undergone significant ideological changes from the Weatherman during the period from 1969 to 1976. Changes in the balance of forces in the world, the ending of the war in Vietnam, a less abrasive social fabric in the country, a general malaise of the revolutionary left coupled with their own maturing has affected their ideological outlook. These are:

Whereas in 1969 their ideological guide was synonymous with the Cuban revolutionary experience as chronicled by REGIS DE BRAY in "Revolution in the Revolution," in 1975 BERNARDINE DOIRN writes that the foco theory of revolution (DeBrayism) is wrong.

Whereas in 1969 the Weatherman extolled CASTRO's "The duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution," and CHE GUEVARA'S "Two, Three, Many Vietnams" in 1976 their formulations relate more closely to the experiences of the Chinese revolution. (It is noted that the caption of their major ideological statement issued in 1974 is "Prairie Fire," which emanates from NAO Tse-tung's "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire."

Whereas in 1969 the rationale for their activism was related directly to bringing about the cessation of the war in Vietnam and the forces to effectuate this objective in the United States were black, third world and cultural youth forces "outside" the system, in 1976 the WUO although not denying their sympathetic ties to oppressed sectors, now takes a more classical Marxist-Leninist position that the motive force for revolution is the working class.
Whereas in 1969 the Weatherman denied the necessity for the building of a communist party before engaging in the revolutionary process (DE BRAY), in 1976 the NUO calls for "Politics in Command," and asserts that the building of a true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party is necessary in order to lead the masses. In line with this objective, the NUO in 1976 calls for unity among revolutionary forces as the necessary element in building a vanguard communist party. A further principal element in building a party is the developing of ties with the masses which the NUO now calls for but which in 1969 they denied.
You Don't Need a Weatherman To
Know Which Way The Wind Blows

"New Left Notes"
June 18, 1969

This ideological statement, from which the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) derived its name Weatherman, was introduced during the chaotic atmosphere of the June, 1969, National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). At a time when internal struggles were fracturing the organization, Weatherman joined with the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II) (led by National Secretary MIKE KLONSKY) to oust the dogmatic Workers Student Alliance (WSA) faction of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). Weatherman took over leadership of the National Office of SDS through the electoral process at this National Convention: MARK RUDD as National Secretary, JEFF JONES as Inter-Organizational Secretary and BILL AYERS as Educational Secretary. The effective leadership of SDS (including BERNARDINE DOIHN who was elected to the National Interim Committee) from June, 1969, to the closing of its doors in February, 1970, when the Weathermen went underground, was totally Weatherman. Neither PL, who had opened its own "SDS" headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, nor RYM II, who initiated its own separate organization in November, 1969, had any over-all influence in the national policies in SDS after the June, 1969, convention.

The Weatherman ideological statement was never debated within SDS, simply because the Weatherman leadership were so overwhelmingly aggressive as to forestall any critical approach to their ideology. Then, too, the influence of the Cuban revolution and in particular the chronicle of the Cuban experience as revealed in "Revolution in the Revolution?" (see Section: Regis Debray, "Revolution in the Revolution") was at this time (1969) pervasive--the intent to go underground and to organize themselves into "focos" in order to carry out actions against the state apparatus was building. It is instructive to note that the initial caption of the Weathermen ideological statement concerns itself with the international character of the revolutionary process.
1. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION

The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against US imperialism and its lackeys.

—Lin Piao, Long Live the Victory of People's War!

People ask, what is the nature of the revolution that we talk about? Who will it be made by, and for, and what are its goals and strategy?

The overriding consideration in answering these questions is that the main struggle going on in the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it. This is essential in defining political matters in the whole world: because it is by far the most powerful, every other empire and petty dictator is in the long run dependent on US imperialism, which has unified, allied with, and defended all of the reactionary forces of the whole world. Thus, in considering every other force or phenomenon, from Soviet imperialism or Israeli imperialism to 'workers struggle' in France or Czechoslovakia, we determine who are our friends and who are our enemies according to whether they help US imperialism or fight to defeat it.
So the very first question people in this country must ask in considering the question of revolution is where they stand in relation to the United States as an oppressor nation, and where they stand in relation to the masses of people throughout the world whom US imperialism is oppressing.

The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world. It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world.

The goal is the destruction of US imperialism and the achievement of a classless world: world communism. Winning state power in the US will occur as a result of the military forces of the US overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal; struggle within the US will be a vital part of this process, but when the revolution triumphs in the US it will have been made by the people of the whole world. For socialism to be defined in national terms within so extreme and historical an oppressor nation as this is only imperialist national chauvinism on the part of the "movement".

VI. INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

What is the strategy of this international revolutionary movement? What are the strategic weaknesses of the imperialists which make it possible for us to win? Revolutionaries around the world are in general agreement on the answer, which Lin Piao describes in the following way:

US imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world.
including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of domination over the whole world. US imperialism has further weakened itself by occupying so many places in the world, over-reaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long.

--Long Live the Victory of People's War

The strategy which flows from this is what Che called "creating two, three, many Vietnams"—to mobilize the struggle so sharply in so many places that the imperialists cannot possibly deal with it all. Since it is essential to their interests, they will try to deal with it all, and will be defeated and destroyed in the process.

In defining and implementing this strategy, it is clear that the vanguard (that is, the section of the people who are in the forefront of the struggle and whose class interests and needs define the terms and tasks of the revolution) of the 'American Revolution' is the workers and oppressed peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Because of the level of special oppression of black people as a colony, they reflect the interests of the oppressed people of the world from within the borders of the United States; they are part of the Third World and part of the international revolutionary vanguard.

The vanguard role of the Vietnamese and other Third World countries in defeating US imperialism has been clear to our movement for some time. What has not been so clear is the vanguard role black people have played, and
continue to play in the development of revolutionary consciousness and struggle within the United States. Criticisms of the black liberation struggle as being 'reactionary' or of black organizations on campus as being conservative or 'racist' very often express this lack of understanding. These ideas are incorrect and must be defeated if a revolutionary movement is going to be built among whites.

The fact that the Vietnamese are winning weakens the enemy, advancing the possibilities for the black struggle, etc. But it is important for us to understand that the interrelationship is more than this. Black people do not simply 'choose' to intensify their struggle because they want to help the Vietnamese, or because they see that Vietnam heightens the possibilities for struggle here.

The existence of any one Vietnam, especially a winning one, spurs on others not only through consciousness and choice, but through need, because it is a political and economic as well as military weakening of capitalism, and this means that to compensate, the imperialists are forced to intensify their oppression of other people.

VII. THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT: CLASS ANALYSIS

We have pointed to the vanguard nature of the black struggle in this country as part of the international struggle against American imperialism, and the impossibility of anything but an international strategy for winning. Any attempt to put forth a strategy which, despite internationalist rhetoric, assumes a purely internal development to the class struggle in this country, is incorrect. The Vietnamese (and the Ugurayans and the Rhodesians) and the blacks and Third World peoples in this country will continue to set the terms for class struggle in America.
VIII. WHY A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT?

As imperialism struggles to hold together this decaying social fabric, it inevitably resorts to brute force and authoritarian ideology. People, especially young people, more and more find themselves in the iron grip of authoritarian institutions. Reaction against the pigs or teachers in the schools, welfare pigs or the army, is generalizable and extends beyond the particular repressive institution to the society and the State as a whole. The legitimacy of the State is called into question for the first time in at least 30 years, and the anti-authoritarianism which characterizes the youth rebellion turns into rejection of the State, a refusal to be socialized into American society. Kids used to try to beat the system from inside the army or from inside the schools; now they desert from the army and burn down the schools.

The crisis in imperialism has brought about a breakdown in bourgeois social forms, culture and ideology. The family falls apart, kids leave home, women begin to break out of traditional 'female' and 'mother' roles. There develops a 'generation gap' and a 'youth problem.' Our heroes are no longer struggling businessmen, and we also begin to reject the ideal career of the professional and look to Mao, Che, the Panthers, the Third World, for our models, for motion.

The point of the revolutionary youth movement strategy is to move from a predominant student elite base to more oppressed (less privileged) working-class youth as a way of deepening and expanding the revolutionary youth movement—not of giving up what we have gained, not giving up our old car for a new Dodge. This is part of a strategy to reach the entire working class to engage in struggle against imperialism; moving from more privileged sections of white working-class youth to more oppressed sections to the
entire working class as a whole, including importantly what has classically been called the industrial proletariat. But this should not be taken to mean that there is a magic moment, after we reach a certain percentage of the working class, when all of a sudden we become a working-class movement. We are already that if we put forward internationalist proletarian politics...

The above arguments make it clear that it is both important and possible to reach young people wherever they are—not only in the shops, but also in the schools, in the army and in the streets—so as to recruit them to fight on the side of the oppressed peoples of the world. Young people will be part of the International Liberation Army. The necessity to build this International Liberation Army in America leads to certain priorities in practice for the revolutionary youth movement which we should begin to apply this summer....

IX. IMPERIALISM IS THE ISSUE

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletariat of different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various states of development which the struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

—Communist Manifesto
...In every case, our aim is to raise anti-imperialist and anti-racist consciousness and tie the struggles of working-class youth (and all working people) to the struggles of Third World people, rather than merely joining fights to improve material conditions, even though these fights are certainly justified. This is not to say that we don't take immediate fights seriously, or fight hard in them, but that we are always up front with our politics, knowing that people in the course of struggle are open to a class line, ready to move beyond narrow self-interest...

XIII. THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The RYM must also lead to the effective organization needed to survive and to create another battlefield of the revolution. A revolution is a war; when the Movement in this country can defend itself militarily against total repression it will be part of the revolutionary war.

This will require a cadre organization, effective secrecy, self-reliance among the cadres, and an integrated relationship with the active mass-based Movement. To win a war with an enemy as highly organized and centralized as the imperialists will require a (clandestine) organization of revolutionaries, having also a unified 'general staff'; that is, combined at some point with discipline under one centralized leadership. Because war is political, political tasks—the international communist revolution—must guide it. Therefore the centralized organization of revolutionaries must be a political organization as well as military, what is generally called a 'Marxist-Leninist' party....

...These conditions for the development of a revolutionary party in this country are the main 'conditions' for winning. There are two kinds of tasks for us.
One of the organization of revolutionary collectives within the Movement. Our theory must come from practice, but it can’t be developed in isolation. Only a collective pooling of our experiences can develop a thorough understanding of the complex conditions in this country. In the same way, only our collective efforts toward a common plan can adequately test the ideas we develop. The development of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist collective formations which undertake this concrete evaluation and application of the lessons of our work is not just the task of specialists or leaders, but the responsibility of every revolutionary. Just as a collective is necessary to sum up experiences and apply them locally, equally the collective inter-relationship of groups all over the country is necessary to get an accurate view of the whole movement and to apply that in the whole country. Over time, those collectives which prove themselves in practice to have the correct understanding (by the results they get) will contribute toward the creation of a unified revolutionary party.

The most important task for us toward making the revolution, and the work our collectives should engage in, is the creation of a mass revolutionary movement, without which a clandestine revolutionary party will be impossible. A revolutionary mass movement is different from the traditional revisionist mass base of "sympathizers." Rather it is akin to the Red Guard in China, based on the full participation and involvement of masses of people in the practice of making revolution; a movement with a full willingness to participate in the violent and illegal struggle. It is a movement diametrically opposed to the elitist idea that only leaders are smart enough or interested enough to accept full revolutionary conclusions. It is a movement built on the basis of faith in the masses of people.
The task of collectives is to create this kind of movement. (The party is not a substitute for it, and in fact is totally dependent on it.) This will be done at this stage principally among youth, through implementing the Revolutionary Youth Movement strategy discussed in this paper. It is practice at this, and not political 'teachings' in the abstract, which will determine the relevance of the political collectives which are formed.

The strategy of the RYN for developing an active mass base, tying the city-wide fights to community and city-wide anti-pig movement, and for building a party eventually out of this motion, fits with the world strategy for winning the revolution, builds a movement oriented toward power, and will become one division of the International Liberation Army, while its battlefields are added to the many Vietnamese which will dismember and dispose of US imperialism. Long live the Victory of People's War!
Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism.

In May, 1974, the Weather Underground published "Prairie Fire" (PF) which is self-described as the "Political Statement of the Weather Underground," a "strategy for anti-imperialism and revolution inside the U.S." In a letter dated May 9, 1974, which is set forth in the forward to PF, and which bears the names BERNARDINE DOIRN, JEFF JONES and BILL AYERS, the WUO restates their political ideology. In PF the Weatherpeople re-enforce their view that revolutionary violence is necessary; that armed struggle is the primary consideration for the revolutionary. DOIRN, JONES and AYERS call for a "revolutionary communist party" to "lead the struggle" to "give coherence and direction to the fight," to "seize power and build a new society." Expressing the commitment of their international obligations, PF reveals:

We made the choice to become a guerrilla organization at a time when the Vietnamese were fighting a heroic people's war, defeating half a million troops and the most technologically advanced military power. In our own hemisphere Che Guevara urged that we 'create two, three, many Vietnams,' to destroy U.S. imperialism by cutting it off in the Third World tentacle by tentacle, and opening another front within the U.S. itself.

At home, the struggle and insurrection of the Black liberation movement heightened our commitment to fight alongside the determined enemies of the empire.

This defined our international responsibility and our duty as white revolutionaries inside the oppressor nation. We are part of a wave of revolution sparked by the Black liberation struggle, by the death of Che in Bolivia in 1967, and by people's war in Vietnam. This period forged out belief in the revolutionary necessity of clandestine and armed struggle.

PF is particularly clear on the WUO stand on the need for armed struggle - and where this struggle is to take place.
We believe that carrying out armed struggle will effect the people's consciousness of the nature of the struggle against the state. By beginning the armed struggle, the awareness of its necessity will be furthered. This is no less true in the U.S. than in other countries throughout the world. Revolutionary action generates revolutionary consciousness; growing consciousness develops revolutionary action. Action teaches the lessons of fighting, and demonstrates that armed struggle is possible.

At this early stage in the armed and clandestine struggle, our forms of combat and confrontation are few and precise. Our organized forces are small, the enemy's forces are huge. We live inside the oppressor nation, particularly suited to urban guerrilla warfare. We are strategically situated in the nerve centers of the international empire, where the institutions and symbols of imperial power are concentrated. The cities will be a major battleground, for the overwhelming majority of people live in the cities; the cities are our terrain.

Further, the necessity for a concrete political explanation of an armed action, e.g., an underground "communique" which accompanies a bombing will continue to be the practice of the WUO. PF states in this regard:

Mass struggle and movements are not mere spectators in revolutionary war; armed struggle cannot become a spectacle. It is the responsibility of mass leaders and organizations to encourage and support revolutionary armed struggle, in open as well as quiet ways. Actions are more powerful when they are explained and armed intervention can be publicly championed and built on. Parallel mass support will further both the mass and military struggle.

In defining their goals, the WUO constantly iterates an action-oriented theme in PF:
We have an urgent responsibility: to destroy imperialism from within in order to help free the world and ourselves from its grasp. Without underestimating the difficulties this is our position of strength. We use all the weapons available to us. This necessarily includes mass militant action and guerrilla action to lay the foundation for the decisive armed struggle.

This paper is a strategy for revolutionary anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism defines our struggle and direction, helps us correctly identify our enemy and our friends, and is the necessary basis for advancing our movement. The strategic weak point of empire today is its hold on its external and internal colonies, and it is here that imperialism receives the heaviest blows.

Our final goal is the destruction of imperialism, the seizure of power, and the creation of socialism.

Ideologically, PF internationally identifies the primary contradiction facing revolutionaries in the following light:

The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to Mao and Ho Chi Minh - that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism - is the guiding strategic principle of this era.

PF pays special homage to black liberation struggles as the leading force to bring about revolution. Calling the black nation in the U.S. the "second largest Black nation in the world," PF decries racism as a weapon of the ruling class "deliberately fashioned" to oppress black people. PF envisions the cities of the U.S. as the Third World territory wherein
urban guerrilla warfare will take place. PF also equates the women's movement in revolutionary terms, stating there is "particular importance in women learning to fight...Women fighters are frightening apparitions to the enemy and examples for us." The NUGO continues its line extolling the militancy of women, a feature of the Weatherman from its initiation in 1969.

Finally, PF with its identification of U.S. imperialism as "the enemy of all humankind," restates the goals of the Weatherman Underground as:

Our goal is to attack imperialism's ability to exploit and wage war against all oppressed peoples. Our final goal is the complete destruction of imperialism, the seizure of the means of production and the building of socialism. To create the conditions in which we can take the offensive, destroy the old system and build a new life, we must weaken and at least partly destroy the empire. The weakest points of empire lie in its control of the colonies, and this is why Third World liberation is leading the struggle against imperialism.

Internationalism

Revolutionaries are internationalists. Our job is to build international class consciousness, to make connections among people. A good program must synthesize — not separate — the struggles of Third World peoples with our own; to uncover the relationship between Watergate and the Vietnam War, to nourish our identification with the struggle of Cuban women rather than our distinctness, to find the commonality between the white worker and the unemployed Puerto Rican. A good program mobilizes and teaches.

In their closing statement, the Weatherman Underground restates what they believe to be the key tactic in seizing state power — militant action — in the following way:
A movement has no reason to exist if it doesn't fight. The system needs to be overthrown; revolutionaries must prepare for that necessity at all points along the way. Revolutionary movements must be contending for power, planning how to contend for power, or recovering from setbacks suffered in contending for power. Certainly every movement must learn to fight correctly, sometimes retreating, sometimes advancing. But fighting the enemy must be its reason for being. We build a fighting movement.

Militancy stirs the imagination and raises the vision of victory. Militancy in a street demonstration, in a courtroom, in a rally, in a prison takeover, is recognized and respected as an uncompromising statement. It is a confrontation with the opposing system. Involving people in militant action trains and teaches. It is both an example and a strategy. Militant action is related to the understanding that the struggle is not merely for separate issues but is ultimately for power - necessarily including armed struggle to defeat the oppressive forces of state.

Thusly, in May, 1974, the WUO emerged from anonymity in the form of "Prairie Fire," to restate their politics of revolution. In substance the line set forth in PF continues to be their basic ideological document: it promotes armed struggle as the necessity to defeat the State although it observes the requirement that mass organization is also a tactic to build the Revolutionary movement; it calls for a revolutionary communist party to lead the struggle but fails to outline even minimal tasks which would lead to the formation of such a party; it neither uses the words proletariat or working class but rather once again addresses itself to the counter culture and oppressed sectors of society as the motive forces for revolution.
"Osawatomie"
1975-1976

The WUO began the publication of "Osawatomie" in the spring of 1975; each issue carries the following self-identification:

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in "Subterranean Homesick Blues," a popular song in the last decade: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows," for five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

Calling for unity among the left and asserting that U.S. imperialism has entered a state of decline, the Central Committee of the WUO makes an important assessment of the role of the revolutionary in society - that an identification with the masses is the task of the left and that the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism is essential. The Spring, 1975, issue of "Osawatomie" states:

The immediate task for the left is this: organize the masses of people against imperialism and for revolution. Pull together friends and comrades, whether three or thirty. Explain the roots of the current economic and social crisis. Fight for jobs and for funds for urgent relief programs. Wealth should be taken from the Pentagon budget and used to rebuild our cities, schools and hospitals.

Revolutionaries must be organizers. Leftists who are uncomfortable on the unemployment line won't lead a march for jobs. Without the
habit of revolutionary practice among the people, a generation of firebrands will slowly cool into positions of comfortable opposition.

Theory and ideology are important tools, and we should make study of Marxism-Leninism an important part of our work. Marxism-Leninism is a necessary guide for both understanding the contradictions of class society and developing correct revolutionary strategy. How will an organizer know if a particular theory is correct? Practice. Work among the people and learn from them. It is the oppressed and exploited people who understand the wretchedness of this system in detail, and it is the people who will create the ultimate solutions. Waiting to begin until the theory is fully worked out is to create the certainty of failure.

And in the Summer, 1975, issue of "Osawatomie," the Central Committee of the WUO concluded:

We see three urgent and immediate jobs for the revolutionary movement:

First, we must build a revolutionary anti-imperialist and antiracist base among the oppressed and exploited. We must join the struggles of the people, identify with their anger and suffering and develop the full potential of their fight against the state....

Second, we need unity among all the anti-imperialist forces. Without a broad alliance and coming together on a simple and revolutionary basis the anti-imperialist movement will be doomed to ineffectiveness, reappearance of effort, localism and isolation of each of the parts from the whole. Principled unity of revolutionary forces is past due....

Third, we must struggle to build principled working relationships with Black and Third World people and organizations. White revolutionaries have largely cut themselves off from these relationships. Great opportunities exist at this time, waiting to be seized....
In order to accomplish all these things, we need breakthroughs in developing class analysis, an analysis capable of uniting the many to defeat the few. This is more difficult than repeating general understandings or making vague assertions. This means defining with precision every class and every sector within every class, and how each sector lines up at each stage in the struggle against imperialism. It means being able finally to develop a program which can unite all revolutionary classes and win over or neutralize other classes in order to isolate and defeat the ruling class.

"Our Class Stand" by BERNARDINE DOHRN

The Autumn, 1975, issue of "Oswatonic," a publication of the WUO, carried a lead article by BERNARDINE DOHRN entitled "Our Class Stand." It is characterized as a speech given by DOHRN to a national meeting of WUO cadres on September 7, 1975. It is significant in that for the first time the WUO identifies its revolutionary mission in classical Marxist-Leninist terminology. Not only do DOHRN admit past errors in their collective failure to study Marxism-Leninism but most importantly their stereotyped view of the working class as pro-war, white, hard-hat mistakenly ignored the very class (proletariat) which could successfully overthrow the State apparatus. DOHRN states:

"We are building a communist organization to be part of the forces which build a revolutionary communist party to lead the working class to seize power and build socialism. This involves taking responsibility for every aspect of the struggle. This is our direction.

We must further the study of Marxism-Leninism in the WUO. The struggle for Marxism-Leninism is the most significant development in our recent history. Two years ago, when we began organization-wide study of Marxism-Leninism, we were attempting to reorganize
after a long period of dispersal and fragmentation. We were debilitated, like many forces in the movement, by an ideology of pragmatism....

...When the study finally started, we realized that most members had never studied Marxism-Leninism, and our study has liberated a new spirit in us, a hunger for knowledge and ideology....

The study furthered the unity of the MWO, and enabled us to push forward and write Prairie Fire. We discovered thru our own experiences what revolutionaries all over the world have found -- that Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution, the revolutionary ideology of the working class, our guide to the struggle....

Yet we have to recognize that we have also historically downplayed the role and potential of the US working class;...In seeing only potential errors, we have ignored the historic mission of the working class and failed to energetically pursue our task of forging it into a conscious class, prepared to fight for the interests of the class as a whole. This cautious, one-sided and incorrect view of class struggle is a major weakness. It is wrong.

With hard times gripping the people and crisis everywhere, now is the time to re-examine our political line and shatter some of the stereotypes which still hold us back from organizing the working class to fulfill its historic mission -- the total destruction of US imperialism, the seizure of power, and the building of socialism. The task of revolutionaries is to forge a conscious working class -- militant, dedicated to eradicating racism from its ranks, internationalist, conscious of its own responsibility and power. Organizers must examine their base and their practice. This is a healthy and necessary development. Organizers must be based in the working class and join the people's struggles to get the depression off our backs.
"Our Class Stand" signified a dramatic departure from past WUO polemics. The developing commitment to Marxist-Leninism as the true science of the revolutionary with the understanding that the working class is the active force which can bring about revolution placed the WUO in competition with other revolutionary organizations that proffer Marxist-Leninist political views. It also signified a politically deeper, less adventurist role for the WUO which extolled study, education and propaganda work in cementing their ties to the working class.

In further defining the WUO political outlook, BERNARDINE DOHRN in "Osawatomie," Winter, 1975-76, admits that the "foco" theory of guerrilla warfare which they once embraced is wrong. This admission is, overall, the single most important statement by any WUO leader since they entered the underground in 1970. It rejects DEBRAH'S thesis that biology not ideology is the primary factor for successful revolution and, importantly, rejects the Cuban revolution as their guide. In a commentary on the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), DOHRN writes in "Osawatomie," Winter 1975-76 issue:

The SLA and many other guerrilla groups place the military in command of the whole struggle. We once held this position, known as the foco theory, and we believe it is wrong. They hold that leadership of the movement is established through armed action alone, that guerrilla struggle itself politicizes and activates the people. In practice, they evaluate other forces primarily by their support or lack of support for armed struggle. This is wrong.

Armed struggle is an inevitable consequence of the violence of imperialism. The whole apparatus of official force and violence serves the interests of the capitalist class, by enforcing the brutal combat of daily life in class society. This is the nature of society based on exploitation. Armed struggle is necessary to overturn it. The people who suffer under these conditions and those who join them have a right and a duty to take up arms against US imperialism.
The task of revolutionaries is to organize this spontaneous activity successfully to organize the working class to seize power and establish socialism. Our goal is revolution, not armed struggle....

Putting politics in command means developing all activity to organize the working class and oppressed people, and to build organization....

Revolution is the work of the masses. Their consciousness and organization is decisive. Only in the practical work of building the class struggle can we develop the guerrilla struggle into popular armed struggle. The working class must be organized and prepared, as well as inspired and challenged. This requires intimate and active participation in peoples' struggles, and cannot be left to someone else or to example alone.

...Organization is the most powerful weapon of the working class. The party is the instrument which is capable of leading the whole fight of the people.

We would disagree with those who would have armed struggle wait for the creation of a leading proletarian party. Armed struggle is established, and as long as imperialism has a hold fighters will rise up against it. The task is to organize it and lead it politically in the service of revolution. Yet we also disagree with those whose strategy is to build an army instead of a party -- who see only armed struggle as strategic, who ridicule the process of developing political analysis and organization, and who abandon the process to the opportunists and dogmatists. We need unified organization, not by declaration, but by the difficult process of building it.
The spring 1976 issue of "Osawatomie" reveals the continued development of the MUO as a Marxist-Leninist organization, wherein the Central Committee has accepted the tenet of Mao Tse-tung that the present epoch is one of socialist revolution throughout the world. In a much clearer light, they identify their main tasks which indicate their awareness that in order to implement their stated political commitment to Marxism-Leninism, the necessity of a disciplined vanguard organization is essential. In the April-May, 1976, issue of "Osawatomie," the Central Committee reported:

The US is an imprisoner of nations, founded on the attempted genocide of Native American people and the theft of Native and Mexican lands, enriched by the slave labor of Black people and the super-exploited labor of other peoples brought here to build the railroads, dig the mines, and work the fields. The struggles of the Black nation and other oppressed peoples in the US are part of the worldwide movement for national liberation. At the same time these struggles are intertwined with the US class struggle and push forward the working class movement.

This is the era of socialist revolution in the world. In the socialist countries, there is no unemployment, no inflation, no starvation. The entire capitalist world, however, is today shaken by a profound economic crisis, one which reveals all the irrationality and contradictions of capitalism. This is not just a 'business cycle' crisis, it is a crisis of imperialism in decline.

Today the two main tasks of our movement are: 1) To build an anti-imperialist working class movement that can join with the oppressed peoples, overthrow imperialism and establish socialism; and 2) To build a communist party to lead the struggle.
No Marxist-Leninist denies the necessity of armed struggle. The centrality of the debate on this issue among revolutionaries is primarily that of timing. Should a revolutionary situation not exist, should the masses not be sufficiently antagonized by the ruling class, the carrying out of armed violence is, within the revolutionary left, adventurism. When Weatherman engaged in sabotage and bombings in their early years they were castigated by the communist left not for having engaged in confrontations against the state but rather for engaging in such activity at a time when they had no chance of encouraging a revolutionary situation. In 1976, however, a more mature WUO makes a similar criticism against the SLA, thusly coming to grips with their own early adventuristic failures. The WUO does not reject armed struggle, however. But the WUO of 1976 recognizes that politics comes first; that violence is subsumed within a recognizable revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Their view is summed up in the following document issued in the spring of 1976:

"Politics in Command" by CELIA SOJOURN and BILLY AVERS, Weather Underground Organization

The Necessity of Violent Revolution

There are many on the left who self-righteously condemn all violence of revolutionaries. They are keeping their own hands clean by avoiding the full consequences of revolutionary ideas. For these people, the revolution will happen only some day and hopefully be made by somebody else. But power concedes nothing without a demand. Armed struggle is an extension of political struggle, just as war is politics with bloodshed. Under certain historical conditions political struggle leads necessarily to armed conflict. When a small ruling class maintains itself in power by force and violence, when the masses of people are forced to work and live in brutalized and violent conditions, political struggle both peaceful and violent is the inevitable result.
Reactionary capitalist violence is criminal; revolutionary violence will bring about the new society. Marxism-Leninism holds that 'the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power.' Marx considered violence as 'the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one.' The capitalist system of private property is protected forcibly by a group of violent, dangerous men. The development of mass revolutionary violence is essential to smash the state of the exploiters and to wrest power from the armed defenders of imperialism.

**Politics in Command**

Our job is not only to carry out action -- that is comparatively simple. Our job is to succeed in making a revolution. The guerrillas, like all revolutionaries, bear the responsibility of developing full political strategy, and a mistake in military strategy can be deadly. The stakes are high, not only for the people and organizations carrying out military work, but for the course of the revolution. Ho Chi Minh said, 'a military without politics is like a tree without roots -- useless and dangerous.' That is why we use the slogan 'Politics in Command'.

Our goal is to build communist organization toward the stage where armed struggle becomes a mass phenomenon led by a Marxist-Leninist party. Organization is the strongest resource of the people. Organization unites and builds and means that each day's efforts add up. Organization is made up of individuals but is bigger and longer lasting than any one individual. Individuals are precious but organization is decisive. Only organization allows continuity of experience and leadership, and carries the deeds of the individual fighters beyond themselves into the future....
The strategic necessity for this period is to mobilize the oppressed and exploited people against US imperialism. Militarily, this is the stage of armed propaganda; the test of action is primarily the ability to win the people.

But revolutionary violence must be specific, comprehensible to the people, and humane. The violence of the revolution must be clearly distinguished to the oppressed and exploited people from the violence of capitalist society. People do not need us to be fearful, or to create chaos. Chaos prevails. Our task is to show the way out of the madness.

We must never hesitate to fight, but we must never build any mystification about violence. We must be a force of armed militants, not militarists.

We do not condemn violence that originates from the left, just as we do not condemn violence against the state that originates from the working class. The oppressed peoples and the working class have a right and an obligation to develop armed struggle as a means to liberation.

It is a right-wing error to argue that only legal forms of struggle are legitimate. For some, no level of mass struggle will justify armed struggle; these are naive and irresponsible people, never ready to raise the question of violence or of the need to fight and ultimately win state power.

Our revolution will need both open and clandestine movements, legal and illegal struggle, peaceful and armed struggle — and we will need harmony and organization among all levels of the struggle toward the goal of a revolutionized and fighting people.
B. INTERNATIONALISM -- WUO STATEMENTS WHICH SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Meaning of Proletarian Internationalism and the Commitment of the WUO, formerly Weatherman, to the International Communist Movement

"Whatever else may be said of them the Weathermen (and women) are true believers. Unless you understand that, you will never understand Weatherman."

Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech
"CUBA: School for US Radicals"
October, 1970: "Chicago Sun Times"

"Because war is political, political tasks--the international communist revolution must guide it."

"You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows"
"New Left Notes, June 18, 1969"

Proletarian internationalism is a bedrock concept of Marxism-Leninism which allows for the joining up of the fundamental commonality of the working class and oppressed of all countries regardless of the distinctiveness of their national cultures and traditions. The Leninist slogan "Workers of All Lands and Oppressed Peoples, Unite" embodies the true meaning of Marxism-Leninism. It establishes the universality of its character and, as such, transcends mere geographical borders of nation states. Marx and Engels observed in the "Communist Manifesto" that the national struggles of the proletariat in different countries brings to the fore "the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality." Proletarian internationalism thus became the key principle of Marxism-Leninism which established its universality. Marxism-Leninism welds together internationalism and revolution, the aim of which is to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the world.
"Revolutionaries are internationalists. Our job is to build international class consciousness, to make connections among people. A good program must synthesize - not separate the struggles of Third World peoples with our own; to nourish our identification with the struggle of Cuban woman rather than our distinctness, to find the commonality between the white worker and the unemployed Puerto Rican. A good program mobilizes and teaches."

"Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism"
May, 1974

V. I. Lenin (Collected Works) on developing ties between fraternal revolutionaries called for "the creation of a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan." This feature of Marxism-Leninism teaches that the revolutionary approach is a class question which presupposes international solidarity of the proletariat and thusly merges naturally with national struggles.

"All our actions must flow from our identity as part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Bill Ayers-Michigan SDS
"Hot Town: Summer in the City; Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement." March, 1969

The diversity of interpretation of Marxism-Leninism since the late 1950s led to the creation of three distinct centers of world revolution which were present for the emerging student-youth activism of the 1960s. (See Comments on Regis Debray "Revolution in the Revolution?".) But such diversity has not affected the imperative of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary to identify their national interests in an international sense nor to embrace one of the three centers. Hence, the Weatherman's early affiliation with the Cuban revolution and their continued regard for the Chinese revolution flowed from and enhanced the principle of
proletarian internationalism even though the international communist movement had suffered a fracturing from a single center, Moscow, to three centers.

"Internationalism"

"Internationalism is fundamental to the Cuban revolution. The Cubans understand this from their own point of view: (Che) 'If (a revolutionary's) eagerness becomes dulled when the most urgent tasks are carried on a local scale, and if he forgets about proletarian internationalism, the revolution that he leads ceases to be a driving force and it sinks into a comfortable drowsiness which is taken advantage of by imperialism, our irreconcilable enemy, to gain ground. Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary need. This is how we educate our people.'

They also understand that imperialism must be destroyed before communism can really exist in any country: 'Humanity comes before one's own country,' quoted Fidel, and 'communism cannot be built in one country in the midst of an underdeveloped world."

The Cubans have taken the position that in the Third World, armed struggle is the fundamental road to the seizure of power, and that all other forms of struggle must be subordinated to it. They also understand the importance of a revolution from within the heart of imperialism: the imperialists will be destroyed by the combined revolutionary movements from within and outside. Che's call for two, three, many Viet-Nams includes a call for the creation of a Viet-Nam within the very boundaries of the imperialist Mother Country: the United States....
...As participants in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement, we fully support the Cuban revolution on the basis of the following:

(3) Cuba has developed a new concept of internationalism, expressed in the Second Declaration of Havama: "the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution." Che's call for two, three, many Viet-Nams is a strategy for the defeat of imperialism, and the guiding concept for a new International centered in the Third World and linked to New Left struggles in the advanced capitalist countries.

(4) Since Cuba is the first liberated territory in the Americas, it is under constant attack by the U.S. Government. As North Americans dedicated to the destruction of imperialism, it is our obligation to oppose our government's policies in the most effective concrete way possible.


V. I. Lenin formulated the international and national revolutionary processes as: "Proletarian internationalism in the epoch of imperialism presupposes maximum utilization of the possibilities of revolutionary action opening up before every country." Hence, wherein the dialectics of the national brings about particular advances in the revolutionary process, the dialectics of the international reveals the universal aspects of the world-wide revolutionary process.
In a sense, internationalism is refracted through the lens of national struggles; the revolutionary when dealing with tactical problems in his daily struggles finds his meaning in his identification with international situations.

"Our enemy is U.S. imperialism, the enemy of all humankind. Our goal is to attack imperialism's ability to exploit and wage war against all oppressed peoples. Our final goal is the complete destruction of imperialism, the seizure of the means of production and the building of socialism. To create the conditions in which we can take the offensive, destroy the old system and build a new life, we must weaken and at least partly destroy the empire. The weakest point of empire lies in its control of the colonies, and this is why Third World liberation is leading the struggle against imperialism."

"Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism"
May, 1974

There are, therefore, no national boundaries which constrain the Marxist-Leninist drive toward revolution. By definition the revolutionary who embraces Marxism-Leninism owes his allegiance, loyalty if you will, to the international communist movement. V. I. Lenin said, "A true internationalist must not think of one's own nation, but place above it the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality...he must generally consider the whole and the general and subordinate the particular to the general interest."

The Weatherman move toward armed struggle was distinctly part of their internationalist approach to revolution first, because the Vietnamese needed such support and secondly, because they felt the revolutionary consciousness of the American masses would be heightened by the impending victory of the Third World over American imperialism. The National Action called for the fall of 1969 was deemed to be the major effort which would bring to youth a revolutionary class consciousness. The
opening of another front in the international revolutionary struggle under the slogan "Bring The War Home" would both serve to defeat U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and create the conditions for real revolution in the heart of the "monster."

"I think that the national action has to be seen in the context of a strategy that's going to win, that's going to help the NLF concretely, that's going to build Weatherman, and that's going to build a fighting revolutionary youth movement....

I think people should push out this slogan 'Bring The War Home.' We're not just saying bring the troops home, bring the US troops home and deploy them some place some other time, we're saying bring the war home....

I think people understand how this kind of action at this time, given the whole thing in Paris and the situation the Vietnamese are in now, can concretely aid the Vietnamese. The other thing that people have to get confident about is that we can build a revolutionary youth movement."

Bill Ayers, Educational Secretary, SDS; National Action Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, August 29-September 1, 1969
New Left Notes: September 12, 1969

"Political questions are questions of strategy. Strategy is about winning; about, in this case, smashing US imperialism. The reason white people in this country have to be internationalist is not that it makes us more moral to share our privilege with the people of the world, but it's how we're gonna win, how we will be part of the worldwide resolution of the worldwide contradictions between the oppressed nations and US imperialism."
The strategy for winning is "two, three, many Vietnamese," more and more wars of national liberation won by the oppressed peoples of the world.

The way Americans will aid the victory of the people of the world is to materially support these wars of national liberation by helping to create a front in support of black and brown liberation here, and by tearing up in the gut of the monster. Destroying the bureaucracy, the pig army, showing initially that the US not only can't hold together an empire, but can't even hold together white people.

So, in America, the central task of the left is the development of a detachment of the international army. Which primarily means winning the people to the side of the NLF, the black liberation struggle, and moving to armed struggle as soon as possible. For the world revolution is already happening, and every leap in the development of our struggle hastens incredibly the victory of the people of the world. It is in this light that we must look at questions of adventurism, beating the people, and blah blah blah...

The problem is not one of identifying "political principles," but one of answering strategic questions. The central question is how is American imperialism being smashed? And from that, where we are now, where do we have to go, how are we going to get there? On the worldwide level it's clear that we are not in a 'pre-revolutionary' stage; we are in the middle of a world war, escalating and opening new fronts every day. It is this world war which will smash
Imperialism for all the peoples of the world, including white Americans."

"Principles Schminiciples" by Howard Nachtlinger,

The "domestic" revolutionary then sees his obligation, responsibility and duty not with a narrow nationalism but rather with an international outlook. His destiny is intertwined with the developing ties made with fraternal international contacts and, overall, he ensures his revolutionary destiny, e.g., the seizure of state power, through the support given and received by the international revolutionary movement. For Weatherman, his meaning came directly from his identification with the North Vietnamese and Cubans. The syndicated series by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech more nearly describes what the Cuban revolution and Castro meant to the Weathermen and other New Left revolutionaries than any other article of its time.

Portions of the series reflecting this influence are as follows:

Fidel Castro's Cuba has become a revolutionary factory for the processing and refining of American radicals for export back to the United States.

The pattern is clear:

- Mark Rudd, fugitive leader of America's violent left, visited Cuba in February and March of 1968 with 20 other activists of the Students for a Democratic Society.
- Two months later, with Rudd at the helm, Columbia University was reduced to chaos.
- Three months later, with the fiery Bernardine in command, a shocked Chicago watched as several hundred ultra-radical Weathermen staged a wild, window-smashing rampage, which they called "Four Days of Rage" in protest against the Vietnam War.
Beyond any doubt, Cuba has shaped, supplied technical training to, given political indoctrination for, and, perhaps most important of all, served as inspiration for the American radical movement in its avowed aim to bring down the American system that it so fiercely despises.

It is their Mecca, their Yenmin, their shrine, the 'first liberation territory in the Western Hemisphere,' where they can see the model of the new society to which they aspire.

Experts in the field regard Mark Rudd as the first of the really violent white student radicals. And they look upon his offensive against Columbia as a masterpiece of its kind, far more important than the earlier student riots at Berkeley, Calif.

"There's no doubt that Mark was greatly influenced by his Cuban experience," said a young New Left journalist.

The ubiquitous Miss Dohrn, a brilliant University of Chicago law school graduate, mapped her antiwar campaign during an eight-day seminar with representatives of Hanoi and the Viet Cong. She journeyed to Havana at their request.

Now a fugitive sought by the FBI, Bernardine was heard from last week when she claimed credit for blowing up the second time within a year, a police memorial statue in Chicago's Haymarket Square.

Also present at the Havana meeting along with Bernardine were two now deceased Weathermen. They were Diana Oughton and Ted Gold, both killed last March 6 when a Greenwich Village town house, which they and others had converted into a 'bomb factory,' was ripped by a series of explosions.
...While Bernardine and her friends were busy taking notes from the Vietnamese Communists, the Castro regime was entertaining another distinguished visitor, Angela Davis.

...What should now be clear is that the raw material for Castro's revolutionary factory was readily available in the form of embittered black and alienated white student radicals who look upon Cuba as their spiritual home and the United States as an "imperialist monster."

Reliable estimates on the number of American radicals who have journeyed to Cuba are hard to come by, even for U.S. intelligence agencies. But a fair estimate is that approximately 4,000 Americans have visited Cuba for varying lengths of time during the last decade.

The visitors cover the whole spectrum of the American New Left: bomb-throwing, hard-core radicals bent on overthrowing the U.S. government; left-wing professors; cop-killing blacks, and starry-eyed teen-agers who go down to help Castro cut sugar cane or pick oranges.

...A doctrinaire testimonial to the solidarity of the friendship between Cuba and the American left was written by Julie Nickamin, a University of Michigan anthropology student, in an open letter to Verde Olivo, official publication of the Cuban armed forces.

Published Dec. 21, 1969, after a meeting with Cuban and Vietnamese Communists, the letter read:

"The meeting we had today with the Cuban and Vietnamese people has shown us the true meaning of internationalism: "All of us are involved in the same struggle against Yankee imperialism. We know that we will leave here with a new dedication to bring back to our brothers and sisters, a dedication to destroy the imperialist monster from within, just as the rest of the peoples of the world are destroying imperialism from without."

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[Redacted]
...But action, as the young revolutionaries would be first to agree, speaks louder than words. Action is what it's all about. And as any newspaper reader or television watcher can attest, the American scene has not been lacking in action these last few years.

Part of the action is killing policemen. Such killings are always widely applauded in the Cuban press.

Or take the bombing of the University of Wisconsin Army math center, an event clearly related to the Cuban revolution. The 'communique' left behind by the four young fugitives charged with the crime was addressed to the mysterious 'Marion Delgado Collective.'

It acknowledged that 'revolutionary cadres of our organization were responsible for the bombing.' Destruction of the math center, the note went on, was not an isolated act by a 'lunatic.'

Rather, the note stated, it was a 'conscious action taken in solidarity with the Viet Cong, the Tupamaros and the Cuban people and all other heroic fighters against U.S. imperialism.'

...During the last 18 months there has been a spectacular increase in the number of politically motivated police slayings and bombings. At least 20 policemen have been killed and 100 wounded in apparently unprovoked attacks.

Seven were Chicago policemen, four of whom were gunned down without warning.
One of the most carefully watched buildings in the United States is an elegant five-story graystone mansion at 6 E., 67th St., just off Fifth Avenue in New York City.

At the turn of the century it was the home of American millionaires. Today, it houses the Cuban mission to the United Nations, the major Cuban source of influence, ideology, and funds for American radicals.

On a clandestine level, activity is just as bustling. Secret meetings are held, and funds, advice and influence are dispensed under the huge picture of Che Guevara that hangs amid the antique Chinese vases upstairs in the mansion.

At the convention of Students for a Democratic Society in Austin, Tex., in March, 1969, several phone calls a day were made to the mission.

In August, 1969, mission intelligence personnel (everyone except the regular representative to the United Nations is a member of Cuban Intelligence) counseled Mark Rudd and Jeff Jones of SDS concerning slogans to be used by SDS in demonstrations planned for that fall.

Radical leaders admit privately they see the Cuban mission officials "very often." One, after saying so, added, "But please don't print that. They're not supposed to do that, you know.

What becomes clear from the consistent evidence of such contacts is that the love affair between Communist Cuba and the American radicals now has gone beyond curiosity and empathy.

It has now reached the stage of hard-core indoctrination and even collaboration.
...By 1965 and 1966, Havana was filled with posters honoring the 'heroic Vietnamese people.' The Cubans believed that they were in the waiting room, that if America won the Vietnam War, it "might just turn around and invade us."

Havana soon was filled with Vietnamese delegations, Vietnamese "heroines," Vietnamese orphans. Cuba opened an embassy to the Viet Cong, and Havana newspapers proudly showed pictures of it—a thatched roof but somewhere behind the battle lines in South Vietnam.

This, too, helped the Cubans with the burgeoning American radical movement, for the war in Vietnam had become their most emotional, overweening issue. Soon U.S. radicals were meeting with North Vietnamese in Havana, and even getting pointed suggestions on antivar activities in the United States.

...By 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society had split into radical, violent groups like the Weatherman.

...the trips were well organized and every radical leader came, usually several times. Most came before they were leaders, which gives added credibility to the idea that Cuba was a major, if not the, radicalizing factor.

"SDS was the group we concentrated on in those days," says a Cuban who was in the government then. "Oh, we didn't start it. But we radicalized it, we gave it form. Every leader came and left with new ideas."
...Allen Young, a soft-spoken, attractive young man who until recently was editor of Liberation News Service, answers as well as anyone.

"Fidel, Che Guevara and Regis Debray are really THE influences on our movements," he said recently in New York. "Much of the influence is romantic. Sure, there's romance to it."

"Maybe the kids don't know a thing about it, as some critics say, but that doesn't negate the serious link (between American radicals and Cuba). It is a serious link up."

"The thing that was exciting about the Cuban revolution was that it first made the break with the Old Left. Castro was one of the fathers of the New Left, in things like his use of armed struggle in place of parliamentary procedures of the Old Left...."

"...The young Americans who go to Cuba or are influenced by its magnetic appeal are not only thereby brought into contact with Cuban techniques and ideas, they are also brought into contact with revolutionary styles and influences from all of Latin America."

"Recently American radicals have been copying more and more the Latin urban guerrilla techniques of sniping, crowd direction, assassination, political kidnapping and even bank robbery."

"...The young French intellectual, Regis Debray, who codified Castro's ideas about action and about the rural guerrillas, is another hero of U.S. radicals. His book, 'Revolution in the Revolution?' has become a handbook for the American Revolution."
When the Weathermen began using in their literature the term 'foco' — which is Spanish for 'focus' or 'core' — the FBI at first had no idea what they were talking about.

Later they discovered it was straight out of DeBray — and it became of prime importance when the Weathermen, to avoid capture, broke up into five-man 'focos' or, as they call them now, 'affinity groups.'

C. INFLUENCE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The Emergence of Havana as a Major Center of World Revolution

The international revolutionary movement from World War I through World War II was completely dominated by the Soviet Union. There was only one center of world revolution - Moscow and with this mecca all revolutionaries who embraced the ideology of Marxism-Leninism identified. The success of the Bolshevik revolution conferred upon Moscow an authority among world-wide revolutionary parties which was unprecedented; the model of successful revolution was embodied in the Communist Party, Soviet Union (CPSU) and all communist parties in the world emulated this success in theory and organization. To solidify their interests, the world communist parties joined together to found the Communist International (Comintern) which existed from 1919 to 1943. And although the Comintern ran the international communist movement, in fact the center of that control was Moscow. (Subsequently, the Cominform existed from 1947 to 1956 and presently the Editorial Staff of the World Marxist Review functions as the organizational body which overseas communist parties aligned with Moscow.)

The balance of world forces changed remarkably after World War II which caused fissures in the relationships among some principal communist parties, notably China and the Soviet Union. China's emergence as a product of successful communist revolution saw her reluctance to follow the Soviet Union; historical and personal differences occasioned the rupture between NAO Tse-tung and Moscow's KHUSHCHEV. The result was another center of world revolution, Peking, which rivaled Moscow and sought adherents from the militant sections of existing world communist parties. The ideological debate between China and the Soviet Union consumed the interests of Marxist-Leninists during the mid 1950-mid 1960 period. But with the introduction of DE BRAY's "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1967, the true importance of the example of the Cuban revolution came into being. For the youthful revolutionary a new model of successful revolution existed - Havana.

So, in the late 1960s three centers of world revolution existed: Moscow, Peking and Havana. Each had wrought revolution successfully against the ruling class.
forces which "oppressed" the peoples of their respective countries and it was to China (for theory) and Cuba (for practice) that the emerging revolutionary turned. Hence, the importance of what DE BRAY said.

The influence of the Cuban revolution on the Weatherman was consummated when the WUO adopted the foco method of underground organization and subscribed enthusiastically to the armed struggle principles of the Cuban revolution as detailed by REGIS DE BRAY. Their contacts with the Cubans, revealed in another section of this paper, provided for the Weathermen a true reading of a successful revolutionary process, a new model which was to be admired, emulated and ultimately put into practice in the United States. Guerrilla warfare as codified by DE BRAY was realizable and along with the tactics of the "Peoples War" of the North Vietnamese, the WUO concluded that FIDEL CASTRO was absolutely right when he declared:

"The Duty of a Revolutionary is to Create Revolution"

Hence, when REGIS DE BRAY published "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1967, the Cuban revolution had placed in print their prescription for successful revolution. A product of discussions with FIDEL CASTRO, "Revolution in the Revolution?" had a tremendous impact on the theoreticians of Marxist-Leninist revolution in that it denied the necessity of a vanguard communist party in the making of revolution, it placed the military before the political and paid only lip service to the developing of mass political action. DE BRAY's theses were extremely important to the emerging revolutionary of the 1960s simply because they provided for them a "new" ideological rationale for their action-oriented confrontations with the State.
REGIS DE BRAY - Theoretician of Guerrilla Warfare

The 1967 book "Revolution in the Revolution" by the youthful French Marxist REGIS DE BRAY outlined in detail the methodology of the Cuban revolution. It romanticized the principal figures of the Cuban success, FIDEL CASTRO and CHE GUEVARA, and appealed directly to the instinctive but primitive revolutionary tendencies within the New Left. At the same time its major thesis was in direct conflict with the organizational formulations of the Old Left, hence DEBRAY occasioned world-wide debate among Marxist-Leninist Parties. In denying the premise that a Communist Party was necessary to bring about a revolutionary situation, DEBRAY contradicted the main tenet of the Soviet, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions wherein politics before the gun was held sacrosanct.

The appeal to the New Left was instantaneous; their rejection of Old Left inertia had been proven correct, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party BEFORE engaging in acts against the State was obsolete, guerrilla action was the answer. DEBRAY's chronicle of the Cuban revolution reinforced the outlook of the emerging revolutionary of the New Left that a unique method must be formulated to deal with the unprecedented era in which they lived. DEBRAY offered for revolutionaries of the world another center of world revolution, Havana, that would rival Moscow and Peking.

Understandably his formulation that action not theory was the necessary prerequisite to evolving revolution was assailed by Soviet (and to a lesser degree Chinese) Marxist scholars. The attitude that politics would grow out of the guerrilla experience was dubbed adventuristic by the Marxist critic and in the final analysis the attempt of the Weatherman to similarly effectuate revolution without building a mass base was doomed to failure.

What then did DE BRAY say that was so important to the New Left activist of the late 1960s?

Under certain conditions, the political and the military are not separate, but form one organic whole, consisting of the people's army.
whose nucleus is the guerrilla army. The vanguard party can exist in the form of the guerrilla foco itself. The guerrilla force is the party in embryo.

This is, according to DE BRAY, the "staggering novelty" introduced by the Cuban revolution; one which has made a decisive contribution to international revolutionary experience and to Marxism-Leninism.

DE BRAY presented an incisive but bitter attack on the debilitating effects of internal Party organizational work on revolutionary fervor. His commentary led to the belief that the creation of the organizational framework of a Marxist Party would only obscure its revolutionary intent. For the New Left activist, DE BRAY expressed his innate perception of existing Communist Parties wherein the constant debating of the Old Left, that favorable revolutionary "objective conditions" were the precursor for action, dulled the activists' sense of emergency. The revolution could well pass them by; this was the activists' fear. Party building, if necessary, was reserved for a later day.

DE BRAY says that the effective leadership of an armed revolutionary struggle requires:

1. A new style of leadership, one which accepts a full share of the risks and joins the guerrilla foco. Hence, biology and ideology are joined with only the young leader being able to cope with the rigors of guerrilla life.

2. A new organization equal to its historic task where party democracy (democratic centralism) is abolished in favor of military discipline.

3. A new ideological reflex to overcome outright political behavior patterns by dealing concretely with military necessities which in this sense are political.

In expounding on the theme of the armed struggle, DEBRAY outlines the most likely stages of development of guerrilla warfare. They are: firstly, the stage of establishment; second, the stage of development, marked by the enemy offensive, and finally the stage of revolutionary
offensive, at once political and military. He observes that the hardest stage is the first one wherein the group is exposed to all sorts of accidents from an initial period of absolute nomadism to a longer period of hardening and seasoning. Experience has taught the revolutionary that the guerrilla force is clandestine; it acts independently of the civilian population both to protect the population and to protect itself. "Constant vigilance, constant mistrust, constant mobility" are the three golden rules of survival revealed in "Revolution in the Revolution?" They were brought to ultimate practice by the Weatherman Underground; "fascist repression" evolved into paranoid secrecy utilizing similar rules.

Again, in sharp denial of Leninist agit-prop (agitation-propaganda) formulations of struggle, DE BRAY pays lip service to the necessity for armed propaganda reflecting that advertisement of the revolutionaries wares is largely internal to the guerrilla front and in any case propaganda follows the military rather than preceding it. The main point is that under present conditions the most important form of propaganda is successful military action. So, although he posits that the guerrilla struggle must have the support of the masses, "or disappear," the thrust of his formulation disavows the central format, propaganda, which would insure the mass support necessary to the continuance of the revolutionary. For the Weatherman activist it meant less and less reliance on publications through which to derive mass support and foreordained the discontinuance of "New Left Notes," the major paper of student-youth.

In presenting this unique revolutionary solution created by the necessity of its time (and arena), DE BRAY finalizes his action-not-theory argument in the following way:

...At the present juncture, the principal stress must be laid on the development of guerrilla warfare and not on the strengthening of existing parties or the creation of new parties...That is why insurrectional activity is today the number one political activity.

So, to the Weatherman, DE BRAY provided the ideological and organizational rationale which more nearly than any other body of thought meshed with their own experiences. Their considerable travel to Cuba wherein
Weathermen saw the results of the revolution at firsthand (and for many of them their trips to Hanoi wherein they saw the ongoing tactics of the "people's war") influenced their commitment to join with the oppressed peoples of the world to fight the "monster" - U.S. imperialism.

When Weathermen went underground in early 1970, they organized themselves into small guerrilla bands, using DE BRAY's terminology - the "foco" in order to carry out acts of violence against the State. ALLEN YOUNG, Editor of the Leftist Liberation News Service, in October, 1970, commented on the influence of the Cuban revolution on Weathermen:

FIDEL, CHE GUEVERA and REGIS DEBRAY are really THE influence on our movements.

Maybe the kids don't know a thing about it, as some critics say, but that doesn't negate the serious link (between American radicals and Cuba). It is a serious link up.

The thing that was exciting about the Cuban revolution was that it first made the break with the Old Left. Castro was one of the fathers of the New Left, in things like his use of armed struggle in place of parliamentary procedures of the Old Left.

DE BRAY, the primary theoretician of guerrilla warfare, had an impact on the incipient Weatherman revolution ary; his thesis encouraged the militant sectors of student activism to carry out "actions," e.g., acts of violence.

"Scanlans" magazine of January, 1971, entitled "Suppressed Issue: Guerrilla War in the USA" compiled data from the legitimate media which related to all forms of violence conducted in the country during the 1965-1970 period. What "Scanlans" characterizes as acts of Sabotage and Terrorism (each act is detailed in the issue) reveals that 1391 specific acts of violence happened during this period from a low of 16 in 1965 to the high of 546 in 1970. "Scanlans" broke the acts down which revealed 85 against the government, 248 against corporations, 102 against high schools, 62 against homes, 280 against colleges, 101 against the military and 423 against police.
The WUO acts of violence (see section on Bombings) flow from the ideological influence of DE BRAY's foci theory of guerrilla action and their own personal experiences.

The following statements best represent the ideological posture of the Weatherman immediately prior to their entering underground status. They are firsthand reports of the WUO affinity for the Cuban example of the revolutionary process and underscore their intention to promote armed struggle as the means to create revolution in the United States, at that time:

The political line of SDS continues to be represented in their ideological statement "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows." (*New Left Notes, June 18, 1969*). It essentially expresses the view that action, not theory, is the proper vehicle through which revolution is realized; that revolutionary conditions presently exist in America; that youth, not the working class, will play the vanguard role in the revolution.

Of more recent date, excerpts from REGIS DE BRAY's "Revolution in the Revolution?" have appeared in the SDS paper, and at the December, 1969, National Council meeting an educational packet was distributed which also contained excerpts from this book which details the tactics utilized by FIDEL CASTRO and CHE GUEVARA in bringing about the Cuban revolution. The rhetoric and actions of the SDS leadership reflect an ever closer identification with Cuba and the Cuban revolution. They regard Cuba as the example of successful revolution applicable to the United States but with the exception that the cities not the countryside will be the place for revolutionary practice.

The current line of SDS holds the thesis of DE BRAY that practice not theory is instrumental in bringing about revolution. To be designated as an armchair revolutionary is to be scorned by Weatherman leaders. And although the leadership upholds the Cuban example and DE BRAY's theses they refuse to be sidetracked into ideological debate. At the December, 1969, "War Council" there was no discussion on Marxist-Leninism nor did any leader pay any service to MAO Tse-tung.
The December, 1969, War Council carried through that which began at the Cleveland, Ohio, National Action Conference held in September, 1969; ideological debate was out--action--oriented discussion was the theme. In this respect the leaders of SDS believe they are in the highest form of political practice when they promote the line of armed struggle. The duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution, not to talk about it.

As reflected in the statements of BILL AYERS and JEFF JONES, both National Officers of SDS, the present ideological posture of SDS is based on that presented by REGIS DE BRAY who gave to the Cuban revolution an ideological base in his book "Revolution in the Revolution." DE BRAY places the army above the party or military action above revolutionary politics and differs fundamentally from orthodox Marxism-Leninism in that it advocates skipping stages in the revolutionary process. Debrayism seeks to free the revolutionary process from the Marxist strait jacket in order to get on with the revolution. A Debrayist is unwilling to wait for objective conditions before engaging in revolutionary practice.

JONES and AYERS defended DE BRAY's theses because they "lead to a making of history where one is not a spectator--but a participant." They stated that SDS "makes plans and we carry them out."

JONES and AYERS said SDS had only one disagreement with DE BRAY, that being the arena of combat. Whereas DE BRAY's revolutionary heroes fought their battles in rural Cuba, SDS sees the area of armed conflict in this country in the urban areas. The essence of the SDS strategy is to build a white, para-military organization designed to carry out guerrilla warfare in the urban areas of America--they are totally committed to revolution.

JONES and AYERS stated SDS believes a revolution in this country can be made without the working class, but "we cannot build socialism without the worker." They noted that after the revolution "our work really begins, that of building socialism."

While SDS is not actively seeking alliances from other sectors of the white population, and while they see no prospects in the immediate future of organizational ties with the Third World forces in this country, SDS believes that as
the crisis of capitalism becomes more acute and the white workers feel the impact of the crisis in terms of lower living standards, large sectors of white workers will eventually join with them. They emphasized, however, that they are unwilling to wait for history to accelerate the crisis of capitalism and are determined to accelerate that crisis with a program of action which will be urban guerrilla warfare.

SDS does not believe that the goal is unity between black and white youth. SDS views the black people of the U.S. as a nation which is colonized by the white oppressor nation. The goal for blacks is revolutionary black nationalism struggle against the white oppressor nation, U.S. imperialism. White youth must be organized to fight for the right of self-determination for the black nation. There can be no real liberation for black people until U.S. imperialism is destroyed. This will come about through the successful liberation struggles of all peoples who are colonized by U.S. imperialism. The blacks must carry out their struggle alone. To merge their struggles with the whites only blunts the black struggle because of the "white privilege" enjoyed by those of the white oppressor nation. The only peoples blacks can unite with are Third World peoples (at home Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, etc., and abroad the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.) The blacks can only fight around their own issues because they are a part of the Third World revolutionary vanguard.
D. INFLUENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM
MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT

China

Weatherman from its inception and continuing through to the present time has ideologically identified its major strategical thesis in line with the Chinese. In their initial ideological statement, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," their understanding of the primary contradiction facing the world was stated in this fashion:

The overriding consideration in answering the question is that the main struggle going on the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it.

The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world. It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world. It is in this context that we must examine the revolutionary struggles in the United States.

And in "Prairie Fire," issued in May, 1974, the WOO again identified its primary strategy on the side of Marxism-Leninism-NAO Tse-tung thought in the following way:

The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to Mao and Ho Chi-minh - that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism - is the guiding strategic principle of this era.
Historical Note

What began in Fort Huron, Michigan, in 1962 as a movement designed to involve the largest possible number of American students in the democratic processes had become, by 1969, an organization totally dedicated to the destruction of American society. The June 1969, SDS Convention closed the door completely on the democratic traditions associated with the early history of the organization. In the span of seven years, SDS had evolved into a hard line Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization dedicated to the destruction of Western democratic traditions and ideals.

But ideological unity in a Marxist revolutionary group has historically been difficult to achieve. And so it was with SDS at the 1969 convention. The convention was racked with factionalism resulting from hair-splitting differences around theoretical concepts of how each group conceived the role to be played by SDS in destroying the capitalist United States, and the methodology to be employed in carrying out this mission. All factions present at the convention adhered to the general over-all line of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in that each agreed with the Chinese world view that called the primary global contradiction that existed between the colonial and former colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism led by United States imperialism on the other hand.

In the Chinese communist view, political and military struggle bringing about the resolution of the primary world contradiction would spell the doom of western capitalism and launch the world upon the road to Marxist socialism leading eventually to pure communism.

The focal point of struggle of these two broad antagonistic forces was Vietnam where the forces for national liberation united under communist ideology were dealing heavy blows to the forces of United States imperialism and its puppet regime in Saigon, thereby setting an example to be followed by all the peoples of the Third World.

Top Secret
This world outlook of the CPC declared that the peoples of the world who were and are most severely subjected to the exploitation of the world-wide system of capitalism (imperialism), that is, the peoples of the colonies and the former colonies of the imperialistic states, are the most militantly dedicated to the destruction of the system of imperialism. These peoples, according to Chinese theory, constitute the "countryside of the world," while capitalist Europe and North America constitute the "city of the world."

Chinese communist strategy for world revolution is based on a global version of the strategy employed by the CPC in China which led to a communist victory there in 1949. The analogy went this way: through "peoples war" the communist forces who controlled the countryside of China encircled the cities of China, isolated the foe, and destroyed it piecemeal. The logic followed that the countryside of the world as a reaction to the super-exploitation suffered at the hands of the city of the world would become united and defeat the latter, and in the process establish a world socialist order.

This grand design would come about not through the struggles of working classes in revolutionary fervor inside the advanced capitalist countries as prescribed by Marx but through the vehicle of national liberation struggles of the colonial and former colonial peoples of the Third World.

This view of the CPC contrasted sharply with the view of Moscow whose ideology was in line with the orthodoxy of historical materialism of Marxism's early prophets, that is, socialist societies must be preceded by capitalist societies, which would provide the material basis for a socialist economy. This orthodox theory of Marxism relied heavily on a dialectical "force of history" which would inevitably bring about the "objective conditions" necessary for a proletarian revolution to succeed. Any ideological concepts running counter to this thesis, that is, any formulations which called for skipping stages of historic development were considered in the orthodox view as adventurist and counter-revolutionary.
NAO Tse-tung Influence on SDS Factions at the June, 1969, National Convention

The June, 1969, National Convention of SDS held in Chicago, Illinois, was rife with internal struggle. The three major factions were:

1. Weatherman: Known as the "Action Faction," it was led by SDS National Officer BERNARDINE DOIRN, with MARK RUDD, Columbia University; JEFF JONES, New York City Region; BILL AYERS and JIM HILLEN, Michigan SDS; JOHN "JJ" JACOBS and HOWARD NACHTINGER, Chicago Region.

2. RYN II: Known as the "Running Dogs No Action Faction," RYN II was led by MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, SDS; LES COLEMAN, Chicago Region; LYNN WELLS, Southern Region; and BOB AVAKIAN and MARVIN TREIGER, West Coast leaders of the newly-formed Revolutionary Union (RU).

3. Worker Student Alliance (WSA) Faction: Dominated by the Marxist-Leninist Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the PLP line was presented mainly by JEFF GORDON, New York City; JARED ISRAEL, New England; and FRED GORDON, Educational Secretary of SDS.

During this National Convention, the Weatherman and RYN II forces joined to oust the NSA/PLP Faction from SDS. And although RYN II did elect three members, including KLONSKY, to the new National Interim Committee of SDS, RYN II never became a factor in running SDS after this Convention. Hence, after June, 1969, and until SDS closed its doors in February, 1970, Weatherman and the SDS National Office are synonymous. So the 1969 National Convention was extremely important and the main ideological debate therein was reported in the following light.
The main storm of the convention controversy centered on the question of the role of black Americans in the revolutionary processes in this country.

If black Americans constituted a separate nation or a built-in colony of American capitalism, as some concluded, then black struggles would take the form of a national liberation struggle with the extreme consequence of black secession from the United States. If, on the other hand, blacks did not constitute a separate nation, then they were a part of the general working class of the United States and their drive for revolution would be in unison with the general white working class. But the controversy was not this simple. In spite of their stated strict adherence to a materialist philosophy, many Marxists often hold views which border on the metaphysical. For example, the black peoples drive for full equality constituted a struggle which was working class "in essence and nationalist in form," according to some revolutionary elements in this country. Others held the view that the black struggle was both nationalist and class in content, and still others were fond of quoting Mao Tse-tung who wrote, "In the final analysis a national struggle is a class struggle." Of course, the problem with these formulations is that they lack preciseness of meaning; consequently, they lead directly into the thicket of endless debate.

It should also be pointed out that inherent in the blacks-for-a-separate-nation-concept held by many at the SDS convention was the conclusion that a Vietnam style war within the United States between the black "colony" and the white imperialist super-structure was inevitable. Others in SDS took a more moderate view of the black liberation movement while continuing to maintain that this movement was, in fact, the revolutionary vanguard in the United States with close affiliation with national liberation movements abroad.
As was expected, this national gathering of SDS met in a highly charged atmosphere of extreme tension with rival factions hurling charges and counter-charges, each claiming for themselves the role of bearers of revolutionary truth. There was also a great deal of competition among the warring factions to portray themselves as the main purveyors of MAO Tse-tung Thought in the United States revolutionary movement.

At another session of the convention MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary of SDS, representing the RYM II faction aligned with RU, addressed the convention calling for support of black nationalism in the United States while at the same time giving support to the white working class as an important element in making the revolution in this country. He also emphasized that conditions in United States society were such at this stage that revolutionaries should concentrate on building a base rather than advocating adventurist commitments to action before the masses of the American people are ready for revolution. KLONSKY then read a letter from ANNA LOUISE STRONG, veteran American communist then residing in the People's Republic of China. KLONSKY alleged that STRONG's position was that the Black Panther Party (BPP) constituted the main force for revolution among the American workers and that all possible should be done to assist the Panthers in their "nationalist struggle."

JARED ISRAEL, representing the PLP faction, said that he, too, had many letters from China and he attacked KLONSKY personally as a reactionary racist. ISRAEL noted that the political line of PLP rejected the nationalism of American blacks as a negative expression, while at the same time he gave credit to the black liberation movement as the force in the forefront of the United States revolutionary struggles. But he denied that the black people of the United States constituted a "colony" of United States imperialism, therefore, they had no right to secede. This is tantamount to stating that blacks in the United States were not an organic part of the Third World liberation forces, but an integral part of the American proletariat.

HOWARD NACHTINGER, representing the BERNARDINE DOHRN faction of the National Office SDS, criticized both KLONSKY and ISRAEL in his remarks. NACHTINGER called for a program of "action" as opposed to KLONSKY's adherence to a line of base building, and he expressed a view that black Americans, in fact, constitute a built-in United States
colony. But on the question of the right to secession for American blacks, he noted that this was a question to be decided by blacks themselves.

MARVIN TREIGER of the RU introduced CHRIS MILTON to the convention, stating that MILTON had joined the Red Guards when he resided in China a few years earlier. MILTON's presentation was laced with pro-Chinese communist sentiment, and in closing he called on all present to show solidarity with the CPC by displaying red arm bands. All except the PLP forces responded to this request. The PLP objected on the grounds that MILTON was attempting to upstage the PLP forces.

A representative from the BPP was the next speaker, who claimed the BPP was in the vanguard of the revolution in the United States and the Chinese communists had accepted the BPP in such a role. The RYM II contingent led a number of chants including "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," and "Mao, Mao, Mao Tse-tung." The speaker from the BPP interjected into the convention the explosive issue of male supremacy which in turn touched off fierce debates on women's liberation, imperialism and racism.

During the course of the debate ROBERT AVAKIAN of the RU, who supported the MIKE KLONSKY RYM II faction, attacked PLP on the issue of black nationalism, calling blacks in the United States a colony and calling on the convention to support black struggles. He noted that the main task for United States revolutionaries was to make revolution in the mother country (United States) now.

The emotionalism attached to the debates set the stage for a threat of widespread physical violence among the members of the warring factions. However, with the exception of isolated incidents, physical violence was avoided with the temporary unity of two SDS National office factions coming together to defeat a PLP attempt to take over the convention. The two groups then physically separated, with Weathermen and RYM II forces moving their caucus to a separate part of the convention hall.

During the continuing debate within the SDS caucus, BERNARDINE DOIRN opposed a proposal calling for a revolutionary youth movement caucus as a substitute for SDS, explaining...
"We are the SDS" and she added "We should go into the convention and fight like hell" to take it over from the PLP forces. DOHRN noted that the National Office of SDS was responsible for the development of a correct Marxist-Leninist line and called for the future exclusion of deviationist forces such as PLP and Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) from the SDS.

PLP forces, known as the WSA, were now severed from the rest of the group but the debate within the SDS national leadership between the KLOSKY and DOHRN factions was far from over. Both factions were committed to a socialist revolution through the vehicle of armed struggle against the power structure of United States capitalism. Their differences centered on strategy and tactics resulting from ideological differences. Weatherman called for a program of confrontation and action by white students in the style of Castroite guerrillas in a supportive role to black revolution without regard to the role of the white working class. The position of Weatherman was that armed struggle of blacks for self-determination would result in the victory of socialism in the United States without any reliance on white workers. Weatherman saw their role as supportive to the black liberation struggle and one which involved direct confrontation with the authority of the capitalist state.

RYN II, like Weatherman, also believed that armed struggle was the key to black liberation. But they held the view that black self-determination, the establishment of a black nation-state in several states in the South, would constitute only a first stage of the socialist revolution to be followed by a white working class alliance with black Americans and together blacks and whites would complete the second stage, the socialist revolution. RYN II saw their role as that of raising the revolutionary consciousness of the broad masses of white workers to oppose capitalism and support black liberation.
FOREIGN TRAVEL AND CONTACTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS WHICH INFLUENCED THE MUO

This section covers foreign travel and contacts from the period 1967 to 1969 of leading SDS activists with emphasis on those who eventually became Weathermen. This historical continuum is necessary even though some of the travel predates the actual formation of Weatherman simply because their politicalization from single issue anti-war activity to that of revolutionary armed struggle can only be appreciated in light of their building intensity to direct action induced by the representatives of foreign governments. The MUO presently identifies its historical antecedents in the following fashion:

The Weather Underground Organization (MUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist men and women. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular, Students for a Democratic Society....

So, from CATHY WILKERSON and JEFF JONES's trip to Cambodia in November, 1967, through MARK RUDU's Cuban trip in February, 1968, which preceded the Columbia University riots; through the July, 1969, meeting between Weathermen BERNARDINE DOHRN, etal, where Vietnamese demands to intensify the anti-war effort led to the infamous "National Action" in Chicago, the foreign travel shown herein reveals the growing fervor of the Weathermen to carry out their ideology in practice. "Two, Three, Many Vietnams" in the words of Che Guevara was not mere rhetoric but the modus operandi of the Weathermen. The following major trips are to be considered then as a series of events which had a cumulative effect on the growing presence of Weathermen as revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who had made a commitment to armed struggle in behalf of the international communist movement.
A. Influence of Vietnamese and Cubans

1. Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, September, 1967
   The first major anti-war activist meeting with the Vietnamese. Nine leading SDS figures went on this trip after which seven individuals traveled to Hanoi.

2. Phnom Phen, Cambodia, November, 1967
   Four leading SDS figures, three of whom became Weatherman met with the Vietnamese.

3. Havana, Cuba, January/February, 1968
   The first major travel of SDS people to Havana where meetings took place with the Vietnamese. The principal figure was MARK RUDD who upon his return led the Columbia University riots in the spring of 1968. Coming together of the "action faction," the genesis of Weatherman.

4. Havana, Cuba, July/August, 1968
   SDS delegation to Cuba to honor the July 26th celebration; three SDS leaders who became Weathermen led the delegation. In August the second major SDS trip.

5. Budapest, Hungary, September, 1968
   This trip contained major anti-war activists, the most important of whom was BERNARDINE DOHRN, the Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS. DOHRN also traveled to Yugoslavia, Sweden and contacted the German SDS.

6. Havana, Cuba, July, 1969
   The single most important meeting of SDS (Weatherman) leaders with the DRV and PRG. HUYNH VAN BA, PRG representative, instructed the Weathermen on whom to recruit upon their return to the U.S.; Van Ba continued his contacts with the Weathermen after their return. Weathermen set up the "National Action" in Chicago under the slogan "Bring The War Home" under direct urgings of the Vietnamese.
8. Contacts with the CMUN, 1968-1969
Material sets forth contacts of leading Weathermen with CMUN officials and Cuban intelligence officers attached to the CMUN and Cuban Embassy in Canada.

B. Influence of China
Material restates continuing influence of MAO Tse-tung on Weathermen from the SDS National Convention held in June, 1969, to present. Set forth is letter from Weathermen to ANNA LOUISE STRONG sent after June, 1969, National Convention.

C. Other International Contacts
Material shows thrust of SDS leaders to establish international contacts with New Left activists from other countries. Included is contact by BERNARDINE DOHRN with the German SDS and subsequent travel of German student activists to the U.S. which was sponsored by SDS. Also travel of Weatherman MIKE JUSTESEN to Japan in August, September, 1969, where contacts made with the "Red Army" student activists.
A. Influence of Vietnamese and Cubans

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia
September 6-13, 1967

The contents of a press release from the Prague GTK International Service datelined at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, stated:

A total of 23 representatives from various mass organizations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and South Vietnam met here September 6-12, 1967, with a large group of United States citizens who are active in antiwar and radical movements. The meeting was arranged by representatives of the three groups in order to exchange views and standpoints on the war in Vietnam and to intensify mutual understanding.

The representatives of the people of South Vietnam and the DRV reported on the political, military and economic situation in the respective parts of the country. The standpoint of the DRV as well as the political program of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of September 1, 1967, which were discussed in detail, are evidence of the Vietnamese people's confidence in the final victory of their struggle against United States aggression for independence and peace.

Members of the U.S. group reported on the attitude of the various groups in the U.S. to the war, and discussed development of the anti-war movement—presenting an analysis of the whole spectrum of political views in the United States.

Nguyen Ding Ky, Director of the fortnightly 'THONG NHAT' headed the DRV group. The group included twelve representatives of special-interest and mass organizations. The South Vietnamese delegation was headed by Mrs. Nguyen Thi Vinh, member of the National Liberation Front, South Vietnam, Central Committee, and Deputy Chairman of the Women's Federation for the Liberation of South Vietnam.
The American Embassy, Prague, Czechoslovakia, by
telegram marked "limited official use," advised it had
learned the following individuals from the United States
were participants in the meeting at Bratislava:

ROBERT ALLEN, National Guardian
MALCOLM BOYD, Clergyman, writer, Washington, D.C.
CAROL BRIGHTMAN, Vietnam Report
JACK BROWN, Clergyman, San Francisco
BRONSON CLARK, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
ROBERT COOK, Yale University Faculty
STANLEY COOKS, Southern Christian Leadership
Conference (SCLC)
RENNIE DAVIS, Students for a Democratic Society
(SDS), Chicago
DAVID DELLINGER, Delegation Leader, Editor
"Liberation"
BETTY DELLINGER, DAVID DELLINGER's wife
THORNE DREYER, Organizer, SDS
NICK EGGELSON, SDS President, 1966-1967
DICK FLACKS, SDS, Chicago
ROSS FLANAGAN, Quaker Medical Aid Program
NORM FRUGER, movie writer
TOM GARDNER, Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)
CAROL GLASSMAN, SDS Community Organizer, Newark
TOM HAYDEN, SDS President, 1962-1963
STEVE HALLIWELL, SDS National Office
CHRISTOPHER JENCKS, New Republic
RUSS JOHNSON, Southeast Asia Representative, SFSC
CAROL KING, Community Organizer, Cleveland
ANDREW KOPKIND, New Republic
BOB KRAMER, writer, New York City
CAROL MC ELHOMMY, Community Organizer, Cleveland
LEON HOORE, AAA
LINDA HOORE, National Student Mobilization Committee,
New York City
RAY MUNGO, Student, Harvard or Howard
DOUG NORBERG, Field Staff, SDS
VIVIAN ROTSTEIN, SDS Organizer, Chicago
STEVEN SCHWARZCHILD (Rabbi)
SOL STERN, Editor, "Ramparts"
DENNIS SWEENEY, Anti-Draft Organizer, Palo Alto,
California
JOHN TILLMAN, SNCC
BARBARA WEBSTER, Liberation
ERIC WEINBERGER, National Secretary, Committee for
Non-Violent Action
HANK WERNER, Coordinator, Vietnam Summer
JOHN WILSON, SNCC National Office
WILLIE WRIGHT, President, African American Association (AAA)
RON YOUNG, Youth Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation

The above were still in Prague on September 16, 1967. The below listed individuals were planning to travel on to Hanoi:

NORM FRUCHTER  TOM HAYDEN
VIVIAN ROTSTEIN  CAROL MC ELDOWNET
RENNIE DAVIS  JACK BROWN
ROBERT ALLEN

A radio broadcast from North Vietnam on October 6, 1967, intercepted by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, stated in part as follows:

7 Americans Visiting DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam), Urge End to War. Text-Hanoi; Bernard Joseph Cabanes dispatch.

7 youth Americans on a ten-day 'see for ourselves' visit to North Vietnam today called for an end to the escalation of the war and moves for peace.

The group, two of them girls, came to North Vietnam to 'learn for ourselves' about the war the United States is waging against Vietnam and to testify to the losses American bombing is inflicting on the civilian population. The seven are from no specific organizations, and are most intellectuals from various widely differing professions....
"SDS" by KIRKPATRICK SALE, Chapter 19 titled "Fall, 1967," page 392, sets forth a footnote as follows:

There were other contacts between SDSers and Third-Worl revolutionaries at this time—Carl Oglesby spent part of the summer at Bertrand Russells' war crimes tribunal, Cathy Wilkerson and Carol McEldowney spent some time with NLG people in Cambodia in November, a meeting of North Americans and NLF students was held in Montreal, and Davidson, Tom Hayden, Todd Gitlin and others traveled to Cuba at the end of the year. But the Bratislava meeting which attracted such SDSers as Ronnie Davis, Thorne Dreyer, Nick Egelston, Dick Flacks, Norm Fruchter, Carol Glassman, Hayden, Halliwell, Andy Kopkind, Robert Kramer, Carol McEldowney, Doug Norberg, and Wilkerson—was the most formative. Christopher Jencks noted in the 'New Republic' (October 7, 1967) that "the most striking fact about the young radicals was the extent to which they identified with the Viet Cong."

"New Left Notes," Volume 2, Number 34, October 2, 1967, page one, sets forth an article titled "New Leftists Meet with the NFL-A Society in Revolution" by STEVE HALLIWELL, Columbia SDS. He wrote, in part, as follows:

The first large meeting between Americans of the anti-war movement and delegations from the DRV and the NLF took place in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia the week of September 6-13. For the 41 Americans present, there is now the responsibility of communicating to their varied constituencies—peace groups, organizations of the poor
Students, Magazine audiences—The information covered by the Vietnamese including the military situation in the South, the nature of the bombings in the North, the role of women, life in the liberated zones (the NLF speaks of 'liberated' zones and 'occupied' zones), the value of the press and propaganda, and the role of Buddhism (the so-called 'third force' in the South).

But now that the conference is over, I'm afraid that all the information and the perspective forged by American radicals in a week of constant discussions large, small and intimate will roll like so much water off the well-oiled back of the American anti-war movement unless we communicate to some degree the feeling that emerged in that conference and the context that shapes the work of those who were present. After all, most of us have been active in the anti-war movement for two and a half years now and know that the war is a tremendously brutal affair.... Further explanation of how real those facts are, greater documentation, etc., must seem of little consequence.

But for those present, the manner of the people from both the North and South who presented that information is of crucial importance, for their manner is that of men and women struggling in a society in revolution.... It was only as the conference progressed (in the true sense of the word) only as we developed a sense of how revolutionaries live and talk and work, that these incredible facts became first credible and then understandable.

The NLF is the instrument of a society which has had to organize itself against more than one foreign aggressor and in which the base of that struggle has been widespread for a long time. As a political mechanism, the Front has created both local administrative structures and a Central Committee of leaders of mass organizations and different social areas (such as military, education and health). As a military force, it is a
system of interlocking forces—there is a guerrilla
unit for each hamlet (the "fighting village"), a
district force (10 villages together), a provincial
force and a national army...

In order to grasp the level of organization
that a sustained resistance like the Front represents,
it is important to understand how comprehensive the
Front has become. The new political program of the
Front, issued September 1, 1967, presents a picture
of a society in which every social element outside
the direct interests of the Saigon government has
become mobilized against the American occupation—
small shop keepers and even the smaller landlords who
have resented the Front, are treated in the
new program....

It is that total endeavor by a society
in revolt that came across in the course of
our conversations. Against a society demanding
freedom and independence from an imperialist force,
there is no weapon save destruction of every
individual in revolt that will bring about any
and other than victory for the liberation forces.

It is a form of life that American
radicals find hard to understand at first
because they have been conditioned by the
monsoon in our newspapers....

But there is another reason why talking to
people in a revolutionary society is at first
incrédible. We don't believe they are possible
because we don't believe in ourselves.... But
we have yet to develop in ourselves the confidence
that is so evident in the Vietnamese. We realize
that our society is not a stable one—there are
inherent forces into the system that only deepen as
the war continues and national politics grow more
hypocritical and brutal. And yet we have not
learned how to move with confidence in that society.
We believe that every room is bugged, every
phone tapped, not as a principle of security, but
because we believe in the power of the police,
the stability and the efficiency of the police of
the state.

[Signature]
Furthermore, in place of that confidence we have established an over burdened belief in our own sanctity. We assume that unless other elements in the society speak our language and share our responses, they are worthless. The NFL has managed to put together an all-nation coalition on the basis of a deep sense of the movement of a whole society, not by isolating themselves in language, thought or purity of principle.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia,
November 1967

The "New York Post," November 17, 1967, page two, sets forth a photograph of four individuals captioned "Bound for North Vietnam." The sub-caption reflected four members of SDS, STEVE BALLIVEL, and JEFFREY JONES of New York City, KAREN KNOAN of San Francisco, and CATHY WILKESON of Washington were boarding a plane for Paris at Kennedy Airport; that their eventual destination was North Vietnam by invitation.

"New Left Notes," December 18, 1967, page one, sets forth an article titled "Delegation to Hanoi Returns," by CATHY WILKESON. In part, it reflects:

On Nov. ... four people set off for Paris with the final destination of Hanoi... This was the first 'student delegation' to go. Harri Koonin of the Movement, a member of the Steering Committee for the Oakland Stop the Draft Week; Steve Ballivell, N.Y. SDS; Jeff Jones, N.Y. SDS; and myself were invited by the Association of Youth of the D.R.V. This group is the umbrella organization for a number of student and youth groups.

The youth of the D.R.V. had invited a student delegation from the United States to discuss the experiences of the youth in both countries, especially their experiences as important vanguard forces in building a revolutionary movement. In addition, we expected the youth of the D.R.V. to help us understand more about their lives as youths and students of a country being affected by American imperialism, in a nation mobilized for armed struggle.
Unlike most of the previous trips which had been arranged by groups in Hanoi, and which had remained in Hanoi... we were to spend most of our time traveling to a number of different provinces. This was essential for a student delegation since the intensive bombings have forced a total decentralization of the educational system...

We arrived in Cambodia on Wednesday. The only flights to Hanoi are those of the International Control Commission, arranged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.... However, due to heavy American bombing, it is not unusual for flights to be turned back unexpectedly....

That morning, we were informed that we would not be able to take the ICC flight the next morning. The Committee of Working Youth had sent a telegram to Phnom Penh explaining that the bombing had become so heavy that any travel outside Hanoi would be extremely dangerous, especially for those untrained in self-defense.... We were told that almost all foreign visits had been cancelled, probably until February....

Despite our inability to finally get to North Vietnam, we all felt that the trip was well worthwhile. During our ten-day stay in Cambodia, we had many long conversations with a number of Vietnamese officials and Cambodians....

An article which appeared in the "Hartford Courant" on October 11, 1967 was headed "Activist Scoffs At Talk of Communist Conspiracy." It reflected that NICK FAYLISH, president of the national Students for a Democratic Society, spoke before a small gathering of the Trinity chapter of SDS on the previous day. It stated that he had spent two weeks last spring as a guest of the North Vietnamese Government and termed "international communism conspiracy nonsense." He stated that this trip convinced him that "Our political movement in this country must change to recognizing insurgency as a legitimate path to democracy." He noted that insurgency is not necessarily an armed struggle.
EDELSON stated that the harder this country makes it for people to free themselves, the more "military" will be the revolution. He predicted that if the United States submits to increased international and national opinion and calls a halt to its bombing raids, Hô Chi Minh will not necessarily relax the war in the south. EDELSON stated that the aims of the Viet Cong were democracy, neutrality, and land reform. He predicted that if the United States leaves Vietnam, the National Liberation Front will probably take over the country and bring about a drift toward socialism.
February, 1968
Havana, Cuba

To further cement the relationships established with the representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam (DRV), during the fall of 1967, the national leadership of SDS through their then Inter-Organizational Secretary, CARL DAVIDSON, organized the first major travel to Cuba where discussions were held with the NLF.

"New Left Notes" in the following articles reported on the initiation of the February trip in the following manner:

"New Left Notes," October 9, 1967, page three, sets forth an article titled "Cubans Invite SDS to Anniversary Celebration" by CARL DAVIDSON, Inter-Organizational Secretary. In part it reflects:

"The Cuban government has extended an invitation to SDS to send 10 to 20 people to Cuba from December 21 to January 10, the anniversary of the revolution. The trip is scheduled to include...meetings with various government officials and attendance at anniversary celebrations. A resolution of the National Council mandated the National Interim Committee to select people to attend..."

"Viva Che! Viva la Revolucion! Venceremos!"

"New Left Notes," November 20, 1967, page five, sets forth an article titled "Selections Made for Cuba Trip" by JEFF SHERO, National Interim Committee-New York. In part it reflects:

"...The current plans are to send Carl Davidson to Cuba to the Third World Intellectual's Conference in early January as an SDS observer and to finalize arrangements for the two week tour. The NIC will also select one other person, along with Davidson, to attend the conference, although Carl will be the only official observer."
The tour itself will take place in the early part of February. The SDS members will journey to Cuba via Mexico City if State Department travel permits can be obtained, or through Prague if they can't.

"New Left Notes" subsequently reported that TOLL GITLIN (SDS President 1963-1964) accompanied DAVIDSON to the International Cultural Congress held in January, 1968, in Havana. Also at the meeting were TOM HAYDEN, former President of SDS in 1962-1963, and DAVE DELINGER, but neither of these individuals represented SDS in any official capacity.

The following twenty individuals traveled to Cuba in February, 1968, as guests of the Cuban government:

KAREN LYNN ASHLEY
DINA MARIE CLANCY
ALICE ENRIQUE
MIAH EMBARRE
MICHAEL HERMAN GOLDFIELD
THOMAS MARK HARDESTY
WILLY MAUREEN HART
JOSEPH RICHARD HORTON
EDWARD JOHN JENNINGS
ALAN THOMAS LEVIN
JOSEPH SHARON MICHAEL
MARY JANE NELSON
DICK JOHNSON REAVES
JOAN MARIE ROCKWELL
MARK RUDD
PHILIP LUC ROSSHEL
SHEILA PATRICIA RYAN
PAUL HUGH SHINOFF
PATRICK BERNIE STEINER
ROBERT SAMUEL TURNOSEY
JEAN BARNABY WEISSMAN

The "Florida Alligator," daily campus newspaper, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in its issue dated February 20, 1968, carried on page one a copyright

("New Left Notes" dated January 15, 1969, contained an article by CONNIE ULLMAN and GERRY LONG, "Cuban Youth Pour Into Fields," which states that ULLMAN and LONG had "returned from Cuba last February.")
article by STEVE NOLL, Editor, and HARVEY ALPER, Managing Editor. This article states that the "Alligator" learned on February 19, 1968, that ALAN LEVIN and 19 other members of the SDS from throughout the United States are in Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government. According to the article, the group is in Cuba "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front of North Vietnam" and "to spend some time in Cuba working in Cuban fields."

The article states that JOE HORTON, a member of the visiting group and a Chicago SDS member, was quoted as saying in an interview over communist radio "I will not go to Vietnam to defend the interests of the Rusks, the Rockefellers, and the Imperialists of my country. I would rather go to prison or die."

According to the article, the group left from O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, on February 6, 1968, for Mexico City and a connecting flight to Havana on Cuba's Cubana Airline. The article states the group is reported to be in Cuba for about 24 weeks and will return to the United States by freighthouse with a connection in Canada. The article listed the following as members of the group:

- KAREN ASHLEY
  National Office SDS
  Chicago

- BOB JUNPOSKEY and JAMES ROCKWELL
  Syracuse, New York

- PAUL SHINNÖFF
  Los Angeles Regional Office SDS

- ALICE EINRÖÖ and PHIL RUSSELL
  North American Congress on Latin America, New York

- JEAN WEISSMAN, Westside Draft Project, New York City

- ED JENNINGS, Chicago

- HOLL: HART, 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action, Chicago

- MARC STEINER and SHEILA RYAN
  Washington, D.C.
  SDS Chapter

- ALAN LEVIN, Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)
  Gainesville

- MARY ELSÖN and MIKE GOLDFIELD
  University of Chicago

- MARK RUDD, Columbia University
  New York

- DENA CLAYMÖ, Detroit

- MIKE SHARON, Join Community Union, Chicago

- JOE HORTON, Chicago Region of SDS

- MARK HARDESTY, Home and affiliation unknown
The New York Region of SDS has been holding a series of Commentaries about SDS on radio station WBAI FM, 99.5 on the dial, each Wednesday, beginning March 6, 1968, after the evening news at about 7:00 PM.

JEFF JONES was the master of ceremonies for the third broadcast of the series on the evening of March 20, 1968. JONES began by stating that a brother of theirs on the Lower East Side has a publication called "Guerrilla" - the theme of the most recent issue being that "youth will make the revolution and youth will keep it." He stated they wanted to talk a bit about that as they talk about the trip of 20 of their brothers and sisters who have just returned from Cuba.

JONES asked KAREN ASHLEY of SDS to discuss the feelings she had during her three weeks in Cuba. ASHLEY spoke of her general overall impressions of Cuba as she walked through the streets there talking to officials and the people. The thing that struck her the most was the way the people have a pride in being a part of the revolution. Everyone there feels that they are contributing to a growing revolution and a growing country.

She stated it was a revolution made by youth and carried on by youth. The average age of the Central Committee is 35. Whole sections of the country are controlled by people under 30. There is a feeling of youthfulness and ties with the rest of the world as well as with struggles in all parts of the world. The liberation struggles are everywhere aiding in revolutionary struggles in whatever way they possibly can.

For her last point, she stated there is a general flexibility in the government, seemingly undogmatic. They do not go by strict Marxist lines and they change their minds if they find they are wrong. It is most flexible to criticism and change.

MARK RUDD of the Columbia University (CU) SDS Chapter was asked by JONES to mention how some people happened to take the trip, because a lot of times people tire of the New Left for the fact that they often go off to talk with the National Liberation Front in Southeast Asia or the Cubans in Cuba.

RUDD stated the reason the Cubans invited them was probably because they wanted to make contact with SDS. In general, someone has said they (Cubans) view SDS as the group with the most potential and the least well organized. The Cubans wanted them to go down to Cuba to gain some of the...
consciousness and spirit of the country in order to tell the Americans what is happening there.

RUDD stated that one of the big reasons why the Cuban people feel they are part of the revolution was because of their experiences with the American embargo, American opposition to the revolution, and specifically, the mercenary invasion in 1961 of the Bay of Pigs.

The SDS group visited the Bay of Pigs and was moved when they saw a monument dedicated to the militiamen killed there. He stated there is a famous picture of FIDEL CASTRO taken before the Bay of Pigs, in which he was addressing a crowd of 1,000 people with their guns raised in the air. These are the people of Cuba and in a real sense the basic democracy in Cuba.

JONES introduced ALICE EMBREE of the North American Congress on Latin America. EMBREE stated that they had stayed at the Havana Riviera Hotel. She spoke of the cleanliness of the streets and country though the buildings are run down; and their visits to the sugar cane fields.

JONES stated that he did not go to Cuba, but was able to go to Southeast Asia and talk with the NLF and North Vietnamese people last November. He recently went on a speaking tour around New England talking about it. His tour took place just after General HERSHEY's statement that graduate students and college seniors would no longer be exempt from the draft. The point he was trying to make to the students protected by the 3-S classification was that conditions would probably lead them to join their movement to try to change the society.

JONES stated that everything that was stated that evening was very good about Cuba, but he understood there is a draft there.

KAREN ASHLEY stated they were really upset when they heard that universal military training will be instituted in the Cuban schools for all boys and girls. She stated it is against everything SDS was doing in the United States and they talked to a lot of people in Cuba about it.
A guide told them that everyone wants to be trained. Those who do not are the counterrevolutionaries and most of them are leaving Cuba. They look upon military training as desirable in that it will happen while they are in school and they will not have to interrupt their life later on. It is part of their daily life that they must know how to defend themselves. They are in a sense a paranoid nation, but with good reason, with the United States only 90 miles away.

She stated there was not anyone they met who found military training a bad thing. They were all involved in building up the country and saw this as another way to do it.

JONES then inquired about the use of drugs in Cuba. RUUD stated the drug situation was simple to define since drugs are illegal there. Most people feel they do not want or need them, and that included the artists and students with whom they spent their last week. He stated the artists are free to publish their poems and have their paintings exhibited.

ALICE EMBREE spoke of their visit to the Isle of Pines, also called the Isle of Youth, where the political prisons are located. She stated the prisons are now being converted into technological institutions, and they are trying to figure out a way to construct the buildings to look less like prisons. EMBREE related the group found the Isle to be an exciting place with 50,000 kids there. Young people come there to do voluntary work for 45 days to two years, reshaping the island. They are trying to create communism there which they say is creating a socialist-revolutionary consciousness. They found it exciting to see young people controlling the island.

JONES concluded the program by thanking "Fidel Castro for his part in tonight's program." He also stated that the individuals on the program were working with SDS and are available for discussion groups.
Columbia University Student Strike
April, 1968, New York City, New York

The largest student strike in the history of the United States took place at Columbia University, New York, in April, 1968. CARL DAVIDSON saw it as a major turning point in SDS history:

Since the Columbia Rebellion, SDS has been thrust onto a new plateau as a national political force. The importance of that event in our history should not be underestimated. More than any other event in our recent political past, Columbia has successfully summed up and expressed the best aspects of the main thrust of our national political efforts in the last two years.

The SDS strike at Columbia was important because it occurred at a prestigious university in the media capital of the country and resulted in a complete victory for SDS over the university administration.

The most profound and lasting effect of the Columbia strike was in the development and use of the new SDS tactic of disruptive confrontation.

According to JERRY L. AVRON in his book "Up Against The Ivy Wall" (Atheneum, New York, 1969), "a relatively sedate tactical approach had marked the early days of the Columbia chapter of SDS. It centered on dramatization and politicization; change could be brought about by drawing attention of members of the community to a given problem, awakening them to the need for change. This emphasis on politicization became known as the 'praxis' theory, advocated by those radicals who felt that the best means of converting others to the radical view of the world was through education, propaganda and discussion. Disruptive actions on the part of radicals would, they feared, in many cases only alienate those who might otherwise be persuaded to help work toward the radical reconstruction of society."

The Columbia SDS chapter was growing disillusioned with "praxis" tactics in the Spring of 1968 when MARK RUDD returned from Cuba and was elected chairman of the chapter. There was an immediate change in SDS tactics.

TOP SECRET
On March 20, the New York City director of the Selective Service System appeared on campus to discuss strict new draft regulations with students. During a question and answer session, an unidentified assailant pushed a lemon meringue pie in the director's face.

A week later RUDD led more than 100 students into Low Library in a noisy, intentionally disruptive confrontation with the administration in defiance of Columbia's ban on indoor demonstrations. The target of the demonstration was the Institute of Defense Analysis (IDA).

AVRON reported "by the time of the IDA demonstration a new sub-group had come to dominate SDS. It became known as the "action faction," and advocated a new tactical approach--confrontation politics--to replace the dramatization--politicianization style of the "praxis axis." The superficial dynamic of the tactic was simple: a physical confrontation--a sit in, a blockade, the take over of a building--is set up to discomfit the adversary who holds the power. In this case the University administration. He can respond by giving in to the substantive demands of the radicals or by crushing them with coercion of his own....

"The use of coercive force on the part of the adversary--whether it came in the form of University discipline or police violence--could be a powerful force to 'radicalize' liberal or moderate students. For the crucial part of the SDS view is that while escalated tactics are necessary to bring pressure for change on substantive issues, the 'radicalization' of large segments of the population is far more important." As Rudd said later:

"Confrontation politics puts the enemy up against the wall and forces him to define himself. In addition, it puts the individual up against the wall. He has to make a choice. Radicalization of the individual means that he must commit himself to the struggle to change society as well as share the radical view of what is wrong with society."

On April 23, 1968, the student uprising began in earnest and during the next 30 days a number of the University's buildings were occupied and held by students, the Acting Dean of Columbia College was held hostage and the files of the University's President were looted.

On April 30, 1968, the President of the University made an official complaint to the New York City Police.
Department and police officers arrested approximately 700 students and other persons who were trespassing in various buildings of the university. At least 17 police were injured while making these arrests.

KIRKPATRICK SALE wrote "When one professor on the third day of the takeovers asked Rudd whether he really wanted to destroy the university—'Doesn't the university have any redeeming features that merit your saving it?'—the SDS chairman was at a loss for an answer; he hadn't really thought about what he really wanted out of the university....But during the next day and weeks....it became clear to many SDSers in a very direct way that it was not the reform of the university that they really wanted, not the limiting of complicity (between government and university) and not the restructuring of the evil complex, but something much vaster, more significant, more, well, revolutionary....By commencement time neither Rudd nor most of the other SDSers had much doubt about how to answer the question of the university's 'redeeming features.' The seeds of Weatherman are planted here."

Among the students identified by JERRY L. AVRON as participants in the Columbia student strike, the following later became active in the Weatherman organization:

NICK FREUDENBERG, Vice Chairman of SDS
DAVE GILBERT, member of Strike Coordinating Committee
TED GOLD, former Vice Chairman of SDS
NORMIS GROSSNER, member of SDS Steering Committee
JOHN JACOBS, member of SDS
ROBBY ROTH, member of SDS and negotiator for Low Library strikers
MARK RUDD, Chairman of SDS

The following individuals were arrested by the New York City Police Department at Columbia during the strike and later became active in Weatherman:

NANCY CANTELMIO
ANDREA BOROFF ZAGAN
STEWARD MARK GEVAL
MARTIN IRRERMAN TARKER
SIHNYA ONO
JONII RASKIN
STEPHEN JOSEPHI TANTIS
MARK RUDD was interviewed by FRANCISCO FORTELA of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency in New York City, on June 11, 1968, on the motivations behind the spread of the student struggle in North American universities and the participation of the SDS in that struggle. Among other comments RUDD stated: "The struggle of the people of the Third World is very closely linked to the point of view of the Cuban people about that struggle. In fact, we consider that the Cuban criterion on the struggle in America is perhaps the correct way in which the revolution will take place... As is known, we have taken from Che his slogan: Create two, three, many Vietnams. Thus, we have as our slogan: Create two, three, many Columbias..."
July, 1963
Havana, Cuba

"New Left Notes," issue of September 9, 1963, under the caption "NIC Discusses Chicago, Elections, Editor," in part reveals:

Four of the five people who attended the July 26th celebrations in Cuba have returned and will be available at the NC....

The August 28-31, 1963, issue of the "New Patriot" contained an article captioned "Whither Cuba?" written by CHIP MARSHALL. ("New Patriot" is identified on its masthead as "an independent newsweekly of the movement," published by the Glad Day Press, 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York.)

An Editor's note indicated that MARSHALL had returned this week from a one-month visit to Cuba. MARSHALL is a national officer of the SDS and co-chairman of the Cornell Chapter. He went to Cuba with five other national SDS leaders to attend the July 26th celebrations as honored guests of the Cuban people.

In the article MARSHALL gives an account of his Cuba trip. He went via Mexico City. In Cuba the group visited such places as farms, factories, the University of Havana, rope factory, the National Art Institute and the Bay of Pigs, and talked to laborers, mechanics, farmers, soldiers, and seamen. They attended FIDEL CASTRO's speech given at Santa Clara in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the start of the Cuban Revolution. They also visited the North Korean Embassy where they were "treated to several hours of film."
MARSHALL generally praised Cuba and the Cuban people and their leaders in this account of his visit. In a concluding paragraph MARSHALL stated the following:

But the most shocking evidence of our war against the Cubans came when I visited the Bay of Pigs. "Imperialism" is a phrase we have read and thrown around a lot, but looking at the bomb-damaged houses and the photos of the families that had died in them brought home the full implications of the phrase. I was disgusted.
August 1968
Havana, Cuba

A letter from the SDS National Office was sent over the signature of BERNARDFINE DOYIN, SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary. This letter read in part as follows:

1) The date has not been fixed with the Cuba mission, but the trip will be around the last ten days of August and the first two weeks of Sept.

Vencedores!

Your Cruise Director, in struggle,

BERNARDFINE DOYIN
Inter-Organizational Secretary
SDS

A letter dated August 5, 1968, addressed to "Cuba Trippers-brothers and sisters" and sent over the name of BERNARDFINE DOYIN, Inter-Organizational Secretary, read in part as follows:

We have arranged with the Cubans for the group to leave Mexico City for Cuba on August 25. Recent events in Mexico may complicate that, but we'll assume travel access until otherwise certain. The trip will be from 3-4 weeks in length; freighters leave Cuba frequently, but irregularly, and will not be accommodated in one trip. So anyone who must be back before four weeks should not go.

The briefing session will begin in Texas on August 21. More on location there and coordination of video going to Texas in the next mailing.

Cheers.
American Airlines. It was on August 28, 1968, that Douglas Berman and contacted American Airlines August 23, 1968, and made reservations for 32 coach seats on American Airlines flight 198 from Dallas to Mexico City on August 26, 1968. The names were:

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"Radio Progresso," Havana, Cuba, broadcast the following announcement on August 27, 1968: "Forty-two members of the SDS traveled from Mexico to Cuba on a regular Cubana Airlines flight. The members of the group were from most of the states in the United States and among them were included professors, students and postgraduate students as well as educators." The broadcast stated they would remain in Cuba for three weeks in order to observe the advances of the Cuban revolution. Later it was indicated they will inform the American public in the United States regarding their findings.

Further reports in the SDS travel group's arrival in Cuba, they visited numerous places of interest such as an electric plant, a sugar mill plantation, the Bay of Pigs and the Isle of Youth and Pinos, where the SDS travel group spent several days doing volunteer labor of cutting sugar cane.
During their trips to Cuba and Havana everyone in the travel group was permitted free access to the people and could go anywhere they pleased, talking with the local citizenry.

MIKE KLONSKY was interviewed on Radio Havana, Cuba broadcast on August 29, 1968.

He described the riots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago and indicated SDS would continue the battle in Chicago until the end of the Democratic Convention. He repudiated the platform approved by the Democratic Convention. Radio Havana broadcast read to KLONSKY part of a message of the American student delegation which had arrived recently in Cuba urging the continuation of the battle and creation of "many Chicagos" throughout the United States. KLONSKY replied "It is a beautiful message, very beautiful. This message encourages us; we will continue to fight in the states."

Radio Havana is a shortwave broadcast station in Havana, Cuba, operating 24 hours a day under the complete control and direction of the FIDEL CASTRO communist government of Cuba. It transmits violent anti-U.S. propaganda throughout the world in many languages.

"New Left Notes" issue of September 9, 1968, page three, contained an article captioned "NIC Discusses Chicago, Elections, Elitism."

The discussion on international began with a report from KEN CLOSK on his trip to Japan and another by SIGRID FROHNIUS from West Berlin SDS who spoke about her organization. The rest of the time was spent on a discussion of Cuba trips as they relate to the development of an international consciousness within SDS.

Four of the five people who attended the July 26th celebrations in Cuba have returned and will be available at the N.C. The large trip (thirty-three people) left for Cuba Monday, August 26th, after a three-day training conference.
The NIC felt that the Cuba trips should continue, but that they are valuable to us at this point only when the people who go are as prepared as possible, making them able to learn information that will be of value to our development. Small groups (no more than ten to a group) with comprehensive training in Spanish and study of the Cuban Revolution will be more effective than large groups.
Venceremos

This resolution was written for the December NC, but lack of time prevented its presentation. A NIC meeting, held after the NC, passed it.

January 1968 marks the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. In solidarity with that defeat of U.S. imperialism and with the 10 years of struggle by the Cuban people to build a revolutionary socialist society, SWP calls for a Cuba Week of education and action.

SWP will focus on the Cuban struggle during this time, as a beginning of continuing programs which will carry from home to all of our activities.

1) To learn and explain about the Cuban victory as a part of the international struggle between U.S. imperialism and the new and third world of the world.

2) To direct attention and programs to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Although we say imperialism is a system and the war in Vietnam is but one manifestation of that system, our understanding and programs on imperialism have largely been tied to Vietnam. Cuba is a case study of imperialism in this hemisphere.

3) To extend among and revolutionary principles underlying a socialist society: placing the people's needs, control of the economy, need for change, the relationship between man and nature, the development of the new man, the modern person. The student for mapping out the real struggles being fought for daily since the revolution, in confronting racism and anti-communism, it requires an understanding of economic principles.

SWP will educate all workers with programs:

a)2) Short course program, literature, speakers, travel, etc.

b) Students, Cuba, the Third World, and programs who have traveled to Cuba.

c) Attending committee of U.S. associations in Latin America, such as Latin American Institute, number

Venceremos

Bernardine Dohrn  Pat Fleischer
Nico Slowik  Jan Murray
Jim Mitchell  Doug Bernhardt

To be noted that NICK FRUENDENBERG, JIM MITCHELL, RAY MILLER, JIM MURRAY and DOUG BERNHART traveled to Cuba on the August, 1968, trip.
Budapest, Hungary.
September, 1968.

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C., newspaper, issue of September 21, 1968, contains an item captioned "U.S. War Foes Meet with Hanoi Group," which states that a group of 28 American war foes traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF) to discuss strategy on United States campuses.

According to the above article, the meeting reportedly was held in Budapest, Hungary, September 5-9, 1968, by DAVID DELLINGER, Head of the National Mobilization Committee and coalition of anti-war advocates. The article stated that nine of the above-mentioned 28 individuals took part in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention.

According to the above article, VERNON GRIZZARD, 24, former national vice president of SDS, was one of the above travel group and had visited Hanoi earlier to bring back three pilots released by North Vietnam. As outlined by GRIZZARD, the Budapest meetings centered on Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest and furthering draft unrest among GIs. GRIZZARD said the North Vietnamese gave no directions for activities in the United States but were pleased and interested in "our" plans.

The North Vietnamese were told of plans for a National GI week just before the November 5, 1968, elections, when ministers will be asked to preach anti-war sermons. The article also stated that "they" were also to try to stir up GIs in coffee houses.

On September 23, 1968, BERNARDINE DOHRN, national functionary of the SDS, spoke at an assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, sponsored by the Columbia University SDS and Columbia University Strike Committee, in New York City. DOHRN stated she had returned from Europe three days ago after she and 27 other American student leaders met in Budapest with five members of the NLF of South Vietnam. DOHRN added that after her group left Budapest, the five NLF members were flying to Moscow, Peking, Hanoi and thence to South Vietnam. She said two of the five specialized in working in with American GIs in Saigon in attempting to obtain information.
Twenty individuals traveled at a group rate to Budapest, Hungary, departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York, on September 3, 1968, on Pan American Airlines (Pan Am) Flight #90, via Vienna. The group departed Vienna, via Austrian Airlines Flight #621, on September 4, 1968, for Budapest, where they remained until September 10, 1968. VERNON GRIZZARD was the leader of the group.

The arrangements were made and fares were paid through SDS, New York City. The following were the names of the individuals in this travel group:

GERALD BORENSTEIN
THOMPSON BRADLEY
PERRY CANNON
BRUCE DANCIS
JOHN DAVIS
RAY DELLINGER
FRANK DIHON
Mrs. SHARIE FIJE VIRICKY
FRANK DURINSKAS
HOWARD EHMER
PAUL GOLDEN
VERNON GRIZZARD
HAROLD HECHTER
DANIEL JAFFEE
DAVID KOKATSU
DAVID LANDAU
ELINOR LANGER
VICKI ANN MITTLEFEHLDT
WILLIAM SPIRA
FINLEY SCHAFF

The book "SDS" by Kirkpatrick Sale, page 316, reflected that BERNARDINE DIHON had struck up several close friendships with Vietnamese women during a trip to Europe in the fall (1968) giving one a ring from her own finger as a gesture of comradeship.

On October 29, 1968, at an open forum at the University of Wisconsin, Madison campus, DANIEL DEAN SWINNEY, III, talked about his trip to the countries of Yugoslavia, Hungary, West Germany and France. He spoke of a five-day conference in Yugoslavia, with representatives of the North Vietnamese NLF, at which he was told that the NLF was very optimistic about the eventual outcome of the war in Vietnam. He further related that 11 of the Americans on this SDS-sponsored trip burned their draft cards at a reception given for the Americans by the NLF Mission in Yugoslavia. SWINNEY did not identify himself as one of the 11. SWINNEY also spoke about SDS in West Germany.

HELEN RUTH SHILLER, SDS representative, spoke of her recent trip to Cuba. She said that while there she was very
impressed with the large consensus of the population behind the Cuban leader FIDEL CASTRO's reform program and that because of this large consensus elections in Cuba are unnecessary. She also reported on several movies seen by her in Cuba. When asked how she traveled to Cuba, SHILLER said she traveled to this country by way of Mexico City and returned by way of Madrid, Spain.

Both SHILLER and SMINNEY said that their trips were sponsored by the National SDS Office. The individual who went to Mexico said nothing of the reason or the mode of transportation for his travel to this country. SHILLER made it clear that when she was in Cuba she attended, in person, a speech made by CASTRO and she let it be known that it would be difficult to travel to Cuba unless a person had a good connection, such as being affiliated with SDS. SHILLER did not mention the number of others who may have been in the SDS group that she traveled with.

The May 21, 1969, issue of "The Post," an Ohio University student newspaper, published at Athens, Ohio, on page three, contained an article captioned "Student Suggests Military SDS," which reported that JOHN DAVIS, brother of RENNIE DAVIS, had stated he had tried to enlist at Berryville, Virginia, but that authorities there classified him 1-Y as being politically unfit since he had told them he wanted to form an organization called "Soldiers for a Democratic Society."

The article noted DAVIS, a sophomore at Marietta College, "will leave school in June to work with the regional and national SDS organization." The article noted DAVIS had traveled to Europe last summer "at the invitation of National SDS founder TOM HAYDEN, and met with student organizers of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam."
The article reported DAVIS as saying "SDS confronts Imperialists, Capitalists, and Institutionalists that are within the system."

"SDS also believes in destroying the institution."

Another article appeared in the same issue of "The Harcroller" captioned "SDS Anti-Military Ball Called a 'Big Success!'" which reported that the SDS group at Marietta College had held an "anti-military ball" at Das Stein Haus on Front Street "to dance and protest against the war, military and draft." JOHN DAVIS, spokesman for the Marietta SDS, termed the event a "big success." The article noted about 250 students and two faculty members attended the event.

"A large flag of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) was hung on the side wall with a sign entitled 'Victim Of The Politics of Death' adorned the area immediately behind the band."
Immediately following the SDS National Convention held in Chicago, a group of thirty anti-war activists led by BERNARDINE DOHRN, traveled to Cuba where they met with and received instructions from representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. Having received an "immediate" appeal from Hanoi to take measures to prevent the war, the effective leadership of SDS, all of whom were Weathermen conducted their meetings with the Vietnamese under conditions described by CARL DAVIDSON, in the "Guardian" as of "special importance." THUYNH Van Ba, the Viet Cong's chief representative in Havana, told the Weathermen to look for the person who fights hardest against the cops when recruiting; his intimacy with Weathermen continued after the July meetings with a series of phone calls to the SDS National Office. The July, 1969 meetings intensified the revolutionary commitment of the Weathermen to "Bring the War Home." The influence of the Cubans and the North Vietnamese on the future direction of Weatherman was compelling; their actions during the infamous "Days of Rage" held in Chicago in October, 1969, wherein upwards of 300 Weathermen activists were arrested, flowed from their internationalist revolutionary duty.

The July, 1969 meetings in Cuba marked a definitive line of demarcation on the question of armed struggle for the Weatherman. Hereinafter they were not simply theoretical revolutionaries but in adopting the Cuban experience as their guide placed armed struggle in the forefront. On the necessity for armed struggle, the WUO has never varied, hence, the importance of the influence of the DRV, PRG and the Cubans.
KIRKPATRICK SAID in "SDS" commenting on the attitude of the Weathermen in the summer of 1969 said:

"...the final determinant of Weatherman's character over the summer was its contact with the Cubans and Vietnamese, concrete experience of the Third World revolution it had been so highly touting. Nicer Linda Evans made a journey to Hanoi in July, along with six other antivietnamists, in order to bring home three captured U.S. pilots whom the North Vietnamese had released in honor of America's Independence Day. The experience of being in a country resisting American imperialism - "to see how they are carrying out a people's war," as companion Norm Fruchter said afterward - was as profound on Evans as it had been on ever other previous traveler, and she returned to Chicago full of enthusiasm for the way the Vietnamese were "winning total victory."

Influence of the Vietnamese On Weathermen - July, 1969 Meeting in Havana Cuba

The following Weathermen traveled to Havana, Cuba for an eight day series of meetings with representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam in July, 1969:

BERNARDINE DOHRN
PETER CLAPP
ROBERT "BO" BURLINGHAM
ROBERT "JEFF" BELLISH
ELENA OR RASKIN
DIONE DONGHI
TED GOLD
DIANA COULTON
GERRY LONG
CHRISTOPHER "KITT" BACK
DAVID MILLSTONE
EDWARD "COREY" BENEDICT
JUNE SITELMAN
MARY WOZNIAK

(KIRKPATRICK SAID: "SDS")
CARL DAVIDSON, former Vice-President of SDS in 1966-1967 and Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS in 1967-68 traveled to Cuba with DOHRN, et al, and reported the essence of the meetings with the Vietnamese in the "Guardian", August 30, 1959. Pertinent portions of DAVIDSON's article are:

Early in July, about 30 young American radicals, including this reporter, quietly left the U.S. for a meeting in Havana with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Individuals and groups from the U.S. movement have met with the Vietnamese many times before, but this time, both the Americans and Vietnamese agreed, the meeting was of special importance.

First, the meeting was longer than any previous meeting—eight full days. The composition of the American delegation was also different, at Vietnamese request. Rather than national representatives of a broad range of liberal and radical organizations, the political make-up of the group was mainly local and regional organizers from groups at the hard core of the movement, mostly SDS.

As for the Vietnamese, their two delegations, North and South—were somewhat different as well. There were 16 Vietnamese in all, seven in each delegation. Representatives had come from the minority peoples of both North and South Vietnam, women's organizations, journalists, teachers and committees of solidarity with the American people.
There were also official representatives from the DRV and PRC, as well as leaders from the Workers party in North Vietnam, the People’s Revolutionary party in South Vietnam—both communist—and finally an officer from the People’s Liberation Armed Forces in South Vietnam.

But the real importance of the meeting lies outside of the composition of the groups and was made clear by the Vietnamese description of the current state of the liberation struggle in Vietnam itself.

What the Vietnamese clearly and convincingly presented, in all the workshops, speeches and discussions, was a picture of the total defeat of U.S. military and political strategy in Vietnam. In the opening presentation, the PIAF military official explained the history of U.S. defeats as well as the current situation.

But the Vietnamese never speak of victory in purely military terms. The political fruit of each success has always been the dominant factor in all of their considerations; and the most important political victory of all the fighting up till now and especially since Tet had been the total isolation of the puppet regime concurrent with the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

On the strategic level, the Vietnamese see their struggle being waged on three fronts: in Vietnam, in Paris and in international public opinion, particularly within the United States. They believe that they have essentially won in Vietnam by defeating the U.S. political and military strategy. They believe they have won diplomatcially in Paris with the presentation of the “New 10-point Program” and the total bankruptcy of the U.S. negotiating position.

What remains and what the Vietnamese believed could play an almost decisive role in bringing the war to an early end at this point is the antiwar movement within the U.S. The Vietnamese were well aware that more Americans than ever opposed the war, but were
curious as to why the massive antiwar mobilizations had gone downhill since the spring of 1967. They understood the differences between and among the liberals and the radicals but asked pointedly, why they could not unite around the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The message was clear: Now, more than ever, Vietnam must be a central issue taken to the American people. Hundreds of thousands, even millions must be moved to understand and act in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

And on the July meetings between Weathermen and representatives of the DRV and PRG, KIRKPATRICK SAID in "SDF" comments:

A week later a contingent of Weathermen returned from an intensive eight-day meeting in Cuba with representatives of North Vietnam and the New Provisional Government of South Vietnam full of the same enthusiasm, only coupled with the additional elation of seeing the Cuban society at work. The messages from the Vietnamese were two, both grist for the weathermill: first, in the words of a man from the People's Liberation Armed Forces, that "the U.S. can never escape from the labyrinth and sea of fire of peoples' war" and was suffering total defeat in Vietnam; second, that American revolutionaries had the job of building the American movement to the point where it could put insinu- "cible pressure upon the government for withdrawal. To the Weathermen, this meant that the collapse of the U.S. government was imminent, perhaps a matter of months rather than years," that the "duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution," and that Americans had to go back and fight in the 'mother country' as vigorously as the Vietnamese and the Cubans in the Third World. People from other sections of the movement who made the trip with the Weathermen (and for the most part ended up in bitter disputes with them) recall that on the boat going back the Weathermen were going around promising to 'kick ass' once they got back — which could hardly have been what their hosts had in mind in urging the expansion of the American movement. But the Weathermen were not
to be awryed from their vision; as Ted Gold put it, in an article for 'Liberation News Service' which apparently reflected the passions of all the Weathermen who had made the trip:

"As people who are located inside the monster, revolutionary Americans are in a position to do decisive damage to the U.S. ruling class's plans to continue and expand its world role. The upcoming defeat in Vietnam will be a vital blow to those plans; we must aim to do everything we can to speed up that effect."

And in every Weatherman collective that message was taken to heart....

To further emphasize the importance of what Cuba and Vietnam meant to the Weathermen, Georgie Anne Geyer and Foyes Beach in their nationally syndicated series of articles captioned "Cuba: School for U.S. Radicals" written in October, 1970 had the following report pertaining to the July, 1969 meetings:

...from the start, Hanoi has waged a two-front war — one on the battlefields of South Vietnam, the other for the 'hearts and minds' of the American people. A third, less important, front opened with the Paris peace talks in 1968.

Obviously Hanoi did not create antihitlarian dissent in the United States. What the Vietnamese Communists did do, however, was to exploit that dissent for their own purposes. In this endeavor they found ready-made collaborators in the young American radicals.

As is the case with so many love affairs, it is difficult to say with precision when the U.S. New Left and the Viet Cong first became enamored of each other.
But the courtship appears to have become serious about four years ago when more young U.S. radicals began to trickle into Castro's Cuba in search of a new world to replace the 'rotten, corrupt, fascist pig state' they lived in.

The climate hardly could have been more salubrious, the atmosphere more heady. In Cuba the Americans could meet, talk with, and learn from real, live revolutionaries — Cubans, Vietnamese, North Koreans, Chinese, black Africans and an occasional Palestinian commando.

The central identification was with Cuba and Communist Vietnam. Cuba already had defeated the 'imperialist monster,' the United States, and Vietnamese Communists were engaged in a valiant struggle against the same foe.

Cuba's commitment to North Vietnam was a deeply felt thing. Both peoples felt they were being persecuted by the United States, and many Cubans felt Cuba would be attacked by America next after Vietnam.

...If Castro couldn't supply troops to fight alongside the Vietnamese Communists, the least he could do was provide Hanoi with a base in the Western Hemisphere where its agents could link up with sympathetic Americans.

"As the trickle of U.S. radicals arriving in Cuba became a flood and antiair dissent mounted at home, the romance between the young Americans and the Viet Cong grew in intensity. By 1968 they had joined hands in a common effort to end the bombing of North Vietnam and have all U.S. troops withdrawn from the South.

The Americans were instructed to organize more antiair demonstrations, emphasize the number of American casualties, the number of planes being shot down and the high cost of the war.
The man who gave these "orders," all of which the Americans subsequently carried out, was Huynh Van Ba, the Viet Cong's chief representative in Havana.

The Viet Cong also encouraged organized draft resistance. And Van Ba suggested that it would be useful to have some radicals volunteer for service to foment antimilitary sentiment within the armed forces. (Earlier, an American black nationalist in Cuba had urged black soldiers to kill white soldiers.)

8-Day seminar with Vietnamese

Van Ba was very insistent on one point: The Americans should be careful not to use the word "communism," just as the revolutionary movements in Cuba and Vietnam avoided it during the first stages of the revolution, because the word has a bad name in some circles.

It was far better, he said, to talk about the new life after the revolution, and in terms that everybody could understand such as free medical care and better living conditions.

By 1969 the young Americans and the Vietnamese Communists had been going steady, as it were, long enough to become engaged. More and more Americans returned from Cuba proudly wearing rings made from the metal of U.S. planes shot down over North Vietnam.

In some cases they claimed to have met the young "heroes and heroines" who shot down the planes.

The formal marriage took place in July, 1969, when a group of 30 young SDSers led by Bernadine Dohrn, the miniskirted Weatherwoman, journeyed to Havana via Mexico for an eight-day seminar with the Vietnamese.
...A more intimate view of the exchange between the Vietnamese and the Americans was supplied by Huynh Van Binh in his advice on recruiting guerrillas in the United States:

"When you go into a city, look for the person who fights hardest against the cops. That's the one you want to talk all night with. Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights..."

Conference notes
detail agenda

Another view of what went on inside the Hanoi conference was provided in notes taken by Bernardine Dohrn, later found in a Chicago apartment that she and other Weathermen had converted into a bomb factory, the notes covered the agenda of the eight-day meeting.

"...Her report on the conference included the names of all the Vietnamese delegates; a Communist analysis of 'Vietnamization' of the war and why it was doomed to fail; an analysis of the weakness of the 'Thieu-Ky puppet regime,' a breakdown of U.S. casualties according to branch of service; Hanoi's view of U.S. strategy for Southeast Asia and the Far East and how it was to be countered; plans for a Communist insurgency in Thailand; a statement that the 'armed struggle in South Korea has begun,' and a detailed report on Communist political activities in South Vietnam.

One of the more interesting entries, in Bernardine's own 'shorthand,' was dated July 11. Under the heading, "VN (Vietnam questions to us)" Bernardine wrote:

"1. How do the American people understand fundamental pts (points) of VN people in 10 pt. program (a reference to the Communists' 10-point program for peace)"

TOP SECRET
2. Self-determination (how self-determination for the South Vietnamese was to be achieved).

3. Do we think that setting up of PRG (provisional revolutionary government) is new stage of success in struggle in VN?

4. Do we think PRG is embodiment of policy unifying different nationalities for salvation of VN?

5. Do we think correct solution is total and unconditional withdrawal? Is (it) only solution? Do they think withdrawal equals surrender?

6. Did 10 pts. raise any opinion among people in ruling circles? What are main concerns?

The contacts of HUYNH Van Ba, head of the PRG in Havana, Cuba, did not cease with the meetings with DOHRN and other Weathermen in Havana in July, 1969. CG T-11 during September, 1969, reported Van Ba attempted a number of telephonic contacts with DOHRN with various requests.

On one occasion, according to CG T-11, Van Ba spoke with MARK RUDD where Rudd said that they would propagate Van Ba's position in their literature and referred Van Ba to the forthcoming supplement to appear in "New Left Notes."

"New Left Notes," in its issue of August 29, 1969, contained an eight-page Special Supplement entitled, "Vietnam: His Way." The Supplement sets forth the Two Point Peace Program of the NLF and the Twelve Point Program of Action of the PRG. The supplement on page three sets forth an article titled "Bring The War Home" which reflects:

Five weeks in Cuba, two of them meeting and traveling around with the Vietnamese. One more week working, planning, and writing on a Cuban ship as we returned to socialism.
The people who met with the Vietcong in Cuba tried to bring back more than 'a feeling I can't express in words' (the only result of so many trips in the past). We understood that the reason the Vietnamese called the meeting was to get us moving against the war again. The Vietcong were giving us a kick in the ass at a time when they've defeated the U.S. militarily, but when the Nixon administration is trying to cling to its bases, bombing South Vietnam and bullshitting in Paris more and more intensively. Kicking us in the ass when the revolutionary movement in the United States could be making its internationalism real by getting the U.S. out of Vietnam once and for all. Kicking us in the ass because for the first time we're really strong enough TO END THE WAR, and we've hardly mentioned it for a year. Kicking us in the ass so we could start kicking ass inside the monster.

Kick ass is the main message we brought back from the meeting. Some people are saying that now we should be fighting to end the war; kicking ass is for later. Building a revolutionary movement is for later. Bullshit. Fighting to end the war, to bring it home, is the same as building a revolutionary movement. It involves the same things: reaching out to more oppressed sectors of youth, militant struggles with a clear internationalist focus, building cadre into a real fighting force. That's what we need to do to organize white people to help smash imperialism.

At the meeting in Cuba with the PRG, Van Ba (head of the PRG delegation) told us: 'When you go into a city, look for the person who fights hardest against the cops. That's the one you talk all night with. Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights.'

That's the way the Vietnamese built the PLA. Right now the only way we're going to build a white fighting force is if we become one ourselves. Then the white kids across the country who've been way ahead of us - the kids who've been fighting - will know what we want them to join.
Direct Effect of Vietnamese and Cuban Influence on Weatherman After July, 1969, Meetings in Cuba

Preface

The distinguishing characteristic of the Weathermen group after the July meetings with the DRV and PRG in Havana was the intensity of their buildup to the coming "National Action" under the slogan of "Bring the War Home." Their commitment in practice flowed from their obligation as revolutionaries who were part of the international communist movement, specifically identified with the Cuban center of world revolution. The "National Action" was, therefore, not merely another anti-war demonstration nor was it a single issue matter. It was carried out to further the communist anti-imperialist struggle and to create in Guevara's words, "Two, Three, Many Vietnams."

Hence, the recounting here of the October, 1969, "Days of Rage," is germane to any understanding of the foreign influence on Weatherman.

"National Action"
October 6-11, 1969
Chicago, Illinois

on August 19, 1969, advised that a press conference had been held that date in New York City at the Diplomat Hotel by BERNARDINE DOIRN, TED GOLD, DIONNE DONGHI, JEFF NELSEN and ELENAO RASIER, all of whom had been part of an SDS delegation that had just returned from Cuba. KATHY RUDIN also was a part of the press conference but she had not traveled to Cuba with the other representatives. The official statement issued by DORN was as follows:

"QUYET CHIEF QUYET THANG
(DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN)

We are members of a delegation of white American revolutionaries who have just returned from a meeting with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). The meeting took place in Cuba, free territory of the Americas.

The PRG delegates to the meeting explained to us the actual political and military situation..."
in Vietnam which has been systematically hidden from the American people by the Nixon administration and the press. United States imperialism is being completely defeated in Vietnam.

Militarily, the United States has been reduced to the desperate defense of its bases in the cities, combined with constant and indiscriminate bombings of the entire population. But the U.S. bases are being successfully attacked and even inside the cities there are large sections where U.S. troops cannot go.

Over 11 million out of South Vietnam's 14 million people are living in the liberated areas administered by the PAVN. Because their war for self-determination is a people's war, there are 11 million soldiers fighting against U.S. imperialism. Representing the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people the Provisional Revolutionary Government is the legitimate government of South Vietnam.

No matter how long U.S. imperialism tries to hang on to South Vietnam, it will lose. Every day the war goes on means the death of more Vietnamese and more American GIs who have no interest in continuing the war. We are committing ourselves to intensifying the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and in support of the Vietnamese people until all U.S. troops leave Vietnam. As people who are located inside the imperialist monster, we are in a position to do decisive damage to the American ruling class's plans to continue and expand its world rule.

The upcoming U.S. defeat in Vietnam will be a vital blow to those plans; we aim to do everything we can to speed up that defeat.

As part of that struggle, Students for a Democratic Society has called a demonstration in Chicago which will take place from October 8th to October 11th. The demonstration in support of the PAVN will demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and all other occupied areas, immediate release of all black and brown prisoners and all other political prisoners, independence for Puerto Rico, and an end to the
Preparatory to the National Action, the Weathermen called for a National Action Conference which was held in Cleveland, Ohio, during August 29 through September 1, 1969. At the first session of the conference, the first order of business was presentations by recent travels to Cuba regarding the efforts to be made by SDS against the war in Vietnam. Included among the speakers was MONNE BONGHIL from New York City.

LINDA EVANS then told the conference about her trip to North Vietnam including a visit to the city of Hanoi. EVANS stated she had been part of a group that went to Hanoi to bring back captured American war prisoners. At one point in her speech she told of being shown an anti-aircraft gun which was operated by Viet Cong women. She told the SDS conference that she cradled the gun in her arms “wishing that an American plane would come over.” EVANS also talked about the economy of Vietnam and concluded her comments with an emotional talk about being a “communist.”
further reported on the speech of BILL
AYERS, Educational Secretary of SDS and a Weatherman leader,
wherein AYERS outlined the coming effort of the National
Action. "New Left Notes" of September 12, 1969, reported
AYERS' speech under the caption "A Strategy to Win."
Pertinent portions reflecting the Weatherman commitment to
the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam are:

I think that the national action has to be
seen in the context of a strategy that's going
to win, that's going to help the NLF concretely,
that's going to build Weatherman, and that's
going to build a fighting revolutionary youth
movement...

"I think people should push out this slogan
"Bring The War Home." We're not just saying
bring the troops home, bring the US troops home
and deploy them some place some other time, we're
saying bring the war home....

I think people understand how this kind of
action at this time, given the whole thing in
Paris and the situation the Vietnamese are in
now, can concretely aid the Vietnamese. The
other thing that people have to get confident
about is that we can build a revolutionary youth
movement....

Quickly setting up a National Action Staff, the
Weathermen set forth their political line and agenda for
the National Action in the following article:

"New Left Notes," August 23, 1969, under the
heading "BRINGING THE WAR BACK HOME: LESS TALK MORE
NATIONAL ACTION," reflects:

by Kathy Bouldin, Bernardine Dohrn, and
Terry Robbins, SDS National Action Staff

(*In addition to BOUDIN, DOHRN and ROBBINS, during
August-October, 1969, reported that ROBERT ROIN and BOB
TOMASHEVSKY from New York City, RUSSELL NEUFELED from New
England, SAM KAPP from Boston, LARRY WEISS from Detroit,
JOSEPH KELLY from New York, and HOWARD MACHETINGER, all
worked on the National Action Staff from the SDS National
Office.)
The National Action is building fast. All over the country, from Detroit to Houston, from Miami through the cities in Ohio and out to Denver, Colorado, people are digging on the action—and diggin on SDS. For the past two months, the National Officers, the National Action staff, and the National Office staff have been busting to get out propaganda, develop a scenario with other organizations for the action itself, build contacts throughout the country, get people in motion, and develop an overall strategy for building the action in the next couple of months. In this report, we want to fill people in on what’s been going on—and talk about what should be going on—in cities, chapters, and regions in order to build the action and the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

POLITICS AND STRATEGY: BRING THE WAR HOME!

One of the most important reasons for calling the National Action lies with the decision SDS made in Ann Arbor last winter that it was possible and necessary to build an anti-imperialist, working class youth movement in the mother country; a movement that allies with and provides material aid to the people of Vietnam, of the black and brown colonies, and to all oppressed people of the world.

Over the past year, our understanding of the nature of imperialism and the capitalist system has increased tremendously: building the RYM is a programmatic response to that understanding.

And what became clear to people—through the struggles at Columbia and Chicago, at San Francisco State and at Kent State—was that putting forward our politics in an aggressive way was the ONLY way to organize the masses of people in this country. That only by dealing with the issues of white supremacy, the black liberation struggle, Third World struggles, and the fight against imperialism, only by challenging the consciousness of the people could we ever develop a movement capable of helping topple the imperialist state.

Key to all this is the need for militancy, the need for struggle.
Our strategy of building a fighting force is being put forth openly for the national action, as well as for local organizing. Because national demonstrations have their major impact on the political issues and tone which is carried back for ongoing work, we put forward a struggle scenario of the action. Because we know that revolutionaries are created in struggle and not through protest or persuasion, we say clearly that this is an action not to register a complaint or up the percentage points in public opinion polls, but to make a difference, to create the solution.

The National Action is one of the key ways of talking to young people in this country about building a class conscious revolutionary youth movement which has as its primary task the establishment of another front in the international class war—not only to defeat the imperialists in Vietnam but to BRING THE WAR HOME!

Chicago is the site. It is here that thousands of young people faced the blind terror or the military state, where dreams of grandeur and new life turned into the slaughter of innocence. And it was also here that those same people began to fight back—to struggle against the betrayal, the lies, the oppressiveness and the brutality of the state.

We are coming back to turn pig city into the people's city.

THE SCENARIO...

Our tactics in Chicago this year will grow from the struggles we have been engaged in for the past year. We move in tight groups, taking care of each other while taking care of business, acting in an essentially defensive manner within what is actually a political offensive. This October, we must be the best we've ever been. That means that people who are committed to the action, who are organizing around it in local and regional areas, are going to be the ones with the major responsibilities for leadership in the streets of Chicago. Groups of people should form into affinity groups. Spending the summer learning...
karate (not for beating a pig with a gun, but for physical and mental conditioning), learning first aid, and learning how to move in the streets by organizing build-up actions in local areas to turn people on to coming to Chicago.

Finally, the attitude of the Weathermen and their enthusiasm in carrying out their internationalist duty at the time of the National Action is best described in the following in-depth coverage provided by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech in their nationally syndicated series entitled "Cuba: School for U.S. Radicals."

'It is love that feeds the inextinguishable hate against the United States"—a Viet Cong delegate to the 1968 'Cultural Congress of Havana'.

'Vietnam Will Win!'—The Students for a Democratic Society.

The ideological mating between the American radical left and the Vietnamese Communists, with Fidel Castro playing matchmaker, exploded in 'four days of rage' in the streets of Chicago in October, 1969.

Nearly everybody in Chicago knows what happened. A few hundred student radicals who called themselves Weathermen surged through Chicago streets smashing windows, overturning cars, beating up innocent bystanders who got in their way and battling the police.

But if most people know what happened, few knew why it happened or what it was all about.

What it was about was this: The helmeted Weathermen were literally making good in their battle cry, 'Bring the War Home! They were opening a second front in Chicago to help their embattled comrades in Vietnam.

The idea may seem preposterous, considering the odds. But good revolutionaries are
never deterred by odds. If they were, there never would be a revolution. Revolutionaries must first be true believers.

With an engaging candor, the radical SDSers made no secret of their meeting with the Vietnamese in Havana. They advertised it. After returning to the United States on a Cuban sugar freighter via Canada, Bernardine Dohrn, Ted Gold and other SDS leaders held a press conference in New York in August.

After stating that the United States had all but lost the war, SDS announced a 'national action week against the war to take place in Chicago Oct. 8-11.'

'This demonstration in support of the PRC,' said Gold, 'will demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and all other occupied areas, immediate release of all black and brown prisoners and all other prisoners inside this country, the independence of Puerto Rico and the end of the income tax war surcharge.'

At this point the young radicals were in a high state of excitement and full of plans. Dr. Quentin D. Young, a Chicago physician and avowed radical who knew Bernardine and other Weathermen both as doctor and friend, had this to say:

"Bernardine went down there already influenced by Cuba and in a state of romantic anticipation. She was at the top of the thermometer going down. I talked to her, sort of debriefed her, when she came back. There is no doubt that her views were buttressed by what she saw and heard down there."

Other Weathermen were similarly keyed up, said Young, who is proud that two of his children have journeyed to Cuba to cut cane or pick oranges.
There was much to be done in preparation for the October 'action week' in Chicago. Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, Dionne Donghi, Linda Evans and other heroes and heroines of the ultraradical left stumped the country organizing and recruiting support for the impending 'Four Days of Rage.'

'We're not Communist-inspired,' said Rudd in a television interview in Cleveland in August, 1969, 'we're Communists. Almost half the people of the world are Communists. We're throwing in with them.'

'We are revolutionary Communists,' said Ayers. 'We're fighting to destroy imperialism and established a socialist state.'

October 8-11, 1969

As reported by the Statistical Section of the Records and Identification Division of the Chicago Police Department, 287 arrests occurred for various charges of mob action, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, aggravated battery and other offenses during the Weathermen "Days of Rage" mob activity October 8 through 11, 1969. During this period 59 police officers sustained personal injury including abrasions, contusions, cuts and bruises on the arms, legs, groins, body and head; human bites on the arms and hands, loose teeth and injury to eyes and ears.

On December 2 and 19, 1969, a special Grand Jury, Cook County, Illinois, returned indictments against 64 Weathermen as a result of the street disorders, October 8-11, 1969, in Chicago. The charges included aggravated battery, resisting arrest, mob action and aiding an escape.

Undaunted by the sharp criticism of the left regarding their adventurism, the Weathermen considered the National Action to be a success. Their report in "New Left Notes," October 21, 1969, set the tone for their future in the underground. The article revealed:
CHICAGO 69

On Monday, October 6, 1969, a pig statue honoring the murderers of Chicago strikers in the Haymarket Massacre of 1886 was blown to bits. On Tuesday, October 7, the head of the Chicago Pig Sergeants Association said that 'SDS has declared war on the Chicago police—from here on in it's kill or be killed.' On Wednesday, October 8, the war was on. A white fighting force was born in the streets of pig city.

500 of us moved through the richest sections of Chicago, with VC flags in front, smashing luxury apartment windows and storefronts, ripping apart the Loop, and injuring scores of pigs. An undercover pig was critically injured when the brothers and sisters found him rooting and snorting around one of the movement centers. SDS women with clubs battled armed pigs on a march to an induction center. 8 of our people were shot, and over 100 were busted. It was war—we knew it and the pigs knew it.

We came to Chicago to join the other side—to stop talking and start fighting with the VC, the Pathet Lao in Laos, the Tupamaros in Uruguay and the Black Liberation struggle. We came to do material damage to pig Amerika and all that it's about—its school-jails, its pig armies, its fat businessmen, and its greedy empire. We came to do it in the road—in the open—so that white Amerika could dig on the opening of a new front, on the birth of a new brigade in the world liberation army. We came to attack—because we know that the only things to defend in honkie Amerika are the privileges—the cars, the apartments, the hotels, the TVs—that we've gained off the sweat of the people of the world. We came to vamp on those privileges and destroy the m-----f----- from the inside.

There were only 500 of us, but we forced Pig Daley to call in the Guard. We forced him to withdraw some occupation pigs from the black community and deal with us in Evanston.
and in Lincoln Park. We did what we set out to do, and in the process turned a corner. From here on it's one battle after another—with white youth joining in the fight and taking the necessary risks. Pig Amerika—beware: there's an army growing right in your guts, and it's going to help bring you down.

DID THAT PIG SAY KILL...OR BE KILLED?
Additional Contacts Between SDS National Office (Weatherman) and Hanoi During Summer-Fall, 1969

"New Left Notes"
June 25, 1969

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1. (33)(01)HA415
2. 2:3 RS RkA214 HFA045 NR997 75 PD INTL OD HANOI VIA WUI
3. 1000

LT SDS
WEST MADISON CHICAGO ILL

ON JUNE 14 15 AND 20 US ARTILLERY SHELLED FROM SOUTHERN ON MINHLINH AREA STOP JUHE 14 16 AND 19 MANY FLIGHTS DROPPED EXPLOSIVE STEEL PELLET AND INCENDIARY BOMBS GHIEN PROVINCE AND MINHLINH CAUSING LOSSES PROPERTY LIVES STOP APPEAL YOU TAKE IMMEDIATE AS PES PREVENT US WAR AVTS DEMAND US GOVERNMENT STOP ENCROACHMENTS SECURITY OVERSEIGNITY STOP SINCERE THANKS

23 14 15 20 14 16 19 A4 F4 F305.
On June 29, 1969, the following telegram was sent to the SDS National Office, Chicago, from the Special Mission in Hanoi, North Vietnam:

South Vietnam LSU rejoices at SDS big success at Chicago National Convention where resolution on Vietnam war was adopted condemning Nixon's stubborness, war likeness, spurring him to end aggression, war, bring home US youth, recognize South Vietnam peoples self-determination right without US interference. Sincerely thank you. Egelson's warmest greetings on foundation of Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Source indicated that this telegram was sent to Nick Egelson who had previously sent a message of congratulations to the South Vietnamese on founding the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

On September 5, 1969, Bernadine Dohrn sent the following telegram to Nguyen Van Ha, Embassy of the Republic of South Vietnam, Havana, Cuba; Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam; and Ho Chi Minh Vic. Hanoi, North Vietnam:

Do not weep at sorrow. Do not weep at separation. Do not weep at death. Save your tears for victory. We deeply mourn the death of Ho Chi Minh by redoubling our struggle to end US aggression and to defeat imperialism. Long live the victory of the Vietnamese people.

Signed "100 SDS women" and "Bernadine Dohrn"
Venceremos Brigade (VB)

The initiation, planning and organizing of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) trips to Cuba was handled by SDS leadership who were Weathermen. During the period from December, 1968, until the first trip in November, 1969, BERNARDINE DOHRN, then Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS, had numerous contacts with the Cuban United Nations Mission regarding travel to Cuba by SDS activists, including the initiation of the VB cane cutting expeditions. A principal figure in the initiation of these trips was JULIE NICHAMIN, who spent the period of January to April, 1969, in Cuba obtaining her revolutionary experience and being influenced directly by the Cubans and North Vietnamese. Her statements on the international aspects of revolution go to the heart of the future Weather Underground rationale for committing armed struggle within the United States.

After the initial VB trip to Cuba in November-December, 1969, Weatherman had little to do with the future trips. This was simply because they entered the underground and the principal initiators of the VB, DOHRN, NICHAMIN, KAREN ASHLEY, ARLENE BERGMAN and JERRY LONG, were primary leaders in the WUO. Weathermen did attempt to use the early VB trips, however, to gain converts to their revolutionary cause; as reported by various sources, they were unsuccessful.

The influence of the Cuban government and their contacts with SDS leaders via the Cuban United Nations Mission in New York, which resulted in the VB trips, was enormous. The SDS leaders responsible for these trips were all Weatherman.

The following sets forth Weatherman connection with VB trips to Cuba.
Initiation of the Brigades*

(See appendix on House Committee Testimony of Ronald L. Brooks)

"GRANMA," the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, in its issue of December 10, 1969, reported the following interview of JULIE NICHAMIN from Havana on December 9, 1969:

QUESTION: How did you get the idea for the Brigade, and why do you call it Venceremos?

NICHAMIN: A group of Americans came to Cuba for the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution this year, and after hearing Fidel's speech on January 2nd, some of us realized possibly for the first time, the importance of the ten million crop. We feel it is important for the Americans to understand what is going on in Cuba now. We had the idea of forming a brigade to be sent to Cuba to fight beside the Cubans in the battle of the ten million tons. We want people to understand that the battle of the Cuban people, like the battle of the Vietnamese people, is the same battle to which we are committed, a battle against American imperialism. We thought that by coming here we could demonstrate many things. That is why we chose the name 'Venceremos.'

QUESTION: Who made up this brigade?

NICHAMIN: The National Committee of the Brigade was responsible for organizing in the United States. They set up regional committees in 15 cities. These committees were made up of people who wanted to help the Brigade and support the Cuban Revolution.
QUESTION: What benefit have you gained from your experience here in Cuba, working with the Cuban people?

NICHANIN: One of the most important things we have learned and are learning is a revolutionary conscience. All the people are ready to do battle and they understand that whatever we are doing, we could always do more. We must never accept the idea of defeat. I think that it is one of the most important things we learned here.

After a few replies to this question by other members of the panel, NICHANIN stated that "The way for us to attack American imperialism is by fighting on many fronts."

QUESTION: How do you feel here in Cuba?

NICHANIN: Now I can understand better the nature of the battle and how the Cubans can be so sure of the advance of the battle in the United States and the rest of the world. I think it is the most important thing I learned here to believe in our power to change things, believe in the power of the people to conquer and destroy imperialism.

The book "SDS," by KIRKPATRICK SALE, page 517, concerned activity during Spring, 1969, and stated in part as follows:

"But by far the most important international turn was toward Cuba, to which RYM adherents looked for inspiration and where SDS sent an official delegation in honor of the 10th anniversary of the revolution. This visit in turn laid the groundwork for a scheme to send Movement people to Cuba to cut sugar cane for the 1970 harvest, a project which eventually evolved into the Venceremos Brigade...."
"New Left Notes," official SDS publication, on January 29, 1969, under the caption "Cuba: The 10th Anniversary" by CARL OGLESBY, identified OGLESBY, BRUCE GOLDBERG from Colorado, and RUSS NEUFELD from New England as the above official delegation.

The above mentioned book also states:

SDS was instrumental in creating the Venceremos Brigade during these months. SDSers Julie Nichamin and Brian Murphy worked out the original arrangements with the Cuban government; Bernardine Dohrn devoted considerable time during the spring organizing it at the Chicago end; and the initial National Executive Committee of the Brigade included SDSers Karen Ashley of the New York Regional Office, Arlene Eisen Bergman of the Movement, Gerry Long of Chicago Newsreel, Connie Ultman (Long's wife) of the NO staff, and Allen Young of Liberation News Service, in addition to Nichamin. Other SDSers who played a leading role in the Brigade as it developed over the spring and summer were Amy Ansara (Cambridge), John Buttney (Denver), Howie Emmer and Rick Erickson (both from Kent State), John Fuerst (Wisconsin), Phoebe Hirsch (Chicago), Jim Jacobs (REP), Mike Klonsky, Howard Machtinger, and Diana Oughton. Ultimately SDS's own internal problems kept it from playing a major role as an organization in the final working out of the project, but SDSers were numerous among the 216 volunteers who made the first trip to Cuba in November of 1969.
Not only could the Cuban government take considerable pride in knowing that their brand of action-oriented revolution was being espoused by a segment of the revolutionary movement but also the Cuban government had some very practical considerations in mind in cultivating such groups as the VB and allowing them to travel to Cuba.

The DG\'s interest in the VB is an extension of its overall policy relating to the collection of intelligence on the U.S., its primary target. The DG considers recruitment of VB members, selected after detailed assessment, as one of the primary means through which intelligence can be collected on the U.S.

The DG believes that it is to their advantage to establish and maintain contact with organizations, groups and individuals who are sympathetic to the Cuban revolution and who are disenchanted with present conditions in the U.S., and it sees the VB as such a group.

The ultimate objective in the DG\'s participation with the VB is the recruitment of individuals who are politically oriented and who, someday, may obtain a position, elective or appointive, somewhere in the U.S. Government, which would provide the Cuban government with access to political, economic and military intelligence. In addition, the DG attempts to select individuals who can legitimately apply for membership to various political or student-type organizations to report on the activities, personalities and political orientation of each group. The DG also seeks individuals among the VB who can fulfill an operational support role; that is, who mightly or unwittingly would serve as an accommodation address or serve in some other intelligence support capacity.
members are questioned in detail regarding their immediate families, relatives and friends.

The DGI has provided various forms of special training to a few persons from each VB contingent. The fact that the DGI has provided training to an individual, including training in clandestine intelligence tradecraft, does not necessarily mean that he is a recruited agent. The Cubans view training as a service to revolutionaries rather than as part of a formal recruitment process. A very limited number of VB members have been trained in guerrilla warfare techniques, including use of arms and explosives. This type training is given only to individuals who specifically request it and only then to persons whom the Cubans feel sure are not penetration agents of American intelligence.
SDS Resolution and Trip Coordinators

The June 18, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes," SDS official publication, contained a resolution which had been submitted to the SDS National Convention by KAREN ASHLEY, GERRY LONG and JULIE NICHIAHIN. This article captioned "A Proposal on The Cuban Revolution" stated in part as follows:

II. Position on the Cuban Revolution

As participants in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement, we fully support the Cuban revolution on the basis of the following:

1. The Cuban socialist revolution has brought about a re-distribution of wealth and created an economic policy aimed at creating the economic basis (abundance) for a communist society.

2. Cuba is among the vanguard of an effort to revitalize socialism and create a new socialist man, having clearly learned a great deal from the shortcomings of socialism as practiced in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The gradual elimination of money, the use of moral incentives, mass participation in the military and political processes, the building of mass consciousness, authentic measures to destroy class differences and to prevent the emergence of a new bureaucratic class -- all are part of Cuba's experiment in the creation of a new socialism.

3. Cuba has developed a new concept of internationalism expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana: 'the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution.' Che's call for 'two, three, many Viet-nams' is a strategy for the defeat of imperialism, and the guiding concept for a new international centered in the Third World and linked to the black liberation struggle as well as struggles in all advanced capitalist countries.

4. Since Cuba is the first liberated territory in the Americas, it is under constant attack by the US government. As North Americans
dedicated to the destruction of imperialism, it is our obligation to oppose our government's policies in the most effective and concrete way possible.

III. Support of a North American Brigade to Cut Cane in the 1970 Sugar Harvest

A brigade of 300 Americans (called the Venceremos Brigade) is being organized to go down to Cuba and cut cane for the 1970 sugar harvest. The brigade will be divided into two sections; one will leave in late November, the other in late January, and each group will stay in Cuba for a two-month period. Members of the brigade will be recruited from activists in the revolutionary movement in this country: blacks, Latinos, white working class youth, students and dropout GI's.

Political Purpose of the Brigade

1. To politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the critical sugar harvest of 1970 with its goal of 10 million tons.

2. To educate people about imperialism and about the international revolution against imperialism. This will be accomplished through a well-developed education and propaganda program. The program will aim at developing an understanding of US imperialism, not only in its most blatant militaristic aspects (as in Vietnam), but also its role in distorting and impeding economic development throughout the Third World.

3. To gain a practical understanding of the creative application of communist principles on a day-to-day basis. The New Left in the advanced capitalist countries has in the last decade clearly defined itself within the tradition of socialist and communist struggle begun a century ago. The American mass media and educational system have made the word communism into anathema; this experience will help us to develop ways of combatting anti-communism.
JEFF JONES, newly-elected Inter-Organizational Secretary, SDS, had furnished Radio Havana, Havana, Cuba, with an interview on the recommendation of the SDS National Convention on June 27, 1969.

Radio Havana on June 28, 1969, aired an interview with JEFF JONES, Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS.

A source monitored a Radio Havana English broadcast on the evening of November 7, 1969. The source advised this broadcast contained the following information:

The broadcast requested the participation of American citizens in the VB. Radio Havana described the brigade as being made up of Americans coming to Cuba for the purpose of assisting the Cuban people in the harvesting of ten million tons of sugar cane. The broadcast stated that the first contingent of the American VB is due in Havana by mid-November and that a second contingent is scheduled to arrive in Cuba in February, 1970.

The broadcast advised that Americans participating in the "cane-cutting brigade" will be interviewed by representatives of the Cuban people to assess the opinion of the participating Americans towards the Cuban revolution, as well as their sense of accomplishment in assisting the Cuban people during this harvest time. The schedule for the VB is as follows:

Each contingent of the Brigade will be in Cuba approximately six weeks, and working in the fields cutting cane Monday through Friday, 6 AM to 10 AM. Two of the six weeks will be spent for travel throughout Cuba for the purpose of educating the American visitors as to the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution. The broadcast advised that Americans will be furnished clothes and equipment, that each Sunday will be considered a day of rest, and that movies will be shown on Tuesdays and Saturdays.
The broadcast stated that the following individuals should be contacted in the United States for the purpose of making arrangements to travel to Cuba with the VB:

Miss JULIE NICHAMIN
In care of the VB, Box 643
Cathedral Station
New York, New York

Miss DIANA OUGHTON
320 Harper Street
Detroit, Michigan

JOHN BUTNEY (phonetic)
1607 Ray Street
Denver, Colorado

BRUCE GOLDBERG
656 Fleshet (phonetic) Street
Denver, Colorado

BRIAN MURPHY
609 Oakland Avenue
Austin, Texas

BILL THOMAS
2116 Southeast Woodard Street
Portland, Oregon

BILL DREW
1332 West Washington Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

PHOEBE HIRSCH
3101 North Sheffield Street
Chicago, Illinois

JERRY LONG
4943 Winthrop Street
Chicago, Illinois
Venceremos Brigade -
First and Second Trips

As revealed herein, Weatherman activists through travel to Cuba and contacts with the CMUN initiated, planned and organized the initial VB trip which left in three segments from Mexico City, Mexico, on November 28, December 1 and 5, 1969. The first trip returned via the Cuban vessel Luis Arcos Bergnes on February 12, 1970, disembarking in St. John, New Brunswick.

The second trip left St. John, New Brunswick, on February 13, 1970, on the Luis Arcos Bergnes and returned on April 28, 1970.

After the second trip, there are no known Weathermen reported in any position of responsibility for the organization of subsequent VB trips. The salient fact is that in early February, 1970, the Weatherman closed the SDS National Office and began their underground status which has continued through 1976. Important to the second VB trip is that the responsible Weathermen in charge of the SDS National Office, after closing the doors to SDS, departed for Cuba on this trip.

The following data relates to the first and second VB trips and the identities of Weatherman activists who traveled on one of these trips:

First VB Trip

JULIE ANNE NICHAMIN  
PIERRE JOSEPH BARTHEL, New York City  
MARIANNE CAMP  
NEAL BIRNBAUM, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
SONIA HELEN DETTMAN, Boston  
LAURA ANN OBERT, Colorado  
SHEILA MARIA RYAN, New York  
NICHOLAS BRITT RIDDLE  
JEFFREY DAVID SOKOLOW, New York City  
MALLORIE N. TOLLES, Ohio  
ROBERT GREGG WILFONG, JR.  
DONNA JEAN WILLMOIT, Ohio
Weatherman Travelers on Second VB Trip,
February 12, 1970

EDITH CRICITON, Baltimore/Michigan/Boston
DAVID IRA CAMP, SDS No/Baltimore
JOHN DE WIND, New York City/Ohio
NANCY FRAPPILR, Michigan/San Francisco
JOYCE GREENWAYS, Ohio
ANN HATHAWAY, Ohio/Detroit
MARGUERITTA HOPE, SDS No/Seattle
LENORE RUTH KALON, Detroit/San Francisco
ROBERT HAINAN, New York City
JONATHAN LERNER, SDS No/Washington, D.C.
JEFFREY NELISH, SDS No/New York City
JED PROUJANSKY, SDS No/New York City
DANIEL ROSS SLICK, New York City
MARGUERITE "HIMI" SMITH, Ohio/Normal, Illinois
CARLIE TANNER, SDS No/Michigan State University
VICKI GABRINER New York City

The "Chicago Tribune" issue of April 26, 1970,
contained an article by RANDALL RICHARD captioned "Yank
Cuba Helpers Would Fight U.S.," which stated in part as
follows:

A clean shaven young New Yorker didn't
hesitate when asked if he would fight for
Cubans against his countrymen—"Sure I'd pick
up a gun and fight with the Cubans if they'd
let me. We're all here to fight for the
Cuban revolution."

The majority of the young people
obviously respected, admired and in many
cases tried to emulate the Cubans and their
communist government.

In return they were treated as heroes
by their Cuban hosts, who often seemed to
take the "revolutionary movement" in the
United States more seriously than those in it.
The "Chicago Tribune" of April 27, 1970, carried an article captioned "Havana Crowd Greets Shipload of U.S. Radicals," which reported the second part of a series by RANDALL RICHARD, reporter for the Providence (Rhode Island) "Journal Bulletin" and who had traveled with the first VB contingent to Cuba. In part the article reports:

Nearly all factions in the radical movement were represented on the ship except those in the Progressive Labor Party who were specifically excluded. This faction has been critical of the Cuban government and had charged it with being racist and chauvinistic. Among those aboard were the Weatherman, Mad Dogs, Women's Liberation and Revolutionary Youth Movement.

There were some who viewed the Venceremos Brigade as an attempt by the national committee and even the Cubans to somehow reunite the warring factions of the radical movement.

However, the constant debates showed that some of the splits were deep and would be difficult to heal. There were the Weatherman, the only tightly-knit political group aboard the ship. While there were less than 30 of them--men and women--their politics were a constant source of controversy even among those who had been committed to the movement for years.

...The basic "line," pushed by one articulate and clean-shaven Weatherman, was that there must be a race war in the states to rid the world of imperialism and capitalism. He said there must be a black revolution, with black against white, in armed struggle.

The "Chicago Tribune," April 29, 1970, contained an article by RANDALL RICHARD captioned "Radicals Avoid Talk of U.S. "Revolution,"" which states in part as follows:

There was constant friction between the Weatherman and most other white radicals over revolutionary philosophy and tactics. And...
while the blacks and Third World groups—comprising about 35 per cent of the contingent—often met in caucuses, the whites were not so organized.

This edition of the "Chicago Tribune" also contained an article which reflects that U.S. Customs agents seized half a ton of "revolutionary material" on April 28, 1970, from more than 500 Americans who arrived in St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, after spending two months cutting sugar cane in Cuba for CASTRO.

It was learned that while in Cuba the Weathermen had attempted to recruit among the VB and that after the return of the first brigade to Canada MARK RUDD had reportedly met the ship to indoctrinate the new recruits.

It was learned that a VB member had stated that Weathermen had been actively engaged in attempts to recruit members of the brigade to Weatherman and had talked to 50 of the 200 who had made the first trip to Cuba. It was learned that Weathermen had urged VB people to join Weatherman communes upon their return to the United States and had made no secret of Weatherman policy of engaging in assassinations and reprisal bombings.
Contacts with the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN),
New York City, New York

Under the caption "Cuba UN Mission Fuels Radicals," Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech in their nationally syndicated series exposing the influence of the Cuban revolution on American youth, which appeared in October 1970, in the "Chicago Daily News," reported:

One of the most carefully watched buildings in the United States is an elegant five-story graystone mansion at 6 E. 67th St., just off Fifth Av. in New York City.

At the turn of the century it was the home of American millionaires. Today, it houses the Cuban mission to the United Nations, the major Cuban source of influence, ideology and funds for American radicals. . . . .

On a clandestine level, activity is just as bustling. Secret meetings are held, and funds, advice and influence are dispensed under the huge picture of Che Guevara that hangs amid the antique Chinese vases upstairs in the mansion.

. . . At the convention of Students for a Democratic Society in Austin, Tex., in March, 1969, several phone calls a day were made to the mission.

In August, 1969, mission intelligence personnel (everyone except the regular representative to the United Nations is a member of Cuban intelligence) counseled Mark Rudd and Jeff Jones of SDS concerning slogans to be used by SDS in demonstrations planned for that fall.

Much more than slogans and Cuban propaganda films (which are widely used for fund-raising by radical groups on campuses are dispensed by the Cuban mission.

Funds also are dispensed, and possibly explosives. Two mission diplomats -- Alberto Hidalgo Gato and Lazaro Eddy Espinosa Bonet -- were declared persona non grata last year.
because of what is described by intelligence agents as 'problems over contacts with the radicals and with explosives.' There was highly placed speculation at the time that the case involved an alleged plot against President Nixon....

Radical leaders admit privately they see the Cuban mission officials 'very often.' One, after saying so, added, 'But please don't print that. They're not supposed to do that, you know.'

What becomes clear from the consistent evidence of such contacts is that the love affair between Communist Cuba and the American radicals now has gone beyond curiosity and empathy.

It has now reached the state of hard-core indoctrination and even collaboration.

Viet Nam issue brought youths

At this time, too, Castro was becoming more and more emotionally involved with the war in Vietnam. By 1965 and 1966, Havana was filled with posters honoring the 'heroic Vietnamese people.' The Cubans believed that they were 'in the waiting room,' that if America won the Vietnam War, it 'might just turn around and invade us.'

Havana soon was filled with Vietnamese delegations, Vietnamese 'heroines,' Vietnamese orphans. Cuba opened an embassy to the Viet Cong, and Havana newspapers proudly showed pictures of it—a thatched roof hut somewhere behind the battle lines in South Vietnam.

This, too, helped the Cubans with the burgeoning American radical movement, for the war in Vietnam had become their most emotional, overweening issue. Soon U.S. radicals were meeting with North Vietnamese in Havana, and even getting pointed suggestions on antiwar activities in the United States....
By 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society had split up into radical, violent groups like the Weathermen....

The trips were well organized, and every radical leader came, usually several times. Most came before they were leaders, which gives added credibility to the idea that Cuba was a major, if not THE, radicalizing factor.

'SDS was the group we concentrated on in those days,' says a Cuban who was in the government then. 'Oh, we didn't start it. But we radicalized it, we gave it form. Every leader came and left with new ideas.'....
BERNARDINE DOHRN had been in contact with MICHAEL KLONSKY of SDS on June 4, 1969, to inform KLONSKY that she was in New York, she had been in contact with the Cubans and was scheduled to meet with them on the following day.
On October 1, 1969, BERNARDINE DOHRY, of the SDS National Office advised TED GOLD she planned on being in New York City on October 2-4, 1969, and intended to have a meeting with JOSE VIERA, CMUN Counsellor.

CG T-18 advised that JOSE RAUL VIERA LINARES, also known as JOSE VIERA, was First Secretary to the CMUN and has been identified as an officer of the Cuban Intelligence Service.
Influence of China

Weatherman from its inception and continuing through to the present time has ideologically identified its major strategical thesis in line with the Chinese. In their initial ideological statement, "You Don't Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" their understanding of the primary contradiction facing the world was stated in this fashion:

The overriding consideration in answering the questions is that the main struggle going on the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it.

The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world. It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world. It is in this context that we must examine the revolutionary struggles in the United States.

And in "Prairie Fire", issued in May, 1974, the WUO again identified its primary strategy on the side of Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-Tung Thought in the following way:

The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. MAO Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to MAO and Ho Chi-minh -- that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism -- is the guiding strategic principle of this era.
Source advised that the newly elected leaders of SDS, MARILY RODD, JEFF JONES and BILL AYERS had sent the following letter to ANNA LOUISE STRONG immediately after the SDS National Convention held in June, 1969:

Dear Comrade: Our Ninth Convention of SDS was highly honored to hear greetings from our best-loved revolutionary writer and champion of People's China, and the thought of Mao Tse Tung. With help and inspiration of our black and brown brothers and sisters, we have succeeded at this convention in overthrowing the counter-revolutionary PLP forces, who had attempted to seize power. Long live our comrade Anna Louise Strong. Long live People's China. Long live to Comrade Mao
Too Tung. Victory to the peoples of the U.S. Victory to the peoples of the entire world." Signed MARK RUDD, National Secretary, JEFF JONES, Inter-organization Secretary, and BILL AYERS, Educational Secretary.
Other International Contacts

"New Left Notes," December 4, 1967, page one sets forth an article entitled "The International Days of Resistance or 10 Days to Shake the Empire" by CARL DAVIDSON and GREG CALVERT. In part it reflects:

...In light of these problems and with a view to the necessity of meeting those new demands placed on SDS, we propose that the National Council adopt the following programs for the spring of 1968....

The international aspects of the program should be developed 1) through coordinated speaking tours by those who will have traveled to North Vietnam and Cuba, and 2) through encouraging anti-imperialist youth groups abroad (e.g. German SDS, French UNEF, Japanese Zengakuren, etc.) to plan direct action in their own countries to coincide with ours.

The National Office will assume responsibility for the coordination of the program and the development of an effective propaganda campaign stressing the anti-imperialist perspective of the program and the necessity for building a radical grass-roots resistance in America....
Second International Anti-Imperialist Conference-Japan; September, 1969

Source advised that the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (GENSUIKYO) International Conference would be held in Tokyo, Japan, July 29-August 2, 1969; Hiroshima, Japan, August 4-6, 1969; and Nagasaki, Japan, August 9, 1969. The agency would include five major points:

1. Opposition to the United States in Vietnam and Korea and support for the Vietnamese people.

2. Prevention of nuclear war through an agreement banning the use of nuclear weapons.

3. Abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the immediate, unconditional return of Okinawa to Japan, the prohibition of the introduction of nuclear weapons to Japan and the opposition to nuclear arming and militarization of Japan.

4. Strengthening of the movement for the relief of atom bomb victims.

5. The strengthening of international solidarity and mutual support.

During August to October, 1969, reported that MIKE JUSTESON, SDS leader from Seattle, Washington, had been sent to Japan by the SDS National Office (Weatherman) leadership, to attend the Second International Anti-Imperialist Conference. JUSTESON on one occasion explained to MARK RUDD, SDS National Secretary, that representatives at the International Conference are split; one group known as the "Red Army" has provoked a split; their intention is to organize an army. JUSTESON maintained that the Weathermen should use a slogan embracing the liberation of Okinawa as part of their forthcoming National Action.
League of Socialist German Students (West German SDS)

The April, 1969, issue of "Movement" reflects on page 16 an interview with KARL DIETRICH WOLFF, who was described by the newspaper as the former president of West German SDS (WGSDS).

The newspaper stated that WOLFF was in the United States on a fraternal visit and had been touring SDS chapters, raising funds and building bridges of cooperation between the sister revolutionary movements of the two most reactionary advanced imperialist states.

WOLFF was asked a series of questions by the newspaper, which in answering he made the following comments:

WOLFF stated that since 1959 the WGSDS have understood themselves as the possible nucleus of a revolutionary movement.

In terms of the international situation, WOLFF stated that the WGSDS has an anti-imperialist stand against the United States Government. The WGSDS is fighting the kind of influence that the American Government has in Europe and the complicity of our own government in support of American aggression in Vietnam.

WOLFF stated our strategy in dealing with the struggle against imperialism is a resistance strategy. We are interested in stimulating conflict in the university and other institutions so people can achieve a radical consciousness.
The July 29, 1968, issue of "New Left Notes" reflects an article which states: "American SDS has been invited by German SDS to send a delegation to a working conference on 'Anti-Imperialism, Anti-Capitalism, the Student Movement--Programs and Strategies.' The conference will take place in Yugoslavia August 25 through 28, and we have been asked to prepare a paper for presentation on the above theme."
Source advised that GISELLA MANDEL addressed a group of approximately 75 people at the University of Pennsylvania on October 24, 1968. She discussed the student revolution in France, urged more dissent on the part of students, told of police tactics against students in Germany, and urged all present to participate in protests of all types against the police, "The Establishment," and university administrations.

Source furnished a flyer which was distributed on the Ohio State University campus advertising that the Ohio State University SDS chapter had reserved a room on the campus for a speech to be delivered by GISELLA MANDEL on October 22, 1968.

Source advised that MANDEL spoke at the October 22, 1968, meeting which was attended by 125-150 individuals, mostly students. She encouraged students' participation in revolutions and protests. She appeared to be anti-police in her attitude, and was generally critical of the U.S. policy.

Source advised that BERNARDINE DOHRN, National Secretary of the SDS, has arranged the Michigan tour for
Source advised that WOLFF stayed the night of March 8-9, 1969, with DENA CLAMANGE at 1172 West Hancock, Detroit, Michigan.

DENA CLAMANGE is a recognized leader of the SDS at Wayne State University (WSU). Detroit, who in February, 1968, visited Cuba. Since her return to the United States, she has written several articles of a pro-Cuban nature.

The source advised that WOLFF appeared before an audience of about 30 persons at WSU, Detroit, Michigan, on March 10, 1969.

On March 11, 1969, the George Washington University SDS held a meeting at Monroe Hall, which was attended by approximately 125 people. The SDS chapter had a guest speaker, KARL DIETRICH WOLFF, a WGSDS leader. Shortly after WOLFF's speech he was issued a subpoena by U.S. Marshals to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 13, 1969.
On March 14, 1969, WOLFF appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. WOLFF engaged in verbal evasion of most of the questions put to him, haranguing at great length on many topics. The hearing ended when WOLFF walked out refusing Senator STROM THURMOND's request to stop his haranguing and start answering questions.

The February 12, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes" reflects an article which states that "SDS will sponsor a speaking trip by Karl Dietrich Wolff, head of the German SDS. Chapters should contact the National Office. This will be late February and early March."
SECTION III
WUO UNDERGROUND COMMUNIQUES AND BOMBINGS
1970-1975

Having entered underground status in February, 1970 and until the issuance of "Prairie Fire" in July, 1974, the political commitment of the WUO was revealed through the issuance of their underground "communiques." These communiques, usually accompanying a bombing and stating the political reason for the bombing, reveal the continuing identification of the WUO as international revolutionaries. As shown in Section I and Section II, their contacts with representatives of the DRV and PRG obliged them to act directly in behalf of the Vietnamese in this country and, the influence of the Cubans on their ideology and their organizational structure was enormous. In addition, the WUO utilized the conceptions of armed struggle against the state as detailed in the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla," by CARLOS MARIGHELLA. MARIGHELLA who was killed in Sao Paulo, Brazil in November, 1969, gave his life in behalf of guerrilla warfare. According to LARRY GRATHWOL in his recently issued book, "Bringing Down America," the WUO used MARIGHELLA's Minimanual and DEEBA's "Revolution In The Revolution?" as their models for guerrilla action. The WUO was not simply engaged in ideological rhetoric but had made the hard commitment to engage in armed struggle, the ultimate purpose of which was to destroy the state.

Contained in Section III is the following:

A. Chronology of WUO Communiques
A listing of underground communiques indicating their political purposes from May, 1970, to September, 1975

B. Specific Communiques Showing Continuing Foreign Influence
This material contains four examples of the WUO communique including a statement on the TIMOTHY LEARY escape and travel to Algeria

C. WUO Bombings and Attempted Bombings
This material details approximately forty WUO bombings

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<th>Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title or Intent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td>5/21/70</td>
<td>&quot;A Declaration of a State of War&quot;</td>
<td>BERNARDINE DOHRN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>6/5/70</td>
<td>Attempted bombing at Hall of Justice</td>
<td>Weatherman</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>6/9/70</td>
<td>Bombing New York City Police Department Headquarters</td>
<td>Weatherman</td>
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<tr>
<td>#3</td>
<td>7/26/70</td>
<td>Celebration of 11th anniversary of Cuban revolution and threat to Attorney General MITCHELL</td>
<td>Central Committee Weatherman Underground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#4</td>
<td>9/1/70</td>
<td>Assisting TIMOTHY LEARY to escape to Algeria</td>
<td>BERNARDINE DOHRN</td>
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<tr>
<td>#5</td>
<td>10/6/70</td>
<td>Press conference announcing a fall offensive-numerous bombings in country</td>
<td>BERNARDINE DOHRN JEFF JONES BILL AYERS</td>
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<td>#6</td>
<td>10/8/70</td>
<td>Message to Brother DAN BERRIGAN expressing support</td>
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<td>(7)</td>
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<td>&quot;New Morning-Changing Weather&quot;</td>
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<td>#8</td>
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<td>(9)</td>
<td>Mayday, 1971</td>
<td>Letter to Mrs. BACON re: support for LESLIE BACON</td>
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<td>(10)</td>
<td>8/28/71</td>
<td>Response to killing of GEORGE JACKSON (3 bombings involved)</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number</td>
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<td>#11</td>
<td>9/17/71</td>
<td>Response to Attica riots-bombing of Twin Tower Building</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td>#12</td>
<td>5/19/72</td>
<td>Response to air war in North Vietnam-bombing of Pentagon</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td>#13</td>
<td>2/23/73</td>
<td>Common Victories communique issued after Vietnam war ceasefire</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5/18/73</td>
<td>Protest killing of 10 year old black by New York Police Dept.</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td>Police Department officer-attack on 103rd Precinct</td>
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<td>Collective letter to the Women's Movement</td>
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<td>Bombing of I.T.T. Headquarters for Latin America following coup in Chile</td>
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<td>Letter from HOWARD MACHTINGER</td>
<td>HOWIE MACHTINGER</td>
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<td>2/20/74</td>
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<td>Communiqué on the Symbionese Liberation Army</td>
<td>BERNARDINE DOHRN</td>
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<td>3/6/74</td>
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<td>Bombing of H.E.W. San Francisco to celebrate International Women's Day</td>
<td>Women's Brigade Weather Underground</td>
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<td>3/14/74</td>
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<td>Stinkbomb dinner at Hilton Hotel honoring Governor ROCKEFELLER to protest drug program</td>
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<td>Number</td>
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<td>4/74</td>
<td>Analysis of Vietnam and the Movement</td>
<td>(This communique becomes a part of &quot;Prairie Fire&quot; issued in July, 1974—see Section I—Ideology)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5/31/74</td>
<td>Bombing of California District Attorney EVELLE YOUNGER in retaliation for deaths of SLA members</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6/13/74</td>
<td>Bombing of headquarters of Gulf Oil, Pittsburgh, for Gulf's involvement in Angola</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8/10/74</td>
<td>Bombing of Anaconda American Brass Company, Oakland, California in protest of Anaconda's activities in Chile</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td></td>
<td>10/17/74</td>
<td>Attempted disruption of Boston School Committee meeting in protest of busing stand</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1/28/75</td>
<td>Bombing of U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., in protest of Vietnam fighting</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1/28/75</td>
<td>Attempted bombing of the Weather Underground Agency for International Development, Oakland, California to protest renewed fighting in Vietnam</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6/16/75</td>
<td>Bombing of the Banco de Ponce, New York City, showing solidarity with Puerto Rican workers</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9/5/76</td>
<td>Bombing of Kennecott Copper Company, Salt Lake City, Utah, protesting overthrow of President ALLENDE of Chile</td>
<td>Weather Underground</td>
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B. Specific Communiques Showing Continuing Foreign Influence

Although all of the underground communiques issued by the WUO contain a political rationalization for their "actions", and although most of these communiques reveal what they deem to be their international obligations as revolutionaries, the following communiques have been selected as representative of their commitment to armed struggle. In particular the report which accompanies the WUO statement on their assistance to TIMOTHY LEARY in his escape from prison and his eventual travel to Algeria quite clearly shows their international connections. The communiques contained herein are:

May 21, 1970: A Declaration of a State of War signed by BERNARDINE Dohrn (xeroxed copy of original)

September 15, 1970: Communiqué #4 issued on the escape of TIMOTHY LEARY signed by BERNARDINE Dohrn and a report from

February 28, 1971: Communiqué #8 issued with the bombing of the United States Capitol (xeroxed copy of original)

May 19, 1972: Communiqué #12 issued with the bombing of the Pentagon (xeroxed copy of original)
Hello, this is Jermaine Johnson.

I'm going to read a DECLARATION OF A STATE OF WAR.

This is the first communication from the Weatherman underground.

All over the world, people fighting Amerikan imperialism look to Amerika's youth to use our strategic position behind enemy lines to join forces in the destruction of the empire.

Black people have been fighting almost alone for years. We've known that our job is to lead white kids into armed revolution. We never intended to spend the next five or twenty-five years of our lives in jail. Ever since SDS became revolutionary, we've been trying to show how it is possible to overcome the frustration and impotence that comes from trying to reform this system. Kids know the lines are drawn; revolution is touching all of our lives. Tens of thousands have learned that protest and marches don't do it. Revolutionary violence is the only way.

Now we are adapting the classic guerilla strategy of the Vietcong and the urban guerilla strategy of the Tupamaros to our own situation here in the most technically advanced country in the world.

She taught us that "revolutionaries move like fish in the sea." The alienation and contempt that young people have for this country has created the ocean for this revolution.
The hundreds and thousands of young people who demonstrated in the sixties against the war and for civil rights grew to hundreds of thousands in the past few weeks actively fighting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the attempted genocide against black people. The insanity of American "justice" has added to its list of atrocities six blacks killed in Augusta, two in Jackson and four white Kent State students making thousands more into revolutionists.

The parents of "privileged" kids have been saying for years that the revolution was a game for us. But the war and the racism of this society show that it is too f*cked up. We will never live peacefully under this system.

This was totally true of those who died in the New York townhouse explosion. The third person who was killed there was Terry Robbins, who led the first rebellion at Kent State less than two years ago.

The 12 Weatherman who were indicted for leading last October's riots in Chicago have never left the country. Terry is dead. Linda was captured by a pin-informer, but the rest of us move freely in and out of every city and youth scene in this country. We're not hiding out but we're invisible.

There are several hundred members of the Weatherman underground and some of us face more years in jail than the 50,000 deserters and draft dodgers now in Canada. Already many of them are coming back to join us in the underground or to return to the Men's army and tear it up from inside along with those who never left.

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TOP-SECRET
We fight in many ways. Dope is one of our weapons. The laws against marijuana mean that millions of us are outlaws long before we actually split. Guns and grass are united in the youth underground.

Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks.

If you want to find us, this is where we are. In every tribe, commune, dormitory, farmhouse, barracks and townhouse where kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns -- fugitives from Amerikan justice are free to go.

For Diane Coughton, Ted Gold and Terry Robbins, and for all the revolutionaries who are still on the move here, there has been no question for a long time now --- we will never go back.

Within the next fourteen days we will attack a symbol or institution of Amerikan injustice. This is the way we celebrate the example of Eldridge Cleaver and H. Rap Brown and all black revolutionaries who first inspired us by their fight behind enemy lines for the liberation of their people.

Never again will they fight alone.

May 21, 1970
September 15, 1970.
This is the fourth communication from the Weatherman Underground.

The Weatherman Underground has had the honor and pleasure of helping Dr. Timothy Leary escape from the PCC camp at San Luis Obispo, California.

Dr. Leary was being held against his will and against the will of millions of kids in this country. He was a political prisoner, captured for the work he did in helping all of us begin the task of creating a new culture on the barren wasteland that has been imposed on this country by Democrats, Republicans, Capitalists and creeps.

LSD and grass, like the herbs and cactus and mushrooms of the American Indians and countless civilizations that have existed on this planet, will help us make a future world where it will be possible to live in peace.

Now we are at war.

With the NLF and the North Vietnamese, with the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Al Fatah, with Rap Brown and Angela Davis, with all black and brown revolutionaries, the Jodead brothers and all prisoners of war in American concentration camps we know that peace is only possible with the destruction of U.S. imperialism.

Our organization commits itself to the task of freeing these prisoners of war.

We are outlaws, we are free.

[Signature]

A facsimile of the DOHRN signature as it appeared on the fourth communication.

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Report on TIMOTHY LEARY's Escape and
Travel to Algeria

On September 12, 1970, the WUO executed the escape
from the minimum security facility, California Men's
Colony West (CMCW), San Luis Obispo, California, of Dr.
TIMOTHY FRANCIS LEARY, JR. LEARY, a PhD graduate and
lecturer at Harvard University, had developed a sizable
following among young adults because of his research into the
effects of consciousness-altering drugs, particularly LSD.
Incarcerated at that time following conviction on violation
of California marijuana laws, he faced an additional ten year
Federal sentence after completion of that state sentence.
New York officials in their jurisdiction had pending additional
drug charges against him.
The Nixon regime is now attempting its brutal conquest of yet another nation in Indochina. Lies about the war "dying down" cannot hide the criminal invasion of Laos. Nixon's speech Khmer last week cannot cover up the most vicious massacres in war in history. Weekly US B-52s are dropping the equivalent of Hiroshima every two days on Lao villages, forests and fields. Air attacks on South Vietnam, North Vietnam and Cambodia are heavy and in routine. Nixon can't explain away fifteen hundred US marines ready on the North Vietnam cease border while Ly, Diciu and Kissinger prepare the American public for the next invasion. Nixon cannot disguise his plan - the genocide against all Indochinese people who dare to fight against American imperialism.

We have attacked the Capital because it is, along with the White House and the Pentagon, the worldwide symbol of the government
to US domination of the planet. The influence of Laos will not have peace in this country. Young people here will do everything we can to harass, disrupt and destroy this murderous government. The thousands of people who have begun to protest and fight this new escalation are saying to the world that we will retaliate against Amerika's crimes. Our actions, our protests and the spirit of our resistance will be welcomed and supported by people all over the world.

It is urgent that all of us expose Nixon's lies. Pham Van Dong said "Nixon talks peace to make war, that is as clear as daylight." The US claims to be responding to the presence of North Vietnamese in Laos, to be attacking the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail. But it is really launching a direct attack on the people of Laos. Their fight for national liberation has along history. The Pathet Lao and nationalist forces have been fighting invaders since 1950, winning military victories, transforming lives. Since May 1964 (two months before the Gulf of Tonkin incident), Amerikan B-52s flown from Thailand have been devastating the Laotian countryside. Sixty percent of the Laotian people have been made homeless, driven into population clusters or restoration zones with little possibility of survival. This, of course, is what the US has done in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

But in the past few weeks, the Pathet Lao has won great victories over the US-controlled, CIA-trained mercenaries. After cutting off two bases, they are now threatening the main body of the attacking army. Nixon needs to send in Amerikan troops to repair the debacle. Already the media and military spokesmen are calling it the greatest defeat since Tet - raising before Nixon and his collaborators the spectre of Dien Bien Phu.

Faced with defeats on the ground, Amerika has turned to an air war without limits. "Vietnamization" only means the replacement of Amerikan ground troops with even greater air power. With Black GIs leading open rebellions in the army, Nixon can't rely on draftees. As GIs leave Vietnam soon, they are replaced by more Amerikan B-52s, flown by more Amerikan death-pilots, dropping bombs made in Amerikan factories. US bombers are now raining death on all of Indochina.
into a barren wasteland, uninhabitable for generations. Whole rice crops have been wiped out. And the defoliants revealed to scientists that the defoliants cause severe genetic damage to human beings. A pregnant woman who drinks water which contains defoliants is more likely to have a malformed child than a woman exposed to atomic radiation in Hiroshima. The whole population of five northeastern provinces of South Vietnam is being forcibly relocated to create a 60-mile wide free-fire zone for American bombers. There is open speculation in Washington about using tactical nuclear weapons in this area. This is not just a war against the people who are fighting now — it is a war against the future.

But Nixon speaks of peace. Air war isn't really war at all. Bombers pounding the Laotian villages doesn't mean an invasion. GIs in South Vietnamese uniforms aren't really Americans. Words like "protective reaction," "protective encirclement," and "phased withdrawal" clean it up for the TV and voting audience.

The men who are running this war are a new vicious breed of murderer. Kissinger smilingly referred to Nixon's address as his "End of the World" speech, while Amerika moves closer to war with China. Laird cries for the POWs while Vietnamese are tortured in Saigon's tiger cages and by US special forces. Rogers pledges a "war without limits" in Indochina. Arrogant imperialists, at ease with the pastime of genocide. Selling their atrocities with press releases, "new images" Madison Avenue doublethink. But as Custer discovered at the Little Big Horn, as the French found at Dien Bien Phu, and as Nixon is learning in the Laotian hills west of Khe Sanh, the arrogance of the white man can lead to his own destruction.

The war that began ten years ago was to be a quick mop-up job to search and destroy the Vietcong. Instead it has become the longest war this country has fought since the wars to conquer the Indians. Faced with the whole people of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam as its enemy, Amerika has turned to a new kind of warfare — kill all, burn all, destroy all. The crimes committed at the village of Ky Lai are not extraordinary — the defendants in that case call it standard operating procedure. After all, Calley testified, it's not as if he were killing human beings.
the American invaders have been driven out of the countryside by the full power of the people's war. By local defense units in each village, by women in the rice fields shooting down bomber planes, by children running supplies to the front, by the bamboo traps set by thousands of villagers. Today the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) governs four-fifths of the countryside and 11 million people. It is recognized by over twenty nations, leading the war effort, maintaining factories and schools, making films. It is the government which, represented by Madame Binh, seeks independence at Saigon.

The Saigon regime is now on the brink of collapse. Even the CIA estimates that over thirty thousand people inside the regime are secret members of the NLF. In Saigon itself the underground carries out daily sabotage attacks, and mass student demonstrations threaten the US Embassy. In the cities, once the heart of American corruption and power in South Vietnam, everyone is part of the resistance movement.

Thousands of young people had the honor of meeting the Vietnamese while helping with the sugar harvest in Cuba. What we learn from our Cuban and Vietnamese friends is that our power grows in a long, protracted war, while the enemy, effectively attacked on many fronts, weakens. We have already fought many battles here. We were at the Pentagon and stopped troop trains in Oakland in 1967. In 1968, the combined effect of the Tet offensive, Black rebellions in every city and the student movement forced LBJ into early retirement. Last May, the massive response to the invasion of Cambodia slowed down Nixon's timetable, heightened the crisis within the army, and gave great encouragement to the Indochinese people.

Now ruling-class spokesmen are telling us that the movement has cooled off—but we saw a new spirit march through the streets of America last month. People are not fooled about the difficulty of resistance—we were never that naive. We are all learning new ways to fight against the advanced repressive technology of the pigs. It's growing. In many cities, women's groups led militant street demonstrations for the first time. They have taken the name and ideal of Madame Binh to young people. The life of Ho Chi Minh, the
of us — now we must learn about the Pathet Lao and the Armed
Rouge. The spirit of collaboration that exists among all the
organizations allied in the fight to free Indochina is the
spirit we can build this year within Amerika. Now we must
begin mobilizing for the next stage.

All over the country, revolutionaries are getting ready
for the spring. Our plans can be as creative and indigenous
as the bamboo booby traps of the Vietnamese. Sometimes our
weapons don’t seem to be enough — the feeling of frustration
comes from our passionate desire to help force the withdrawal
of US troops and stop the murderous bombing raids right away.
But our sting is deadly — our revolution has just begun. Beautiful
Pathet Lao banners, sisters marching strong, mobile forces,
new people. People learning how to live and how to sustain
the fight. Together there comes great power. The combined
strength of armed underground attacks, propaganda, demonstrations
in the cities and campuses, actions by local collectives,
all forms of organizing and political warfare can wreck the
American warmachine.

Everything we do makes a difference. After the B 52 attacks,
the Vietnamese fill in the bomb craters. Hundreds of men
and women mobilize to hand small baskets of earth up to the
people at the top of the crater. Soon the crater is filled.
People all over the world are encouraged by what we do here in
the heart of the Empire.

Nixon will see that what he took for acquiescence was
really the calm before the storm.

THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

Weather Underground

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May 19, 1972
The 82nd Anniversary of the Birth of Ho Chi Minh

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, and we would rather sacrifice all than lose our country and live as slaves."

-Ho Chi Minh

After years and years of fighting foreign invaders - Japan, France, and the United States - the Vietnamese are now moving toward the total liberation of their country. It is a crucial period in the long history of Vietnamese resistance. For in the past seven weeks the massive offensive organized by the Vietnamese people has shattered the Nixon strategy of "Vietnamization" and freed thousands of people from the South Vietnamese detention centers, disrupting what the arrogant whites call the Rural Pacification Program. Large sections of countryside have again been liberated by the National Liberation Front. It has been clear to everyone that the Thieu regime and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) would collapse within a matter of days.

TOP SECRET

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without U.S. air and naval power. The risk taken by the Vietnamese at this time is to face that U.S. military might in a fight to regain their homeland.

Today we attacked the Pentagon, the center of the American military command. We are acting at a time when growing U.S. air and naval shellings are being carried out against the Vietnamese while U.S. mines and war ships are used to blockade the harbors of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; while plans for even more escalations are being made in Washington.

'The clouds embrace the peaks, the peaks embrace the clouds. The river below shines like a mirror, spotless and clean. On the crest of the Western Mountain, my heart stirs as I wander. Looking towards the Southern sky and dreaming of old friends.'

-Ho Chi Minh

Vietnam is one country and one people. As one people, they trace the roots of their resistance back to the first independent struggle led by the Trung sisters. As one people, they defeated the Japanese occupying force and their Vichy French allies in 1945. As one people they defeated the French occupation troops 1954 at Dien Bien Phu. And as one people, they have stood up to attempts of the United States to subjugate them.

Vietnam, after the defeat of the French, was separated into two zones at the Geneva Conference of 1954. The imperialist powers participating at Geneva, led by the U.S., maneuvered to set up a zone that would be agreeable to their penetration, with the full intention of using it as a base to launch attacks and subversion against other S.E. Asian countries. The Geneva Accords clearly state that 'the military demarcation line (between North
"and South) is provisional and should not be interpreted as consti-
tuting a political or territorial boundary." The Accords called
for internationally supervised elections throughout Vietnam with
two years in order that the Vietnamese could determine their own
future. The elections never happened, thwarted by the American-
backed dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, and his corrupt government. Presi-
dent Eisenhower said '...had elections been held, possibly 80% of
the population would have voted for the communist Ho Chi Minh.'
The era of direct U.S. intervention had begun. The Pentagon
Papers pointed out later that 'South Vietnam was essentially the
creation of the United States.' And yet the lie of 'agression
from the North' has been the justification for continual escalai-

'Neither bombs nor shells can cow our people and
no honeyed words can deceive them. We, Vietnamese,
are resolved to fight till not a single U.S.
aggressor remains on our beloved land.'

- Ho Chi Minh

A people united with a vision of independence and liberty is
a powerful human force. They can be bombed and killed, and their
progress can be slowed, but they can never be fully enslaved.
This is why in Vietnam, the people are still able to resist with
such strength, even after a series of aggressive military strat-
ies - special war, limited war, large-scale air attacks - have
been unleashed against them. The vision of a free Vietnam is m
compelling than the fear of more U.S. reprisals.

The people of Vietnam are conscious of the risks and the
stakes of their struggle. They persevere. They resist, bit by
they rebuild piece by piece.

From a bomb shelter in Hanoi a few days ago, a Vietnamese
"told an American reporter, 'Nixon cannot understand us... We have anticipated the worst and have all the means to face it. Ho Chi Minh said that Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities would be destroyed, but that we could not be defeated — he predicted it.'

What further price will the Vietnamese have to pay to win their freedom? Already 3,000,000 Vietnamese have died in the fighting. The indochinese people have had to withstand 26 million tons of explosives used against them by U.S. forces from 1965-1971. They have been subjected to sustained U.S. air-raids directed against agricultural cooperatives, communes, hospitals, schools, dikes and workshops throughout the country.

And now the United States government, instead of leaving Vietnam, has responded to the deepening political crisis at home and the defeat of American ground troops, with a policy of 'Vietnamization.'

'Vietnamization' is the Nixon Doctrine applied to Vietnam. It calls for the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops in an attempt to cool the political crisis within the United States. Aid to the ARVN is increased to try to build up the pro-US forces. At the same time, 'Vietnamization' is a strategy based on an increasing U.S. presence in terms of air, naval, and technological power. The U.S. troop levels recede while destruction and death increase. Once again the white man calculates that it is worth the cost because the bodies aren't white. And Asian is turned against Asian by the manipulation of a foreign power.

Eyes must look far ahead, and thoughts be deeply pondered. Be bold and unremitting in attack. Give the wrong command, and two chariots are rendered useless.

The right word can bring you victory.
The Provisional Revolutionary Government, thru its representative in Paris, Madame Dinh, has proposed a program for peace in Vietnam. The American people should read this proposal. It calls on the United States government to set a date for total withdrawal from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese can solve their own problems. It further demands that the U.S. stop interfering in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and stop backing the corrupt Thieu regime. If the U.S. government would agree to these points, the fighting could stop, U.S. airmen shot down over North Vietnam could be released, the last pilot returning home as the last American soldier leaves Indochina, and most importantly, the Vietnamese people could continue the job of building up their nation, working out internal problems like the question of re-unification among themselves.

The Nixon government should accept these proposals. Instead, Nixon's every move shows him to be a greater warmonger than any of his predecessors. It is Nixon who directed the invasions of Cambodia and Laos, thus creating an all-Indochina war. It is Nixon who ordered the mining of the harbors and waterways of the DRV. And it is Nixon who has contingency plans for the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. He is the major perpetrator of violence in the world today; he is the war criminal.

'\textit{My ultimate wish is that our whole Party and people, closely united in the struggle, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.}'

The world has been changed forever by the struggle in Vietnam. Despite all the U.S. bombs, all the vicious escalation, all the criminal acts of this government, the people of Vietnam continue to fight, continue to build their society.
These are the people we are taught to hate. Look into their eyes, see how they raise their children, how they greet one another. Read their songs and poetry. Reflect on how they face this terrible war machine, how they transform bomb craters into fish hatcheries, how youth brigades mobilize to rebuild bridges and roads as quickly as they are bombed. Try to understand how they persevere.

There is a difference between Richard Nixon and Ho Chi Minh, William Porter and Madame Binh, Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho. Nixon may be murdering for his pride and his power but the Vietnamese are fighting to be free and to live as human beings in a different kind of world. And because of this, the eyes of people from every land are focused on Vietnam:

"Neither high nor very far,  
Neither emperor, nor king,  
You are only a little milestone,  
Which stands at the edge of the highway.  
To people passing by  
You point the right direction,  
And stop them from getting lost.  
You tell them of the distance  
For which they must journey:  
Your service is not a small one  
And people will always remember you."

Ho Chi Minh
C. WUO Bombings and Attempted Bombings

October 7, 1969

The Haymarket Police Statue was bombed in Chicago, Illinois apparently as a "kickoff" for the WUO "Days of Rage" riots which took place in the city during October 8-11, 1969. No suspects have been developed in this matter. The WUO claimed credit for the bombing in their book "Prairie Fire."

December 6, 1969

Several Chicago Police cars parked in a Precinct parking lot at 3600 North Halsted Street, Chicago were bombed. No suspects have been developed in this matter and no organization claimed credit until almost five years later when the WUO admitted that it was responsible in their book "Prairie Fire." The WUO stated that they had perpetrated the explosion to protest the shooting deaths of Illinois Black Panther leaders FRED HAMPTON and MARK CLARK on December 4, 1969, by police officers.

February 13, 1970

Several Police vehicles of the Berkeley, California, Police Department were bombed in the police parking lot.

February 16, 1970

A bomb detonated at the Golden Gate Park Branch of the San Francisco Police Department killing one officer and injuring a number of other policemen.

No organization claimed credit for either of these February police bombings.
March 6, 1970

Thirtyfour sticks of dynamite were discovered in the 13th Police District of the Detroit, Michigan Police Department. No credit was ever taken for this attempted bombing; however, evidence exists that it was the work of the WUO. Reports reported during February and early March, 1970, that members of the WUO led by BILL AYERS were in Detroit during that period for the purpose of bombing a police facility.
May 10, 1970

The National Guard Association building in Washington, D.C. was bombed. Four years later in "Prairie Fire" the WUO claimed credit for this explosion indicating that they had perpetrated it to protest National Guard killings of students at Kent State and Jackson State Universities.

June 5, 1970

The WUO sent a letter claiming credit for bombing of the San Francisco Hall of Justice, however, no explosion took place. Months later, however, workmen in this building located an unexploded device which had apparently been dormant for some time.

June 9, 1970

The WUO bombed the headquarters building of the New York City, New York Police Department. In their communiqué written in connection with this bombing the WUO indicated that "The pigs in this country are our enemies." They continued by describing some of the alleged evil acts committed by the police and indicate that "The pigs try to look invulnerable, but we (WUO) keep finding their weaknesses." The communiqué concludes by indicating that "The time is now. Political power grows out of a gun, a molotov, a riot, a commune...and from the soul of the people."

The Bank of America building located at 41 Broad Street, New York, New York was bombed. Following the explosion an individual telephonically contacted a New York newspaper indicating that the Weathermen had perpetrated the bombing in honor of the Cuban Revolution. He indicated that a Viet Cong flag had been left at the scene. Subsequent investigation located a torn Viet Cong flag and a Cuban pennant at the bank.

October 5, 1970

The Haymarket Statue in Chicago as reconstructed following a WUO bombing on October 7, 1969, was again bombed by the WUO. Following the explosion on October 6, 1970, JENNIFER DORN, sister of WUO leader BERNARDINE DORN, played a tape recording of her sister's voice in which BERNARDINE claimed that the bombing had been perpetrated by the WUO. She indicated that the bombing marked the beginning of the
fall offensive of the WUO. She stated that "Last night we destroyed the pig again. This time it begins a fall offensive of youth resistance that will spread from Santa Barbara to Boston, back to Kent and Kansas for we are everywhere and next week families and tribes will attack the enemy around the country."

October 8, 1970

The WUO bombed the Hall of Justice, Marin County, California. In their statement claiming credit for this explosion, the WUO indicated that "We dedicate this act to the prisoners of San Quentin, Soledad and New York, and to all Black prisoners of war." They continue by dedicating their act to "the first of a new breed of freedom fighters" (quotes in statement) - Jonathan Jackson and his comrades who were killed and captured, and to Angela (Davis) - still alive and free! - who together began a new offensive in our struggle inside the belly of the monster. Free all political prisoners!"

October 8, 1970
October 8, 1970

The National Guard facility in Santa Barbara, California was bombed by a group calling itself the “Perfect Park Home Grown Garden Society.” Although the WUO did not claim credit for this explosion, it can be logically concluded that they were in fact involved. This assumption is based on certain of their remarks contained in their October 6, 1970 “Fall Offensive” statement in which the WUO indicated that additional attacks would take place in the next week and would be carried out by “families and tribes” around the country. In addition they specifically mentioned that youth resistance would spread from Santa Barbara to Boston. (The WUO subsequently bombed a building in the Boston area on October 14, 1970.)

October 10, 1970

The Long Island City, New York Court House was bombed by the WUO. In their communiqué issued in connection with the explosion, the WUO indicated that “Last night as part of an international conspiracy we blew up the Long Island Criminal Court House – adjacent to the Branch Queens where it all began. With rallies and riots, with marches and molotovs, kids in New York City and around the country will continue the battle.” The statement is largely devoted to the WUO’s criticism of the country’s prison system.

October 14, 1970

The Harvard University Center for International Studies in Cambridge, Massachusetts was bombed by a group calling itself the “Proud Eagle Tribe.” In “Prairie Fire” the WUO claimed credit for the bombing stating that the WUO’s “Women’s Brigade” had actually been responsible for the bombing.

November 21, 1970
March 1, 1971

The United States Capitol building in Washington, D.C. was bombed by the WUO. In their statement of credit, the WUO indicated that "we have attacked the Capitol because it is, along with the White House and the Pentagon the worldwide symbol of the government which is now attacking IndoChina. To millions of people here and in Latin America, Africa and Asia, it is a monument to U.S. domination over the planet. The invaders of Laos will not have peace in this country." The statement continues by praising the Vietnamese and criticizing the U.S. government's role in Vietnam.
August 28, 1971

The Office for California Prisons at the California state office building in Sacramento, California was bombed by the WUO. In their statement following the bombing, the WUO indicated that they had carried out the act to protest the death of GEORGE JACKSON in San Quentin. The statement also continued to criticize the U.S. prison system.

August 28, 1971

The Department of Corrections office, Ferry Building, San Francisco was bombed by the WUO. In their statement, which followed the bombing, the WUO indicated that the act had been perpetrated to protest the "murder" of GEORGE JACKSON by California prison authorities.

August 28, 1971

The offices of the California Department of Rehabilitation, 450 Peninsula, San Mateo, California was bombed. Although no group specifically claimed credit for this action, it can be assumed that the WUO was responsible insofar as they perpetrated two other bombings on this date in California against the California prison system.

September 17, 1971

The New York State Corrections Department office located in the Twin Towers building in Albany, New York was bombed by the WUO. In their statement following the bombing, the WUO indicated that the bombing had been done to protest the deaths of prisoners during riots at New York's Attica prison.

September 24, 1971
October 15, 1971

The Hermann Building Center for International Affairs located at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge Massachusetts was bombed by the "Proud Eagle Tribe." In "Prairie Fire" the WUO claimed credit for the bombing, indicating that the Women's Brigade of the WUO had carried it out.

May 18, 1972

The U.S. Pentagon Building in Arlington, Virginia was bombed by the WUO. In their communique that followed the incident, the WUO claimed that the act had been committed to protest the entire U.S. policy in Vietnam and to specifically protest the mining of Vietnam harbors and the bombing of the city of Hanoi.

May 18, 1973

Several Police cars parked at the 103rd Precinct of the New York Police Department were bombed by the WUO. In their communique which followed the incident, the WUO indicated that they had perpetrated the act to protest the shooting death of CLIFFORD CLOVER, a ten year old Negro boy shot by a police officer.

September 27, 1973

The Latin American headquarters building of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company in New York, New York was bombed by the WUO. In their communique following the bombing, the WUO indicated that they had carried out the action to protest the role that the company had played in the overthrow of the government of President ALLENDE in Chile.

March 7, 1974

The office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare located in the U.S. Federal Building in San Francisco was bombed by the Women's Brigade of the WUO. In their communique following the bombing, the WUO stated
that they had carried out the action to protest discrimination against women as practiced by the Department.

March 14, 1974

A dinner in honor of New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller held at the Hilton Hotel in New York City was "stinkbombed" by the WUO. In their statement which followed the incident, the WUO stated that they carried out the action to protest the drug abuse program of Governor Rockefeller. They also indicated that they were critical of the Governor's role in the Attica prison riots and they referred to him as being a "mass murderer."

May 31, 1974

The Los Angeles office of California Attorney General Evelle Younger located in the Old State Building was bombed by the WUO. In their communiqué the WUO indicated that they had carried out the act in retaliation against the killing of six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army by police.

June 13, 1974

The International Headquarters of the Gulf Oil Corporation in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania was bombed by the WUO. In their communiqué the WUO claimed credit indicating that they were protesting the involvement of Gulf Oil Company in Angola. Specifically they accused the Gulf Oil Company of assisting the Portuguese government in their efforts to keep Angola as a colonial possession.

September 10, 1974

The offices of the Anaconda American Brass Company, Oakland, California were bombed by the WUO. In their communiqué that followed the bombing, the WUO stated that they had carried out the action to protest the activities of the Anaconda Company in Chile. They also indicated that it was a protest against the Rockefeller family which controls Anaconda.

October 17, 1974

An odoriferous liquid was spread near the meeting place.
of the Boston, Massachusetts School Committee in an effort to disrupt their meeting. In their communiqué as printed in the "Boston Phoenix," a weekly publication, the WUO called the liquid a "stink bomb" and claimed that they had carried out the action to protest the school committee's stand on busing.

January 28, 1975

The Washington, D.C. headquarters of the U.S. State Department was bombed by the WUO. In their communiqué the WUO indicated that they had taken the action to protest the renewal of fighting in Vietnam.

January 28, 1975

The WUO attempted to bomb the Agency for International Development and the U.S. Defense Department offices in Oakland, California, however, the device failed to detonate and the WUO subsequently called to alert officials of its location. The attempted bombing was in protest over the renewal of fighting in Vietnam.

June 16, 1975

The Banco (bank) de Ponce, 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City was bombed by the WUO. In their communiqué they indicated that the action was taken to show their solidarity with striking workers in Puerto Rico.

September 5, 1975

The national headquarters of the Kennecott Copper Company located in Salt Lake City, Utah was bombed by the WUO. In their communiqué following the action the WUO stated that they had carried out the action to protest the role that the Kennecott Company had taken in the overthrow of President ALLENDE of Chile.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND

SUMMARY DATED 8/20/76

PART # 2
FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WEATHER
UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION
VOLUME II
SECTION IV
INDIVIDUALS

Investigation has disclosed that many current and past WUO members have traveled abroad for the purpose of meeting with representatives of foreign governments. This section deals with certain of these travels. Inserts are included in this section on various present and former WUO members and on several of the more important members of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC). These inserts reflect the WUO affiliation of these persons and describe their pertinent travels. In many instances evidence of how the particular person was influenced by the travel in question is also presented. This section has been separated into two divisions: the first including present members of the WUO, and the second dealing with former WUO members and/or PFOC activists.

A. Present WUO Members

Based on what is known about the WUO members who submerged into the "underground" in early 1970, there are probably no more than around thirty of these individuals still functioning in this covert status. The inserts which follow reflect how many of these individuals had met with foreign representatives prior to entering the "underground." It is logical to conclude that the WUO has recruited some new members during the past six years, however, the identities of such recruits are unknown. This section is designed to present "thumbnail" sketches of the individuals in question and is not intended to repeat materials mentioned in other sections of this document concerning foreign travel of these individuals. Inserts on THEODORE GOLD and DIANA OUGHTON are included in this section as these two individuals were killed while functioning in the "underground."

It should be noted that underground WUO member JOANNA ZILSEL has been located in Ontario, Canada, however, cannot be extradited due to the nature of the charges against her. It is not known if she has been involved with representatives of foreign governments while in Canada.

It should also be noted that underground WUO fugitive member RICHARD JAMES AYERS has spent several years residing in Canada during the past seven years and most probably continues to either reside in or to visit that country. What association he has had with foreign governments while in Canada is not known.
KAREN LYNN ASHLEY

KAREN LYNN ASHLEY is a white female who was born on either September 9 or 2, 1949, in Montreal, Canada, or in New York, New York. She is presently a member of the WUO and has functioned in an underground capacity for over six years. She attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(CC T-18, 2/14/68)
WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS, Aka
Michael Joseph Rafferty, Jr.
Jules Michael Taylor,
Hank Anderson

BILL AYERS is a white male who was born on December 26, 1944, in Oak Park, Illinois. AYERS was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" upon which the WUO was founded in 1969 and has been considered to be one of the leaders of the organization since its founding. Although AYERS was not arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" he was one of the leaders of these riots. AYERS was also one of the more influential people attending the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council." AYERS submerged into the underground in early 1970 and remains therein. AYERS' younger brother RICHARD JAMES AYERS, who is presently being sought by the FBI for desertion from the military service, and his former sister-in-law MELODY KAY ERNACHILD have also been active in the WUO underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On August 15, 1969, it was learned that AYERS was scheduling himself to depart for Canada that date for the purpose of conferring with a group of thirty individuals who had been in Cuba during the recent past and who were due to arrive by boat on August 16, 1969. (It is noted that among those individuals returning to the United States via Canada at that time were such WUO functionaries as TED GOLD, BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIANA OUGHTON, DIONNE DONGHI and ELEANOR RASKIN.

On July 29, 1969, AYERS made a speech on the campus of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, during which time he discussed the SDS's role in the Venceremos Brigade and promoted this trip to Cuba. During the course of this speech AYERS commented as follows in response to a question about the Brigade:

In November and beginning January, SDS was involved in sending 150 people, both times to Cuba to cut cane, to cut sugar, as part of Cuba's program to create, to put out 50 million, or what is it 100 million, 10 million tons of sugar.

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AYERS continued as follows:

They are not being paid because they are not donkeys who need to get paid in order to do something, in order to serve the people, and what they're going to do is, there will be about 75 SDS people on each trip and about 75 people from, recruited from the Black Panther Party and Young (illegible) organizations, and other black and brown organizations that will go to Cuba, are going to live and learn about the country, by going to work to create and help the Cubans create a solid economy in the face of an economic boycott by the United States, in the face of constant threats from the United States, in fact a couple of invasions that didn't work because the Cuban people were too well armed and well educated. The Venceremos Brigade is an idea which is an attempt to show the people of the world that all Americans aren't solid in their nature of Cuba, and that all Americans aren't solid in their support of the economic boycott of Cuba, and so we are going to go and we are going to attempt to, attempt to help the Cubans in their efforts. DAVID JOHNS from the (SDS) National Office is one person who's going on that trip, other people from here who are interested should talk to BILL THOMAS from Portland afterwards because he's got in Portland, he's got applications. It's a simple matter, if you're under 17 you need your parents' permission. Yes.
After the WUO submerged into an underground status, BILL AYERS and NAOMI JAFFE traveled to Canada for the purpose of meeting with representatives of the Quebec Liberation Front. When the pair returned, AYERS had $2,000 in his possession that he definitely did not have when JAFFE and he went into Canada.
KATHIE BOUDIN,
Aka. Janet Patricia Scott
Kay Lavon Kennedy

BOUDIN is a white female who was born on May 19, 1943, in New York, New York. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, worked in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during much of 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. She submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 and was observed fleeing the explosion of a WUO "bomb factory" in New York in March, 1970, during which time three WUO members perished. She is the daughter of well known attorney LEONARD BOUDIN.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

When completing an employment application in 1966, BOUDIN indicated she had spent her senior year of college at the University of Moscow, Moscow, USSR.
On August 19, 1969, WUO members who had returned from a trip to Cuba held a press conference in New York to discuss their trip and to promote the planned "Days of Rage" or "National Action" scheduled to take place in Chicago October 8-11, 1969. Although there is no information to indicate that Boudin traveled to Cuba with fellow WUO members, she joined with Bernardine Dohrn, Dionne Dognon, Ted Gold, Eleanor Raskin and Howard Jefferson Melish in the press conference.
SCOTT ADDY BRALEY

SCOTT BRALEY is a white male who was born on March 26, 1947, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Active in the MUC in Michigan, BRALEY attended the "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. He submerged into the underground in early 1970 and remains therein.

SDS-PFOC Affiliation

During June, 1969, it was ascertained that BRALEY was the SDS Regional Traveler for the State of Michigan.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The November 6, 1969, Radio Havana announced during a broadcast captioned "On the Venceremos Brigade" the following:

We are going to read the following names and addresses of those persons in the United States through whom you can make contact with the national executive committee of the Venceremos Brigade.

One of the four names that was subsequently read was "Scott Braley, 5117 French Road, Detroit, Michigan, 48213."
PETER WALES CLAPP

CLAPP is a white male who was born in Washington, D.C., on October 14, 1946. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and his fingerprints were discovered in the WUO "bomb factory" in San Francisco in March, 1971. CLAPP submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 and continues to function therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

At this same meeting CLAPP, who introduced himself as being a representative of the SDS National Office in Chicago, spoke about the upcoming "Days of Rage" scheduled to be held in Chicago, October 8-11, 1969. He encouraged the attendees to travel to Chicago and participate in the fight against the "pig power structure." He also stated that guns would be needed.

PETER WALES CLAPP was interviewed at Columbia University, became very involved in the SDS and was in the "thick of things" during the disturbances at Columbia.
During the summer of 1969, PETER traveled to Cuba.

Miscellaneous Travel

Records of the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., as reviewed on August 11, 1969, reflect that PETER KALLEY CLAPP, a white male, born October 14, 1946, was issued official Passport No. Y173397, on June 13, 1963, at Washington, D.C., for a one-year stay in Japan and Taiwan, as a dependent of an "ID" employee. In his application dated June 10, 1963, at Washington, D.C., CLAPP indicated he planned to leave from San Francisco, California, on July 1, 1963, aboard the SS "Roosevelt." The passport was valid for repeated visits to all countries except Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea and Vietnam under communist control.
BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN
Aka: Lorraine Anne Jellins
Sharon Louise Naylor
Karen Lois DeBelius, "Mona,"
Bernardine Rae Ohrnstein

BERNARDINE DOHRN is the acknowledged leader of the WUO. She is a white female who was born on January 12, 1942, in Chicago, Illinois. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. DOHRN submerged into the WUO in early 1970 and has remained therein. Her name has appeared on a number of the communiques sent by the WUO.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DOHRN's foreign travels and contacts are discussed in several other portions of this document including the ones on the Venceremos Brigade.
JOHN ALLEN FUERST,
aka William Allen Friedmann,
Jeremy Pikser, "Phil"

FUERST is a white male who was born on July 15, 1944, at New Rochelle, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. FUERST submerged into the underground in early 1970 and continues to function therein.

WUO Affiliation

JOHN FUERST is sought on a Federal warrant charging violation of Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073, Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution, issued in Chicago in connection with his failure to appear in court as a result of his arrest during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots. He is also sought on a Federal warrant issued in Tucson, Arizona, on June 21, 1971, charging violation of Title 18, Section 371, U.S. Code, and violation of Title 26, Sections 5861(d) and 5861(j), U.S. Code, in connection with his purchase of dynamite in Tucson. On May 4, 1970, FUERST with ROBERTA SMITH's assistance and using false identification in the name of WILLIAM ALLEN FRIEDMAN, illegally purchased 50 pounds of dynamite in Tucson. This explosive which was apparently purchased for use in some kind of underground bombing was subsequently transported to California.

ROBERTA BRENT SMITH is a white female who was born on November 26, 1944, in Cleveland, Ohio. She is currently sought on a Federal warrant similar to FUERST's arising from the purchase of dynamite in Arizona. Like her boyfriend JOHN FUERST, SMITH was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and subsequently submerged into the underground in early 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On the evening of September 29, 1968, FUERST spoke at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, before an SDS meeting. He largely devoted his remarks to a description of his trip to
Cuba during the summer of 1968. On his arrival in Cuba, Fuerst stated he and fellow travelers were assigned to a Cuban press attaché. He indicated that he toured the countryside of Cuba, listened to a speech of Fidel Castro and worked in a factory. Fuerst stated that while in Cuba he stayed in the Hilton Hotel in Havana. He was in Cuba for approximately three weeks. Fuerst advised that he was to return to the U.S. on a Russian freighter, however, the Russians would not let him and other aboard. Instead, he flew from Havana to Lisbon, Portugal, and later came to the U.S. through New York City, New York. He stated he had no trouble coming through customs at New York even though his passport was stamped Cuba.

Fuerst explained how the economy in Cuba worked under the socialism which exists in that country, and how Russia had influenced the country. The country of Cuba is dependent upon Russia, however, Cuba wants to break from Russia as soon as possible. He said that practically everyone in Cuba was in the militia.
DAVID JOSEPH GILBERT

DAVE GILBERT is a white male who was born on October 6, 1944 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. GILBERT was highly active in SDS activities at Columbia University in New York in 1968 and was subsequently a leader in the New York WUO in late 1969. He submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 thus becoming a fugitive, and continues to remain underground. In April, 1971 GILBERT's fingerprint was found on an item in a WUO "bomb factory" found in San Francisco.

WUO/PFC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

It was ascertained that in mid-1966 GILBERT notified his draft board that he would be traveling to the Dominican Republic during parts of June and July, 1966.

that DAVE GILBERT would be the representative of the WUO at a conference in Canada described GILBERT as being a leader of the Columbia University rebellion in 1969 and as being an SDS Regional Organizer.

The "Denver Post" in their November 12, 1969 edition reported on a debate which had occurred on November 11, 1969 at the University of Denver.

The "Denver Post," a daily newspaper in Denver, Colorado, reported in their November 12, 1969 edition that a debate had occurred on November 11, 1969 at the University of Denver between a conservative named PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCK and DAVID GILBERT. During this debate GILBERT had indicated
that the WUO goal "is world communism." He indicated further that the world has arrived at the point where "debate is useless" and "what's happening is the people's war." GILBERT expressed the belief that a violent Third World revolution is the only way to reach justice for all human beings. GILBERT complained of the complacency of people in the U.S., indicating that in Cuba and Red China things are different. He claimed that these countries are responsive and efficient in their working towards betterment of the common people.
TED GOLD was a white male who was born on December 13, 1947, at New York, New York. GOLD was one of the SDS leaders at New York's Columbia University who led the 1968 riots on that campus. In 1969 he became one of the founders of the WUO and was active in the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. He later attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. GOLD submerged into the underground during early 1970 and was subsequently killed on March 2, 1970, when a WUO "bomb factory" in New York accidentally exploded.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(It is noted that GOLD's fellow travelers included such leading WUO members as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIANA OUGHTON, DIONNE DONGHI and ELEANOR RASKIN.)

On November 11, 1969, GOLD spoke for some three hours on the campus of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. GOLD stated he had been in Cuba during the last year and was met at the Cuban airport by North Vietnamese representatives. He indicated he was amazed to find how the North Vietnamese understood what the Weathermen were attempting to do.

GOLD continued that the WUO would use "Guerrilla Tactics" and that one person can do a great deal of damage. When someone in the audience asked GOLD if the WUO was planning on developing an army, GOLD responded by stating the WUO wanted to start a "Red Army."

advised that he was present at Alumni Hall, Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, on the evening of November 20, 1969, when TED GOLD spoke. He advised that GOLD's speech was, in part as follows:
The biggest organizer of the Vietnam antiwar movement has been the Viet Cong. The Viet Cong organized the Moratorium, has organized the mobilization and has organized us. The Viet Cong is winning and is in the highest level of struggle against imperialism that the world has ever seen. The U.S. is being "shellacked" worse than the French were being "shellacked" when they got out of Vietnam. The ruling class understands what Vietnam is about. It's about a Third World country that has to be free, and the U.S. is losing.

When in Cuba this summer meeting with the people from the National Liberation Front, the first thing they said was how much you people have suffered because of Nixon's war and Johnson's war. We learned after two weeks of meetings with them that the Vietnamese are not the people to feel sorry for. They are struggling and they are winning. In the liberated areas the people are building up life despite the bombs, terror and war. They are building up something better than they had before and that is why they fight so hard and are winning.

People still think that U.S. imperialism is inevitable. Not only is it not inevitable, but it is losing.

What we are about is becoming a part of a struggle that is going to defeat imperialism. The American ruling class is running the whole show and the war against it is being carried on all over the world.

World communism is going to turn around the process that has existed for thousands of years. The reason Cuba is poor now is because of 300 years of Spanish imperialism and 100 years of American imperialism to build up from. The same is true about China and Vietnam. Struggles are going on all over the world against U.S. imperialism.

GOLD spoke at Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, on December 5, 1969, at which time he indicated "Liberation comes only with the gun." He described the local, state and Federal governments as being oppressors of the world and America, respectively. He continued by stating that the main forces for the American Revolution are the Black Liberation Front, the Black Panther Party, SDS, and the Viet Cong, and said that if anyone has a friend captured by the Viet Cong, he should give him that person's name, rank and serial number as he would see about getting his release.
GOLD addressed a meeting of the University of Oregon SDS Chapter in Eugene, Oregon, on December 4, 1969, during which time he stated the "Weathermen" will now lead the revolution in America. He also stated the WUO is headed towards a red-white army which will attack the U.S. from inside while the Viet Cong attacks from outside.
PHOEBE ELIZABETH HIRSCH
Aka. Sue Elinda Cohen

PHOEBE HIRSCH is a white female who was born on December 5, 1945, in New York, New York. She was highly active during the SDS riots at Columbia University in New York in 1968, worked in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office during 1969, was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. HIRSCH submerged into the underground in early 1970, thus becoming a fugitive in Illinois and was subsequently arrested under a fictitious identity in California, in April, 1970, where she again jumped the bond. She continued to function in the underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Radio Havana, Cuba English broadcast on the evening of November 7, 1969, requested the participation of American citizens in the Venceremos Brigade. Among individuals listed as contacts in the U.S. of the Venceremos Brigade was PHOEBE HIRSCH, 3101 Sheffield Street, Chicago, Illinois.
JOHN GREGORY JACOBS
Aka. "JJ", Anthony Frank Rocco, Jr.
Robert Carnie Morgan

JOHN JACOBS is a white male who was born on September 30, 1947, at New York, New York. One of the leaders of the Columbia University SDS chapter during the riots in 1968, JACOBS went on to become one of the leaders of the NUO in 1969. JACOBS, who was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" upon which the WUO was founded, was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council". He submerged into the underground in early 1969 and remains therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

During February, 1970, MARK RUDD and JOHN JACOBS traveled to Prince Edwards, Canada, where the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade was to depart for Cuba.
JAFFE is a white female who was born in China. She was arrested as a part of the YCC "Red" riots in Chicago during October 1969. JAFFE recently returned from a trip to Hanoi, North Vietnam, and was the main speaker at a workshop which was part of the SDS National Convention held June 9-15, 1968.

She had shot down an American fighter plane with an anti-aircraft gun. JAFFE further claimed to have observed the capture of an American pilot who may have been the pilot of the plane that she claimed to have shot down. JAFFE wore a small piece of fuse wire on a chain around her neck that she claimed to have shot down.

JAFFE is a member of the U.S. Navy and has served with the U.S. Navy during World War II. She was discharged in 1945. JAFFE is a member of the United States Labor Council and is active in the labor movement.

FAFF is a member of the U.S. Navy and has served with the U.S. Navy during World War II. She was discharged in 1945. JAFFE is a member of the United States Labor Council and is active in the labor movement.
JEFFREY CARL JONES, Aka.
Norman Kenneth Bailey,
Duane Lee Compton, Jason
Robert Russell, John Herman

JONES is a white male who was born on February 23,
1947 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. JONES, who is acknow-
ledged as being one of the UFO leaders, was arrested during
the UFO "Day of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969
and was present at the UFO "Ft. Michigan War Council."
JONES submerged into the UFO underground in early, 1970
and continues to function therein.

\textbf{Foreign Travel and/or Contacts}

In November, 1969, the North Vietnamese Embassy in
Phnom Penh, Cambodia, requested reservations for the following
persons on the November 24th flight of the International
Control Commission's flight to Hanoi, North Vietnam:
CAREY TURBOSOT, DAREN ROBBIN, JEFF JONES and STEVE HALLIWELL.

(CG T-18, 9/3/70)

(Further details of this trip can be located in
the section of this document dealing specifically with
this trip.)

JEFFREY JONES, Inter-organizational secretary,
SDS are determined to have been in telephone conversation
with a party by the name of KAREN from Havana, Cuba. KAREN
apparently wanted the SDS to know a true story of a Black
Panther Party member, who denounced Cuba in the newspapers.
Apparentl, KAREN tried to impress the fact that this
individual who denounced Cuba was a black americans and the
later indicated leadership in the Black Panther Party until
recently.
LIBERTAN

On June 27, 1968 it was learned that Jones had given a press interview to Radio Havana. In this discourse, Jones discussed the SDS' expulsion of the Progressive Labor Party from the organization and indicated that SDS was now working for national liberation and the United Front Against Fascism. Jones talked about the demonstrations being planned in conjunction with the "Chicago 8" trial during September, 1969. Jones stated SDS is continuing its program of opposition to the war in Vietnam and continues to ask for the recognition of the Vietnamese government. Jones closed the interview by wishing well to the people of Cuba.

According to ignorance advice that on September 5, Jones spoke to students of Eastern Illinois University in the free speech area of the campus.

Jones spoke of an SDS demonstration called National Action to be held in Chicago, Illinois, on October 8 through 11, 1968. Jones stated that this demonstration is scheduled to spotlight the goals and aims of SDS in the U.S.

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to disrupt this conference. JONES stated that the Japanese equivalent of the SDS was going to try to prevent the plane carrying the Japanese delegation from leaving Japan. In the event the Japanese equivalent of SDS failed, an attempt will be made in San Francisco to prevent the plane from landing.

In his speech JONES stated that SDS is attempting to recruit 600 individuals to go to Cuba and to help harvest the sugar crop. JONES stated that he had been to Cuba and that the country is in sad financial straits.
THOMAS MICHAEL JUSTESEN

MIKE JUSTESEN is a white male who was born on May 17, 1950, in Sacramento, California. JUSTESEN was highly involved in WUO activities in the Seattle, Washington, area prior to submerging into the WUO underground in early 1970 wherein he continues to function.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JUSTESEN was the SDS-WUO representative to Japan in 1969. (Further details of his activities in connection with this matter are contained in Section II of this document.)

"The Puget Sound Partisan" has been publicly identified by representatives of the Seattle Liberation Front as being the successor publication to the defunct underground newspaper "The Helix." In their July 15, 1970, edition, Volume 1, No. 1, appeared the following letter from MIKE JUSTESEN which tends to define his feelings at the time:
The letter from Mike Stuteven is as follows:

Comrades,

The pigs are so fucked up they couldn’t find their own asshole if it went underground. Thousands of kids are underground in this country: draft resisters, AWOLs, demonstrators, Black revolutionaries like Rap and Eldridge. Everyone dung Bob Dylan when he said “get jailed, jump bail.” And as Bernadine Dohrn said, “The outlaws are in every tribe and commune.”

People squatting on land in the desert or mountains and brothers and sisters in the cities dig that you have to seize life from Amerika. So, it is natural for them to hide and support us, not because the man has put coincidental labels on us (radical-radical) but because we all are trying to find a life in a system that only recognizes death.

Most people who go to the hills, or who get very far into dope and music to escape the death trap still think and act the way Amerika taught them to. You see it in the selfish, hidden ways they treat each other, or in the insecurity of their kids. They feel isolated and defeated and they don’t see any way out, so they turn the desperation back on themselves.

We have the same problems. We hang the revolution up around ourselves, and forget about the strength of the Third World, the changes Amerika has gone through because of revolution in the colonies. We think solely of ourselves, and ignore the growth of those movements: the Tupamaro urban guerrillas ripping off $10 million in Uruguay, Syria shutting off US oil, Cuba producing a record-breaking sugar harvest, and the VC winning. The trend of revolution against imperialism is there, but the brainwash of Amerika prevents us from understanding it: We have to be conscious sources, and taxing it’s protracted war.

When we aren’t, the revolution often turns into a formula, a conglomeration of phrases—something to repeating by rote to make sure it is still there. When we build our lives around the correct line people know that it is only words. We didn’t join the revolution for that. Strong action motivated us—whether it was Huey with a gun, riots, or Vietnam winning—because power is the beginning of change. It creates the belief that you can let it all hang out because there is no chance of losing.

Our comrades in the Third World have created a future for us. No longer can imperialism just reap profits from their exported capital. The colonies are exacting a price for exploitation: revolutionary war. Amerika’s defense of its empire only brings the war home. The factories, ports, induction stations, army bases and schools of this country are the nerve center of the repressive apparatus that keeps imperialism alive. The pain of every wound on the lines is transmitted to the brain.

The man tries to use us to protect him from the pain, but to do this he must change our lives. He forces us into the army and changes the schools into jails. The culture we create as an alternative becomes so threatening that he sends his pigs to attack every aspect of it. Then fascism touches our lives, we don’t dig it; the man directs our hate at Vietnam and Blacks but our hate revolts and takes aim at the man himself.

We understand that our place is with the Third World revolution. For too long we acted as the man’s stooges—in the schools, the army, in the factories—and accepted his bribes. But no more! Now we are the allies of the slaves we once possessed; their war is ours. Our only demand is theirs: that we join in the liberation of mankind.

- We don’t have to be isolated and desperate; we have a strategy. We can catch the oppressive system in a pinches: the army between Vietnam and ourselves, the pigs between blacks and ourselves.

- We have made a beginning in attacking the institutions that are already weakened, to push them towards death. But now we must go on the offensive, all of us struggling as hard as Vietnam, and calling on our people to do the same.

- Our lives, the street actions, the actions of the midnight ramblers—these are the alternatives young people look for. The way we fight, fuck, smoke dope, and struggle with them and ourselves shows we understand that history is on our side—that we are children of the future. Venceremos!

M.T.I.
HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER,
Aka. Dennis Egerton Holefca,
"Danny," Steve Dash

HOWARD MACHTINGER is a white male who was born in the Bronx, New York, on April 23, 1946. Considered to be one of the leading WUO members since the organization's creation in June, 1969, MACHTINGER frequented the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during 1969, participated in the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. MACHTINGER submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970, thereby becoming a fugitive. He was subsequently arrested by the FBI in New York on September 19, 1973, however, jumped the bond and resubmerged into the underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

A November 20, 1969, broadcast of Radio Havana in Cuba transmitted in the English language announced that HOWIE MACHTINGER of 3138 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, was an individual in the U.S. who would serve as a recruiting contact for the Venceremos Brigade.

For more details on how MACHTINGER has been affected by unfriendly foreign powers, see Section 1, Subsection "Internationalism."
DIANA OUGHTON-Deceased

The late DIANA OUGHTON was a white female who was born on January 26, 1942, in Chicago, Illinois. The girl, friend of underground WUO leader WILLIAM AYERS, OUGHTON was arrested during the "Days of Rage" riots and later attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting in December, 1969. OUGHTON submerged into the underground in early 1970 and was subsequently killed when a WUO "bomb factory" in New York accidentally exploded on March 2, 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(Fellow travelers on this trip included such leading WUO members as BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN, DIONNE DONGHI, TED GOLD and ELEANOR RASKIN.)

A Radio Havana broadcast made on November 7, 1969, from Havana named DIANA OUGHTON, 320 Harper Street, Detroit, Michigan, as being a person to contact in order to make arrangements for participating in the Venceremos Brigade.
ELEANOR RASKIN is a white female who was born on March 16, 1946, in Washington, D.C. The wife of JONAH RASKIN, ELEANOR RASKIN was a former employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during early 1970. RASKIN attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in late December, 1969, and submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 where she continues to function.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(CG T-18, 7/7/69)
MARK WILLIAM RUDD,
Aka. Mark William Rudnitsky,
Frank Henry Koch,
Anthony Goodman

MARK RUDD is a white male who was born on June 2, 1947, in Irvington, New Jersey. RUDD, who led the riots at New York's Columbia University during early 1968, was acknowledged as one of the leaders of the WUO when the group submerged into the underground in early 1970. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
(See Section II)

The February 9, 1968, issue of the "Columbia Daily Spectator," an official newspaper of Columbia University, carried an article on the first page entitled "Rudd Leaves U.S.A. on SDS Cuban Trip, to Return in March." The article states that RUDD left for Mexico on Monday with 19 other representatives of the National Organization of SDS, which will eventually take them to Cuba for two weeks. The purpose of the trip was not mentioned and a spokesman for SDS in Chicago stated he was withholding comment until they returned.

MARK RUDD was interviewed by FRANCISCO PORTELA of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency in New York City, on June 11, 1968, on the motivations behind the spread of the student struggle in North American universities and the participation of SDS in that struggle. Among other comments RUDD stated "The struggle of the people of the Third World is very closely linked to the point of view of the Cuban people about that struggle. In fact, we consider that the Cuban criterion on the struggle in America is perhaps the correct way in which the revolution will take place.... As is known, we have taken from Che his slogan: Create two, three, many Vietnams. Thus we have as our slogan: Create two, three, many Columbias...."

The International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, co-sponsored by SDS and the Strike Coordinating Committee at Columbia University, was held in New York City.
September 18-24, 1968. The assembly was called to explore the ways and means of creating revolutions in the highly industrialized countries of the world and brought together many top people of the youth revolutionary movements in France, Germany, England, Italy, Sweden, Mexico and Canada. In attendance were some top figures in the American revolutionary movement, including MARK RUDD, chairman of SDS at Columbia University.


The following is part of an interview of MARK RUDD by WAAC Radio on September 30, 1969, at Terre Haute, Indiana:

BOB ROUSE (Announcer WAAC Radio) Excuse me for interrupting but you said a moment ago that the primary purpose of the SDS is to inform.

RUDD: No, it's to fight.

ROUSE: You mean literally fight.

RUDD: The purpose...

ROUSE: To overthrow our government as you stated before, right.

RUDD: No, that's the goal. Absolutely. But I said the purpose was to win Americans to this.

ROUSE: All right I want to come back and you want to overthrow the American government. You want to get rid of the big imperialistic, capitalistic aggressor. I believe that is what you would term it.

RUDD: Well, imperialism is the word for it. That is right. It is a word that means that there is a process of building an empire, but the thing is this. It does not make any difference what you or I say or what I want, see. The only difference in fact the only significant thing that has happened that bears on this question of revolution is that it has already started. The Vietnamese have made revolution against the U.S.
ROUSE: Well, you have probably been asked this question a thousand times but I have yet to hear an answer. What do you propose instead of what we have at present. You want to get rid of our government but what are we going to replace it with in your opinion.

RUDD: I cannot give you, I certainly, absolutely I will be very honest with you. The revolution has tried to be in fact at every moment, but there is no cookbook recipe for what the world is going to look like. It is going to be a long, hard process... And once you are a revolutionary, your whole life changes. Your relations to each other, the kinds of male-female relations, the kind of way you look at the world is one of struggle,... The point is this people change, people are changing constantly through the process of revolution. I can't give you a formula for what life is going to be like. All I can say is that this country is falling apart. Whether we like it or whether we even know it now or not. And that there is no choice. There is absolutely no choice.

ROUSE: You have talked around my question but you have not given me any kind of an answer, you...

RUDD: I said I don't know. But I said things are so bad, things are so bad world wide that the American people you and I don't have a choice. That the revolution is being forced on us by outside force and that is good.

ROUSE: In other words you are doing away with class structures?

RUDD: We are saying that classes are exploitative. Absolutely and that most of the people in the world are on the bottom and many people in the U.S. are on the bottom and that as far as material goods are concerned everyone should have the means of life, absolutely.

ROUSE: Then you are also taking away from individual incentive then?
RUDD: Well, I don't know about individual incentive. Considering that in socialist countries, I have been in one socialist country, people do something that in a lot of ways is greater. The incentive is to work for the people as a whole, for the whole country, or actually in Cuba where I worked, the people not only worked for the Cuban people but also worked and struggled and produced stuff for the people of the whole world. In this tiny little country but they have what is called socialist consciousness, communist consciousness and it is not just based on me first. I am not condemning the American people for saying me first. I am saying that is the way the system is.

ROUSE: Well, are you saying to me then that life in Cuba and life in Russia and life in North Vietnam or any other communist country is better than life in the U.S.

RUDD: Well, first of all, I think that it is true that life in Cuba for the Cuban people is a lot better off than in a lot of ways than life in the U.S., even though they have tremendous economic problems for a tiny country. Russia I am not going to defend, because I don't think Russia is a communist country.

ROUSE: You leave me with the impression you feel like we're in Vietnam for our own gain, that we are there because we want the property in South Vietnam and for no other reason. Is that what you believe?

RUDD: This is a political gain absolutely. But an economical and political gain. The U.S. very much wants to build a ring of satellites around China in order to hold in and also wants to hold back social revolution.

ROUSE: Right, they want to contain communism.

RUDD: Yes.

ROUSE: Which is what you are opposed to.

RUDD: Which you favor.
RUDD: We are saying that communism is a system that benefits the people of the world and will eventually benefit the Americans. But we say that there is a lot of gain. Now look they may not be gaining so much in Vietnam although there are certain rubber plantations, a lot of resources to be directed in Vietnam. But Latin America is a real gem, for the Americans, it has got oil, it has got lots of natural resources in the line of minerals. It has got agricultural products. Latin America is a good place to invest American money, and the Americans know, excuse me the American ruling class not the people generally know that if Vietnam falls that the people who are really miserable, who are really bad off in Latin America, are going to be taking up a gun like the Vietnamese people have done. Sixteen million Vietnamese in South Vietnam and another sixteen million in North Vietnam have just about defeated the U.S. And that is a real kind of source of strength for Latin America.

ROUSE: What do you think would be the situation if FIDEL CASTRO had a piece of the action down in South America?

RUDD: Well, FIDEL CASTRO and the Communist Party too does have a piece of the action, that is Cuba and the situation has been that the U.S. is totally freaked out because they lost their sugar industry in Cuba, they lost their, a lot of their investments in industry in Cuba that made a tremendous profit. And they lost political control of that country. In Cuba, I was there a year and a half ago...

ROUSE: How long were you there?

RUDD: For four weeks and I speak Spanish and I went everywhere I wanted and I spoke to hundreds of people. In Cuba I found that over the nine year period at that time roads had been built, schools had been built, people had businesses when they had been hungry before, and hospitals in rural areas where before no doctors went. Doctors stayed in Havana to treat the wealthy.
RUDD: Well, a lot of good, solid anti-communist questions. The only thing that I can say about all of them is boil them down and to give a short answer which is that I am part of a faction that is somewhat Maoist. We believe that third world revolution is happening, that the black struggle is happening, it is starting now. Are you going to fight? Are you going to be on the side of people who are oppressed against the oppressors. Are you going to be for building a much, a much better society, and to say that this is a racist is a terrible distortion, an absolute distortion. There is one other thing I want to talk about. That is we are holding demonstrations and actions in Chicago next week. It is going to be around the trial of eight people who were charged with federal crime of incitement to riot for last year's Chicago Democratic Convention actions. Our demands are U.S. out of Vietnam, one demand. Another demand is police, occupation troops out of black communities. And U.S. troops out of everywhere in the world, 65 countries where they are occupying bases and where they are actually maintaining the American rule. Those are our demands, or major demands.

ROUSE: All right in the Indiana State University newspaper, that we are quoting BOB MILLER now who is the head of the SDS Chapter here. He says our main emphasis will be on the total governmental structures of the U.S. and the war will only be a particular instance for the U.S. policy.

RUDD: OK, then read on what else he said. And the example of their imperialism. What he is saying is that there is a system, imperialism. You mentioned the word before. You used the word. The system of creating an empire. The word is a part of that. It is the most hideous part of that, it is the part that is destroying Vietnam and destroying the U.S. reciprocally and it is clear that it is destroying the U.S. if people just have eyes to look around them. The way we can begin is by fighting that war. By actually ending it in Vietnam and continuing the same war that the Vietnamese have fought against this small class here at home. That is why we use the slogan bring the war home for this action.
ROUSE: You are talking about, MARK, a lot of people pretty outspoken as you are yourself. What you propose well let me rephrase that, in any other country, in a communist country today do you think that you would have the freedom of speech that you have in this country?

RUDD: In a communist country today I would be fighting, doing the same thing I am doing now. Fighting on the side of the Vietnamese and the blacks, fighting on the side of the revolution. About freedom of speech, I will ----- freedom of speech in this country until such time as it becomes effective. Then I would be put in jail or killed. Already they sent me up on a phony pot charge, a marijuana charge in New York State. Already they are trying to move, the government is trying to move in a number of ways, to put a lot of us in jail. Part of the liberalism of this country is the people believing that freedom of speech exists. It exists only to the time it is effective. Now if I was in Cuba and I fought for a revolution that freed the Cuban people from total misery and freed them from the U.S., I would not really much like the idea of someone coming along and advocating that Cuba go back to a system of misery and slavery.
MICHAEL LOUIS SPIEGEL

SPIEGEL is a white male who was born on August 16, 1946, in Portland, Oregon. A former National Secretary of SDS in 1967-1968, SPIEGEL joined the WUO faction in 1969, and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. He attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. He submerged into the underground in early 1970 and continues to remain therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 26, 1967, SPIEGEL, born August 16, 1946, at Portland, Oregon, made application for a passport at Chicago and was issued U.S. Passport 
26746539 on the same date in Chicago. The passport contained restrictions against travel to Cuba, mainland China, North Korea, North Vietnam and the Syrian Arab Republic. He listed his permanent address as 1919 Southwest Stephenson Street, Portland, Oregon, and his mailing address as 1619 West Warren Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, in care of VENEZIALE. He applied for the passport for travel to England and France for a one month stay for the purpose of sightseeing and indicated his approximate departure date as November 1, 1967.

On May 21, 1968, source made available the April 12, 1968, edition of "Bohemia," a weekly news magazine published in Havana, Cuba, under the direction and control of the Cuban government. On page 47 of that magazine there appeared an article concerning SPIEGEL, as translated from the Spanish language, which revealed in part the following information:

Mike Spiegel, leader of the organization Students for a Democratic Society, telephonically advised Radio Havana, Cuba on the status of the racial struggle in Chicago, Illinois, during the month of April, 1968. Spiegel, speaking from Chicago, advised that on Saturday, April 6th, during the evening, they brought tanks into the streets and there were big fire fights here. Only two or three blocks from this office, large fires broke out. Our group organized a demonstration in which 300 persons took part. We marched toward the Headquarters of the National Guard.
but the troops attacked us with tear gas. Fifty of our comrades were arrested.

Speigel further concluded that we are taking the initiative so that the problems of racism and in racial genocide in the United States will be brought before the United Nations.

A meeting for the Committee for University Reform of American University was held at 4202 River Road, N.W., Washington, D.C., on September 11, 1968, attended by approximately 40 people, including American University students, faculty members and members of the Washington, D.C. Regional Office of SDS. SPIEGEL, a former national secretary of SDS, was among those present.
CATHY WILKERTON

CATHY WILKERTON is a white female who was born on January 14, 1945 in Bronxville, New York. Presently considered to be one of the leaders of the WUO, WILKERTON was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. In March, 1970 she was observed fleeing her father's townhouse in New York in company with WUO member KATHIE BOUDIN as the building was being destroyed by a series of explosions. Investigation disclosed the location to have been a WUO "bomb factory." Three WUO members died in the blast.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In September, 1970 it was ascertained that in November, 1967 the North Vietnamese Embassy in Phnom Penh had requested reservations for four individuals including WILKERTON on the November 24 flight of the International Control Commission's flight to Hanoi.

The December 18, 1967 edition of the SDS' official publication, "New Left Notes" contained an article entitled, "Delegation to Hanoi Returns" in which it was indicated that WILKERTON was among a group of four individuals who had visited Paris, France and Cambodia in November, 1967 their ultimate destination being Hanoi. Due to heavy bombing of Hanoi they were unable to get to North Vietnam but stayed ten days in Cambodia having discussions with Vietnamese officials and Cambodians. WILKERTON has made numerous speeches and written several articles concerning her experiences in the Far East, in all of which she has stressed failing morale of U.S. troops.
The Volume 2, Number 3, January 15, 1968 issue of "Spark," an SDS publication at the University of Maryland, reflects an article on pages 1 and 2, written by CATHY WILKESON, captioned "The U.S. Is Losing In Vietnam, A Report On A Trip To Cambodia," which stated, in part, the following:

I recently returned from a ten day trip to Cambodia. The Federation of Youth of the Democratic Republic in Vietnam (North Vietnam) had invited a delegation from the American student movement to come to the DRV and meet with North Vietnamese students and young working people. The delegation consisted of three people from Students for a Democratic Society, and one person from the Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam.

...As a result, the group stayed in Cambodia, where we met and talked to both representatives of the DRV and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF). Of all the information we collected in our talks, the single most outstanding fact (and the one which will most shock those of us who learn about the war only through the U.S. mass media) is that the NLF feels that it is decisively winning the war, and that the U.S. is in fact in a desperate military situation....
DONNA JEAN WILLMOTT

DONNA WILLMOTT is a white female who was born on June 30, 1950 in Akron, Ohio and whose whereabouts have been unknown for several years. She has in the past been an associate of various WUO support people.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Between August 2-19, 1971, DONNA WILLMOTT was observed in the presence of several known Weather Underground support individuals by representatives of the FBI. These individuals included JENNIFER DORN (sister of Weatherman fugitive BERNARDINE DORN), JEFFREY HARRIS, DENNIS CUNNINGHAM, SUSAN WAYS DORD, and LAURA WHITEHORN, all believed to be currently involved in Weather Underground support.

During the course of an investigation to trace the flight of Dr. TIMOTHY LEARY from prison in California to Algeria in 1970.

Investigation at the Sheraton O'Hare Airport Hotel in Rosemont, Illinois in July, 1974 by SAS of the FBI disclosed that YADEM, who used the name HEATHER FLOYD, had telephoned number 608-255-1146 from the room she occupied during the time that she and LEARY were in Chicago. It was subsequently determined that this number was listed to 1230 East Dayton Street, Madison, Wisconsin which was the residence of WILLMOTT at the time. (September 22, 1970)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DONNA JEAN WILLMOTT traveled under U.S. passport number K1640837 to Cuba with the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade to Cuba. She departed from Mexico City, Mexico via air to Havana on November 28, 1969.
B. Former WUO Adherents

Included in this subsection are inserts on former "underground" WUO members. WUO members who failed to submerge into the "underground" in early 1970, WUO support persons who have functioned so closely with the WUO that they themselves may be considered as "underground" functionaries from time to time, and certain more important members of the PFOC.*

It should also be noted that prior to their surrender in early 1976, underground WUO members CELESTE MAURINE MC CULLOUGH and JOHN RYTIS SKARDIS were in several European countries traveling under U.S. passports issued on false identifications. Their exact activities while abroad are unknown and it is not known if the couple had any contacts with representatives of unfriendly foreign powers while in Europe.
STEWARD EDWARD ALBERT

STEWARD ALBERT is a white male who was born in New York City on December 4, 1939. ALBERT, who lives with JUDITH HEMBLEN, has frequently associated with WUO support people and traveled to Algeria in association with JENNIFER DOHRN and BRIAN FLANAGAN to meet with Dr. TIMOTHY LEARY in 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

ALBERT was issued a United States passport on January 31, 1963, and indicated his intention to travel from New York (NY) for a period of eight months study and travel in Europe.

(CG T-62, 6/23/64)

JUDITH HEMBLEN had departed for Algiers, Algeria, with STEW ALBERT via Canada to meet with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER for a period of three weeks.

ALBERT visited Santiago, Chile, with JERRY RUBIN, from August 2 - September 24, 1971.

On September 9, 1975, KURT GROENWALD was observed by a Special Agent of the FBI departing 102 West 14th Street, New York City, accompanied by ELLEN RAY, JUDY HEMBLEN and STEWART ALBERT.
CHRISTOPHER LYNN BAKKE,
Aka "Kit"

"KIT" BAKKE is a white female who was born in Seattle, Washington, on December 23, 1946. She was arrested during the NUO sponsored "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

TOP SECRET
PIERRE JOSEPH BARTHÉL

JOE BARTHÉL is a white male who was born on September 8, 1945, in New York. BARTHÉL was an active WUO member in 1969 and more recently has been active in the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) in the San Francisco area. He is presently one of the National Officers running the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

PIERRE BARTHÉL is considered to be a member of the Weatherman faction of SDS.

BARTHÉL was connected with the Weatherman faction of SDS in early 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

PIERRE BARTHÉL returned to the United States from Cuba on February 12, 1970, where he participated in a contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. On February 17, 1970, BARTHÉL held a press conference at the Diplomat Hotel, New York City, during which BARTHÉL attacked the United States in general terms.

(CG T-58, 2/13/70)
EDWARD J. BENEDICT
Aka. "Corky"

"CORKY" BENEDICT is a white male who was born on November 4, 1936, in Ohio. BENEDICT, who was a WUO leader in Cincinnati, Ohio, during much of 1969, was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO's "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On January 22-21, 1970, it was ascertained that BENEDICT had been a leader of the SDS Cincinnati, Ohio, Collective, until late 1969. Following the Flint War Council December 27-31, 1969, BENEDICT was "purged" from the WUO faction as an "obstructionist" and for lacking personal courage.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
ARLENE WILMA BERGMAN  
Aka Arlene Wilma Eisen,  
Mrs. Lincoln Bergman

ARLENE BERGMAN is a white female who was born on November 4, 1942, in New York City. She is separated from her husband LINCOLN BERGMAN. ARLENE BERGMAN is employed as a college lecturer and has written numerous articles and a book entitled "Women of Vietnam." BERGMAN functioned as a part of the WUO underground in 1970 and more recently has been active in the PFOC, of which organization she is presently a national leader.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation
Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

An article appeared in the "Oakland Tribune" newspaper, Oakland, California, on October 6, 1974, which was captioned "U.S. Women Visit Vietnam," and bylined Tokyo:

Two American women visited the Viet Cong areas in South Vietnam last month and discussed the role women play in the country, Hanoi's official Vietnam News Agency has reported.

The report, monitored in Tokyo, said the women were Arlene Eisen Bergman and Margaret Randall. The report did not identify them further or give their home towns.

Quoting the Viet Cong's Giai Phong Press Agency, VNA said the two women made the visit at the invitation of the South Vietnam Liberation Women's Union.

It said they were warmly welcomed and talked with many people on "the struggle of the American people, particularly women, for an end to military involvement and intervention by U.S. administration in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and to U.S. and to President Nguyen Van Thieu."

On January 27, 1975, ARLENE BERGMAN was observed by Special Agents of the FBI at Union Square, San Francisco, speaking to a group of a few hundred who had gathered to hear speeches on the second anniversary of the signing of the Paris peace agreement. She was the featured speaker.
her talk lasting about twenty minutes. Leaflets advertising the gathering listed her as a speaker, using the name “Arlene Eisen-Bergman, just returned from a month’s visit in Vietnam.” BERGMAN spoke on anti-American imperialism and involvement in Vietnam.

Following the speeches at Union Square, there was a march to the office of the South Vietnam Consul which resulted in a minor riot with several people arrested. BERGMAN was not among those arrested.

On April 25, 1975, ARLENE BERGMAN was arrested by the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) and charged with “Trespass/to injure property.” These charges were based on BERGMAN’s participation in a sit-in at the Office of the Army, Field Operations Agency. This sit-in was held by a group calling themselves The Women’s Committee to Implement the Paris Peace Agreement. Twenty women, including BERGMAN, entered the Army’s Office and proceeded to sing, use the telephones, and generally disrupt the Army’s business operation. All participants were arrested, among them some of the more influential radical women in the Bay Area.

On May 17, 1975, a meeting was held in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, between four representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and approximately 250 West Coast radicals. Those attending from the West Coast were specifically invited to the function as a result of their support for the North Vietnamese over the United States and support of revolutionary struggles in general. The Steering Committee for the function was composed of seven women and chaired by ARLENE EISEN-BERGMAN.

In August, 1975, The People’s Press, San Francisco, published a special one-issue newspaper entitled “Viet Nam—Whose Victory? Whose Defeat?” Included in this issue is an article which encompassed three-fourths of the issue “Liberation, the South Vietnamese People Celebrate Complete Independence.” This article is bylined “Arlene Eisen Bergman — May 27, 1975.” Included in this article by BERGMAN are the following statements:

After a nine year war, the Vietnamese people won independence from France. The U.S. tried to sabotage this victory by creating the Diem regime in the South, a repressive government which was never popular with the South Vietnamese people.
Saigon became a cracked mirror image of the worst of U.S. culture: a haven for pimps, dope pushers, Honda-riding cowboys, and a series of corrupt administrations bought by U.S. Dollars.

Now in Saigon, under the political administration of the PRG, the city is returning to normal.

For twenty years, the U.S. government has justified U.S. aggression in Vietnam with stories about North Vietnamese invasion, bloodbaths, and revenge. The publication of the Pentagon papers gives us the opportunity to find the origin of these horror stories. There, we can read memos by generals and top Pentagon and State Department officials boasting about their psychological warfare campaigns systematically using 'dirty tricks' and lies. This psychological warfare is now designed to convince the world that those Vietnamese who worked for the U.S. or Saigon side are in great danger.

After twenty years of brainwashing by U.S. psychological warfare, people will have the opportunity to learn about the real accomplishments of the PRG in the areas that have been liberated for a long time. They will also learn more about the way the socialist society of the North serves the people.

His (Ho Chi Minh) teaching, 'Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom' symbolized the peoples' determination and will to defeat U.S. imperialism.

On Friday, April 30, 1976, there was a benefit held for the celebration of Ho Chi Minh's 86th birthday and celebration of the one-year anniversary of the unification of Vietnam. The $2.50 donation for admission was being sent for the reconstruction of Vietnam. The benefit was held at Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco. There were approximately 600 people in attendance and ARLENE BERGMAN and LINCOLN BERGMAN were among them.
LINCOLN BERGMAN,  
Aka Oscar Cohen

LINCOLN BERGMAN is a white male who was born on  
October 27, 1944, in Berkeley, California. He is separated  
from his wife ARLENE EISEN BERGMAN. LINCOLN BERGMAN functioned  
as a part of the WUO underground in 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TOP SECRET
DR. ALAN BERKMAN, M.D.

Dr. BERKMAN is a white male who was born on September 4, 1945, in Brooklyn, New York. BERKMAN is active in the PFOC in the New York area and was until recently one of the national leaders of that organization.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
BERZON is a white male who was born on December 25, 1950, in Newark, New Jersey. BERZON was considered to be a WUO member in Massachusetts in 1969 and continued his WUO contacts in later years.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

In November, 1969, it was reported that MARSHALL BERZON, who was a student at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont, was leaving the college in company with five other students for the purpose of performing assignments with various SDS Regional Headquarters.

As of 1970 MARSHALL BERZON resided at 801 East Elizabeth Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, and in June, 1970, BERZON indicated to other "movement members" that he had not been doing much in connection with the "movement" lately but that he still believes in violence. He further commented that blowing up the New York police station by "our brothers and sisters" "has got to be the greatest action ever."

The records of the Cambridge, Massachusetts, District Court, Probation Office, revealed MARSHALL PERRY BERZON, who was born December 25, 1950, at Newark, New Jersey, was arrested by the Cambridge Police Department on November 17, 1969, and charged with the offense of Conspiracy to Commit Murder. BERZON, along with other individuals who were identified as Weatherman, was arrested for firing rifle shots into the Cambridge Police Department. On November 28, 1969, no probable cause was found and the charge was dismissed. The records reflect that at the time of the arrest BERZON listed an address of 509 Franklin Street, Cambridge. At the time of his arrest a Japanese brand rifle, name unknown, Serial #28806, with a bayonet was found at this address.
Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the PASSPORT Office, United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C., made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which according to the USDS departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. MARSHALL PERRY BERZON's name appears on this list.

A copy of the Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, student newspaper "It's Alright Na" dated March 18, 1970, reflects an article entitled "Venceremos." This article indicates that on February 12, 1970, the "Luis Arcos Bergnes," a ship of Cuban registry, sailed from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, for Cuba and that two ex-Goddard College students, MARSHALL BERZON and TOM COOK, four enrolled students MARTHA TROLIN, PAUL MILLER, JANET SCHNEIDER and MARC FLIEGELMAN, along with JOE GIRFFITH, 13 year old son of PAT GRIFFITH, a faculty member, were among the 499 American members of the Second Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade aboard the ship. The article further indicated the group will return to the United States at the end of April (1970).

On April 29, 1970, the Passport Office, USDS, advised that MARSHALL PERRY BERZON arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, at approximately 8:00 AM on April 28, 1970, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." A notation was made that BERZON was a member of the Venceremos Brigade. Upon his return to the United States, BERZON provided his current address as Avenue America Miranda 1102B, Las Lomas, Puerto Rico.
DANA HOPE BIBERMAN

DANA BIBERMAN is a white female who was born on February 24, 1951, in Philadelphia Pennsylvania. Active in SDS chapter in New York Columbia University in 1968 and 1969. BIBERMAN has more recently been active in the PFOC in New York.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

During early October 1969, BIBERMAN was identified as being a member of the WUO.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 16, 1975, BIBERMAN traveled to Cuba with the Eighth Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade in company with 125 - 135 others.

Miscellaneous Travel

It was learned on December 15, 1975, that BIBERMAN had been in Puerto Rico and would return on that date if she had not already returned on December 14th.
NANCY BIBERMAN

NANCY BIBERMAN is a white female who was born on February 22, 1948, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She is the sister of DANA BIBERMAN who has been active in the New York chapter of PFOC. NANCY BIBERMAN was active in the Columbia University chapter of SDS.

MUO/PFOC Affiliation

NANCY BIBERMAN was an active leader of the SDS chapter at Columbia University in New York until her graduation from that college in June, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NANCY BIBERMAN was a part of the SDS group that traveled to Cuba during the period of August 26 - September 17, 1968.

On January 8, 1969, during a SDS Commentary Series broadcast over New York radio station WBAA-FM (99.5 on the dial), announcer NICK FREUDENBERG of the New York SDS Regional Staff, introduced NANCY BIBERMAN of Columbia University SDS as one of the SDS people, including himself, who had spent a month in Cuba touring the country in the fall of 1968.
NEAL BIRNBAUM

NEAL BIRNBAUM is a white male who was born in Monterey, California, on December 25, 1944. He was active in handling the legal defense of individuals arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and was himself arrested during these confrontations with Chicago Police.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On December 16, 1969, NEAL BIRNBAUM was heard on an evening broadcast over Radio Havana making the following statement:

My name is Neal Birnbaum. I am also from Boston and I want to say that the same struggles that the Cubans are fighting here against the United States is the struggle that we will fight when we get back to the United States and helping the Cubans in harvesting the sugar cane is (unintelligible) against the United States.
DIANA BLOCK

DIANA BLOCK is a white female who was born on May 16, 1949, in New York, New York. She is the National Treasurer for the PFOC and is active in the San Francisco PFOC chapter.

MUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
JEFFREY DAVID BLUM

JEFF BLUM is a white male who was born on December 7, 1946, in Baltimore, Maryland. BLUM was arrested during the NUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

NUO/PFOC Affiliation

As of September, 1969, JEFF BLUM was considered one of the activists of the Chicago Regional, Weatherman Faction SDS.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On July 26, 1971, passport records at the United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C. reflected that JEFFREY BLUM was issued passport 004123 on May 2, 1968, in Chicago, Illinois, and listed his proposed travel as England, France, West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia, Italy, Hungary, Romania, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. BLUM stated he planned to travel to these countries via Trans Globe Airways about June 14, 1968.

"Berkeley Tribe" is a new left newspaper published in Berkeley, California.
BURLINGHAM is a white male who was born on March 25, 1946, in New York, New York. He was highly active in the WUO during its early existence and functioned in the underground in 1970. He was arrested during the WUO sponsored "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago in October, 1969. During his time in the WUO he often utilized the name "Arlo Jacobs."

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

"The National Observer," a national weekly newspaper in its edition of December 28, 1973, contained an article entitled "Yesterdays Weathermen--They're No Longer Scaring 'Honky Amerika.'" The article contained an interview with ROBERT BURLINGHAM who was characterized as a former member of the Detroit 15, the alleged "Weather Bureau" of Weathermen indicted in July, 1970, on charges of conspiring to blow up military installations, police stations, educational facilities and various public buildings. The indictment against BURLINGHAM was subsequently dismissed.

The article stated that in 1968 while in France as a Fulbright Scholar, BURLINGHAM participated in the Paris street riots and came home convinced that taking his convictions to the streets was the fastest way to hasten the revolution. His convictions were reinforced by a summer in Cuba (1969), meeting with National Liberation Front, North Vietnamese, and Cuban revolutionaries. He acted on his convictions during the "Four Days of Rage" that fall in Chicago, Illinois.
According to the "National Observer" article, when Weatherman leaders decided to go underground in the late winter of 1969, BURLINGHAM decided not to go underground but that does not mean that he disavows his Weatherman past. BURLINGHAM said "I support what the Weather underground has done--the bombings," and he continues to believe that violence must accompany the kind of radical social change that he advocates.

A paperback book published by Grove Press, Inc., New York, New York, was purchased by Special Agents of the FBI. This book entitled "Fidel Castro Speaks" contains a selection of speeches by CASTRO, which as noted on the back cover "most clearly defines the Cuban "Road to Communism."

The back cover adds that the speeches range from on counter-revolution given by CASTRO on December 5, 1969, to his July, 1968, speech and these selections are "designed to reveal CASTRO's developing revolutionary thinking."

Acknowledgements by the book's editors lists ARLO JACOBS as among those who helped in putting the book together.

(NOTE: Fellow travelers to Cuba with BURLINGHAM included such leading WUO functionaries as BERNARDINE DOHRN, PETER CLAPP, ELEANOR RASKIN, DIANA OUGHTON and TED GOLD. The former three are presently functioning in the underground and the latter two were killed in the explosion of a WUO bomb factory in New York in early 1970.)
DAVID IRA CAMP

CAMP is a white male who was born on July 17, 1949, in Reading, Pennsylvania. He was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS National Office during late 1969 and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. He attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DAVID IRA CAMP was a member of the Second Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade when returned to the United States from Cuba via Canada on April 28, 1970.
GEORGE ALEXANDER CAVALLETTO, JR.

GEORGE CAVALLETTO is a white male who was born on May 25, 1938, at Bronx, New York. He is married to SHEILA PATRICIA RYAN. CAVALLETTO attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting in December, 1969.

SDS/WUO Affiliation

CAVALLETTO attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting held in December, 1969.

( Testimony of DR. WILLIAM R. KINTNER, before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, June 18, 1976. KINTNER indicated this information emanated from records of the Flint, Michigan Police Department.)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In the October 15, 1969, issue of "Combat" magazine it was reported that in an article written by CAVALLETTO to Underground Newspaper Editors, he had described the propagandist as important to the soldier. He explained in the Viet Cong field that propaganda is of the highest importance in the revolutionary struggle.
SHEILA PATRICIA CAVALLETTI
aka. Sheila Ryan

PATRICIA CAVALLETTI is a white female who was born on March 1, 1945, in Oxnard, California. She was active in the SDS in 1968-1969 and more recently has been active in the PFOC. She is married to GEORGE ALEXANDER CAVALLETTI, JR.

SDS/WUO Affiliation

SHEILA RYAN attended the SDS National Convention in Chicago on June 18, 1969.

The first meeting of the Palestine Solidarity Committee was held in New York on January 20, 1976, amidst tight security. Members of the PFOC participated in this meeting and provided some of the security guards. The main speaker of the session was SHAFIK AL HOUT of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon. Others answering questions during the meeting were BASIL AD AQL, a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations and YASSER ABD AR RABDOU who is a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee and head of the Palestine Liberation Organization Information Department.

(Testimony of DR. WILLIAM R. KINTNER, Before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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"The Washington Free Press," a Washington "hippie" newspaper, in the issue dated March 27, 1968, contained an article entitled "Cuba" by SHEILA RYAN. The following note was printed beneath the title:

I have just returned from a trip to Cuba with 20 people from the Students for a Democratic Society. We traveled throughout much of Cuba in an East German bus visiting schools, in farms and factories where arrangements had been made by our Cuban guides or stop on impulse to chat with men harvesting sugar cane, a peasant family, a group of students. We were free to romp where he pleased and spent a substantial portion of our time away from our guides, talking to many who supported the revolution, and some few who opposed it.
WILLIAM ALEXANDER CLEVELAND

WILLIAM CLEVELAND is a white male who was born on November 23, 1951 in Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND was active in WUO affairs in Ohio in 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WILLIAM CLEVELAND attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

T O P S E C R E T
KENNETH CLOKE  
(Also see John Fuerst)

KEN CLOKE is a white male who was born on May 28, 1941, in San Francisco, California. A long-time SDS activist in the mid-late 1960s CLOKE has directly been involved with the WUO since its submergence into the underground. CLOKE is an attorney by profession and is an active member of the National Lawyers Guild.

WUO Affiliations

Alleged Contact with BERNARDINE DOHRN

advised that during the summer of 1971 BERNARDINE DOHRN had been in Venice, California, and according to DOHRN had been in contact with CLOKE.
CLOKE attended an international anti-war meeting in Nagoya, Japan, on August 11, 1968. During the meeting CLOKE delivered an address wherein he stated "If a revolution is to occur in the United States, it will most likely be started by the young American workers who are now in Vietnam. In the U.S., workers are aiding North Vietnam. I, myself, joined the (SDS) to engage in this activity...as its mission, our (SDS) aims at dismantling of the industrial structure and abolition of the wage-labor system and at world revolution..."

(OG H-101, 11/19/68)

On March 7, 1969, it was ascertained that the regional SDS leaders and activists in Los Angeles were JAMES FITE, SHARON FITE, JOHN JOHNSON and KENNETH CLOKE who is also Executive Secretary for the National Lawyers Guild.
NADINE MARSHA COHEN

NADINE COHEN is a white female who was born on July 10, 1949. COHEN was an active member of the SDS chapter at Ithaca College in 1969 and more recently has been active in the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

COHEN was a member of the SDS chapter at Ithaca College, Ithaca, New York.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
LOU COLE,  
Aka Lewis Cole

LOU COLE is a white male who was born on May 25, 1946, in New York, New York. One of the leaders of the SDS riots at Columbia University in New York in 1968, COLE continued his active membership in the Columbia SDS chapter well into 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In June, 1968, it was learned that LEWIS COLE had traveled to Frankfurt, Germany, in June, 1968. He also traveled to the Netherlands, Spain and France and met with student leaders in these countries. He also met with Socialist Party members in France.

(CG T-108, 6/17/68)

The June 14, 1968, issue of the "New York Times," a New York daily newspaper, carried an article captioned "Student Leaders on British TV" on page two of the first section. In this article it was indicated that LOU COLE of the Columbia University SDS had met with student leaders from ten European countries. Mention was made of a rally to be held to show solidarity for the unification of student groups from all over the world.
THOMAS BRAINERD COOK

THOMAS COOK is a white male who was born on June 2, 1946, in St. Johnsbury, Vermont. He was active in the WUO in Massachusetts in 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

THOMAS COOK was a member of the Weatherman Faction of SDS in Cambridge, Massachusetts as of November 1969.

The records of the Cambridge District Court, Probation Office, as reflected on January 20, 1970, indicate THOMAS BRAINERD COOK, a student at Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, who was born on June 2, 1946, was arrested by the Cambridge Police Department on November 17, 1969, and charged with the offense of Conspiracy to Commit Murder. COOK, along with other individuals who were identified as Weatherman, was arrested for firing rifle shots into the Cambridge Police Department. On November 28, 1969, no probable cause was found and the charge dismissed. The records further reflect that at the time of the arrest, COOK listed an address of 507 Franklin Street, Cambridge.

COOK had previously been identified as purchasing in Vermont on September 29, 1969, a Charter Arms Revolver, .38 caliber, serial #50304; a Radom Model 7.35mm gun, serial #L2133; a Colt Model Commander, .38 caliber, serial #VT 13510; Echasa Model MAB, .32 caliber, serial #37922; and a Wards Westernfield 16-gauge shotgun, serial #V80091.

On June 8, 1970, an individual, later positively identified as THOMAS BRAINERD COOK, attempted to purchase dynamite from the New England Explosives Corporation, 249 Washington Street, Keene, New Hampshire. COOK did not appear to know anything about dynamite as he attempted to buy "ditching" dynamite for the reported purpose of blowing up stumps on his land. Ditching dynamite is primarily used by farmers in digging ditches and is not to be used for stump removal.
Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the Passport Office, USPS, Washington, D.C., made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes" which, according to the USPS, departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. THOMAS BRAINERD COOK's name appears on this list. COOK is further described by the Passport Office, USPS, as being born June 2, 1946, at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and the holder of United States Passport No. 137927.

On April 29, 1970, the Passport Office, USPS, advised that THOMAS BRAINERD COOK arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, at approximately 8:00 AM on April 28, 1970, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." A notation was made that COOK was a member of the Venceremos Brigade. Upon his return to the United States, COOK provided his current address as St. John's Street, Johnson, Vermont.

An article appeared in the May 14, 1970, edition of the "Commentator," which is the school newspaper of Johnson State College, concerning TOM COOK's trip to Cuba. In the article on page one entitled "COOK SPEAKS," it was indicated that COOK felt that on the basis of movies shown and discussions held with the Vietnamese while he was in Cuba, the Americans were losing the war in Vietnam. The article continued the reason COOK felt this was that the war is a "People's War" and the "people" are fighting it on their own territory. COOK is quoted as stating the slogan "Those pigs in the White House can put a man on the moon but they can never put a man in Hanoi" is a well known Vietnamese slogan. The article further states that COOK spoke of Cuba's education system. He pointed out that Cuban Universities do not give degrees. The student goes to school until the teacher feels he has learned enough so that he can pass on his knowledge to others. On a visit to an elementary school he was amazed by the academic interest shown by the students and asked a teacher how discipline problems were dealt with. Her reply was "we don't have such problems."
EDITH GERREL CRICHTON,
Aka. Barbara Bakar

EDITH CRICHTON is a white female who was born on September 1, 1947, in Syracuse, New York. CRICHTON was arrested during the NUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

NUO-PFOC Affiliation

On June 15, 1970, in Washington, D.C., advised... EDITH CRICHTON was a member of the SDS Weatherman faction in the fall of 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

EDITH GERREL CRICHTON advised that in May, 1970, she had traveled to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade. She was full of enthusiasm and praise for the Cuban government and for the way of life under the Cuban communist system. EDITH CRICHTON also stated that the SDS and the Weatherman faction had broken up. She also said she was opposed to the use of explosives as they had been used in New York City, but believed the time for revolution in the United States was "now."
Mona Helen Cunningham,
Aka. Mona Helen Mellis

Mona Cunningham is a white female who was born on December 17, 1934, at New York, New York. She is separated from her husband, attorney Dennis Dickson Cunningham. Mona Cunningham has been involved with the WUO underground on several occasions during its existence and has apparently been in contact with WUO fugitives. She attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
JOHN WILLARD DAVIS

JOHN DAVIS is a white male who was born on July 20, 1949, in Takoma Park, Maryland. DAVIS was an active member of the SDS in Ohio and elected to the nine-man Provisionary Revolutionary Staff controlling SDS affairs in the area in mid-1969. DAVIS submerged into the WUU underground in early 1970.

WUU/PFOC Affiliation

During the Midwest Regional Conference in Akron, Ohio, from July 18-20, 1969, the SDS created a "Provisionary Revolutionary Staff" to replace the Midwest Regional Staff. JOHN DAVIS was selected as one of the nine people on this staff.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C., newspaper, contained an article on September 21, 1968, captioned "U.S. War Foes Meet With Hanoi Group" which describes the trip of 28 American war foes who traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to discuss strategy on U.S. campuses. The meeting was held in Budapest September 5-9, 1968. VERNON GRIZZARD, one of the travelers who was described as being a former vice president of SDS, was indicated to have stated that the "...North Vietnamese give no directions for activities in the United States, but were pleased and interested in 'our' plans."

On September 21, 1968, it was ascertained that JOHN DAVIS was one of 20 travelers who departed New York for Budapest, Hungary, on September 3, 1968. The group subsequently departed Budapest for Paris, France, on September 10, 1968, and departed Paris en route to New York on September 23, 1968.
MICHAEL E. DEUTSCH

MIKE DEUTSCH is a white male who was born on May 9, 1945, in Chicago, Illinois. An attorney by profession, DEUTSCH has represented such apprehended or surrendered WUO members as WILLIAM WILLET, LEONARD HANDLESMAN and DANIEL HOWARD COHEN. More recently he has been an active member of the PFOC chapter in Chicago.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(CG T-18, 8/16/72)
JOHN DEWIND

JOHN DEWIND is a white male who was born on August 2, 1948, in New York, New York. DEWIND was active in the WUO in the early 1970s.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

DEWIND was an active member of the WUO in New York City and resided in a WUO commune during February, 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JOHN DEWIND was among the members of the Second Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade that arrived in Canada from Cuba via ship during April, 1970. DEWIND returned to the U.S. through Calais, Maine, on April 28, 1970.

(TOP SECRET 5/2/70)
MARC RAY DINSMORE

MARC DINSMORE is a white male who was born on May 13, 1955, in Washington, D.C. DINSMORE was arrested during the ACO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the UCC "Flint, Michigan War Council" in October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 10, 1969, DINSMORE identified himself as being a representative of the Finance Committee of the

MARC DINSMORE visited his father in Maryland on May 5, 1970, at which time he told him he had wanted to travel to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade, however, could not do so because he was apparently allergic to one of the necessary medications.

[Signature]

[Signature]
JENNIFER ELLEN DOHRN,
Aka. Jennifer Melendez,
Mrs. Mickey Melendez,
Jennifer Ellen Ohrnstein

JENNIFER DOHRN is a white female who was born on November 30, 1944, in Chicago, Illinois. She is the sister of WUO leader BERNARDINE RAÉ DOHRN and is presently one of the national leaders of the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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Diane D'Amico, Aka.
Dianne Marie Spiegel,
Dianne D'Amico Oberman,
Dianne D'Amico

Donghi is a white female who was born on February 11, 1949, in Neville-Sur-Seine, France. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969. Donghi submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970, however, was apprehended by the New York FBI Office during April, 1970.

WUO/FOC Affiliation

Donghi was an active member of the Columbia University SDS Chapter and was connected with the New York SDS.

Donghi was a member of the Weatherman Collective,
2 West Hollister Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Foreign Travels and/or Contacts
DOROTHY DUBE is a white female who was born on November 29, 1948, in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Long associated with the radical "left," DUBE befriended underground WUO member BARRY PHILLIP STEIN in 1970 and has more recently been marginally involved in the PFOC. DUBE is a close friend of KARLETON ARMSTRONG, who is currently incarcerated in Wisconsin State Prison for the 1970 bombing of the University of Wisconsin, Army Mathematics Research Center, in Madison, Wisconsin, during which explosion a college student was killed.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The "Milwaukee Sentinel," a daily Milwaukee newspaper, printed an article in the February 16, 1970, edition entitled "Cuban Harvest Worker Calls for Revolution." The article quoted DOROTHY DUBE as stating "Our purpose now is to spread revolution in this country. Of course, we didn't want to come back, but we did anyway. The thing about the Cuban revolution is that when you saw something good about Cuba, you wanted to come back to the United States and make revolution here." When asked how the revolution will be spread in this country, she said "What we do and what the movement does will answer that question."
ROBERT EUGENE DUGGAN

ROBERT DUGGAN is a white male who was born on March 31, 1939, in Los Angeles, California. Active in SDS, DUGGAN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On November 29, 1962, DUGGAN was arrested by Costa Rican authorities and charged as an agent of international communism for responsibility for riots in Costa Rica, November 24, 1962. He was subsequently deported to the U.S.

((CG T-120, 12/3-6/62))

DUGGAN attended the Hemispheric Conference to end the war in Vietnam at Montreal, Canada, from November 28 to December 1, 1968. This conference was composed of Communist Party members from North and South America.

In December, 1973, DUGGAN was arrested in Mexico after contacting Mexican radicals and revolutionaries.
ANDREA BOROFF EAGAN

EAGAN is a white female who was born on July 26, 1943, in New York, New York. She was a member of the WUO in New York in 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

ANDREA EAGAN was a member of the SDS-WUO faction in New York from September through November, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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RICHARD MATHES EAGAN

EAGAN is a white male who was born on January 3, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York. He was a WUO member in New York in 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

RICHARD EAGAN was a member of the SDS-WUO faction in New York from September through November, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
Allen Robert Emkin

Allen Emkin is a white male who was born on December 29, 1947. Active in SDS in the Los Angeles area, evidence exists that Emkin was involved with WUO underground member John Allen Fuerst in 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Emkin attended SDS meetings in Los Angeles, California, in 1969.

John Allen Fuerst, a Weatherman fugitive, under the name of William Allen Friedman, purchased 50 pounds of dynamite in Tucson, Arizona, on May 4, 1970, and transported it to Venice, California, in a vehicle owned by Terrri Ann Volpin. When Special Agents of the FBI attempted to contact Volpin, Emkin was present.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Emkin was in the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade and was in Cuba in 1970.
HOWIE EMMER is a white male who was born on December 24, 1946, in Cleveland, Ohio. A SDS leader at Kent State University in 1968, EMMER was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently EMMER occupied a national leadership position with the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 21, 1968, it was determined that HOWARD EMMER was one of a group of 20 persons who reportedly traveled to a group rate to Budapest, Hungary, departing New York City September 3, 1968, with arrangements and fares paid through the SDS, New York City. This group reportedly met with North Vietnamese representatives and those of the National Liberation Front.


According to the article, the meeting reportedly was held in Budapest, September 5-9, 1968, and was organized in the U.S. by DAVID DELINGER, head of the National Mobilization Committee and coalition of anti-war advocates. The article stated that nine of the above-mentioned 28 individuals took part in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention.
MELODY KAY ERMACHILD,
Aka. Melody Ayers, Melody
Chavis, Melody Thonson,
Karen Joyce Krogstad,
Melody Killian

MELODY ERMACHILD is a white female who was born on
September 15, 1943, in San Antonio, Texas. Formerly "married"
to RICHARD JAMES AYERS, a fugitive member of the WUO and the
brother of WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS, one of the leaders of the
WUO, MELODY resided in Canada during 1969 and was involved
in radical activities in that country. In 1970-1971 she
resided in the Northwestern U.S. and was a part of an under-
ground WUO "foco" which was involved in several bombings.
More recently she has been highly active in the PFOC in the
San Francisco area.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation
LINDA SUE EVANS

LINDA EVANS is a white female who was born on May 11, 1947, in Fort Dodge, Iowa. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and was present at the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. Considered a leader of the WUO, EVANS submerged into the underground in early 1970, however, was arrested by the FBI in New York on April 15, 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On July 15, 1969, EVANS advised that a press conference was held at John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, during the evening of July 15, 1969. One of the persons identified as going to North Vietnam to arrange for the release of prisoners was LINDA EVANS. EVANS read a statement indicating that SDS supported oppressed people throughout the world and supports the National Liberation Front's fight for freedom. The delegation departed that same evening for Paris, France.

On August 7, 1969, Special Agents of the FBI observed the arrival of seven of the delegates that had participated in the release of prisoners of war (POWs) and observed the arrival of the released POWs. All arrived via Trans World Airlines Flight 741. A brief press conference was held by released prisoners. A press conference was held at the International Arrivals Building by the peace delegation, and LINDA EVANS, who was described as a national office of SDS, stated SDS is on the side of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. She called the U.S. the aggressor, and equated North Vietnamese youths fighting the U.S. with American youths in this country fighting U.S. policies. She called for a mass demonstration October 11, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois.
An article captioned "Central Park-In - New York March Protests War" appeared on page three, issue August 11, 1969, of the "State News," official Michigan State University (MSU) student newspaper published at East Lansing, Michigan, and is in part as follows:

New York - More than 2500 demonstrators marched up Seventh Avenue to Central Park to protest the war in Vietnam. The demonstration marked the 24th anniversary of the dropping of an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan. Linda Evans, former MSU student, and a member of the East Lansing chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) spoke to the crowd about her recent trip to Hanoi. Miss Evans was part of a delegation sent to escort American prisoners of war back to the United States.

'Vietnam has the most devastating suffering in the world,' she said. 'There are whole cities razed to the ground. They feel no hate for Americans - just our leaders.' Believe me I was there. The Vietnamese are winning and will continue to fight for 40 years.'

On August 11, 1969, a meeting of SDS was held at St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, Detroit, Michigan, at which time LINDA EVANS spoke regarding her friendly reception in North Vietnam recently. EVANS voiced her admiration for the North Vietnamese people and explained the basic communist structure of that country. EVANS spoke in opposition to the American propaganda program against the North Vietnamese.

On August 19, 1969, the SDS Summer Project held a meeting at St. Joseph's Episcopal Church in Detroit and LINDA EVANS addressed the attendees with a speech about her North Vietnam trip. She spoke on the decentralization of factories, the coalition government, the extremely humane treatment given to captured American GIs and the effectiveness of American bombing in North Vietnam. EVANS spoke of the willingness of North Vietnamese women and boys to bear arms. She also commented on the ability of the North Vietnamese to utilize the inside of a large mountain situated near the demilitarized zone as a stable area to produce dyes.
The August 21-September 3, 1969, and the September 4-17, 1969, editions of "The Fifth Estate," a self-described underground newspaper published at Detroit, contained a two-part article entitled "Motor City Sister in North Vietnam" written by LINDA EVANS. The bulk of the articles is devoted to EVANS' description of her trip and of the Vietnamese country. EVANS concluded her article with the following statements:

...So, there is one alternative left for Nixon, and that is total withdrawal. This is clearly the only basis for free elections in South Vietnam. Nixon's proposal of having elections while American troops are still there is clearly absurd. Immediate withdrawal is what the Vietnamese define as total victory. This is what we are demanding in the National Action that SDS has called on October 8-11 in Chicago. To show our complete support and solidarity with the NLF, the PRG, and with the Vietnamese people, to demand the total and immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces not only from Vietnam, but from the black and brown colonies within the U.S., from all foreign countries, from the schools. We're demanding that Huey Newton and all political prisoners be immediately freed. We are expressing support and solidarity with the Conspiracy 8, and support of GI rebellions, all over the country, and especially in Vietnam.

Through the history of the peace movement in this country, we have begun to understand that the peaceful demonstrations and marches that we've had are not enough. The rulers of America have not been affected by our protest, or by our demonstrations, or by our anger. The time has come that they must not be allowed to have peace in this country while the war in Vietnam and while our wars of American aggression continue. By our passivity, by our occasional involvement in some kind of protest against the war, we allow the Vietnamese people to be slaughtered. We allow their country to be devastated. What we have to understand is that this is not some kind of abstract issue that doesn't affect American
people. We're directly responsible for letting this war continue. And it is our responsibility to join the struggle of the Vietnamese people to help them in their fight by opening another battle front here. We should bring the war home to America.

During the SDS National Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, August 29-September 1, 1969, LINDA EVANS gave a speech on August 29 concerning her recent trip to Hanoi and Vietnam. At one point in her speech, EVANS stated that she was shown an anti-aircraft gun used by Viet Cong women, and she cradled it in her arms and wished an American plane would fly over. EVANS talked about the economy of Vietnam and concluded her speech with an emotional speech about being a communist.
MARIAN RITA FEINBERG

MARIAN FEINBERG is a white female who was born on September 16, 1948, in Newark, New Jersey. She was active in the WUO in Massachusetts in 1969-1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARIAN RITA FEINBERG had been a member of the Cambridge, Massachusetts Weatherman group but as of about November, 1970, she had seemingly ceased such activity.

The "Boston Globe," a daily newspaper published in Boston, Massachusetts, in its November 19, 1969, edition carried an article reporting that 23 Weathermen, a faction of SDS, pleaded innocent to charges involving conspiracy to commit murder in connection with a sniper attack on Cambridge (Massachusetts) Police Headquarters on November 8, 1969. When the 23 individuals were arrested, four rifles, one shotgun, one sheathed bayonet and hundreds of rounds of ammunition were seized. Among those arrested on the raid of a Cambridge residence was MARIAN FEINBERG, age 21.

The charges against FEINBERG were later dismissed for lack of probable cause.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
STEPHEN DAVID FITCH

STEVE FITCH is a white male who was born on January 1, 1952, at Lansing, Michigan. He was active in SDS in Michigan and was involved in the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

FITCH admitted during interview of February 20, 1974, that he traveled to Cuba with the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade during February, 1970. He traveled to and from Cuba on a Cuban ship in company with approximately 400-500 people.
BRIAN DONAL FLANAGAN

BRIAN FLANAGAN is a white male who was born on October 20, 1946, in New York City, New York. FLANAGAN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago, however, the charges against him were later dropped. More recently he has been active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On October 20, 1970, a representative of another intelligence gathering agency functioning in the Chicago area reported receipt of information that BRIAN FLANAGAN was in Algeria meeting with exiled Black Panther Party leader ELDREDGE CLEAVER.

BRIAN FLANAGAN met in Algeria with JENNIFER DOHRN, STEWART ALBERT and JERRY RUBIN.

FLANAGAN was arrested by Scotland Yard operatives in Belfast, Ireland, for "not being conducive to the public good" and later released.

("Sunday News", New York City, 11/15/70)

On June 30, 1971, REINHARD WOLFF was identified as a scientific assistant at the Institute for Sociology and assistant professor for Marxist Political Economics at the Berlin Pedagogical High School.
FLIEGELMAN is the brother of RONALD DAVID FLIEGELMAN, who has been an underground member of the WUO since early 1970. FLIEGELMAN is a white male who was born on June 16, 1950, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. FLIEGELMAN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago in October, 1969. More recently he has been involved in the PFOC.

WUO/PEOC Affiliation

MARC FLIEGELMAN is the brother of RONALD DAVID FLIEGELMAN (a member of the WUO whose whereabouts have been unknown since he submerged into the underground in early 1970). He is also a close associate of RUSSELL TODD NEUFELD, THOMAS B. COOK and other WUO affiliated people at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which according to the USDS departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. MARC LEE FLIEGELMAN's name appeared on this list. FLIEGELMAN is further described by the Passport Office, USDS, as being born June 16, 1950, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the holder of U.S. Passport J-17037.

On April 29, 1970, the Passport Office advised that MARC LEE FLIEGELMAN arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, at approximately 8:00 AM on April 28, 1970, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." A notation was made that FLIEGELMAN was a member of the Venceremos Brigade. Upon his return to the U.S., FLIEGELMAN provided his current address as 7756 Bennett Road, Wyncote, Pennsylvania.
LAURA FONER

LAURA FONER is a white female who was born in the Bronx, New York, on February 10, 1944. FONER was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting in December, 1969. More recently she was a member of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
MOLLY SPENDER FRANKEL

FRANKEL is a white female who was born on April 27, 1949, in California. FRANKEL has been highly active in the PFOC in the San Francisco area.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
JON FRAPPION is a white male who was born on April 9, 1939, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Long involved in SDS affairs in Michigan, FRAPPION traveled to Chicago where he was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969. FRAPPION is married to NANCY BARRETT FRAPPION who has also been deeply involved in WUO activities and is presently a national leader of the PFOC. (See the section of this document on NANCY BARRETT FRAPPION.)

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

JON FRAPPION was stopped by Flint, Michigan Police for a traffic violation while driving in the vicinity of the site of the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. (It is assumed that he was one of the WUO members attending this three day convention which lasted from December 27 to 31, 1969.)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JON FRAPPION and DIANA OUGHTON, both of the SDS sponsored Radical Education Project in Ann Arbor, Michigan, were in Guatemala in 1966 during which time they attempted to arrange liaison with Guatemalan guerrilla groups on behalf of the Radical Education Project's Guatemala Project.
NANCY BARRETT FRAPPIER.

NANCY FRAPPIER is a white female who was born on February 19, 1939, at Cleveland, Ohio. A long-time associate of many WUO members, FRAPPIER is now a national leader of the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

advised during an interview with FBI Agents that a license number noted during the Flint Weatherman War Council held in December, 1969, was registered to the University of Michigan. Investigation conducted by revealed this vehicle was charged out at this time to NANCY FRAPPIER.

On February 2, 1971, FBI Agents of the San Francisco Office observed JENNIFER DOHRN, sister of Weatherman fugitive BERNARDINE DOHRN, leaving the Berkeley residence of NANCY FRAPPIER.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Records of the Passport Office, Washington, D.C., on March 2, 1970, reflected that the name of NANCY BARRETT FRAPPIER was on the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes" which departed St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, on or about February 31, 1970, destined for Cuba.
NICHOLAS ALBRECHT FREUDENBERG

NICK FREUDENBERG is a white male who was born in Bound Brook, New Jersey, on August 21, 1948. He was active in SDS during the time of the Columbia University riots in New York and later became a member of the WUO during 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On January 8, 1969, during an SDS Commentary Series broadcast over radio station WBAI-FM in New York, announcer NICK FREUDENBERG of the New York SDS Regional Staff, stated the month of January marked the tenth anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution, and in celebration thereof and in solidarity with the Cubans, SDS had proclaimed the week as Cuban Week. FREUDENBERG continued that in the fall of 1968, a group of SDS people, including himself and NANCY BIBERMAN of Columbia University SDS, had spent a month in Cuba touring the country.
DONNA FUTTERMAN

DONNA FUTTERMAN is a white female whose place and date of birth are unknown. She has been an active member of the New York chapter of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

297
VICKI GABRINER is a white female who was born on July 5, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York. GABRINER, who was arrested during the NUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, worked closely with the NUO-dominated SDS National Office in defending other activists arrested during these riots. She was subsequently active with NUO in the Boston area.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

VICKI GABRINER, Passport # A145038, was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who re-entered the U.S. at Calais, Maine, on April 28, 1970, via private vehicle. (c)

(CG T-88, 4/28/70)
BRIAN GERALD GLICK

BRIAN GLICK is a white male who was born on May 13, 1940, in Chicago, Illinois. GLICK was an associate of various WUO people during 1969 and is presently an active member of the PFOC in San Francisco.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TOP SECRET

299
JOYCE GREENWAYS

JOYCE GREENWAYS is a white female who was born in the Hague, Netherlands, on March 28, 1951. GREENWAYS attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" and was active in the WUO in Ohio.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

As of December 27, 1969, GREENWAYS was a member of the WUO collective functioning in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area. She attended the Flint, Michigan War Council with other Cincinnati WUO members.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On April 28, 1970, GREENWAYS re-entered the U.S. at Calais, Maine, following her return to Canada from Cuba. She was a part of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. (C)
MORRIS ALAN GROSSNER,  
Aka Morris Older

MORRIS GROSSNER is a white male who was born on July 11, 1948, in Washington, D.C. He was an employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during late 1969 and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MORRIS OLDER was a member of a group of individuals who traveled to Cuba during August, 1968.
JEFFREY HERBERT HAAS

JEFF HAAS is a white male who was born on September 18, 1942, at Atlanta, Georgia. He is an attorney by profession and has been active in the National Lawyers Guild, having been a Regional Vice President in the past. He has represented numerous Wuo members and support people in legal matters. Presently HAAS is a member of the Chicago Chapter of the PFOC.

Wuo/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
ROBERT COLBY HACKMAN

ROBERT HACKMAN is a white male who was born on May 7, 1953, in New York, New York. HACKMAN is the brother of former WUO member SHELLEY J. HACKMAN. He was formerly an active member of WUO in New York during early 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

HACKMAN was observed by Special Agents of the FBI participating in WUO sponsored demonstrations in the New York area during July, October and November, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

ROBERT HACKMAN was among the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade that arrived in Canada from Cuba, via ship during April, 1970. HACKMAN returned to the U.S. via Calais, Maine, on April 28, 1970.

(CG T-88 3/2/70)
LEONARD HANDLESMAN

LENNIE HANDLESMAN is a white male who was born on January 7, 1946, in New York, New York. Arrested during a WUO confrontation with police in Chicago on September 24, 1969, HANDLESMAN subsequently became a fugitive when he submerged into the underground in early 1970 thus failing to appear for trial. HANDLESMAN remained in an underground status until his arrest by the FBI in Washington State in 1975.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
ANN HATHAWAY is a white female who was born in Detroit, Michigan, on November 13, 1948. HATHAWAY was a member of the WUO "Motor City Nine" and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

305
JUDITH LEE HEMBLEN,
Aka Judy Clavir, Judy Gumbo

JUDY GUMBO is a white female who was born on
June 25, 1943, in Toronto, Canada. Although never actually
documented as a member of the WUO, GUMBO is a close
associate of many WUO members and traveled to Algeria in
1970 to meet with TIMOTHY LEARY, whom the WUO had transported
out of the country after having caused his escape from prison.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

JUDITH HEMBLEN has resided with her paramour
STEWARD ALBERT in a house located at 2917 Ashley Avenue,
Berkeley, California. They resided there in "commune style"
with other young radicals. One such individual, THOMAS
EMMETT HAYDEN, who is publicly known as one of the
original founders of SDS, resided there.

On May 1, 1974, a Special Agent of the FBI observed
ALBERT and GUMBO transporting CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF to the
Lingston, New York, Continental Trailways Bus Station, in
GUMBO's Volkswagen. VAN LYDEGRAF is known to have functioned
in the WUO underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

306
On August 27, 1970, NANCY KURSHAN, JUDITH HEMBLEN and ROBERT GREENBLATT were in Cuba meeting with a North Vietnamese contingent.

JUDITH HEMBLEN had departed for Algiers, Algeria, with STEW ALBERT via Canada, to meet with ELDREDGE CLEAVER for a period of three weeks.

On September 9, 1975, KURT GROENWALD was observed departing 102 West 14th Street, New York City, accompanied by ELLEN RAY, JUDY HEMBLEN and STEWART ALBERT.

(CGT-18.8/15/75)
MARGUERITE JOAN HOPE,
Aka "Meg" "Mary Jane"

"MEG" HOPE is a white female who was born on
active in WUO matters, HOPE was a regular employee of the
WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago from the summer
of 1969 until February, 1970. HOPE was arrested during the
WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969,
and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in
December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[Text removed]

308
LENORE RUTH KALOM, Aka.
Margaret Ann Williams,
Leba Kalom, Nori Kalom,
Susan Price, Lynn Flickes

LENORE KALOM is a white female who was born in South Haven, Michigan on February 18, 1948. KALOM was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.
ELEANORE RENEE KENNEDY

ELEANORE KENNEDY is the wife of attorney MICHAEL KENNEDY. She is a white female who was born on December 29, 1940 at Jersey City, New Jersey. She is an associate of various WUO support people and has assisted BERNARDINE DOHRN who is a fugitive.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

A source advised a photograph of LORRAINE JELLINS was identical with Weatherman fugitive BERNARDINE DOHRN.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
MICHAEL JOHN KENNEDY

MICHAEL KENNEDY is a white male who was born on March 23, 1937 at Spokane, Washington. He is an attorney by profession who has associated with WUO support people and who has directly assisted the WUO underground.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Records of United Airlines showed that on April 16, 1971, JENNIFER DOHRN, sister of WUO fugitive BERNARDEINE DOHRN, departed Chicago, Illinois, enroute to San Francisco, California, on United Air Lines Flight 121, arriving at San Francisco at approximately 3:00 p.m. on that date.

(Also see section of this document of ELEANORE RENEE KENNEDY)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
MARTIN HERMAN KENNER

MARTIN KENNER is a white male who was born on February 19, 1941. KENNER, who has a long radical background, was recruited by the WUO leadership to work in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago after the WUO had taken control of SDS.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARTIN KENNER worked in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office during the summer of 1969. He was also a member of the National Action Staff, which was responsible for the planning of the "Days of Rage" riots that occurred during October, 1969, in Chicago.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On November 11, 1970, JENNIFER DOHRN and KENNER held a press conference at the Diplomat Hotel in New York City. DOHRN noted that this conference was for the purpose of clearing up certain things and for playing a tape recording from Dr. LEARY. DOHRN stated the purpose of the group's trip to Algeria was to bring revolutionary greetings to the Palestinian rebels. In addition, DOHRN indicated that in her travels in the U.S. and abroad, individuals she had been in contact with indicated to her that the bombings conducted by radical elements in the U.S. have a good purpose and are fulfilling their intended purposes. DOHRN concurred with this feeling.

TOP SECRET
DAVID BENJAMIN KLAFTER

DAVID KLAFTER is a white male who was born on December 12, 1946, in Washington, D.C. KLAFTER was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. He submerged into the underground in early 1970, thus becoming a fugitive insofar as he failed to appear for trial in Chicago. He subsequently surfaced in April, 1971, and surrendered to his outstanding warrants. More recently he was involved in activities of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DAVID KLAFTER was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), in May, 1974, wherein he admitted traveling to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade, but refused to answer further questions.

313
KAREN JO KOOAN

KAREN JO KOOAN is a white female, date of birth August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia. She attended the College of Fine Arts, University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1963 majoring in dance.

KAREN KOOAN, in 1966, was a member of the UCLA Youth Club, Southern District of California Communist Party.

KAREN KOOAN attended the SDS National Council meeting held at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, in December 1967.

The November 1967 issue of the "Movement" newspaper, self-described as affiliated with SDS, contained an article by KAREN KOOAN entitled, "Anti Draft and Women's Rights."

The February 1968 issue of the "Movement" relates events of KAREN KOOAN's trip to Asia.

The "New York Post," November 17, 1967 under the caption, "Bound For North Vietnam," reflects that four members of SDS including KAREN KOOAN were boarding a plane at Kennedy Airport with their eventual destination being North Vietnam. Two other individuals also departing were JEFF JONES and CATHY WILKERSOHN.
Connections with KEN CLOKE

(See reference to KEN CLOKE, including BARRY LITT.)

The 1973 NLG Referral Guild Directory reveals that KAREN JO KOONAN was listed as a Legal Worker for the law firm of ANDERSON, LITT (BARRETT), LUND and TOCKMAN, Los Angeles, California.

The law offices of ANDERSON, LITT, LUND and TOCKMAN, 619 South Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, California, revealed posters on the walls which included photographs of communist leaders and slogans of revolutionists which advocate overthrow of the U.S. Government and which advocate the "power of the gun."
NANCY SARAH KURSHAN, Aka.
Nancy Rubin, Mrs. Howard Emmer

NANCY KURSHAN is a white female who was born on February 4, 1944 at New York, New York. She is the common-law wife of HOWARD JOEL EMNER. KURSHAN has a lengthy radical background which includes SDS membership as far back as 1965 and national leadership roles in the Youth International Party (YIP). She was formerly the wife of YIP founder JERRY CLYDE RUBIN. More recently KURSHAN was a national leader of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The March 25, 1970, issue of the "Daily News," a New York daily newspaper, on page 24, contained an article disclosing that a news conference held at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City on March 24, 1970, called by MARTIN KENNER, Coordinator of the Committee to Decend the Panther 21, NANCY RUBIN and NANCY HOFFMAN, Yippie wives, announced that they were leaving on that date for Stockholm, Sweden, to confer with revolutionary leaders from North Vietnam and other countries.

On April 1, 1970, JERRY RUBIN personally appeared on the Phil Donahue Show, aired on WLW-D television, Dayton, Ohio, at which time he stated, "My wife (NANCY KURSHAN) is right now in Sweden... Viet Cong and North Vietnamese and student revolutionaries throughout Europe plan a day of demonstrations sometime in the fall."

Page 11 of Packet Number 258, dated May 23, 1970, of the "Liberation News Service" (LNS), contained an article captioned "Yippie Women Meet with Vietnamese in Hanoi." This article stated that in early April, 1970, three Yippie women, including NANCY KURSHAN RUBIN, went to Sweden to attend a world conference called by the North Vietnamese. The article stated that out of the Sweden conference evolved plans for the Yippies to meet for two weeks with North Vietnamese youth in Hanoi. According to the article, the women arrived at Moscow's International Airport on May 18, 1970, en route to Hanoi.
Page 53 of the June 10, 1970, late city edition of the "New York Times," a daily New York City newspaper, contained an article captioned, "Jerry Rubin's Wife in Moscow Protest." This article, datelined "Moscow, June 9," stated that on that date, NANCY RUBIN and two other American women, who had just returned from two weeks in Hanoi, demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy against American military action in Southeast Asia. According to the article, the three women arrived at the Embassy at 11:00 a.m. and unfurled a handlettered poster reading, "Ho Chi Minh. The NLF is Gonna Win," and "We are the Vietcong." The National Liberation Front (NLF) is a Vietcong organization.

This article also states that the group returning from Hanoi told newsmen they had spent two weeks in Hanoi and were returning to the U.S. with more than 100 letters written by captured American servicemen.

In July, 1970, KURSHAN stated that the YIP group going to Havana, Cuba, would depart New York City on July 27, 1970, for St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, to board a ship for Cuba. It is believed that the YIP contingent will travel to Cuba on the ship with the third contingent of the Venceremos Brigade.

KURSHAN was part of a group visiting in Cuba that met with a North Vietnamese contingent in Cuba.
JONATHAN DAVID LERNER
Aka. John W. Goyne, "Sunny Daze"

JON LERNER is a white male who was born on March 29, 1948 in Washington, D.C. He functioned as the office manager of the WUO dominated SDS national office in late 1969 and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. LERNER submerged into the underground in early 1970 surfacing a year later. More recently he has been highly active in the PFCC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

LERNER traveled to Cuba as one of four representatives of the WUO on the second Venceremos Brigade in February, 1970. (For further details of the trip see the section of this document on the Venceremos Brigade.)

Although the following refers to a speech made prior to LERNER's trip to Cuba, it reflects how he had already been influenced by forces outside of the U.S.:

On October 9, 1969 in the midst of the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago, LERNER addressed a press conference at Chicago's Civic Center stating:

I am Jonathan Lerner: Asst. National Secretary of SDS.

The ring that I am wearing on my hand was made in North Viet Nam from the wreckage of an American Fighter. Viet Nam a nation which has been oppressed for centuries has won. It can defend itself. The American occupation forces have retreated to their cities and to their heavily defended basis. The Vietnamese people are the vanguard. Their victorious struggle has been an example to all oppressed people of the world.

As revolutionaries in a country of imperialism we feel it is our duty to join. We are building a revolutionary youth movement to fight against imperialism.
Last night we had a memorial for Che Guevara, and for the murder of millions.

Last night was the beginning for us. The beginning of a new struggle. We no longer simply resist the pigs. We no longer trap ourselves. We have gone on the offensive.

It was nearly half an hour before the police were able to show full force. By that time we had done our work. People will walk a little less secure tonight.

Two days ago some pig declared was on us. Last night 63 were arrested and eight were killed, but these were small losses. There were 1,000 last night and more on the way.

This afternoon we will gather at the Federal Building under the leadership of the BPP. This will be one of the few demonstrations against the trial. Bobby Scale was indicted as one of the eight so-called conspirators. His indictment is just one more example of the way this imperialistic country works. We join the BPP in their demand to free all political prisoners.

Tomorrow we will move on the high schools of Chicago, free our brothers and sisters. Imperialism has been forced on them by their teachers. We are going to break the high schools out of their jails.

On Saturday we will rally on Haymarket Square and move through the city and have another big riot. We are demanding that our U.S. occupational troops be removed from Viet Nam.
KAREN LEE LIEBERMAN

KAREN WALD is a white female who was born in New York, New York on December 7, 1943. WALD has a lengthy association with SDS and the WUC.

WUC/ESC Affiliation

The December, 1967, issue of "The Movement" lists KAREN WALD as a member of the editorial group of that publication.

"The Movement" is a newspaper published monthly in San Francisco, California, and is self-identified as affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and SDS.

KAREN WALD who was in Cuba at the time, contacted the WUC dominated SDS national office in Chicago during June, 1968 and talked to JEFF JONES.

KAREN WALD stayed at the residence of WUC supporter ANDY BARKER-FLAPP in Oakland, California during the last part of March, 1971.

On May 20, 1971, KAREN WALD was observed by FBI Agents of the San Francisco Office to visit the Eugenia Collective in San Francisco, a known Weatherman support group collective.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On February 23, 1987, KAREN WALD LIEBERMAN departed from the San Francisco Bay Area to Paris, France. LIEBERMAN indicated that she intended to stay approximately six weeks in Paris, during which time she would occasionally commute to Brussels, Belgium. At Brussels, she intended to assist in work on some future "war crimes trials" within the U.S. or to be accused of committing war crimes in

An article published in the "National Guardian" issue of May 13, 1967, carries an article entitled "Eye Witness: Spain's Student Rebellion." The byline on the article indicated that it was written by KAREN WALD and is datelined Madrid.

KAREN WALD was in Stockholm, Sweden, during May, 1967, where she was associated with the Bertrand Russell Tribunal Staff.

(CG T-18, 6/13/67)

On March 9, 1968, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Hidalgo, Texas, advised KAREN LEE WALD had arrived in Mexico City International Airport on March 7, 1968, and had been advised by the Mexican Immigration officials that they could not remain in that country and were escorted back to the U.S.

An article entitled "Grad Tells of Abduction Enroute to Cuba" which appeared in "The Daily Californian," University of California newspaper, Berkeley, California, issue dated April 26, 1968, relates how "six students and journalists enroute to Cuba were abducted from the Mexico City Airport and driven back to the United States early in March." One of these people was listed as KAREN WALD, journalist.
KAREN WALD returned to the U.S. in September, 1970.

KAREN WALD returned to the U.S. in early March, 1971.
An article appeared in the "San Francisco Examiner," a San Francisco newspaper of general circulation, on April 7, 1969, entitled "How Reds Spur Campus Disorders." This article discussed the ways in which communist and Marxist-Leninist thinkers influence group activities including peace demonstrations and other demonstrations. This article listed KAREN WALD as one of the activists who has been involved in creating disruption in the U.S. The article stated the following: "KAREN WALD, or LIEBERMAN, reportedly went from Berkeley to Cuba, on to Moscow, back to New York in time for the Columbia uprising, then back to Berkeley for the latest disturbances there."
CONSTANCE IRENE LONG,
Aka. Constance Irene Ullman,
Roni Anna Gonzer

CONNIE LONG is a white female who was born on January 4, 1941, at New York, New York. Long active in SDS, ULLMAN joined the WUO at its onset and was arrested during the "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. Investigation subsequently located LONG using the name RONI ANNA GONZER living with fugitive underground WUO member WILLIAM FRANCIS WILLET in San Francisco, California. The FBI subsequently arrested WILLET on a charge of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution based upon his flight from the State of Illinois to avoid responding to outstanding warrants issued in Chicago in connection with his arrests during a WUO related rally. LONG is separated from her husband, former WUO member GERALD LONG, who was one of the writers of the "Weatherman statement" upon which the WUO was founded.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The first edition of "Granma" newspaper dated December 29, 1967, contained a photograph of CONNIE ULLMAN. The caption indicated that ULLMAN had just arrived in Cuba to attend the Cultural Congress of Havana.

"Granma" is the official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba and is published on a daily basis in Havana, Cuba.
GERALD WILLIAM LONG

JERRY LONG is a white male who was born on September 22, 1936 in Chicago, Illinois. LONG was recognized as one of the leaders of the WUO in 1969 and was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" upon which the organization was founded. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In 1964 it was learned that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC) formerly known as the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, was sponsoring a trip to Cuba during the summer of 1964 in order to test the U.S. Government ban on travel to Cuba. Persons making the trip were to pay $10 with their application form and $100 for travel within the U.S. Travel outside the U.S. and other expenses were to be paid by the Cuban Federation of University Students.


A source advised that ROGER TAUS, a Coordinator of SCTC stated on August 12, 1964, that the 84 students who had gone to Cuba would be returning on August 14, 1964, at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, New York.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reviewed INS forms 1-94, completed by students returning on Air France Flight 017 from Paris, France at John F. Kennedy International Airport on August 14, 1964. For 1-94 regarding GERALD LONG reflected that he had visited Cuba and held U.S. passport number E0739574.

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On September 11, 1964, GERALD WILLIAM LONG advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he knew nothing of the financial arrangements involved in his trip to Cuba and did not wish to submit to interview by the FBI.

On February 23, 1965, LONG attended a meeting of the Yale Socialist Union, New Haven, Connecticut, at which meeting he was a speaker. LONG admitted making a trip to Cuba in the summer of 1964, which was sponsored by SCTC. He praised the Cuban Revolution and FIDEL CASTRO.

The first edition of "Granma" which source describes as the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, on December 29, 1967, contained a photograph of GERALD LONG and stated that he had just arrived in Cuba to attend the Cultural Congress of Havana, which was held January 4-11, 1968.

A source advised that LONG disembarked from the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes" in St. John, New Brunswick, Canada on February 12, 1970. LONG had been in Cuba, participating in the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade.
During March, 1970 it was determined that the "Weather Bureau" which controlled the WUO at the time had recently met wherein a split had developed among the national leadership as to the course of Weatherman activities. One group supported the view that the time for action is now and that Weatherman should proceed to implement their underground strategy of strategic sabotage by using bombs, explosives and guns to attack the establishment and in particular police and military installations. This group believes Weatherman will learn and develop the technical skills required in the use of bombs and explosives out of sheer necessity.

A second group of Weatherman, many of which are returnees from Cuba, who were in the first Venceremos Brigade, including GERRY LONG, believe that the Weatherman should fall back for a training period of five or six months and develop the technical skills of explosives in order to avoid the mistake of three other Weatherman who had been killed accidentally while making bombs in New York City.
CLAUDE DANIEL MARKS

CLAUDE MARKS is a white male who was born on December 31, 1949 in Buenos Aires, Argentina. MARKS has been active in the San Francisco chapter of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

CLAUDE DANIEL MARKS from the San Francisco Bay Area will be part of the eighth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. Individuals comprising the eighth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade will be traveling from various parts of the U.S. to Mexico during mid-March, 1975.
CHARLES CLARK MARSHALL, III

"CHIP" MARSHALL is a white male who was born at Bethesda, Maryland on February 10, 1945. MARSHALL was highly active in the Cornell University chapter of SDS in the late 1960s and was an SDS national officer in 1968. When the WUO took control of the SDS national office and began preparations for their "Days of Rage" riots, MARSHALL traveled to Chicago and worked in the national office. He later moved to Washington State.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The May 26, 1969 issue of the "Ithaca Journal" (Ithaca, New York) contained an article entitled "Metamorphosis of Two Young Radicals" written by managing editor RANDALL E. SHEW. In the article which was partly about CHARLES C. (CHIP) MARSHALL, MARSHALL was quoted as saying "...The whole system in the United States is based on oppressive violence and it must be countered by violence...I was in Cuba for 6 weeks last summer. I saw at least in terms of an underdeveloped society, socialism at work..."
Miscellaneous Travel

On March 31, 1973, it was learned that MARSHALL traveled across country for the purpose of departing from New York on or before February 28, 1973 enroute to Africa. MARSHALL supposedly was planning to spend some six months in Africa traveling to such countries as Ethiopia.
CATHLEEN CLAIR MC GHEE  
Aka. Cathleen Clair Rizin

CATHLEEN MC GHEE is a white female who was born on November 23, 1958 in Cleveland, Ohio. MC GHEE was active in WUO matters in the Cleveland area in 1969 and although not arrested, was an active participant in the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MC GHEE was one of WUO members from Cleveland who traveled to Chicago to participate in the "Days of Rage" riots. During the protests in October, 1969 she participated in the breaking of some windows. (U)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[Redacted]

SECRET
HOWARD JEFFREY MELISH
Aka. Jeff Melish

"JEFF" MELISH is a white male who was born in New York, New York on August 13, 1947. MELISH worked in the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago during late 1969 and he was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MELISH attended the Ninth World Youth Festival held at Sofia, Bulgaria, from July 28 - August 6, 1968.

Delegates to the Ninth World Youth Festival met with Vietnamese, American military deserters and individuals from the USSR. They also visited the Chinese Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria.

(CG T-18, 1968)

MELISH entered Canada on February 12, 1970 and subsequently sailed to Cuba on a commercial vessel.

(CG T-162, 2/70)
JAMES GERALD MELLEN

JAMES MELLEN is a white male who was born on August 13, 1935 in Los Angeles, California. Considered one of the leaders of the WUO in 1969, MELLEN was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" written in early 1969 upon which the WUO was founded. MELLEN was active in the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago although not arrested.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(CG T-18, 8/10/67)

"The Morris County Daily Record," a daily newspaper, Morristown, New Jersey, issues dated September 30, 1965, contained an article in which JAMES MELLEN, instructor at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, told a Rutgers University teach-in audience on that day that he, MELLEN, was a Marxist and socialist and would welcome a Viet Cong victory.

(CG T-18, 6/2/67)
Catherine Frances Melville
Aka. Catherine Frances Sagan

Catherine Melville is a white female who was born on October 8, 1936 in Girard, Ohio. Long active in radical activities, evidence exists that she and/or her husband, Arthur Melville, have been in contact with the WUO.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On June 26, 1974, Arthur Melville was arrested on a charge of possession of marijuana. During a search of Melville’s residence, the Los Angeles Police Department found SLA literature, revolutionary information from Latin America, a xeroxed copy of a manuscript entitled, "Manzanita IV," a WUO communiqué similar to the one received by news media in Los Angeles following the bombing of the California State Attorney’s office in Los Angeles on May 31, 1974, and publications from North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA). NACLA is a research organization initiated by SDS.

The manuscript, "Manzanita IV" is the rough draft form of the publication by the WUO entitled, "Prairie Fire," which was released in September 1974.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Catherine Melville and her husband, Arthur Melville were expelled from Guatemala in 1969 for preaching revolution. In 1969, both were arrested for ransacking offices of Dow Chemical Company, Washington, D.C. This action was done in connection with a protest against the war in Vietnam.
NANCY MAYER

NANCY MAYER is a white female who was born on July 23, 1947 in New York, New York. She was highly active in SDS affairs in the Washington, D.C. - Baltimore, Maryland area in 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

"The Hatchet" GWU newspaper contained an article in its March 17, 1969 issue entitled "SDS Discusses HumMRG Tactics." NANCY MAYER was identified as an SDS member and it was related that she had presented a summary of activities of GWU Human Resources Research Office which presentation was described as a first step in the SDS campaign to destroy that office.

MEYER was reportedly residing in an SDS Commune House in Baltimore, Maryland. This house located at 227 South Fulton Street is that of the SDS Weatherman Faction. MEYER had resided there for several months.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MEYER went to Cuba in February, 1970, as a member of the Venceremos Brigade.
PAUL JOSEPH MILLER

PAUL MILLER is a white male who was born on June 16, 1951, in the Bronx, New York. He has been identified as being an associate of former WUO members in Vermont and resides at the Vermont PFOC address.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

PAUL JOSEPH MILLER was identified as traveling to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade on February 12, 1970, returning to the U.S. on April 28, 1970. He has been identified as residing at Post Office Box 121, Marshfield, Vermont, with several persons known to be sympathizers and supporters of the Weatherman, among them MARC LEE FLIEGELMAN, brother of the WUO underground member RONALD DAVID FLIEGELMAN. Post Office Box 121, Marshfield, Vermont, is also the current mailing address for the Vermont PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the PASSPORT Office, USDS, Washington, D.C. made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which according to the USDS, departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. PAUL JOSEPH MILLER's name appears on this list. MILLER is further described by the Passport Office as being born June 16, 1951, at Bronx, New York, and is the holder of U.S. Passport #A-106158.
DAVID HIRAM MILLSTONE

DAVID MILLSTONE is a white male who was born on October 7, 1946, in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. MILLSTONE, who was a former editor of the SDS newspaper "New Left Notes," was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. Although MILLSTONE did not actually submerge into the underground with the WUO, he did act to assist them in their efforts to avoid detection.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

An article appearing in the September 29, 1969, issue of the "Clarion," a tri-weekly publication of the University of Denver, pertaining to the September 27-28, 1969, convention of SDS, reported that DAVID MILLSTONE, former editor of "New Left Notes," spoke on the "NLF: Victory for the Vietnamese" at a session held on September 28, 1969.

During the convention on September 27, 1969, MILLSTONE, who was identified as being the leader of the SDS Regional Office in Denver, Colorado, talked of his visit to Cuba and of his contacts with the North Vietnamese representatives there. He commented that BERNARDINE DOHRN was also present in Cuba with him. MILLSTONE stated the representatives of the National Liberation Front were pleased with SDS' attempt to form a Marxist-Leninist Party. He ended his comments with the statement that the Vietcong are winning their revolution and that SDS must be like them.
JUDITH ANN MIRKINSON,
Aka. "Merc"

JUDY MIRKINSON is a white female who was born on March 6, 1950, in Brooklyn, New York. She has been active with SDS, the Youth International Party, the National Lawyers Guild, and more recently the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

A girl called "Merc" attended a meeting of the New York SDS on December 5, 1969, and is a member of that group.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JUDITH MIRKINSON was reported as a new member of the personnel at the Peoples House in Okinawa, Japan, replacing a recently departed activist. Peoples House serves as the headquarters for the National Lawyers Guild Military Law Office, Pacific Counseling Service, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Koza City, Okinawa, Prefecture, Japan. (CG T-169, 6/19/73)
RAYMOND LEE MOSER

RAY MOSER is a white male who was born on April 3, 1948, in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. MOSER was active in the WUO in Ohio in 1969 and early 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MOSER was a member of the WUO collective in Cincinnati, Ohio, as of December 27, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during that month. Upon his return MOSER assumed a minor leadership role in the WUO collective at the University of Cincinnati.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On April 28, 1970, MOSER re-entered the U.S. at Calais, Maine, following his return to Canada from Cuba. He was a part of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. (C)

(CG T-86, 4/70)
JANE ANN NAGLER, Aka.
Jane Ann White, "Leslie"

JANE NAGLER is a white female who was born on October 5, 1949 in Toledo, Ohio. NAGLER was active in the WUO in Ohio and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in October, 1969. She attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. NAGLER is married to LARRY NAGLER who has also been active in the WUO.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NAGLER was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who returned to the U.S. from Cuba via Canada across the border at Calais, Maine on April 28, 1970. She traveled under U.S. passport number AO 94675.

(CG 7--88, 5/2/70)
LAWRENCE MICHAEL NAGLER

LARRY NAGLER is a white male who was born on November 6, 1951 in New York, New York. NAGLER was active in WUO matters in Ohio before traveling to Cuba on the Second Venceremos Brigade. On his return he announced he was creating a cadre to function as part of the WUO and subsequently claimed to have been in contact with the leadership of the WUO. He is married to JANE ANN WHITE NAGLER, who herself has been affiliated with the WUO in the past.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation
Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NAGLER was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who returned to the U.S. from Cuba via Canada across the border at Calais, Maine on April 28, 1970. He traveled to Cuba under U.S. passport AO 94675.

(CG T-88, 5/2/70)
COLIN STUART NEIBURGER

NEIBURGER is a white male who was born on December 4, 1949, in Newport News, Virginia. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" held in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently NEIBURGER has been active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NEIBURGER traveled to Paris, France, in July, 1972, to meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese. His trip was sponsored by the Anti-War Union.
NEUFELD is a white male who was born on September 22, 1947, in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. More recently he has taken a leadership capacity in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
JULIE ANN NICHAMIN,  
Aka. Sharon Ann Englander,  
Kiana Lena DeJulie,  
Linda S. Peterson,  
Ruth Ann Powers,  
Ruth Ellen Powers, "Tanjia"

NICHAMIN is a white female who was born in Detroit, Michigan, on November 8, 1942. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in October, 1969, in Chicago, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council." She was largely instrumental in creating the Venceremos Brigade. During the early 1970s NICHAMIN functioned closely with the WUO and utilized at least two false identifications.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NICHAMIN foreign influence and travel can be found in the Venceremos Brigade section of this document.
HILTON MANFRED OBENZINGER

HILTON OBENZINGER is a white male who was born on May 22, 1947, in New York, New York. He was active in the PFOC in 1974 and has been reported in contact with WUO fugitive MARK RUDD who is an old friend of his.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
LAURA ANN OBERT

OBERT is a white female who was born on October 30, 1949, in Madison, Wisconsin. She was a member of the "Pittsburgh 26" and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

LAURA OBERT, traveling under U.S. Passport #X 16776304, departed Mexico for Havana, Cuba, on the Venceremos Brigade on November 28, 1969.
PROUJANSKY is a white male who was born on September 16, 1949, in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. More recently, PROUJANSKY has been involved in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On February 2, 1970, the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., advised that PROUJANSKY's name appeared on the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, Portland, Maine, advised on April 28, 1970, that on that date a group of individuals known as the Venceremos Brigade arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." PROUJANSKY, Passport #509990, then residing at 9701 Shore Road, New York, was among those members.
LANC PUSTIN is a white male who was born on March 15, 1949. He has been highly active in the PFOC in the Philadelphia area.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On April 18, 1976 a handout leaflet was obtained which advertised a meeting regarding Angola in Philadelphia on April 18, 1976. In the body of the handout was the following paragraph:

On February 26, and 27, a group of North American Progressives met in Havana, Cuba, with a delegation from the MPLA. Larry Holmes a member of the National Committee Workers League Party and the Third World Caucus of Youth Against War and Fascism and Lance Puston, member of the National Committee of PFOC will report on the meeting in Cuba.
JONAH SETH RASKIN, PhD

JONAH RASKIN is a white male who was born on January 3, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York. He was an employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office during the summer of 1969. RASKIN wrote a book entitled "The Weather Eye" in late 1974 in which he set forth a number of WUO communiques. More recently RASKIN was involved in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Miscellaneous Travel

On May 26, 1961, RASKIN was issued a U.S. Passport for travel to England, France, Switzerland and Italy. On May 10, 1966, RASKIN was issued a passport at the American Consulate in Liverpool, England, so as to remain abroad for two years.

(CG T-62, 5/61)
NICHOLAS BRITT RIDDLE

NICK RIDDLE is a white male who was born on September 22, 1951, in Wilkesboro, North Carolina. He became involved with the WUO in Michigan during late 1969 and was subsequently arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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NATALEE ANN ROSENSTEIN

NATALEE ROSENSTEIN is a white male who was born on June 17, 1947, in New York, New York. ROSENSTEIN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. More recently she was active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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NANCY ANN RUDD

NANCY RUDD is a white female who was born on October 16, 1951, at Cincinnati, Ohio. She became involved with the WUO in Cincinnati in September, 1969, and subsequently was a part of the Detroit WUO. She participated in the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, although she was not arrested. She spent much of the next two years wandering throughout the country contacting various WUO support-type people.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

SECRET
RICHARD IRA RUTH

RICHARD RUTH is a white male who was born on September 15, 1953, in New Haven, Connecticut. An associate of many former WUO members, RUTH has been active in the New York PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TOP SECRET

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LOUIS DANIEL SEGAL

LOUIS SEGAL is a white male who was born on February 28, 1949, in Oakland, California. Active in the SDS in 1970 on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, SEGAL claims to have traveled to Cuba in a WUO collective.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

LOUIS SEGAL attended meetings of SDS at the University of California at Berkeley.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

SEGAL stated he had been in Cuba with the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade and that he was in the Weatherman collective in the Brigade. This collective was the largest single unit in the Brigade with approximately 50 people, and the collectives held secret meetings. The collective actively recruited among other Brigade members and the people recruited were to join Weatherman communes upon their return to the U.S.

SEGAL reported that he did not know how many Venceremos Brigade members had joined the Weatherman, but he felt they had made some success, and he made no secrets of their policy in engaging in assassinations and reprisal bombings.
DANIEL ROSS SLICK

DANIEL SLICK is a white male who was born on October 29, 1948, in Quincy, Massachusetts. SLICK was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and later became a close associate of CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF, who is a known functionary of WUO.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
MARGUERITE ROSE SMITH
Aka. Mimi Smith

"MIMI" SMITH is a white female who was born on February 26, 1947, in Peoria, Illinois. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
JEFFREY DAVID SOKOLOW

SOKOLOW is a white male who was born on April 5, 1948 in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently he has been active in the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

SOKOLOW was a member of the SDS Steering Committee at Columbia University and attended a meeting of that organization during March, 1968.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TOP SECRET
JANE SPIELMAN

SPIELMAN is a white female who was born on February 21, 1947 in Brooklyn, New York. SPIELMAN was arrested as a part of the WUO "Pittsburgh 26," was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On July 7, 1969 SPIELMAN traveled to Cuba from Mexico. (Accompanying SPIELMAN on the trip were such leading WUO members as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIANA OUGHTON, TED GOLD, PETER CLAPP and ELEANOR RASPIN.)

Miscellaneous Travel

SECRET

359
MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG

MARSHA STEINBERG is a white female who was born on August 22, 1942 at Boston, Massachusetts. She was arrested during the "Pittsburgh 26" action in September, 1969 and again arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARSHA STEINBERG attended a WUO underground meeting held at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, February 27-28, 1970, at which plans were formulated for the bombing of the Detroit Police Officers Association Building, Grand Boulevard, Detroit. Although STEINBERG initially had been selected to be one of six individuals who would actually place the bomb in the building, she was subsequently directed by Weatherman leaders to leave the city on March 1, 1970 prior to the bombing attempt.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The Anti-War Union (AWU), then recently formed to protest U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, sponsored a trip to Paris, France from the U.S. for the period July 20, 1972 to July 27, 1972. The purpose of the trip was to expose a number of Movement people of the lower ranks to the members of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks.

It is noted that the terms "Movement" and "Movement people" are used to denote the anti-establishment phenomenon, sometimes also known as the "New Left Movement."

Included among those making the AWU sponsored trip was MARSHA STEINBERG, who was then associated with the SDS in Boston, Massachusetts. However, STEINBERG did not depart from New York City in July, 1972, with the main travel group, but met the group upon its arrival in Paris, as she and one other had traveled in advance of the main group to make arrangements for the group following their arrival.

360
The purpose of the trip by rank and file members of the "Movement," as these delegates were, was, according to CAROLE CULLUM, a member of the AWU, Washington, D.C., to have a group of people in the "Movement" who could return to the U.S. and impress other members of the "Movement" and potential recruits into the "Movement" on the basis of having met personally with the North Vietnamese. It was hoped that such an action would help in the recruiting of additional converts into the "Movement" and thereby help to build the anti-establishment position in the U.S.

The American delegation arrived back in the U.S. at New York City. They had been given no direction by the leadership of the delegation and while it was noted that the Vietnamese had no suggestions as to what the American group might do upon return to the U.S., the Vietnamese had stated they would be interested in having any information which could be furnished to them concerning the development of new weapons by the U.S. They indicated that such information would be especially helpful if they could receive it before such weapons were used on the battlefield. Immediately after the above was mentioned, the subject was dropped and not mentioned again.

The various members of the American delegation brought back to the U.S. some "propaganda literature" which was handed out by the North Vietnamese.
SUSAN ELIZABETH SUTHEIM
(See KEN CLOKE)

SUSAN SUTHEIM, née BECHAUD, is a white female, date of birth February 28, 1942, at Berkeley, California. SUTHEIM, according to the November 4, 1967 issue of "National Guardian," was then a member of the New York Regional Staff of SDS.

...SUSAN SUTHEIM was in Havana, Cuba in January, 1968 attending the Cultural Congress of Havana.
MARSHALL S. TACK,
Aka "Eric"

MARSHALL TACK is a white male who was born on
November 8, 1948, in Lexington, Massachusetts. Active in
WUO affairs in Ohio, TACK traveled to Cuba with the first
Venceremos Brigade.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARSHALL TACK was a member of the WUO collective
in Cincinnati, Ohio, as of December 8, 1969, however, as a
matter of fact was out of the country in Cuba at the time.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

363
DR. CAROLINE MARGARET TANNER, M.D.  
AKA. "CARLIE" TANNER, SHIRLEY JACKSON,  
MEG JOHNSON, SHIRLEY JAMESON, MARGARET  
ANN HARMONEY, BETH STEWART

TANNER is a white female who was born on November 21, 1948 in McKeesport, Pennsylvania. She was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during much of the latter part of 1969. In early 1970 she jumped bond in Chicago, Illinois and traveled to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade and functioned as a part of the WUO underground until her arrest in December of 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(For further details see the Venceremos Brigade section of this document.)
JOSEPH KIYO TASHIRO

JOSEPH TASHIRO is an Oriental male who was born on May 13, 1945 at Cincinnati, Ohio. During the summer of 1969 he was a full-time employee of the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TASHIRO traveled to Cuba with the third contingent of the Venceremos Brigade which left for Cuba by ship from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, on August 23, 1970.

(CG T-184, 9/8/70)
MALORIE TOLLES

MALORIE TOLLES is a white female who was born on March 13, 1946 at Carmel, California. TOLLES was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots and subsequently became a fugitive when she failed to pay the fine assessed as punishment. In June, 1972 she paid the fine and surfaced from the underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MALORIE TOLLES departed Mexico for Havana, Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade on November 28, 1969.
ROBERT CARL TOMASHEVSKY

ROBERT TOMASHEVSKY is a white male who was born on July 26, 1941 in New York, New York. TOMASHEVSKY was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago during the fall, 1969. He attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Miscellaneous Travel

On September 24, 1974 it was learned that TOMASHEVSKY formerly resided for a time on an island named San Adreas which is located off Colombia, South America.
CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF

CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF is a white male who was born on May 6, 1915 in Salem, Oregon. A former leader in the Communist Party, USA and later active in the Progressive Labor Party, VAN LYDEGRAF became involved with the WUO at the onset of the organization in the spring of 1969. VAN LYDEGRAF attended the "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969 and later was himself a member of the WUO underground. More recently VAN LYDEGRAF has been active in the PFOC and is presently one of the national leaders of that organization. VAN LYDEGRAF is one of the authors of the WUO "Prairie Fire" book and holds the copyright to the publication.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 23, 1968 the Passport Office, USDS, advised that CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF had been issued passport #J1015806 on September 12, 1968 at Seattle for travel for a four-month stay or less in Japan, Hong Kong, Philippine Islands, and Pakistan. It was valid for five years travel to all countries except Cuba, Mainland China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.

On June 8, 1972 it was ascertained that a dispute with the Progressive Labor Party leadership had led to VAN LYDEGRAF's expulsion from the Party. The Party also had brought out VAN LYDEGRAF's past connections with the Progressive Worker's Movement (PWM) in Canada. PWM is a pro-Chinese oriented organization operating in Canada. In October, 1967 VAN LYDEGRAF attended a PWM conference in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

On June 13, 1972 source advised that Post Office Box 1421, Eugene, Oregon, had been rented on March 23, 1972, by CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF, who furnished the address of 2465 Roosevelt Boulevard, the Communications Company, Eugene. VAN LYDEGRAF signed for the box, but two other individuals, including DANIEL SLICK, were to receive mail through the box.
On January 16, 1973 it was learned that VAN LYDEGRAF had renewed the Post Office Box and that he and SLICK were continuing to receive mail therein.

(SLICK traveled to Cuba with the Second Venceremos Brigade - see section of this document on SLICK.)
BARRY SIMON WEINBERG

BARRY WEINBERG is a white male who was born on November 6, 1948 in New York, New York. A former SDS member in 1968-1969, WEINBERG has more recently been active in the PFOC in San Francisco.

WUO/PROC Affiliation

During late 1968 and early 1969, WEINBERG publicly stated that he was a member and supporter of the SDS at Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa, California.

WEINBERG is a member of the San Francisco Chapter of the PFOC where he participates in the Prison Collective. One of the objectives of the Prison Collective is to build a radical movement within the prison system.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

During the period March 10, 1972 - May 12, 1972, WEINBERG was in Cuba with the fifth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade.
LAURA JANE WHITEHORN  
Aka. Laura Stang

WHITEHORN is a white female who was born on April 16, 1945 in Brooklyn, New York. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently she has been a national leader of the PFOC. She is separated from her husband DONALD JAY STANG.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
ROBERT GREGG WILFONG

ROBERT WILFONG is a white male who was born on February 24, 1946 in Brownwood, Texas. Associated with the WUO in Massachusetts in 1969, WILFONG was arrested for illegal possession of a store of weapons and explosives in Massachusetts in 1972 and was subsequently sentenced to serve two years in prison. He was paroled in January, 1974.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On November 17, 1969, the Cambridge Police Department received information that a group of SDS members were living in three separate homes in Cambridge, where they had weapons and ammunition. They also reportedly had been involved in a shooting incident at the Cambridge Police Department Headquarters on the evening of November 8, 1969. Addresses named where the group lived were 344 Putnam Avenue, 509 Franklin Street, and 12 Prince Street. As a result of the information received, search warrants were obtained by the Cambridge Police Department for the three addresses and during the late hours of November 17, 1969 raids were conducted. ROBERT G. WILFONG, JR., age 23, was among the group arrested at 509 Franklin Street on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder.

On November 28, 1969, no probable cause was found for the above charge against WILFONG.

The "Boston Globe," a daily Boston newspaper, in its September 24, 1971 edition reported that a Massachusetts Supreme Court Justice on September 23, 1971 denied a request for a bail reduction in the case of two individuals including WILFONG arrested in a September 16, 1971 raid of a Brookline, Massachusetts garage, where explosives and alleged revolutionary materials were located. The two were being held in $10,000 double surety bond.

WILFONG subsequently entered a plea of guilty in February, 1973, in local court and was sentenced to be incarcerated for two years. He was paroled in January, 1974.

372
ANDREW MITCHELL WILLIS,
Aka "Tony"

ANDY WILLIS is a white male who was born on November 10, 1969, in Erie, Pennsylvania. WILLIS was deeply involved in WUO activity in Ohio during 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WILLIS was one of a group of WUO members who was arrested in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, on September 20, 1969, in connection with WUO efforts to disrupt the Davis Cup Tennis Matches.

During November, 1969, it was learned that the leadership of the WUO had sent WILLIS to Kent, Ohio, to work in WUO matters.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

374
DENNIS BLAIR WOOD,
aka. Dale Greg Hutchins

DENNIS WOOD is a white male who was born on
February 2, 1943 in Des Moines, Iowa. Active in SDS in
the late 1960s, he has more recently been associated with
various WUO support people.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WOOD was a signer of SDS position paper distributed
by the University of California at Berkeley Chapter of
SDS during October 1966.

During 1971, WOOD resided at 2201 Ocean Front
Walk, Venice, California. This address was a commune of
several persons, some of whom are past associates of
Weatherman fugitives.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

375
MARY WOZNIAK

MARY WOZNIAK is a white female who was born in Chicago, Illinois on July 24, 1945. WOZNIAK was arrested as a part of the "Pittsburgh 26" and was again arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(It is noted that WOZNIAK's companions on her trip to Cuba included such leading WUO functionaries as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIONNE DONGHI, TED GOLD, ELEANOR RASKIN and DIANA OUGHTON.)
SECTION V

APPENDIX I

Documentation of WUO Members

The WUO has never been a membership organization as such. While it is true that some individuals have self-proclaimed themselves to be WUO members, many other members have not chosen to do so. Membership, therefore, is derived from the participation of individuals in activities normally attended by WUO members and their closest adherents. This appendix section contains lists which may be of assistance in verifying that certain of the individuals mentioned in this document are (or were) members of the WUO.
WUO-Dominated SDS National Office  
June, 1969 - February, 1970

After taking control of the SDS, the Weathermen (WUO) occupied the SDS National Office located at 1601 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, from mid-June, 1969, until they abandoned the location during February, 1970, when the organization submerged into an underground status. Because the WUO feared that the rival Progressive Labor Party, whom they had expelled from SDS during the June, 1969, National Convention, might attempt to seize the National Office, they limited office employees to individuals who were followers of their ideology.

The following individuals who are mentioned in this document were employed in the SDS National Office during parts or all of the period indicated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June-August, 1969</th>
<th>August-November, 1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JONATHAN LERNER</td>
<td>JONATHAN LERNER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAROLINE TANNER</td>
<td>CAROLINE TANNER</td>
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<tr>
<td>JOSEPH TASHIRO</td>
<td>JOLIE CHAIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORRIS OLDER (GROSSNER)</td>
<td>HOWARD JEFFERSON MELISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARTIN KENNER</td>
<td>CHARLES CLARK MARSHALL</td>
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<tr>
<td>KATHIE BOUDIN</td>
<td>KATHIE BOUDIN</td>
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<tr>
<td>JONAH RASKIN</td>
<td>RUSSELL NEUFELD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHOEBE HIRSCH</td>
<td>ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAVID JOHNS</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>November, 1969-February 5, 1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JONATHAN LERNER</td>
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<td>CAROLINE TANNER</td>
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<td>DAVID KLAFTER</td>
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<td>MARGUERITE HOPE</td>
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<tr>
<td>RUSSELL NEUFELD</td>
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<tr>
<td>ELEANOR RASKIN</td>
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<tr>
<td>JED PROUJANSKY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARK REAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Days of Rage"

During October 8-11, 1969, the WUO staged a series of protest demonstrations in Chicago which are commonly referred to as the "Days of Rage" or the "National Action." These protests rapidly degenerated into destructive riots which led to open confrontations with Chicago Police. Although the WUO made a number of demands in connection with their "National Action," the primary target was the Vietnam War. Using a rallying slogan of "Bring the War Home," the WUO encouraged their followers to equip themselves for violence. To this end, participants attired themselves in helmets, boots and other heavy clothing and carried clubs and other weapons. Because the WUO's encouragement of violence on the weeks that preceded the "National Action" was so great, most other "New Left" organizations openly or passively denounced the proposed riots.

The files of the Statistical Section of the Records Division of the Chicago Police Department as reviewed on October 17, 1969, disclosed the following individuals who are mentioned in this document as having been arrested during the "Days of Rage" demonstrations:

CHRISTOPHER BAKKE
EDWARD J. BENEDICT
JEFFREY D. BLUM
KATHIE BOUDIN
ROBERT BURLINGHAM
DAVID IRA CAMP
PETER W. CLAPP
EDITH G. CRICHTON
MARK L. DINSMORE
BERNARDINE DOHRN
DIONNE M. DONGHI
ROBERT E. DUGGAN
HOWARD J. EMER
LINDA SUE EVANS
BRIAN D. FLANAGAN
MARK FLIEGELMAN
LAURA FONER
JON F. FRAPPIER
JOHN FUERST
VICKI GABRINER
RHOEBE E. HIRSCH
MARGUERITE HOPE
JOHN G. JACOBS
NAOHI E. JAFFE
DAVID M. JOHNS
JEFFREY C. JONES
DAVID B. KLAFTER

CONSTANCE J. LONG
GERALD W. LONG
CELESTE MC CULLOUGH
NANCY LEE MAYER (MEYER)
DAVID MILLSTONE
JULIE A. NICHAMIN
LAURA A. OBERT
MORRIS A. OLDER (GROSSNER)
DIANA OUGHTON
JED PROJANSKY
NICK B. RIDDLE
NATALEE ROSENSTEIN
MARK W. RUDD
DANIEL R. Slick
MARGUERITE SMITH
ROBERTA SMITH
JEFFREY D. SOKOLOW
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
JANE SPIELMAN
BARRY P. STEIN
MARSHA STEINBERG
MARSHALL S. TACK
MALORIE TOLLES
ROBERT TOMASCHESKY
DENNIS WALDMAN
JANE ANN WHITE
LAURA WHITEHORN
CATHLYN WILKESON
Pittsburgh 26

In preparation for the "Days of Rage" the WUO staged several smaller scale protests in an effort to publicize their October, 1969 "National Action." One of these "actions" occurred at South Hills High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on September 4, 1969, when a group of WUO female members ran through the school building shouting slogans and distributing literature. The records of the Pittsburgh Police Department for September 4, 1969, disclose that the following individuals, who are mentioned in this document, were among the 26 WUO members arrested during this "action":

DIONNE DONGHI
LINDA SUE EVANS
LYNN RAYE GARVIN
NAOMI JAFFE
ELEANOR RASKIN
JANE SPIELMAN
MARSHA RIODA STEINBERG
LAURA WHITEHORN
CATHLYN PLATT WILKERSON
MARY WOZNIAK
WUO Confrontation with Chicago Police on September 24, 1969

Another WUO demonstration designed to promote the "National Action" occurred in Chicago on September 24, 1969, when WUO members and police became involved in a series of fights when the WUO refused to obey a police order to move off of a city street. The records of the Chicago Police Department reflect the following individuals mentioned in this document were arrested on September 24 or on subsequent dates as a result of their participation in this confrontation:

KATHIE BOUDIN
BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN
LEONARD HANDLESMAN
DAVID KLAFTER
HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
RUSSELL TODD NEUFELD
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG
CAROLINE MARGARET TANNER
ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY
The WUO's last open meeting held prior to their submergence into an underground status in early 1970 was their "Flint, Michigan War Council" held December 27-31, 1969. It was at this meeting that the decision was made to go underground and to engage in guerrilla warfare against the U.S. government. As with their "Days of Rage" virtually all of the attendees at this meeting were either WUO members or were highly sympathetic to their ideology. The following individuals, who are mentioned in this document, are known to have attended this convention:

KAREN ASHLEY  DAVID KLAFTER
WILLIAM AYERS  NANCY KURSHAN
KATHIE BOUDIN  KAREN LATIMER
JEFFREY BLUM  JONATHAN LERNER
ROBERT BURLINGTON  CONNIE LONG (ULLMAN)
DAVID CAMP  HOWARD MACHTINGER
PETER CLAPP  JEFFREY MELISH
EDITH CRICHTON  JAMES NELLEN
MONA CUNNINGHAM  RAYMOND MOSER
MARC DINSMORE  RUSSELL NEUFELD
BRIAN FLANAGAN  DIANA OUGHTON
LAURA FONER  JED PROUJANSKY
JOHN FUERST  ELEANOR RASKIN
LYNN RAYE GARVIN  NATALEE ROSENSTEIN
DAVID GILBERT  MARK RUDD
THEODORE GOLD  MARGUERITE SMITH
JOYCE GREENWAYS  MICHAEL SPIEGEL
LEONARD HANDLESMAN  JANE SPIELMAN
PHOEBE HIRSCH  BARRY STEIN
JOHN JACOBS  MALORIE TOLLES
NAOMI JAFFE  ROBERT TOMASCHAVSKY
JEFFREY JONES  CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF
MICHAEL JUSTESSEN  MARY WOZNIAK

(Special Agents of the FBI from photographs taken by Michigan State Police of the meeting)
The records of the Flint, Michigan, Police Department reflect that a number of vehicles were noted as being parked at the ballroom where the "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting was held. The following are vehicles registered to individuals mentioned in this document:

JEFFREY BLUM
G.A. CAVALLETTO
THOMAS B. COOK
DENNIS CUNNINGHAM (husband of MONA CUNNINGHAM)
JOHN F. FRAPPIER
JEFFREY HAAS
MARGUERITE HOPE
MARGARET JUSTESEN (mother of MICHAEL JUSTESEN)
MELODY KILIAN (now known as MELODY ERMACHILD)
DOROTHY SOMPOLINSKY

The Flint Police Department records also reflect that a number of vehicles were stopped and checked in the vicinity of the "War Council" during the period of December 27-31, 1969. The following individuals, whose names are mentioned in this document, were noted as being in these vehicles:

WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS
SCOTT ADDY BALEY
BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN
LINDA SUE EVANS
LAURA FONER
JON FREDERIC FRAPPIER
NICHOLAS ALBRECHT FREUDENBERG
JOHN FUERST
ANN HATHAWAY
JOHN GREGORY JACOBS
JEFFREY CARL JONES
NANCY KURSHAN
HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
JAMES MELLEN
RAYMOND LEE MOSER
MORRIS OLDER (GROSSNER)
JANE ANN WHITE
LAURA STANG (WHITEHORN)
NUO "Pine Street Bomb Factory"

San Francisco, California. He stated that during April, 1970, one CLINTON EVERETT WILLARD rented the apartment for a year period ending March, 1971. At the time he claimed to be employed by Mr. EZRA HENDON, an attorney in Berkeley, California. When he arrived at the building in mid-April, 1971, he discovered the apartment apparently abandoned. On inspection he discovered bomb making paraphernalia which led him to contact the FBI.

I viewed photographs of various NUO members and identified photographs on California drivers licenses in the names CLINTON EVERETT WILLARD and ROBERT PEARSON WHITE as being identical to the man who rented the apartment. (Both the WILLARD and WHITE drivers licenses had come to the attention of the FBI in previous investigation insofar as both individuals in whose names these licenses were issued died as infants.) I also identified a photograph of NUO member CLAYTON VAN LIEDERGRAF as being identical to the older man who helped to move "WILLARD" into the apartment. (On May 20, 1971, at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, was shown the WILLARD and WHITE drivers licenses and advised that both bore the photograph of MARK JOSEPH REAL, whom he knew to have been the NUO leader in the Kent area in late 1969.)

Inspection of the apartment yielded an amount of explosives and bomb making paraphernalia. Fingerprints were subsequently lifted from articles in the apartment by Special Agents of the FBI. Fingerprints of the following NUO members were found in this apartment:

KAREN LYNN ASHLEY  HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS  JULIE NICHAMIN
KATHIE BOUDIN  JEFFREY DAVID POWELL
PETER WALES CLAPP  SHELDON ROSENBAUM
JOHN WILLARD DAVIS  MARK WILLIAM RUDD
DAVID JOSEPH GILBERT  MICHAEL LOUIS SPIEGEL
NAOMI ESTHER JAFFE  LAWRENCE MICHAEL WEISS
MICHAEL THOMAS JUSTESEN  CATHLYN PLATT WILKERSO
APPENDIX II

The following photographs reveal the influence of the Vietnamese on certain WGO leaders from the meeting held in Havana, Cuba in July, 1969 through the "Days of Rage" held in Chicago in October, 1969.

BERNARDINE DOHNN - HUYNH VAN HA - LUIS CUZA
Havana, Cuba, July, 1969
BERNARDINE with representatives of the PRG of South Vietnam

CARLOS APONTE - BERNARDINE DOHRN - PETER WALES CLAPP
Havana, Cuba, July 1969

TOP SECRET
Leading Women's Action - "Days of Rage", October 9, 1969,
Grant Park, Chicago
Leading "Days of Rage" march, October 11, 1969, Chicago, Illinois which culminated in 287 arrests.
APPENDIX III

Testimony of RONALD L. BROOKS, Agent, Illinois Crime Investigating Commission in Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, June 10, 1970

The following material has been xeroxed from the above named report. It details the actions of Weatherman activists, particularly JULIE NICHAMIN, in their efforts to set up the VB. Of special note is the comment at the end of page 299 of the transcript by NICHAMIN which states that "if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here." This would be, of course, JESUS JIMENEZ ESCOBAR, First Secretary, Cuban United Nations Mission, located in New York City.
Paragraph 1

From the point of view of the Cubans, and the Movement, people who first developed the idea of the brigade, one of the most important aspects of the project was the contribution it could make in pulling Cuba together organizationally and politically. We have come up with ideas about the selection process for members of the brigade that we think could help develop ideas about collective responsibility and discipline. We've gotten the ideas from talks with party people down here about the selection procedure of Cuban party members.

1. There should be an initial program in which the brigade is described. This should obviously include a discussion of the 10 million pesos and what they mean from an historical point of view, from the point of view of economic development in Cuba to build a better understanding of what the Cuban revolution is all about. Then the qualifications for members of the brigade should be discussed (this amounts to a definition of our criteria for choosing members). We think it is important to stress the need for people who are self-disciplined and responsible, and who have a fairly high degree of commitment and involvement in the Movement. This is especially important to the Cubans, who are looking very much forward to the future contribution these 100 people can make to the Movement.

2. After there is a pretty good understanding in the chapters about what the brigade is all about, they can hold nominating sessions, in which chapter members suggest people whom they feel meet the necessary qualifications for being a brigade member. Again, we believe that this procedure for suggesting names can begin in detailing, in concrete terms, a sense of collective discipline and responsibility. This is because it is introduced in a meaningful context, where people understand the specific need for selecting people for political roles in a particular manner.

3. Next comes the crucial stage: sessions in which the qualifications of the people nominated are publicly discussed, sessions of criticism and self-criticism, sessions in which people's work and personalities are discussed in political terms. The Cubans have told us that these meetings are tremendously important in the selection process for the party here, that frequently it is the only time in which people's work and attitudes are evaluated publicly, and finally, that the sessions are very educational and very traumatic. We believe that although sessions like these will take place among small groups of people in the Movement, they can be close friends and work closely together, that nothing of this sort exists among the majority of the people. Hopefully, the understanding of such evaluations and their value politically can be generalized.

4. The next stage, in which people are selected from the list of names of nominees, we feel, will be the most difficult. There has to be a group, a national council or committee, which will have the responsibility of carrying out the final selection process. Autographical material should be solicited from each nominee. People should be interviewed to get information about the nominee's political work, about his relationships with the people he works with, etc. And then that group, with the power which has been given to it, and according to criteria which have been developed and are publicly known, and in accordance with distribution quotas (perhaps defined regionally and according to population density), the final choice can be made.

We feel that the main problem here might be the notion of a hierarchy of decision-making: that a small group will have the final determination about the composition of the brigade. We aren't too clear yet about how the national committee should be formed; we do feel very strongly that it should include people who are willing to make themselves completely responsible for the tasks that will be assigned to them, and that they should have a good understanding of the nature of the Cuban revolution as well as a good understanding of the Movement. The point is that once the criteria for membership has been determined and the national committee formed, there can be no disputes as to the authority of that committee to make decisions (obviously, we mean here, only in the areas for which they have been mandated).

Inbrigada va,

JULIO NICANOR
BRITAIN MURPHY

P.S. (Julio) will be down here at least until the middle of April; if any help or information is needed, just let the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here.

Mr. Brown: A postscript on the letter reads as follows:

"P (Julio) will be down here" referring to Havana "at least until the middle of April; if any help or information is needed, just let the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here."
proposal of cuban revolution

shortly before his death in battle, jose marti (leader of the cuban independence movement) wrote that he embraced the chance to give his life in the struggle, and "with the independence of cuba, to prevent the united states from extending itself throughout the antilles and pouncing with this added force upon the countries of our america."
marti died, and his hopes for true cuban independence remained unfulfilled for sixty years, as united states' imperialism relentlessly carried the united states' interventions in cuba and the entire latin american continent. the united states rapidly became the center of world-wide imperialism. all the while increasing its economic penetration and domination of third world countries, particularly those in latin america. cuba is the first latin american country of u.s. domination and control. since our movement to clear american imperialism from the inside is inextricably linked with third world liberation movements, we should understand in what ways the cuban revolution serves as an example for these struggles, and we should be prepared to offer the most concrete support possible. this proposal contains a position on the cuban revolution, a call to support a north american brigade to cut sugar cane in the 1979 ten million ton harvest as a means of demonstrating our solidarity, and a call for a national educational program on the cuban revolution.

section 1: description: political background

north american intervention in the cuban war of independence against spain (sometimes called the "spanish-american war") forced cuba to accept the domain of spanish colonial power in the status of dependency of the united states. under the protection of such virtual means as military intervention, the plaint instrumentality, and the sugar quota arrangement, the u.s. assumed systematically and then dominated the sugar industry of cuba, as well as other industries, capturing not only its economy but also its culture and its society. the imperialists controlled the best land, the mines, the greater part of the sugar industry, public services, the most efficient industries, the electric power industry, the telephone service, the railroads, the most important businesses, and the banks.

the period of american occupation of cuba (1898-1902) corresponds to the loss of independence of cuba and bankruptcy in the united states, and the eradication of the sugar and tobacco industry of cuba were an ever-present threat to the u.s. which was for so long interested in the sugar capital and tobacco capital goods, as well as in the use of this material. the sugar produced in cuba was sold to the u.s. at a high price.
the (American) monopolies that geared the Cuban economy to sugar, dominated its resources, suffocated its industry with the goods they pumped in, and drained out its foreign exchange for luxuries. This economic domination had its political consequences in the "presidio-republic" with its bourgeoisie, monocultural system. These two forces, economic and political domination by the imperialists, are the roots of the Cuban revolutionary struggle, and define the base of the Cuban revolutionary process. Bariu describes the nature of the Cuban political infrastructure: (so familiar today in all the Third World):

"...in the midst of that absurd total dependence, what could the politicians who governed you do? For the country, nothing. Their importance came not from their vision but from their servitude; and their views, on the other hand, were limited by their servitude. In other words, THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY WAS NOTHING MORE THAN A PIAT JUKE IF IT WERE NOT FOUNDATION UPON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. And that sovereignty...would continue to be an empty abstraction so long as it was not the concrete consequence of ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. The first objective of the revolutionary struggle was already manifesting themselves, revealing a more radical and imperative finality...the economic imperialism of the Foreign Power necessarily created its own accomplices in the very country it was crushing...representatives of foreign imperialism on their own soil; to fight for the independence of the Cuban economy, for the sovereignty of (the) State and for the honesty of (the) ruling officials, was first to fight against them."

In order to be politically and economically independent and to be able to develop the Cuban economy for the benefit of all the Cubans, to redistribute what had to be re-divided by the domestic bourgeoisie and its international bosses, American capitalists with interests in Cuba (through economic and political exploitation and nationalization of the productive forces). As Pichu said, speaking of Cuba's historical position in Latin America:

"We are the first people of this continent to abolish the exploitation of man by man! It is true that we were the last to begin (to gain independence and free slaves), but it is also true that we have gone further than anybody else. We have eradicated the capitalist system of exploitation; we have made the people the owners of their work and their wealth. WE WERE THE LAST TO BREAK THE CHAINS OF THE COLONY, BUT WE HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO THROW OFF THE CHAINS OF IMPERIALISM."

In the early years of the Revolution, power was consolidated and guaranteed by the arming of the people (in people's militias) and the centralization of the Revolution. The first phase of the Revolutionary Government was the chief short-term weapon against internal enemies (counter-revolutionaries) and foreign imperialists and their agents. At the same time, efforts were begun to develop the Cuban economy. Speaking to workers at a May Day rally, Pichu said:

"How many were there who could understand that a revolution did not mean that the people would simply enter an era of wealth, but that it meant that they would begin to create that wealth, begin to lay the groundwork for that era of wealth?...There wasn't even a political organization that represented the will and effort of all the people. That is why we speak of the triumph of the rebellion instead of the triumph of the revolution.

The Cubans are at work as the battle of their new war—the war of a Revolution in power against underdevelopment, and they see the Party as the vanguard of that struggle. During the Revolutionary War the guerrillas were vanguard in the struggle for the agrarian革命, the agrarian struggle in the struggle for the objectives of the revolution. After the agrarian revolution came the consolidation of revolutionary power in the Party, which became the vanguard which created the subjective conditions for the revolution, the Party became the vanguard of the revolution.
In a workers' assembly in which nominees are chosen for the party nucleus of that workplace, the party retains the right to review and evaluate each nominee's qualifications and make the final choice of admission, and it presents its justifications for acceptance or rejection at another public workers' assembly.

Cuban:

"Our aspiration is that the party becomes a mass one, but only when the masses reach the level of development of the vanguard. That is, when they are educated for communism. Our work is aimed at providing them with education. The party is the living example... with their acts they must lend the masses to the end of the revolutionary task, which means years of struggle against the difficulties of construction, the class enemies, the defects of the past, imperialism."

Internationalism

Internationalism is fundamental to the Cuban revolution. The Cubans understand this from their own point of view: "Internationalism is the vanguard of the revolution. Its primary task is to educate the masses. The vanguard teaches. The masses learn."

They also understand that imperialism must be destroyed before communism can truly exist anywhere. "Imperialism is not in the interest of any country," they say, "and it is a duty for all countries to fight against it."

They have a clear understanding of the need torush the Third World, armed struggle to the world of power, and that all other forms of struggle must be subordinated to it. They also understand the importance of a strong economy to support internationalism. The Cuban economy must be strong enough to support the Cuban revolution.

The Cubans have taken the position that in the Third World, armed struggle is the fundamental need to the creation of power, and that all other forms of struggle must be subordinated to it. They also understand the importance of a strong economy to support internationalism. The Cuban economy must be strong enough to support the Cuban revolution.

Economic Strategy

Economic policy in the early years of the revolution was based on the conviction that re-establishing economic priorities and releasing idle labor and resources gave unlimited opportunities for economic growth, and that to break out of the condition of neo-colonialism meant to industrialize and to diversify agriculture. Therefore, the first two important goals were seen as important conditions for the development of a heavy industrial base. These policies required heavy investment in foreign resources in raw materials, factories, the building of an efficient infrastructure, the training of skilled personnel and construction, which placed a great demand on the Cuban economy. Pressure on reserves (foreign exchange as well as labor and resources) forced the Cuban government to re-evaluate their policies.

According to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, their conclusions were that strong dependence on foreign trade could not be ended in a short period. Further, as a tropical country, Cuba had many agricultural products (sugar, dairy, and meat products) and tropical fruits which they could offer to other non-tropical countries (and increasingly, to non-metropolitan countries) who in turn were capable of providing a stabilized market with fixed prices. This meant that sugar, primarily, meat and dairy products, and tropical fruits would provide the bulk of foreign exchange, making industrial development possible in addition to solidifying their own subsistence base. This focus on agriculture also at a mechanized agriculture, which will produce capital for re-investment, while at the same time freeing labor for other activities. The early stages of industrial development are viewed as deriving from the focus on agriculture; industries required by a technologically-advanced agricultural development (fertilizer, cement, electricity, agricultural equipment, and industries which agriculture generates based on agricultural by-products and processing). The Ten Million Ton harvest of 1970 is seen as crucial in Cuba's economic development. It will be the turning-point on the road towards a self-sufficient economy. The income from this harvest will enable Cuba to modernize and improve its agricultural sector and advance the expansion of its industrial sector.
SUMMARY: POSITION OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

As participants in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement, we fully support the Cuban revolution on the basis of the following:

1. The Cuban socialist revolution has brought about a redistribution of wealth and created an economic policy aimed at developing the economic base (abundance) for a communist society.

2. Cuba is in the vanguard of an effort to revitalize socialism, and create a new socialist man, having clearly learned a great deal from the shortcomings of socialism as practiced in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The gradual elimination of money, the use of moral incentives, mass participation in the military and political processes, the building of mass consciousness, authentic measures to destroy class differences and to prevent the emergence of a new bureaucratic class—all are part of Cuba's experiment in the creation of a new socialism.

3. Cuba has developed a new concept of internationalism, expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana: "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution." Cuba's call for "two, three, many Viet-Nams" is a strategy for the defeat of imperialism, and the guiding concept for a new international, centered in the Third World and linked to New Left struggles in the advanced capitalist countries.

4. Since Cuba is the first liberated territory in the Americas, it is under constant attack by the U.S. Government. As North Americans dedicated to the destruction of imperialism, it is our obligation to oppose our government's policies in the most effective concrete way possible.

II. SUPPORT OF A NORTH-AMERICAN BRIGADE TO HELP CUBA

1. We politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the critical sugar harvest of 1970 with its goal of 10 million tons.

2. To educate people about imperialism and the international revolution against imperialism. This will be accomplished through a well-developed education and propaganda program. The program will aim at developing an understanding of U.S. imperialism, not only in its most blatant militaristic aspects (as in Vietnam), but also its role in distorting and impeding economic development throughout the Third World.

3. To help develop a working unity among participants (students, dropouts, blacks, Chicano/a, white working class youth, etc.) based on concrete, practical tasks.

4. To strengthen our organizational capacity. The carrying out of this program on a national level will give us the opportunity of working together on a broad front, to organize people to confront problems of internal organization as conditions of struggle become more difficult. This will include the further development of a radical and disciplined revolutionary cadre and base, already in the process of being formed.

5. To develop a concrete understanding of the creative application of communist principles on a day-to-day basis. The New Left in the advanced capitalist countries has in the last decade clearly defined itself within the tradition of socialism and communism struggle against this world. The American mass media and educational system have made the word communism into anathema; this experience will help us develop ways of combating anti-communism.

III. SUPPORT OF AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The N.O.I., along with R.E.P. and the New England Free Press shall be encouraged to distribute literature on the Cuban revolution, including speeches of Che and Fidel, and articles describing and analyzing the Cuban Revolution. Chapters shall be requested to develop political education sections on the Cuban Revolution, which can be coordinated with the recruitment of brigade members in the chapters.

Julie Nickel
could best be implemented through ads I would push it at the next BRT. If as you said I turn it into a huge sectarian thing that would hamper its implementation, then I would favor working outside of national ads.

Love/Struggle.

Mr. Sourdine. Very good. Thank you.

Mr. Ramey. The Commission's fifth exhibit, exhibit 5, contains two cover letters and a document entitled "Working Committee Working Proposal for Brigades." One cover letter has the date April 6 with no year. From reading the material I would say that it was April 6, 1969, soon after the SDS national council meeting at Austin, Tex. The document attached to the cover letters tells of the political purposes of the brigade and what criteria should be used in selecting members. The letters are variously signed by Arlene Bergman and the "Working Committee" made up of Karen Ashley, Arlene Bergman, and Jerry Long. The name of Bernardine Dohrn is mentioned several times in the document. I would now like to offer this as Commission's exhibit No. 5.

Mr. Sourdine. May it be received, Mr. Chairman?

Senator Thurmond. Without objection, it will be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

(Incorrectly—Certain observe words herein have been printed in a style conforming to the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing.)

EXHIBIT 5

COMPANEROS BERNADINE, KAREN AND JERRY—APRIL 6

Here's the proposal. I worked out on the basis of our talks. Hopefully, I didn't screw up too much. But I may have, so scream loud and fast if you think I did.

Karen, I am sending you several copies of the proposal because I don't have the addresses of everyone else in that Austin meeting. Unless there are omissions of G. L. from H.I. or yourself, you should mail the copies out immediately.

Both Ockey and Lecker has seen this proposal. Ockey declares his opinions irrelevant and doesn't want to work with us—Bernadine. I guess was already informed us—and by the way Bernardine, he says he is quitting the IG, the only doubt is whether or not he'll make it formal. After some hands with Lecker, he agreed to the proposal, but he told me he didn't want to be on the exec. comm. anymore (no time).

I haven't spoken to BRT or TWLP yet (and we also have to figure out what other brown groups—YLO is Puerto Rican and apparently the Cubans don't want any PRT's)—Didn't think I should show the proposal to them without everyone else's ok.

No time to write more about IC, how it was good to meet you, Jerry, and Karen. etc.

Adelante Guerrilleros Adelante Guerrilleros.

Arlene.

P.S. Bernardine—Here's the Statement of Principles of the EU—you have. I think their other paper—Leibel (Lin's old man), Hamilton will be visiting you soon—take it easy.

Love & struggle.

Arlene.

COMPANEROS

This is only meant to be a working paper—kind of an expanded agenda so we can begin to move concretely.

You should study and discuss it with the Austin meeting people and in written form and send your comments, criticisms, suggestions to: Arlene, 2210 California Street, Berkeley 84703. By April 30 (remember the Che brigade), if there are any big hassles or substantive antagonistic disagreements we will have to meet (and soon, like before the end of April).
If there are any big hitches, the working committee will proceed to contact the BCP, Frelimo, TWF etc. and try to make logistical arrangements for the key comm. to begin to work together. Hopefully this will happen early May.

Best in victory always,

THE WORKING COMMITTEE,
KAREL, ARLENE AND JERRY.

WORKING COMMITTEE WORKING PROPOSAL FOR BRIGADE

2. PURPOSES OF THE BRIGADE

We should be able to reach agreement on these purposes among ourselves, the BCP and TWLF before proceeding to anything else, since the structure of the project and its implementation must flow from the political purposes of the trip. A fundamental assumption is that any project we push must have a specific political purpose (as opposed to a why-not-what-a-groove-it's-a-chance-to-get-a-look-see attitude).

If we agree on our political purpose first—that can stand as a relatively stable standard when hassles come up in the future. We should work out this statement of purpose well enough so that it will be a real guide. Purposes of this specific project naturally flow from our broader political perspective. This is not meant to be a definitive statement—but rather a set of broad boundaries to our perspective that we must be able to agree on.

A. Boundaries

1) The major struggle in the world today is against US imperialism.

2) The struggle of black people is one of national liberation. Also, the great majority of black people are workers, hence the solidarity of the working class.

3) All revolutionaries have to join with the working class and develop solidarity with black people and the peoples of the world to defeat imperialism. We may have a different perception of working class but ultimately we can agree that the struggle against imperialism must be waged in all available fronts, especially among the industrial proletariat, working class youth in the army, intellectuals etc.

4) The duty of the revolutionary is to make a revolution. This means armed struggle against the ruling class.

5) While we have a common enemy, the enemy is not a monolith. We need an organization capable of maintaining energy, continuity and direction of the political struggle. The enemy is highly organized. To defeat it, we must also be organized.

A step in the direction of building a party is for people with a revolutionary perspective to form collectives which link up with the ongoing struggles of all oppressed people. These groups should accept collective discipline, carry out self-criticism of their political work and apply the most advanced revolutionary concepts to all their struggles.

B. Political Purposes of the Brigade (no priority intended, all viewed as complementary)

1) Politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the battle which strengthens the most important bastion against imperialism in this hemisphere, and therefore aids our domestic struggle.

2) In promoting the brigade, we will be able to educate many people about liberation, the international revolution against imperialism, who are our brothers and who are our enemies.

3) Develop a working unity based on a practical concrete task against imperialism among participants in the brigade of ALL COLOMBIANS.
each other on a day-to-day basis, etc. (recruitment of some poor and working class people is very important here).

(4) Contribute to the further development of revolutionary cadre already in the process of being formed in the US, i.e., deepen our understanding of the above principles, learn how to be good comrades (if you prefer "companeros" or brothers), seriousness and urgency of struggle. We can learn no mechanical lessons from Cuba—~but we can get general inspiration, principles, etc. Nor do we want to become "Cuba experts" or get involved in super-societal debates about international questions that have little practical relevance to the struggle here.

II. THE PROJECT ITSELF

This part must be very sketchy because so much depends on the exec. comm. selection, American political scene, repression, etc. We'll have to be flexible and more detailed plans must be formulated by the final exec. comm. (SDB, BPF, TWL, F).

A. INSIDE THE MAMET

(1) Chapters of the national organizations represented on the exec. comm. and/oR a national mass "ad hoc group" (the choice is a pragmatic one) should engage in massive educational campaigns about the political purposes of the brigades and activities that highlight America's relationship to Cuba, e.g., breaking the blockade and attacking the most visible weaknesses for the blockade. Many imaginative projects that would suit local conditions.

(2) Legal defense, fundraising, etc.

(3) Preparation of bridge members—there should be minimal reading requirements on Cuba, internationalism, communist principles and perhaps some guidelines to prevent culture shock and ugly Americanism. The exec. comm. should organize this—the group should get together before leaving, definitely on a regional basis and, we should do all possible to have some orientation sessions on the national level. (This might be carried on the boat).

B. IN CUBA

(1) At this point, it's absurd to lay out much concrete. We might aim for around 150 people, but the main consideration is quality. Composition should be divided as equally as possible (males/females) among the major groups: MPP, TWL, SDB. It would be good if brigades integrated not only these three groups, but also included some Cuban workers.

(2) Brigade members should mix work and study.

(3) SWEAT, SWEAT, SWEAT.

III. SELECTION OF BRIGADE MEMBERS

A. THE PROCESS

(1) Local or regional chapters of the participating national organizations should nominate people to the exec. comm.

(2) Nominees should fill out written application that tries to get some biography and at the nominees' feelings about the above political points, plus their practical political experience. 

(3) After interviews with exec. comm., exec. comm. makes final decision.

B. BASIC CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

(1) Some knowledge of Spanish—for people who want to go and otherwise seem solid, we should strongly urge intensive language courses (this should be urged when we first start asking for nominees).

(2) Personal integrity—no emo-tips, hang-ups in relating to small group of people for long time, understanding of "Socialist-Cuban morality" re drugs and sex, physical health and honesty.

(3) Some movement references and history—lessen the dangers that we get agents or people who act like agents in Cuba or when they return.

(4) Understanding and agreement with the boundaries of our political perspectives (see above).

(5) Some movement experience in putting theory into practice.

C. HOW RIGID IS RIGID?

Obviously there are very few accomplished revolutionaries in the US, and it would be a drag to expect everyone to be at the same political level of sophistication. Ideology and practice is very uneven and, of course, varies with differences in race, geography and practical experience in struggle. We should aim for
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