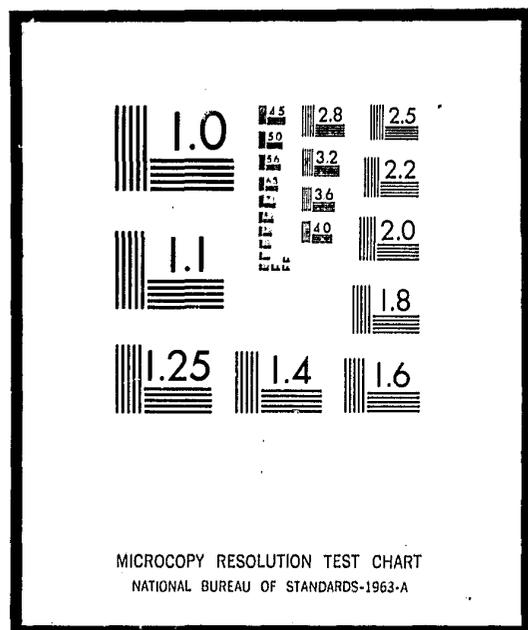


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[COMMITTEE PRINT]

## TERRORISM

A STAFF STUDY

PREPARED BY THE  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES  
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION



AUGUST 1, 1974  
(Including Index)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1974

Printed by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office  
Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price \$2.15

014935

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(II)

CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword.....	3
Introduction.....	5
Chapter I. Latin American Terrorist Organizations.....	9
Argentina.....	9
Bolivia.....	16
Brazil.....	17
Chile.....	18
Colombia.....	20
Dominican Republic.....	21
Guatemala.....	22
Haiti.....	22
Mexico.....	23
Peru.....	26
Uruguay.....	26
Venezuela.....	27
Chapter II. Palestinian and Other Middle East Terrorist Organizations.....	29
Palestine Liberation Organization.....	29
Al Fatah.....	34
Black September Organization.....	35
Libyan Black September.....	36
International Guerrilla Movement.....	38
Kissinger—Alleged Target.....	40
Other Terrorists Funded by Libya.....	41
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.....	42
Al Sa'iqah.....	43
Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.....	43
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command.....	44
Lebanese Revolutionary Guard.....	45
Lebanese Socialist Revolutionary Movement.....	45
Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution Movement.....	45
Al Iqab.....	45
Iranian Terrorist Organizations.....	46
Turkish Terrorists.....	46
U.S. Support Organizations.....	47
Chapter III. African Terrorist Organizations.....	49
Angola.....	50
Governo Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio (Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile) (GRAE).....	51
Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).....	51
Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).....	54
Mozambique.....	54
Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique (Frelimo) (Mozambique Liberation Front).....	54
Portuguese Guinea.....	56
PAIGC.....	56
Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).....	58
Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).....	59
Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).....	59
Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi).....	60
South Africa (Azania).....	60
African National Congress.....	60
South-West Africa (Namibia).....	63
Ethiopia.....	64
Chapter IV. European Terrorist Organizations.....	65
France.....	65
West Germany.....	65
Ireland.....	66
Spain.....	68
Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA).....	68

(III)

	Page
Chapter V. Far Eastern Terrorist Organizations.....	71
Burma.....	71
Japan.....	71
Philippines.....	73
Chapter VI. U.S. Communist Positions on the Use of Terror and Guerrilla Tactics.....	76
Communist Party, USA Position.....	76
Communist Party, USA on the Palestinian Terrorists.....	77
Communist Party, USA and African Terrorists.....	77
National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation.....	78
The Developing Solidarity Campaign.....	83
African Maoist Criticism of CPUSA and the Soviet Union.....	84
Revolutionary Union Position on Armed Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare.....	85
Progressive Labor Party Position on Armed Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare.....	87
Venceremos Organization Position on Armed Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare.....	88
Socialist Workers Party Position on Armed Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare.....	89
U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.....	90
Workers World Party Position on Armed Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare.....	93
Chapter VII. Terrorist Acts in the United States.....	97
Skyjackings and Bombings.....	97
Foreign Terrorists Find Targets in United States as Well as Abroad.....	98
Ad Hoc Groups.....	99
New Year's Gang.....	103
Weathermen.....	106
From Nonviolence to Confrontation.....	106
Infatuation with Guerrilla Movements.....	107
Formation of a Terrorist Cadre.....	109
The Move to Underground Terrorism.....	109
The Weather Underground.....	110
Legal Moves Against the Weathermen.....	112
Weatherman Attitudes.....	114
The Weathermen Today.....	117
Black Extremists.....	117
Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party.....	117
Communications Link for Guerrillas.....	118
Cleaver Faction Publications.....	120
Afro-American Liberation Army.....	121
AALA Ideology.....	123
Terrorist Acts.....	123
Black Liberation Army.....	124
Assaults on Police.....	124
BLA in the Prisons.....	128
Two BLA Members State Objectives.....	131
BLA Support of Symbionese Liberation Army.....	133
Black Guerrilla Family Supports SLA.....	134
The Symbionese Liberation Army.....	135
Political Kidnaping.....	136
SLA Organization and Aims.....	137
Justification of Violence.....	144
SLA Operational Techniques.....	154
Reaction from Other Left Groups.....	154
Principal Members of the SLA.....	156
Puerto Rican Organizations.....	162
Appendix A: FAA Statistics on Hijackings.....	165
Appendix B: Symbionese Liberation Army.....	162
Appendix C: Guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and Marxism-Leninism.....	191
Appendix D: FBI monographs on terrorism.....	199
Appendix E: References.....	233
Index.....	i

The House Committee on Internal Security is a standing committee of the House of Representatives, constituted as such by the rules of the House, adopted pursuant to article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings.

#### RULES ADOPTED BY THE 93D CONGRESS

House Resolution 6, January 3, 1973.

#### RESOLUTION

*Resolved*, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninety-second Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, as amended, be, and they are hereby adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninety-third Congress \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RULE X

##### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress.

\* \* \* \* \*

(k) Committee on Internal Security, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

11. Committee on Internal Security.  
(a) Communist and other subversive activities affecting the internal security of the United States.

(b) The Committee on Internal Security, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make investigations from time to time of (1) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, whether of foreign or domestic origin, their members, agents, and affiliates, which seek to establish, or assist in the establishment of, a totalitarian dictatorship within the United States, or to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or alteration of, the form of government of the United States or of any State thereof, by force, violence, treachery, espionage, sabotage, insurrection, or any unlawful means, (2) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, which incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means, to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States, and (3) all other questions, including the administration and execution of any law of the United States, or any portion of law, relating to the foregoing that would aid the Congress or any committee of the House in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Internal Security shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Internal Security, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has

adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

- \* \* \* \* \*
28. (a) In order to assist the House in—
- (1) its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and
  - (2) its formulation, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate,
- each standing committee shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of that committee.
- \* \* \* \* \*

## FOREWORD

This study on terrorism prepared by the Committee on Internal Security staff was furnished in shorter form to the members of the committee as background for its hearings on terrorism begun on February 27, 1974. This up-dated version was approved for publication by the full committee on July 16, 1974.

The committee's public record of over five years is studded with instances of violence employed by revolutionary groups; thus neither I nor the other committee members are strangers to this subject matter.

What we are doing now is concentrating our attention on the actual and potential problems created for U.S. citizens at home and abroad by world-wide terrorist activity. The rapid transmittal of ideas which is the phenomenon of our age, and the proclivity of revolutionaries in one country to support and even imitate terrorist acts by revolutionaries in another have combined to create the special internal security problem the committee is now studying. The problem was exemplified by the recent activities of the West Coast revolutionaries, the Symbionese Liberation Army.

I sincerely hope that the United States does not experience increased acts of revolutionary terrorism in the form of bombings, kidnapings, extortions or so-called "expropriations," but my experience in this field forewarns me against too sanguine a view of the future. It is, therefore, my responsibility as chairman to insure that the Congress has the benefit of a thorough study of the problem together with recommendations for legislation or executive action which may prevent acts of terrorism or alleviate their effects if they do occur. Such recommendation will appear in the final report to be submitted at the conclusion of the hearings.

RICHARD H. ICHORD, *Chairman.*

AUGUST 1, 1974.

(3)

## INTRODUCTION

### TERRORISM DEFINED

This study makes reference to sporadic terroristic acts committed by one or a few individuals, such as those persons associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS in the United States. It also takes note of activities abroad which have escalated to the stage of full-scale guerrilla warfare. Both types of action, however, involve revolutionary violence in the name of an organization having so-called "political" objectives.

There appears to be no universally accepted definition of terrorism. A lawyer analyzing recent debates in the United Nations over proposals aimed at curbing international terrorism called attention to the divergence of views of what constituted terrorism. He observed that, although scholars and diplomats continue to debate over the precise meaning of the term, "recent contemporary usage tends to restrict its meaning to either random or extortionate violence, aimed ultimately at the target state of a guerrilla, resistance or liberation movement but which strikes at unarmed civilians, diplomats or non-combatants." [William A. Hannay, J. D., "International Terrorism: The Need for a Fresh Perspective," *International Lawyer*, vol. 8, No. 2, April 1974, p. 268.]

The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences many years ago defined terrorism as—

\* \* \* a term used to describe the method or the theory behind the method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence. Terroristic acts are directed against persons who as individuals, agents or representatives of authority interfere with the consummation of the objectives of such a group.

A "political terrorist" was described as one who—

\* \* \* imposes the punishment meted out by his organization upon those who are considered guilty or who are held to interfere with the revolutionary program; thus he serves notice that his organization will be satisfied with nothing short of removal of the undesired social or governmental system and of the persons behind it. The terrorist does not threaten; death or destruction is part of his program of action, and if he is caught his behavior during trial is generally directed primarily not toward winning his freedom but toward spreading a knowledge of his doctrines.

This concept of terrorism, according to the Encyclopaedia, makes it a "method of combat in the struggle between social groups and forces" rather than a struggle between individuals. The victims stand as "representatives of social groups or of systems of government." The "publicity value of the terrorist act" is the "cardinal point in the strategy of terrorism," this definition holds. The reigning government and the masses of the population are being given notice that "constituted authority is no longer safely entrenched and unchallenged."

Since governments are not inclined to retreat before acts of terror directed at individuals, terrorism has never attained real success as a "complete revolutionary tactic," the Encyclopaedia stated. [Seligman,

Edwin R. A., ed., "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences," vol. 13 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934), pp. 575-579.]

Another and more recent scholarly article defines what is termed "revolutionary terrorism":

\* \* \* Revolutionary terrorism is a part of insurgent strategy in the context of internal warfare or revolution: the attempt to seize political power from the established regime of a state, if successful causing fundamental political and social change. \* \* \*

Terrorism which is part of a strategy for attaining political power has certain other components, however, the author holds:

(2) Terrorism is manifested in acts of socially and politically unacceptable violence.

(3) There is a consistent pattern of symbolic or representative selection of the victims or objects of acts of terrorism.

(4) The revolutionary movement deliberately intends these actions to create a psychological effect on specific groups and thereby to change their political behavior and attitudes. [Hutchinson, Martha Crenshaw, Department of Government and Foreign Affairs of the University of Virginia, "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 16, No. 3, September 1972, pp. 383-396.]

Much of the emphasis of the committee's staff study lies in this field of "revolutionary terrorism." The committee recognizes that terrorism is not the sole property of the left. However, the study deals primarily with terrorist groups worldwide which are Marxist oriented or influenced, as much of the terrorist activity of the past 2 years has resulted from the operations of such groups.

The traditional Marxist-Leninist line is that terrorism is a legitimate revolutionary weapon but that it should be used only when the conditions for successful revolution exist and only as part of a greater mass struggle under the control of "the party."

### INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

Terrorism first became a significant international problem about 1968 with the tremendous increase in skyjackings in which the aircraft were forced to fly to foreign countries. Although there are records of skyjackings since 1930, with cases occurring on the average of 2 per year prior to 1968, the figure jumped to 35 cases in the latter year and to a high of 87 in 1969. The cases gradually diminished to 22 in 1973 and to 8 in the first three months of 1974. U.S. aircraft were involved in 99 successful skyjackings and 64 attempts. The number of cases in which the motivation was purely political is not known.

There has been similar increase in guerrilla insurgency using terrorist methods.

The Soviet Union is selective in its support of terrorist groups abroad. For example, it supports the Palestine Liberation Organization because PLO activities have accorded with Soviet international policies. It denounces Arab terrorist groups resisting negotiation of the Arab-Israeli conflict (the Libyan-based terrorists, for example) as well as Maoist-oriented movements. The head of the Maoist-oriented Zimbabwe African National Union charged that "the Soviets tend to support only those movements it can control and manipulate in its own interest." In 1972, 94 Soviet diplomats were expelled from Bolivia

because of their involvement in the activities of the National Liberation Army (ELN), the local guerrilla organization founded by the Cuban terrorist, Che Guevara.

Internationally, the Chinese communists have been actively engaged in promoting terrorist groups in Africa, the Middle East and to a lesser extent in Latin America. China has supported rival terrorist movements to those supported by the Soviet Union in Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and other African nations.

A new development at the end of the 1960's has been the launching of attacks in countries far from the terrorists' home base, sometimes in alliance with local terrorist groups. For example, the People's Revolutionary Army of Argentina cooperated with the Tupamaros of Uruguay by attacking Uruguayan targets in Argentina. In Israel, the United Red Army of Japan attacked Lod Airport on behalf of its allies in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The Black September organization received cooperation from the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany in preparing the Munich attack on the Israeli Olympic team. The Bolivian Army of National Liberation (ELN) murdered the Bolivian consul in Hamburg, Germany. An IRA letter bomb seriously injured a British Embassy employee in Washington, D.C. One assassination and one attempted assassination in Washington, D.C., and a three-target bombing attempt in New York City are attributed to the Black September organization, part of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Transnational affiliations have enabled terrorist groups to receive comprehensive training in terrorist tactics. For example, the Mexican National Civic Revolutionary Association reportedly received guerrilla training in Red China and the Mexican Revolutionary Action Movement received similar training in North Korea. Cuba has reportedly trained 135 Puerto Rican nationalist leaders in guerrilla warfare and sabotage.

### DOMESTIC ASPECTS

The position of the Communist Party, USA, concerning terrorism conforms to the traditional Marxist-Leninist line; it criticizes unaffiliated Marxist terrorist groups such as the Weathermen for "left adventurism." It argues that violence must be part of the mass struggle. The Socialist Workers Party, the second major communist organization in the United States, has within it a faction which supports the Trotskyist Fourth International position favoring guerrilla warfare at this time. This is opposed by a large segment of the present SWP leadership which feels that open advocacy of guerrilla warfare and terror tactics at this time will damage the party's organizing efforts and result in decimating its limited forces. Similar dissension in Trotskyist organizations in Spain and Argentina has led to splintering of the Trotskyist movement in those countries into pro- and anti-guerrilla warfare organizations. Both the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party support terrorism, which they call national liberation struggles, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Workers

World Party, another American Trotskyist communist party, is vociferous in support of many terrorist organizations in the Middle East and Latin America, including the Trotskyist People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in Argentina.

In the United States, revolutionary organizations have, in several instances, formed terrorist splinter groups. The Eldridge Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party spawned urban terrorist groups notorious for murders of police officers and many armed robberies. The Weathermen, a development from the initially peaceful socialist organization, Students for a Democratic Society, accepted terrorism as the ultimate method for social change and claimed credit for the bombing of the U.S. Capitol and other targets.

Other groups, sometimes taking bizarre names, have assumed responsibility for terror bombings of Government and business-related institutions. These include the Proud Eagle Tribe which has twice claimed bombings in Massachusetts; the Black Revolutionary Assault Team; and Americans for Justice which took credit for two bombings in California since November 1973. The Hoover Vacuum Conspiracy and the Citizens Committee to Demilitarize Industry have taken responsibility for attacks on Selective Service records and sabotage. Still other sabotage and terrorist groups identified by law enforcement authorities include the Black Afro Militant Movement; East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives (involved in railroad sabotage, destruction of Selective Service records and some of whose members were tried for plotting to kidnap the Secretary of State); the Camp McCoy Three; and the New Year's Gang.

Bombings have been the preferred tactic of U.S. terrorists although available figures indicate that only about 5 percent of U.S. bombings are attributable to revolutionaries.

The latest development in the United States is the formation of an urban terrorist group, the Symbionese Liberation Army. This organization has been involved in assassination, kidnaping, and bank robbery. It has employed the tactics of the Tupamaros of Uruguay and the Argentinian People's Revolutionary Army. Six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army leadership cadre were killed in a shootout with police in Los Angeles on May 17, 1974. Other members of the group remain at large.

## CHAPTER I

### LATIN AMERICAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

#### ARGENTINA

There are currently five urban guerrilla groups in Argentina, according to an analysis in the Guardian.\* Two of the largest guerrilla organizations, the Montoneros and Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (FAR) [Revolutionary Armed Forces] merged during November 1973, under the name Montoneros. The Guardian analysis states:

\*\*\* being closely connected with the Young Peronist Workers, [they] give tactical support to the government. Recent statements have indicated, however, that they might support a coup led by the nationalist right wing of the military, a la Peru. They define themselves rhetorically as socialists but deny the need for a political party or for the supremacy of political over military leadership.1\*\*

During the fall of 1973, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (FAL) [Armed Liberation Forces], a group formed in the early 1960's, split into two factions: The FAL May 29—date of an uprising in 1971 in the city of Cordoba—and FAL August 22—date of the shooting of prisoners in Trelew prison in 1972. The FAL had formed a close working alliance with the Trotskyist People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) early in 1973. That alliance has caused some reports to refer to the FAL factions as "ERP August 22" and "ERP May 29."

FAL May 29 is reported as supporting Cuba internationally. Since the FAL kidnaping of an Eastman Kodak executive in April 1973, it has observed a truce while "accumulating strategic forces for revolution." FAL August 22 supports the Peronist movement fully and integrated itself into it. Both groups have reportedly limited themselves to propaganda actions which do not oppose Peron's domestic policies. These include the distribution of hijacked food and milk to the poor.

The "Annual of Power and Conflict, 1973-74," published by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, London, under the editorship of Brian Crozier, characterized Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion as "Marxist" in orientation but also observed that it was an "independent urban guerrilla group with no clearly defined ideology." In some public source material, such as the aforementioned Guardian, the full name of the group represented by the initials FAL is stated as Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberacion [Argentine Liberation Forces].

A fourth urban guerrilla organization, Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas (FAP) [Peronist Armed Forces] which was formerly active against the military government of Argentina which ruled until the return of

\*The Guardian describes its purpose as "to assist in bringing to birth a new revolutionary political party, based on the working class, armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, committed to socialist revolution."  
\*\* Footnote numbers refer the reader to the public sources on which this study is based. These footnotes are printed in app. E, pp. 233 and 234. Asterisks designate editorial footnotes which are printed at the bottom of the page.

Juan Peron, continues its attacks which are now directed against "imperialist targets." FAP's ideology is taken from the independent socialism of Peronism.

The fifth urban terrorist group, the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) [People's Revolutionary Army], was founded as the outlawed armed wing of the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) [Revolutionary Workers Party].<sup>2</sup>

The ERP was organized by a decision of the PRT at a secret Fifth Congress in July 1970.\* It has undertaken numerous armed actions against the executives of U.S. and foreign corporations operating in Argentina and specializes in kidnappings and extortion. The ERP has also undertaken many kidnappings and some assassinations of Argentinian Government and corporate officials, and the majority of the incidents of terrorism in that country during 1973 were claimed by or attributed to this group. The ERP claims international cooperation with the Tupamaros urban guerrillas of Uruguay, and to express this "transnational" solidarity more concretely, the ERP attacked the home of the Uruguayan Ambassador in Buenos Aires on July 6, 1973. Two days later, the ERP seized the Uruguayan consulate in La Plata for a short time and sprayed slogans of solidarity on the walls. ERP also claimed a kidnapping in Paraguay of a British executive.

On October 18, 1973, the minority staff of the House Committee on Internal Security presented evidence that "the ERP has signed a pact of mutual cooperation with the Tupamaros, the Castroite guerrilla organization in Uruguay and the MIR of Chile, Allende's storm troopers. An ERP member was killed last month [September] in Uruguay in combat with the Tupamaros."<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the factional fighting within the Argentinian Trotskyist movement, the majority of the PRT led by Roberto Santucho left the Fourth International. Santucho, the most prominent of the Argentinian terrorist leaders, continues to call his forces the PRT and the ERP.

A minority grouping called the Red Faction [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Fraccion Roja)] continues as a member of the Fourth International. The program of the PRT (Red Faction) was published in the confidential International Internal Discussion Bulletin of the Fourth International for January 1974, Volume XI, Number 1. This group continues to carry out terrorist activities and has clearly outlined its plans by saying—

The ERP should be built and organized concentrically with the party—that is to say, under the guidance of the cells and political commissars of the PRT. De facto in the present stage, members of the regular cells of the ERP will be party sympathizers whose level of consciousness or political understanding does not yet allow them to be full members of the PRT. (Ibid., p. 9.)

Six delegates from the PRT (Red Faction) attended the Tenth World Congress of the Trotskyist Fourth International held in Sweden in February 1974. They voted consistently for every resolution in support of armed insurrection and terrorism. (International

\*Appendices to House Committee on Internal Security hearings on "The Theory and Practice of Communism, pt. 3 (EXPOCUBA)," contain nearly 100 pp. of internal documents of the PRT, ERP, and other sections of the Fourth International. Among the documents reproduced is the complete International Internal Discussion Bulletin for April 1973, which contains the PRT Fifth Congress resolutions and much additional material on the ERP.

Internal Discussion Bulletin of the Fourth International, April 1974, Volume XI, p. 11.)

Early in 1974, the Workers World, the publication of the Workers World Party in the United States, published the complete text of the four part agreement between the Tupamaros of Uruguay, the ERP of Argentina, the MIR of Chile and the ELN of Bolivia. The MIR stands for Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. The ELN is the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional [National Liberation Army]. The lengthy document, translated by Tomas Acosta Soto (Tom Soto), described their joint program as follows:

#### OUR PROGRAM

We are united by the understanding that there is no other viable strategy in Latin America than the strategy of revolutionary war; that this revolutionary war is a complicated process of mass struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, where all forms of struggle are developed harmoniously around the axis of armed struggle; that for the victorious unfolding of the entire process of revolutionary war, it is necessary to mobilize the entire people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat; that the proletarian leadership of the war will be exercised through a Marxist-Leninist combat party \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
The answer should be clear and no other than that armed struggle, as the principal factor in the polarization, agitation, and finally, the destruction of the enemy, is the only possibility for victory. This is not to say that all possible forms of organization and struggle should not be used: legal and clandestine, peaceful and violent, economic and political, all converging with greater effectiveness in the Armed Struggle, in accordance with peculiarities of each region and country. The continental character of the struggle is fundamentally determined by the presence of a common enemy. North American imperialism carries out an international strategy to hold back the socialist revolution in Latin America. \* \* \*

The document concludes with a call to arms to the peoples of Latin America "to join actively in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for socialism that is already taking place in our continent under the flag and example of Comandante Guevara." The document is signed with the slogans of the four terrorist organizations:

Liberty or Death (MLN—Tupamaros)  
To Win or Die for Argentina (ERP)  
Fatherland or Death—We Shall Win (MIR)  
Victory or Death (ELN)<sup>4</sup>

It was reported in the Washington Post, March 14, 1974 (pages A-1 and A-16) that 12 foreign nationals and more than 170 Argentine citizens were kidnaped by guerrilla terrorists and criminal gangs copying their tactics during 1973.

Following are examples of acts of terrorism in Argentina from March 1973 to April 1974. Twenty-two of the 41 incidents were specifically attributed in press accounts to the ERP or related groups.

1973

March 28—Gerardo Scalmazzi, 43, Argentinian manager of the First National Bank of Boston branch in the city of Rosario, was kidnaped by terrorists, allegedly the ERP. He was released unharmed on April 4, after his bank paid a ransom of between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000.<sup>5</sup>

- April 2—Anthony da Cruz, 43, technical operations manager of the new Buenos Aires plant of Eastman Kodak's Argentinian subsidiary, was kidnaped by six terrorists who rammed his car with a pickup truck as he drove to work. Da Cruz was the first U.S. citizen kidnaped in Argentina.<sup>5</sup> Da Cruz was released 5 days later after payment of a ransom of \$1,500,000 to the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (FAL), according to Brian Crozier, editor, "Annual of Power and Conflict, 1973-74," op. cit., p. 33.
- April 2—Rear Adm. (retired) Francisco Agustin Aleman, 51, was kidnaped from his Buenos Aires apartment by three ERP terrorists, including a nephew, in a reprisal for the killing of 16 guerrilla terrorists in an escape attempt at the Navy's Trelew prison in August of 1972. He was released June 8 after being forced to sign propaganda statements. His release followed the signing of a general amnesty for political prisoners, including terrorists, by President Campora.<sup>7</sup>
- April 4—Two terrorists crashed their pickup truck into the car of Col. Hector A. Iribarren, chief of intelligence of the Argentinian 3d Army in the city of Cordoba. The terrorists then killed the colonel with shotgun and automatic rifle blasts.<sup>8</sup>
- April 8—A British subject, Francis Brimicombe, president of a local subsidiary of the British and American Tobacco Co., was kidnaped outside his home in Buenos Aires. He was released after payment of a reported \$1.8 million ransom.<sup>9</sup>
- April 30—A bomb explosion in a building owned by Goodyear Rubber in Cordoba seriously damaged the building but caused no casualties. ERP claimed responsibility.
- May 1—Rear Admiral (Ret.) Hermes Quijada, 52, former chief of staff of the Argentinian armed forces, was shot to death in his car by two terrorists on a motorcycle in reprisal for the August 22, 1972 incident at Trelew prison.<sup>10</sup>
- May 1—Terrorists kidnaped the son of the Swiss chairman of the Italo-Argentine Electric Co., in Buenos Aires. After payment of \$1.5 million, the youth was released on May 4.
- May 1—A bomb exploded in front of the Goodyear Rubber office in the city of Cordoba and was attributed to the ERP.
- May 22—Oscar Castells, president of the Coca-Cola Bottling plant in Cordoba, was kidnaped by several armed terrorists. After payment of a \$100,000 ransom, he was released on June 4. The organization responsible was not reported.<sup>11</sup>
- May 22—Luis Giovanelli, manager of Ford's analysis department, and Mrs. Noemi Baruj de la Rin, supervisor of industrial relations, were attacked with machine gun fire in an unsuccessful kidnap attempt by the ERP. Giovanelli died on June 25 of his wounds.<sup>12</sup>
- May 23—A bomb was defused at the Ford offices in Buenos Aires. In Detroit, Ford announced that it would meet the ERP's extortion demands for \$1 million in ambulances and donations to hospitals in Argentina to prevent further attacks on its Buenos Aires subsidiary and its employees.<sup>13</sup>
- May 30—An extortionist identifying himself as representing the ERP told Otis Elevator executives that one of them would be killed unless \$500,000 was paid and all workers were given a 100 percent

- raise. After receipt of this terrorist demand, 13 foreign Otis employees left the country.<sup>14</sup>
- June 6—Charles A. Lockwood, 63, a British director of the Roberts Finance Co., which represents several British and American interests in Argentina, was kidnaped by several ERP terrorists outside his suburban home. Ransom demands reportedly were as high as \$2 million; he was released July 30, after payment.<sup>15</sup>
- June 7—General Motors officials in Buenos Aires rejected ERP death and kidnap threats to its executives unless it rehired 1,000 workers.<sup>16</sup>
- June 18—John R. Thompson, 50, president and general manager of Firestone Rubber in Argentina, was kidnaped by armed guerrillas who surrounded and stopped his car with about five other vehicles. He was released on July 6 in Buenos Aires. He was the fifth American executive kidnaped in Argentina in 1973. Local news reports stated the ERP had demanded \$3 million in ransom and that open negotiations with the ERP had been conducted in a downtown Buenos Aires hotel. He was released on July 6, 1973.<sup>17</sup>
- June 19—Hans Kurt Gebhart, 61, a West German technical manager of a hosiery plant, was pulled from his car by armed terrorists as he was leaving for work. After payment of a reported ransom of \$100,000, he was released on July 1.<sup>18</sup>
- July 4—An ERP terrorist armed with grenades hijacked an Argentinian airliner on a domestic flight from Buenos Aires. After refueling in Chile, the hijacker forced the pilot to fly to Cuba.
- July 6—ERP terrorists attacked the home of the Uruguayan ambassador in Buenos Aires with guns and incendiary bombs. No injuries resulted.
- July 8—ERP members seized the Uruguayan consulate in La Plata and held it for a short time. They painted slogans on the walls proclaiming "solidarity with the Uruguayan Revolutionaries and workers."
- August 12—A representative of the ERP demanded Coca-Cola give \$1 million to certain needy causes or face unspecified violence. In response to this extortion threat, the New York based Coca-Cola Export Co. ordered its Argentinian subsidiary not to pay and ordered all 25 American executives and their families to leave Argentina.<sup>19</sup>
- August 20—Six ERP guerrillas took over the airfield at La Plata while two of them forced a pilot to fly a light plane over the city so they could drop propaganda leaflets.
- August 26—Five ERP terrorists from the dissident August 22 faction kidnaped Carlos A. Bianco, a former judge of the special subversives court, on matters related to the Trelew incident.<sup>20</sup>
- August 27—Ian Martin, a British subject who was manager of Liegib's Meat Co., was kidnaped in Asuncion, Paraguay. The ransom note left in his car was signed by the Argentinian ERP.
- September 7—Eleven ERP terrorists were captured in a commando raid on a military supply center in Buenos Aires. Surrounded while attempting to remove weapons from the arsenal, they surrendered after a five-hour shootout. This attack was in line with the ERP's pledge to continue its attacks on "counterrevolutionary

- companies" and the "pro-imperialist clique in the armed forces." <sup>21</sup>
- September 9—Bernardo F. Sofovich, an executive of the newspaper Clarin, was kidnaped and his paper forced to print a front-page advertisement and another two pages inside for the ERP August 22 faction. The faction called on Argentini-ans to support Peron in the upcoming elections, while the statements on the inside pages by the ERP severely criticized the government. Clarin's offices were later attacked by an armed band of 50 terrorists who sprayed the entrance hall with bullets, wounding two people, manhandled employees, and started a major fire. <sup>22</sup>
- October 8—The anniversary of the death of Che Guevara was commemorated in Buenos Aires by a rocket attack on the Sheraton Hotel; 12 rockets were fired but only two hit the building. On the same day, fire bombs which caused considerable damage were thrown at the Bank of America branch.
- October 9—In Cordoba, bombs were exploded outside the offices of Coca-Cola, Firestone Rubber, and the German Mercedes Benz companies. There were no casualties.
- October 22—Kurt Schmid, 43, Swissair general manager for Latin America, was kidnaped by armed terrorists. He was released on November 29, after payment of a "substantial" ransom estimated at more than \$4 million. <sup>23</sup>
- October 23—David B. Wilkie, 48, general manager of the Amoco Argentina Oil Co., was seized by terrorists on his way to work. A reported \$1 million was asked in ransom from this subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana. <sup>24</sup> He was released on Nov. 11. Amoco confirmed that a ransom had been paid, but did not confirm the amount. <sup>25</sup>
- November 12—ERP gunmen kidnaped Col. Florencio E. Crespo of the Third Army Corps on the excuse that he had taken a special course given by the U.S. Army "to make his repression of the Argentina people more effective." <sup>26</sup>
- November 13—Thirty heavily armed men and women guerrillas took over a milk production plant on the outskirts of Cordoba and hijacked 10 tank trucks of milk which they drove to various sections of the city. After distributing the milk, the guerrillas disappeared.
- November 22—John A. Swint, 56, general manager of the Ford parts subsidiary, Transax, and two of his three bodyguards, were assassinated in a bloody ambush by 15 well-dressed terrorists who used two trucks and two cars to block his car on the way to work. Argentinian police stated that this appeared to be a straight-forward assassination, not a kidnap bungling. The Peronist Armed Forces (FAP) took responsibility for Swint's assassination. <sup>27</sup> The Argentine government has set up a special Industrial Police organization under the jurisdiction of the Federal Police to guard industrial plants throughout the country, according to the newspaper, La Nacion, quoted in a radio broadcast from Buenos Aires on May 29, 1974. The decision to create the Industrial Police was taken after Swint's murder.

- November 28—Ford Motor Co. received a threat from guerrillas that they would murder all American Ford executives and their families, one by one, and would blow up the Ford factory in Buenos Aires because the company has "pillaged the country by superexploitation of workers." By December 1, 25 Ford executives and their families had left Argentina. <sup>28</sup>
- December 6—Victor Samuelson, 36, general manager of Esso Argentina, a subsidiary of Exxon Corp., was kidnaped by 12 armed ERP terrorists at a refinery 160 miles north of Buenos Aires. <sup>29</sup> The ERP demanded a ransom of over \$14 million for Mr. Samuelson, the largest ransom in history for a single individual. <sup>30</sup> In March 1974, Exxon officials placed ads in Argentinian newspapers stating that the company had paid the ERP all of the money requested.
- Samuelson was released on May 29, 1974, after the ERP had "laundered" in foreign banks the 142,000 one hundred dollar bills handed over to them on March 11. On June 12, the ERP released documents in Buenos Aires which said that the group had distributed \$5 million among the other members of the Latin American guerrilla "Revolutionary Coordination Board," the coordinating organization set up by the Bolivian ELN, the Uruguayan Tupamaros, the Chilean MIR, and the ERP. The ERP documents, signed by Mario Roberto Santucho, disclosed that the \$5 million was part of the ransom paid to free Samuelson. The ERP reported the guerrillas were using the money to finance "a new stage of military development," the establishment of rural guerrilla movements to mobilize and organize the masses and complement the operations of the existing urban terrorist units. (Washington Post, April 30, 1974, p. A-13; Latin News Agency, quoted in broadcast from Buenos Aires, June 12, 1974.)
- December 20—Charles Robert Hayes, 51, an engineer with the McKee Tecsca Construction Co. of Independence, Ohio, was stopped and seized as he drove to his office in La Plata, a port city 30 miles south of Buenos Aires. McKee Tecsca, one of the firms working on the new General Mosconi petrochemical plant in La Plata, paid \$1.5 million in ransom for Hayes' release in mid-January. (Washington Star-News, Dec. 23, 1973, p. A-8 and March 14, 1974, p. A-8.)
- January 2.—Buenos Aires police reported that Jose Ludvik, the Italian manager of a large Argentinian paper company, was kidnaped by an unidentified group as he left his offices in the evening. (Latin News Agency account broadcast from Buenos Aires, Jan. 3, 1974.)
- January 3—Pepsi Cola's Argentina administrative director, Douglas Roberts, 46, was kidnaped in the Buenos Aires suburb of Martinez while driving to work. The kidnapers were followed by Federal Police when they picked up the ransom money. The criminals were arrested and Roberts freed on February 2. (EFE, Spanish news agency, account broadcast from Madrid, Jan. 4, 1974; La Nacion article quoted in broadcast from Buenos Aires, Feb. 3, 1974.)

February 21—Enrique Nyborb Anderson, an employee of the Bank of London and South America, kidnaped more than 3 months earlier, was released after payment of a ransom estimated at \$1,145,000. (Washington Star-News, Feb. 21, 1974, p. A-12.)

March 14—Mario Reducto, a retired non-commissioned officer in the Argentine navy, was found shot to death after being kidnaped by an armed group. It will be recalled that several Argentine terrorist factions have attacked officers and retired officers of the navy in retribution for the Trelew prison "massacre." However, since January, few terrorist incidents in Argentina have been attributed to the ERP in that country's press and radio broadcasts because the government has made publishing or mentioning the name of the ERP illegal. (Washington Star-News, Mar. 14, 1974, p. A-8; New York Times, Mar. 15, 1974, p. 5.)

April 4—Roberto F. Kleber, an executive of Fiat-Concord, was assassinated in downtown Cordoba by two men using a sub-machine gun and sawed-off shotgun at point blank range. The killers escaped in a waiting car driven by a third person. The Peronist Armed Forces claimed responsibility. (EFE account broadcast from Madrid, April 4, 1974.)

April 12—Alfred A. Laun, III, 36, a U.S. Information Service employee in Cordoba, was shot, beaten, kidnaped and interrogated by nine ERP guerrillas. Laun opened his door to a terrorist dressed as a policeman asking to see his ham radio equipment. As the terrorists pushed into his house, Laun, a sturdy six-footer, fought with them, but was shot and then pistol-whipped. The ERP squad took Laun to a "people's prison" where they reportedly injected him with hallucinogenic drugs and interrogated him about alleged CIA activities in Latin America and South Vietnam. Some 15 hours after having been shot in the abdomen, the seriously wounded, half-conscious Laun was abandoned in a dry river bed by the ERP. Recovering in a hospital in the Canal Zone, Laun said that the ERP seemed convinced he was a "spy" because of his elaborate ham radio equipment and antennas, much of which was stolen by the ERP. He further stated he had been shot while trying to figure out how to release the safety catch on a pistol he had wrested from one of the ERP kidnapers. A woman terrorist has been arrested by police in Cordoba as part of the ERP group who shot Laun. (Washington Star-News, Apr. 12, 1974, pp. A-1 & 11; New York Times, Apr. 14, 1974, p. 13; Washington Star-News, Apr. 14, 1974, p. A-4; Washington Post, Apr. 14, 1974, pp. A-1 & 18; New York Post, May 10, 1974, p. 15; Washington Star-News, May 12, 1974, p. A-23; Washington Post, May 12, 1974, p. F-6; Washington Post, Apr. 27, 1974, p. A-18.)

#### BOLIVIA

Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN): The ELN [National Liberation Army] was founded in 1967 as a rural guerrilla movement by the late Che Guevara to establish a Cuban-style communist regime in that country. After the death of Guevara and the effective counter-insurgency actions of the Bolivian Government, the ELN rebuilt itself

into an urban guerrilla organization. In 1972 Russian involvement in the ELN was exposed by the Bolivian Government which expelled 49 Soviet diplomats for espionage and subversion.<sup>31</sup> On February 14, 1974, the ELN, Argentina's ERP, Chile's MIR and the Tupamaros announced they were preparing for joint combat.

On January 13, 1973, the Bolivian Government deported an American, Mary Elizabeth Harding, who was arrested in December 1972, and was charged with being an ELN member. Harding is a former Maryknoll nun who spent 12 years in Bolivia. On her return to the United States, Harding toured the country from April to May 1973, speaking on behalf of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), an organization which has also sponsored tours by Argentinian guerrilla supporters. In an interview with the Washington Post in May 1973,<sup>32</sup> she described how she came to believe that violent revolution and membership in the ELN was the "only hope for Bolivia."

Tricontinental, issue No. 86 (1973)<sup>33</sup> announced the "heroic death" of top ELN commando Monica "Imilla" Ertl in a shootout with police in La Paz, May 13, 1973. "Imilla" has been idolized by Tricontinental for her single-handed assassination of the Bolivian consul in Hamburg, Germany, April 1, 1971. Tricontinental is published by the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America which was created by the Cuban Government to spread Castro-style communist propaganda in the "Third World" countries. Its headquarters are in Havana.

In September 1973, Bolivian officials announced the breaking up of a plot involving the assassination of government officials. Modern weapons were discovered in a guerrilla hideout in La Paz where two members of the ELN were arrested, including Salustio Choque, a survivor of Guevara's band.<sup>34</sup> It is noted that several members of the Cuban Communist Party's central committee were killed fighting in Bolivia with Che's band of terrorists during the 1960's.

#### BRAZIL

During 1973, several small Brazilian terrorist groups were active. It was reported that the main activity was in an isolated region in the Amazon River basin. In September 1973, Brazil is said to have deployed 10,000 jungle trained troops in the Amazon area to counter a guerrilla movement formed in April 1972. Simultaneously with the appearance of this guerrilla band in the Maraba region, a "rebel" political party called the Union for the Freedoms and the Rights of the People was formed in several cities. This party has a 27-point "program of the poor" covering assorted political and social demands. Other groups active during 1973 include the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Castroite Acao Libertadora Nacional (ALN) [National Liberation Action], and the People's Liberation Movement (Molipo) [Movimento Libertador Popular].<sup>35</sup>

There have been few attacks by terrorists on U.S. citizens or property in Brazil, but scattered incidents, such as the May 18 fire which damaged the home of a U.S. diplomat in Sao Paulo and which is believed to have been started by an incendiary device, do occur.

Another Castroite revolutionary group in Brazil, the Vanguardia Popular Revolucionaria (VPR) [Popular Revolutionary Vanguard] has been inactive.<sup>36</sup>

One of the most active American support groups which report on "Yankee imperialism" and "repression" in Brazil is American Friends of Brazil, which was organized in 1971 by Fred P. Goff of the North American Congress on Latin America\* and now operates from NACLA's Berkeley, Calif. offices.

#### CHILE

During the period of strife preceding the overthrow of the Popular Unity government of Chilean president Salvador Allende, pipe bombs were found at the homes of three U.S. embassy officials in Santiago.<sup>37</sup> Since the military takeover, the Marxist and communist parties have broken into small underground sabotage units to perform "acts of resistance." Most militant of these is the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], an extreme Castroite group which has been in alliance with the Popular Unity coalition and which formed Allende's "shock troops."<sup>38</sup> Its leader, Bautista von Schouwen, was arrested and condemned to death in Chile on December 24, 1973. Also in December, Chilean military authorities killed five terrorists, all members of the outlawed Chilean Communist Party, as they were placing explosive charges at the foot of a tower on a high tension line.<sup>39</sup>

An analysis of the formation of the MIR was published by the Spartacist League, a militant Trotskyist splinter group in the United States, in its newspaper, Workers Vanguard, in September, 1973, before the overthrow of Allende's government. The article attacks the United Secretariat, the largest of three international coordinating bodies for Trotskyist communist organizations, for not having encouraged the MIR to oppose Allende's "Popular Unity" government which the Spartacists feel "sold out" the Chilean workers. The article states:

The so-called "United Secretariat," which is supported by the SWP, \*\*\* was itself responsible for the formation of the pro-Allende MIR. This left-Castroite group was founded in mid-1965 as the result of a series of fusions initiated by the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers Party), Chilean affiliate of the USec. The fusions involved pro-China, pro-Cuba and left-Socialist groups which had split away from the dominant SP and CP. In order to accommodate these disparate tendencies, the MIR program made no mention of the Fourth International, Trotsky, permanent revolution, the Transitional Program or Stalinism; it explicitly supported the Chinese against the USSR and called for a Latin American "International" led by Cuba and based on guerrilla warfare. In the Central Committee of the MIR were the former POR leaders José Valdez and Humberto Valenzuela and two other former Trotskyists from the 1930's Left Communist Party, Oscar Waiss and Enrique Sepulveda. The founding conference of the MIR was hailed by the USec ("Revolutionary Marxist Party Founded in Chile," *World Outlook*, 17 September 1973), which continued to report its activities favorably until 1972, at which point these erstwhile allies quietly disappeared from the pages of (most) USec publications.<sup>40</sup>

\*NACLA is a research group organized in November 1966 by the Radical Education Project of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). NACLA's draft statement on ideology dated May 1967 stated:  
 "The North American Congress on Latin America seeks the participation and support of men and women, from a variety of organizations and movements, who not only favor revolutionary change in Latin America, but also take a revolutionary position toward their own society. \* \* \* [Tr'ason, summer 1967, p. 18.]

The Spartacist League provided the following characterizations of other Trotskyist groups operating in Chile:

Recently the USec began mentioning another organization, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party), as its Chilean section. The PSR acted during the first nine months of 1973 essentially as a left tail of the MIR, which was itself a left tail of the Popular Unity government. Thus the PSR called for the formation of a workers militia \* \* \*.

Another group in Chile which claims to support Trotskyism is the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR—Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) centered in Concepcion, an industrial center south of Santiago in which both the MIR and the left wing of the Socialist Party have traditionally been strong. The POMR resulted from a split in the earlier Organizacion Marxista Revolucionaria, which was affiliated with the French OCI [Organization Communiste Internationaliste or Internationalist Communist Organization, also known as Lambertists] and supported the centrist policies of the Bolivian POR during 1971. At that time, the Bolivian POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario] concentrated on forming a bloc with the Communist Party [Partido Comunista de Bolivia] inside the "People's Assembly" \* \* \*. Subsequently it joined a popular-front "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" [Frente Revolucionaria Anti-imperialista] with \* \* \* nationalist army officers.

A third "Trotskyist" organization in Chile is the POR (Posadista) which, as its name implies, is affiliated with the fake "Fourth International" of Juan Posadas. Posadas split from his former friends of what is now the USec in the early 1960's, supporting the positions of Mao Tse-tung and calling for continental guerrilla war in Latin America. He has continued as a camp follower of the Chinese in more ways than one; Posadista publications, for instance, regularly refer to the "certainty of the ideas of Comrade Posadas." They also have taken up Mao's affinity for bourgeois nationalists, calling for a Latin American anti-imperialist alliance including Allende, Peron and the Peruvian military regime.

In Chile the POR (Posadista) characterizes the Allende government as a "Popular Government" and gives it full support, \* \* \*.

The Soviet-oriented communist parties worldwide have accused the United States of complicity in the overthrow of Allende. In the United States, both the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) have called for campaigns on behalf of the arrested Chilean Marxists and communists. In February 1974, the MIR announced a new transnational alliance with the Bolivian ELN, the Uruguayan Tupamaros, and the Argentinian ERP.<sup>41</sup> Reportedly, many MIR terrorists have fled to Argentina.

Carlos Altamirano, leader of the outlawed Chilean Socialist Party, fled to refuge in Havana. In a press conference on January 2, 1974, in which he denounced the United States, saying that the United States wants to "consolidate its power through dictatorial regimes—the extreme form of which is the fascist regime in Chile," Altamirano called for bloody attacks on the new Chilean Government and the United States. "By drowning bourgeois democracy in blood," Altamirano declared, "the bourgeoisie and imperialism have set the rules for the people's revolutionary struggle."<sup>41</sup>

Attacks have occurred internationally "on behalf of" the deposed Chilean left government. For example, a powerful bomb exploded on October 1, 1973, in the offices of the Chilean airlines in Rio de Janeiro injuring 15 persons and destroying the office. On October 5, 1973 gasoline bombs were placed at the door of the U.S. Consulate in Genoa, Italy, with Spanish language leaflets by the "Proletarian

Action Group." On January 30, 1974, the police in Santiago discovered an arms factory and ammunition cache that could have equipped 5,000 troops. The factory was operated by guerrillas loyal to Allende's regime.<sup>42</sup>

Two U.S. Trotskyist organizations have begun campaigns on behalf of leaders of the MIR who were arrested by the new Chilean Government. In March 1974, a statement in Workers Vanguard said:

The Spartacist League calls on all socialist and working-class militants and organizations to take up an immediate fight to save the lives of two leading members of the Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR-Revolutionary Left Movement), Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero \* \* \*. Van Schouwen, a member of the Political Commission [the leading body] of the MIR, was captured on December 14 \* \* \*. Romero, a member of the Central Committee, was arrested in November \* \* \*.<sup>43</sup>

The Spartacist League call for MIR support criticizes the Communist Party, USA, the Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners for their "opportunistic strategy" of "refusal to defend far-left militants," in favor of "those prisoners who are popular or likely to awaken the sympathies of bourgeois liberals," such as Luis Corvalan, head of the Communist Party of Chile [Partido Comunista de Chile (PCCh)], and Luis Vitale, a member of the United Secretariat with which the SWP has fraternal relations.<sup>44</sup>

The Workers World Party (WWP) also has called for support for the MIR, commenting that "to this day, the MIR offers the greatest resistance to the fascist terror in Chile."<sup>45</sup>

#### COLOMBIA

Three clandestine guerrilla organizations are active in Colombia, in addition to one group, Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario (MOIR) [Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement], a pro-Peking group which participates in elections as well as working subversively. The three terrorist movements are the Ejercito Popular de Liberacion (EPL) [People's Liberation Army], a Maoist group which remains active despite the arrest of leaders 2 years ago; Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia], which follows the pro-Soviet line; and the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN) [National Liberation Army].<sup>46</sup> In March 1973, these three terrorist groups launched a coordinated armed assault on the town of Florian in Santander Province.<sup>47</sup>

The ELN has been the most active terrorist guerrilla group in Colombia during the past year. Its tactics have varied. Large rural bands fight with troops, and urban teams work in the cities. On May 30, 1973, two ELN terrorists hijacked a Colombian jet and threatened to blow it up unless \$200,000 ransom were paid and 140 Colombian prisoners were released. After several landings the hijackers were given \$50,000, but no prisoners were released. They left the plane on June 2, and one, Jose Dominguez Lopez, was captured 6 days later.

On October 4, two U.S. employees of the Frontino Gold Mines, Willis Dotson and Rene F. Kast, were kidnaped by as many as 50

ELN guerrillas. A letter from the kidnapers to the International Mining Co., which owns the Frontino mines, demanded 4 million pesos [\$168,990] in ransom. It was reported that the New York IMC board of directors decided to pay the ransom. Fabio Vasquez Castano, the leader of the ELN, then raised the ransom demand to 250 million pesos [\$10 million], according to the Spanish news agency, EFE, quoted in a Madrid broadcast of Feb. 20, 1974. Vasquez Castano also threatened to "try" the two technicians and execute them. Dotson and Kast remained in ELN hands until March 8, 1974, when a detachment of Colombian army troops surrounded the hideout and rescued the prisoners.

The ELN suffered heavy losses due to government counterinsurgency action during September and October. In running battles during September, 21 terrorists were killed and 28 captured. In October, 11 urban ELN terrorists were captured, and 150 others were in custody awaiting trial. Two of the three main leaders of the ELN, Antonio and Manuel Vasquez Castano, were killed in fighting, but their third brother, ELN theoretician and strategist Fabio Vasquez Castano, escaped.<sup>48</sup> An El Tiempo article, quoted in a broadcast from Bogota, Colombia on March 23, 1974, stated that successful counterinsurgency operations by the Colombian army resulted in the death of ELN group leader and former priest Domingo Lain, a Spaniard, who was killed in fighting on February 20 but not positively identified until the end of March.

A broadcast from Bogota on June 3, 1974, quoting an Agence France Presse report, stated that the ELN has suffered serious internal turmoil under strong pressure from the Colombian army. ELN leader Fabio Vasquez Castano reportedly had had 20 members of his organization executed between March and June 1974 for "acts of indiscipline" including negligence, disobedience and alcoholism.

On February 16, 1974, a new urban terrorist group, M-19, modeled on the Tupamaros, occupied the University of Cali and called for the release of 20 jailed leftists.<sup>49</sup>

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

In August 1972, Dominican authorities arrested three leaders of the outlawed Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) [Partido Revolucionario Dominicano] for the terrorist killing of a police officer.<sup>50</sup> The PRD was one of the groups which participated in the 1965 rebellion on behalf of its leader, Juan Bosch. It was formed in Cuba in 1939; PRD is active in the United States and Puerto Rico. On April 24, 1973, the eighth anniversary of the aborted Dominican Republic revolt, responsibility for an explosion at the Dominican consulate in San Juan was claimed by Dominican exiles. On the U.S. mainland, the PRD sponsored demonstrations at the U.S. Capitol in 1971 on the sixth anniversary of U.S. intervention in the island.<sup>51</sup> During 1973, the Dominican Revolutionary Party was a cosponsor with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) of protest meetings on behalf of Chilean Marxists arrested by the new Chilean Government.<sup>52</sup>

Also active in the United States is the Federation of Dominican Students (FED) [Federacion de Estudiantes Dominicanos], which

cosponsored an anti-Israeli meeting on November 12, 1973, along with the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The Militant, official publication of the Socialist Workers Party, also has reported the existence of a Dominican Revolutionary Student Union in the United States.<sup>53</sup>

Among communist guerrilla groups reported in the Dominican Republic are the Dominican Popular Socialist Party (PSP) [Partido Socialista Popular], which took part in the 1965 rebellion and followed the Moscow line, and the Dominican People's Movement (MPD) [Movimiento Popular Dominicano].<sup>54</sup> In August 1973, Dominican authorities in Nagua arrested four MPD members. Among the effects reported seized was a list of officials marked for assassination.<sup>55</sup> On March 24, 1970, the MPD kidnaped the U.S. Air Attaché in Santo Domingo. They released him 2 days later after their demand for the release of 22 prisoners was met.

In the United States, a major effort on behalf of Dominican insurgents has been mounted by the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA), a project of the National Council of Churches.<sup>56</sup>

#### GUATEMALA

Two leftist terrorist groups operate in Guatemala. These are the Movimiento Revolucionario de 13 Noviembre (MR-13) [the November 13 Revolutionary Movement], a Maoist movement which has been inactive recently, and the Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (FAR) [Rebel Armed Forces].

FAR was formed in 1963 as a Cuban-style rural guerrilla band. In 1969, after an internal split, it turned to urban terrorist activities. In August 1968, FAR terrorists assassinated U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, John G. Mein. FAR has been greatly damaged by the successful counterinsurgency measures of the Guatemalan army.<sup>57</sup>

FAR terrorists in 1973 kidnaped Roberto Galvez, general manager of Corn Products, an American company, in Guatemala City. After payment of \$50,000 ransom, Galvez was released unharmed.

A U.S. support group, American Friends of Guatemala, which operates from P.O. Box 2283, Station A, Berkeley, Calif. 94702, was organized in 1971. AFG distributes information to those "concerned about the situation in Guatemala."<sup>58</sup>

#### HAITI

Haitian terrorists committed a major political kidnaping in January 1973. On January 23, masked gunmen kidnaped U.S. Ambassador Clinton E. Knox as he returned to his suburban residence from the American Embassy in downtown Port au Prince, Haiti. Knox was forced into the kidnapers' car and driven to the grounds of his residence. A watchman at the residence reported that Mr. Knox had been accompanied by two men and a woman and had given the guard orders to admit the car. Upon entering the Ambassador's residence,

the kidnapers forced Knox into an upstairs sitting room where he was held at gunpoint.

Knox's chauffeur was released unharmed and sounded the alarm which sent U.S. Consul General Ward L. Christensen to the Embassy residence, where he too was seized. The kidnapers' initial demands included the release of 30 "political prisoners." Haitian authorities insisted that only 12 of those named were in prison and the kidnapers agreed to accept that number. The kidnapers also demanded a ransom of \$1 million but the French Ambassador, acting as an intermediary, persuaded the kidnapers to accept \$70,000, which was all that could be raised within the kidnapers' 4-hour time limit. The kidnapers and the 12 prisoners left for Mexico. Ambassador Knox and Consul General Christensen were both released unharmed after being held captive for 18 hours.

In Mexico, the kidnapers' leader was identified as Raymond Napolean, a schoolteacher, who declared that he was a part of a group who are fighting the Duvalier government in Haiti. The kidnapers were reportedly linked with the Coalition of National Liberation Brigades, a Haitian exile organization.<sup>59</sup>

Several support organizations for Haitian insurgents exist in the United States. Friends of Haiti publishes an inflammatory newsletter which applauded the Knox kidnaping, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLAP), which closely cooperates with the Socialist Workers Party, has publicized Haitian rebels during 1973 and 1974. On January 25, 1974, the SWP's news organ, the Militant, warned:

Winning asylum for these Haitians will bring them some relief here. But a revolutionary transformation of Haiti will be required to bring relief to all those on the island. And when the Haitian masses begin to move, the dukes, lords, countesses, and Mick Jagger would be well advised to lug their capital, spas, and deep-tanned bodies right back to Europe.<sup>60</sup>

#### MEXICO

As the New York Times reported on May 7, 1973:

\* \* \* there are many leftist guerrillas in the country who may or may not be Communists and who periodically resort to terrorism to get money for arms or to call attention to their cause. A striking feature of the guerrilla movement in Mexico is its lack of unity. Sources close to it have conceded that guerrilla groups in various regions have little or no contact with one another and that there is little coordination of their efforts. Moreover, it is widely believed in Mexico, as in other countries in Latin America, that nonpolitical bandits frequently try to cloak illegal acts in a political mantle.<sup>61</sup>

Those groups which have been publicly identified are:

*Asociacion Civica Nacional Revolucionaria (ACNR)* [National Civic Revolutionary Association]:

It was founded in 1968 by Genaro Vasquez Rojas, who was killed evading capture in March of 1972. This group now appears to be inactive. The arrest of ACNR's second in command, Rafael Equihua Palomares, who confessed to having received guerrilla training in Nanking, China, in 1969, confirmed the collapse of this terrorist band.<sup>62</sup>

*Movimiento de Accion Revolucionaria (MAR) [Revolutionary Action Movement]:*

Four MAR members were arrested by Mexican authorities in 1972. They confessed to having received guerrilla training in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea). These training camps have been reported to be Soviet KGB operations. A year earlier, 19 members of this terrorist band were captured. They had confessed to receiving training in Pyongyang, North Korea. Another 26 MAR guerrillas, again including some who had been trained in North Korea, were arrested on October 26, 1973.<sup>63</sup> The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has started a campaign on behalf of the MAR.<sup>64</sup>

*Partido de los Pobres [Poor People's Party]:*

Active in the southwest area of Mexico from Acapulco to the state of Oaxaca, units of this organization, which take such names as Brigada Campesina de Adjusticiamiento [Peasant Brigade for Justice], have engaged in successful ransom kidnappings and in ambushes of army troops. The Poor People's Party has published a 14-point program, vaguely Marxist in content.<sup>65</sup>

*Union del Pueblo (UP) [Union of the People]:*

This Maoist terrorist organization may have been broken up with the arrest late in 1972 of its leader, Ignacio Ortiz Vides, a Guatemalan who was formerly a member of the FAR in that country and had received guerrilla training in Cuba.<sup>66</sup>

*Liga de Comunistas Armados (LCA) [League of Armed Communists]:*

LCA activities have primarily been confined to Mexico City and Monterrey. On November 8, 1972, LCA hijacked a plane from Monterrey and flew to Havana with \$320,000 ransom which was later returned by the Cuban Government.<sup>67</sup>

*Frente Urbano Zapatista (FUZ) [Zapata Urban Front]:*

This urban guerrilla movement has specialized in robbing banks in the cities of Pueblo and Monterrey. It was responsible for the kidnaping of Julio Hirschfeld Almada late in 1972 for a ransom of \$240,000. One cell discovered in Pueblo was directed by the former rector of the university and drew its expertise in bombs and demolition from students at the technical institutes there.<sup>68</sup>

*Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas del Pueblo (FRAP) [People's Revolutionary Armed Forces]:*

It is believed to be following Trotskyist theories of communism. This group first came into prominence with the kidnaping of Terrence G. Leonhardy, 59, U.S. Consul General in Guadalajara, Mexico, on May 4, 1973. The terrorists' demands included publication of their communique in the national press, release of 30 "political prisoners," and payment of \$80,000 in ransom. All conditions were met and the group released Leonhardy on the night of May 6.<sup>69</sup>

*23d of September Communist League:*

Again in Guadalajara, four armed terrorists kidnaped the honorary British consul, Anthony Duncan Williams, from his home on May 4, 1972. The consul's son, who fought against the terrorists, was severely

beaten and had to be hospitalized. In a second attack on the same night, terrorists seized Mexican businessman Fernando Aranguren Castiello. The kidnapers demanded freedom for 51 "political prisoners" to be flown to North Korea, and payment of 2.5 million pesos [the equivalent of \$200,500 in U.S. currency] for the lives of the two men. The Mexican Government took a hard "no kidnap trade" line, and Williams was released unharmed on October 14. However, the body of Aranguren was discovered in a car a week later. The self-styled Alpha Cell of the 23d of September Communist League claimed credit for the killing.<sup>70</sup> On January 10, 1974, it was reported that Mexican authorities had arrested a husband and wife lawyer team in Guadalajara and a third person, all members of the 23d of September Communist League, for the kidnaping of Williams.<sup>71</sup>

It is noted that after Aranguren's murder was discovered, the Alpha Cell sent a threatening communique to the Guadalajara press stating that it planned to kidnap and kill the governor, police authorities, and business executives. The statement said that each commando unit "acts at its own time, obtaining information on each important person or official, which gives us the advantage of knowing each member of their families: Father, mother, children and where they study, work or live, until we know all about them \* \* \* from the lowest judicial employee to the attorney up to the governor who loves his daughter Esmeralda so much."<sup>72</sup>

On January 18, 1974, Mexican police announced the arrest of four alleged members of the 23d of September Communist League involved with riots in northern Sinaloa State.<sup>73</sup> And on February 26, this terrorist group announced it had murdered 73 year old Raymundo Soberanis Otero, the uncle of the governor of Guerrero State, after having kidnaped him on January 19.<sup>74</sup>

On March 21, 1974, Mexican authorities announced the arrests of five members of the 23d of September Communist League. Mexican police stated that the group had been planning to kidnap U.S. Nobel Peace Prize laureat Dr. Norman Borlaug, whose experiments in wheat production contributed to the high-yield, disease resistant crops of the "Green Revolution." Dr. Borlaug had been directing research projects in the Mexican state of Sonora.<sup>75</sup>

U.S. vice-consul John Patterson, 31, was kidnaped on March 22, 1974. Patterson, on his first foreign post at the U.S. consulate in Hermosillo, capital of Sonora, 150 miles south of the U.S. border, was last seen leaving the consulate in the company of a North American. A ransom note in Patterson's handwriting was anonymously delivered to the consulate demanding \$500,000 ransom. The note said the money was demanded by the "People's Liberation Army," a previously unknown group. The State Department policy is not to pay ransom for diplomats; however, Mrs. Patterson was able to raise \$250,000 which she tried twice to turn over to the kidnapers by driving alone out into the desert. Mrs. Patterson was unsuccessful in her attempts to ransom her husband and never met the kidnapers.

In April, Mexican police stated that they believed the kidnaping of John Patterson was the work of a group of American criminals. On May 23, 1974, an American "soldier of fortune" who had served 5 years in jail for offenses arising from his hijacking a plane to Cuba in

1962 was arrested in California. He has been charged with causing a ransom note to be delivered to the consulate and extortion. Mr. Patterson's remains were found in Mexico in July 1974. He had been dead 3 months.<sup>76</sup>

Despite the crackdown measures and counterinsurgency efforts by the Mexican Government, which have resulted in the arrests of many terrorists in the past 2 years, incidents are still occurring. An A.P. account in the New York Times, Jan. 31, 1974, stated that the deputy mayor of Acapulco, Vincente Rueda Saucedo, was kidnaped on January 29 as he was driving to his office by leftist guerrillas who have demanded a ransom of \$400,000 for his life.

#### PERU

Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN) [Army of National Liberation] was formerly a Castroite guerrilla movement. It has been seriously weakened by Peruvian security measures.

Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], another Castroite organization, recently became inactive.<sup>77</sup>

#### URUGUAY

The Tupamaros or Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) [National Liberation Movement] has been one of the most active terrorist organizations in Latin America. The MLN was founded in 1962 as a Castroite group, but its politics may now be better described as eclectic. The name Tupamaros is derived from Tupac Amaru, an Inca chieftain who led an unsuccessful rebellion against the Spanish in the 1780's.

The Tupamaros have attracted considerable attention for their kidnaping of foreign nationals. The terrorists have attempted to justify the murder in 1970 of U.S. adviser Daniel Mitrione with accusations that he assisted Uruguayan forces in performing torture.<sup>78</sup>

In 1972, the Uruguayan Government began a stern crackdown on the Tupamaros. Many of the terrorists fled to Allende's Chile and to other Latin American countries where they were able to form new transnational terrorist alliances with the Argentinian ERP, the Bolivian ELN, and the MIR in Chile.

The Tupamaros have been the subject of two movies which glorify their killings. One of these, called "Tupamaros," has been described by critics as "inventive, valuable," and more appropriately, "compelling."<sup>79</sup> The second, "State of Siege," justifies the murder of Mitrione with blatant falsehoods about his role as an AID adviser. Many New Left organizations and U.S. terrorist organizations have claimed the Tupamaros as their models including NACLA, which published a comic book on their exploits; the Black Liberation Army; the Weatherman faction of SDS; and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

#### VENEZUELA

In the recent past, the prime revolutionary terrorist organization in Venezuela has been the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) [Armed Forces of National Liberation] which was at first a Castroite movement, but which has been fragmented. FALN is sporadically active in urban sabotage,<sup>80</sup> but current terrorist activities are more frequently attributable to the splinter groups, such as the May 19, 1973 hijacking of a Venezuelan airliner to Cuba by members of the Punto Cero [Point Zero] group.<sup>81</sup>

On November 20, kidnapers from a group calling itself the Red Flag seized Kurt Nagel, 37, a German-born Venezuelan citizen who held the title "honorary consul" for West Germany in the city of Maracaibo. The victim was rescued after a shootout between his kidnapers and the Venezuelan National Guard on November 22.<sup>82</sup>

## CHAPTER II

### PALESTINIAN AND OTHER MIDDLE EAST TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

The Palestinian terrorist organizations have as their prime target the state of Israel, and their terrorist attacks are aimed at undermining that country's relations with other nations and at causing as much internal disruption as possible.

#### PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the umbrella coordinating structure for the main Arab terrorist groups. The PLO is controlled by an executive committee, chaired by Yasser Arafat. The PLO executive committee chairman convenes the PLO's Palestine National Council which acts as a sort of informal parliament for the guerrilla groups and their supporters. As of May 1974, the PLO executive committee includes representatives of the following Arab terrorist organizations:

Al Fatah—headed by Yasser Arafat, PLO chairman; it has the largest number of representatives on the PLO executive committee and controls PLO policy.

Al Sa'iqah—controlled by the Syrian government and represents its views on the PLO executive committee.

Arab Liberation Front—sponsored by the Iraqi government and acts as its representative in the PLO.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—an independent Marxist-Leninist organization strongly opposing the policies of Al Fatah and the Soviet Union.

Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP)—an independent Marxist-Leninist organization which split away from the PFLP. Although generally classified as politically Maoist, it has supported Fatah at times.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)—a small, independent ultra-militant organization.<sup>1</sup> \*

The PLO was established by a decision of the first Arab summit meeting held in Cairo in January 1964. Until the creation of the formal structure of the PLO, Arab terrorists had worked in direct association with the military forces of the various Arab governments. At the second Arab summit, held in September of that year, the Arab governments allocated a large sum of money for the creation of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA). As a countermeasure against Egypt's strong influence over the original PLO, Syria developed a small terrorist organization, Al Fatah, which had been formed about 1956. However,

\* Footnote numbers refer the reader to the public sources on which this study is based. These footnotes are printed in app. E, pp. 234-236. Asterisks designate editorial footnotes which are printed at the bottom of the page.



The Front was a direct result of the consolidation of different contingents of the liberation movement in the occupied territories. Communists, representatives of different resistance organizations, other bodies and prominent public leaders took part in the negotiations preceding its foundation. These forces drew up a program of struggle based on the real situation in the region, the correlation of world forces, and the demands of the liberation movement. The program recognizes the necessity of uniting broad masses of the population in the occupied areas for struggle against the invaders in different forms—political, military, etc. \* \* \*

Fourth, the PLO firmly defends Arab-Soviet friendship against the stepped-up activity of Arab reaction and the Right-wing of the liberation movement, which are eager to sow doubts about this friendship. Understandably so, for it has seen the decisive role and significance of the friendship of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the liberation struggle.

The Jordanian communist leader then denounces the majority of Arab leaders among the Palestinian refugees and in Jordan who have opposed the Marxists and resisted a takeover by the PLO, stating that all "anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces in the Middle East" protest the alleged "sellout" of these "shady elements."

Ashhab's article contains a discussion of the significance of the state the PLO intends to set up if it obtains, by negotiations in Geneva, control of land occupied by Israel since the 1967 war.

There is no doubt that the Arab people of Palestine will win genuine national self-determination in a way beneficial to the liberation struggle in our region and the future of the Palestinian movement. This invites a logical question about the forms in which self-determination will eventually take place and its general principles.

We think it will take the form of establishing a Palestine state in the liberated areas. \* \* \*. In either case none but the PLO should be the lawful spokesman of the Palestinian movement. \* \* \*

The Jordanian communist notes that the PLO's state would be a key step in arranging the overthrow of the government of Jordan's King Hussein. The Jordanian troops severely cracked down on the Palestinian terrorist training camps and leaders in September 1970. Since that time the PLO and Al Fatah have conducted a military and political war with the Jordanian government. When the Black September terrorist unit was created as a split-off from Al Fatah, it struck at Jordanian targets. Although the Jordanians in 1974 reluctantly agreed to recognize the PLO as the "sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people," [it is noted that no plebiscite has ever been held by the Palestinian refugees to validate such representation], the overthrow of the government of Jordan remains a primary PLO goal. The objective was reiterated in a 10-point political program for the PLO approved by the Palestine National Council in June 1974, the text of which was broadcast by Voice of Palestine from Cairo on June 8, 1974.

The Jordanian communist, Ashhab, had the following to say on the effect of a Palestinian state on the Jordanian regime:

The rise of an independent Palestinian state, if it came about, would lead to bitter resistance on the part of imperialist and Zionist quarters and the Arab reactionaries of neighbor countries. This would objectively encourage the choice of an orientation towards progressive Palestinian national forces—the Arab liberation movement and the progressive regimes of the area on the regional scale, and the world socialist system, primarily the Soviet Union, on the international scale. This state should become the exponent of the revolutionary aspirations of the Palestinian masses.

Such an independent Palestinian state, which would make common cause with the Arab liberation movement against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, would set an inspiring example for the Jordanian people in freeing the country from imperialist influence \* \* \*. Such a state could become the mainstay of the Jordanian people in its just struggle against the reactionary regime. \* \* \*

Despite the communist claims of unity and solidarity within the PLO, it is still split over the question of a negotiated settlement of the October 1973, fighting with Israel, according to an analysis in the Washington Post, January 24, 1974 (p. A-1). Arafat developed a coalition within the PLO during the spring of 1974 which supports the Soviet Union's goal of setting up a PLO-controlled state in territory which Israel took from Jordan during the 1967 war. This faction of the PLO includes Fatah, the Syrian-controlled Sa'iqqa, and the Maoist PDLFP led by Nayef Hawatmeh (also transliterated Naif Hawatimah).

Another faction which is a minority within the PLO believes that the destruction of "imperialist" Israel is the first priority for the Palestinian revolutionaries; that negotiating for a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza is a mistake because it gives de facto recognition of the state of Israel; and that the Palestinian state should be established after the Israelis have been destroyed. The main organizations in this faction are the Marxist-Leninist PFLP, the Iraqi-backed Arab Liberation Front, and the well-armed extremist splinter, PFLP-GC, according to an account in the Guardian, April 17, 1974 (p. 17).

On April 13, 1974—the anniversary of Israeli raids on guerrilla headquarters in Lebanon in which three top terrorist leaders were killed—two groups from the PFLP-General Command attacked the Israeli town of Qiryat Shemona. One group entered a school which they found empty for the Passover holiday. This group began firing automatic weapons from the windows, creating a diversion. As Israeli security forces converged on the school, the second terror team rushed into a four story apartment house while the group at the school made their escape.

The terrorists, using machine guns, hand grenades and a bazooka, slaughtered 18 civilians in the building, mostly children and women. A gun battle ensued and lasted 4 hours during which time the PFLP-GC commandos threw the bodies of hostage children from the fourth floor of the apartment house. When the Israeli Defense Forces rushed the building, the terrorists blew themselves up, according to accounts of the attack appearing in the Washington Star-News, April 11, 1974 (p. A-1) and New York Times, April 12, 1974 (pp. 1 & 3).

The following is an excerpt from a Voice of the Arabs broadcast in Arabic from Cairo on April 13, 1974:

With meticulous and brilliant timing, members of the Palestinian armed resistance movement stormed the Qiryat Shemona colony in Upper Galilee. They stormed enemy fortifications and breached what the enemy imagined to be a barrier to the Palestinian revolutionary tide. They stormed into their own territory and for a time controlled the town after completely paralyzing life in it. They ended their suicide mission by blowing up one of the buildings while they were inside, thereby setting a most brilliant example of self-sacrifice. By killing and wounding over 35 Israelis, they announced, by their daring operation, the beginning of a new phase of Palestinian fedayeen action, characterized by their freedom of action to operate on Palestinian territory against Israeli targets, both personnel and installations.

After the Qiryat Shemona killings, the Daily World on May 14, 1974 (p. 6) printed a full-page article prepared by Phil Honor for a forthcoming edition of CPUSA's internal publication, Party Affairs. The article, "Qiryat Shemona, Israel, and Palestine Arab Liberation," attacked the PFLP-GC raid on the grounds that it tended to discredit the other guerrilla groups making up the Palestine Liberation Organization. The CPUSA analysis noted that the PFLP-GC "rejects the moderate line that has been generally accepted by Yasser Arafat and the other leaders of the Palestine national liberation movement."

On May 15, 1974—the anniversary of the founding of modern Israel—a terrorist commando unit from the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine entered an Israeli school in the town of Maalot and seized more than 80 children.

The PDFLP demanded that some two dozen Arab terrorists imprisoned in Israel be released and flown to Damascus, along with the group holding the Maalot school and half of the hostage children.

As the deadline for negotiations approached, Israeli security forces rushed the school. The terrorists from the PDFLP turned their machine guns on the hostage children and blew up the school and themselves. Twenty children were killed immediately and others died later of their wounds. More than 70 were wounded.

The events were thus described in the New York Post, May 16, 1974 (pp. 1 & 3) and the Washington Star-News, May 16, 1974 (p. A-1).

In an interview in Beirut on May 16, Nayef Hawatmeh, PDFLP leader, said that the Maalot attack was intended to strengthen the Palestinian Arab position in negotiations which rejects any return of the West Bank or other areas held by Israel to Jordan and which also rejects any UN or other Arab involvement in those territories claimed by the PLO for its mini-state. The interview appeared in La Stampa and was broadcast from Turin, Italy in Italian on May 17, 1974.

#### AL FATAH\* [MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE]

Al Fatah is a nationalist, pan-Arab movement which developed from the ultraconservative, extremist Muslim Brotherhood in the postwar years. While Fatah was formed in 1956, it did not become an effective terrorist force until the late 1960's. Fatah's headquarters are in Beirut, Lebanon, which has become almost a "free zone" for the Palestinian terrorist organization since the Cairo agreement in November 1969, between the Lebanese Government and Yasser Arafat as head of the PLO. This agreement permitted the guerrilla organizations to maintain camps and bases on Lebanese soil. One estimate of the total strength of the Arab guerrillas in southern Lebanon was some 2,000 at the end of 1972.<sup>8</sup>

The main terrorist activities of Al Fatah have since 1971 been carried out through the Black September Organization (BSO).

\*In Arabic, the initials of the Movement for the Liberation of Palestine are HTF, which are also the root consonants for the Arabic word for death. Reversed, FTH becomes the root letters for the Arabic word for conquest; thus FTH becomes the acronym Fatah or al-Fatah, the conquest. [Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, "The Palestine Resistance Movement," by Clyde R. Mark, June 17, 1970, p. 10.]

It is reported that Al Fatah receives financial support from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Algeria in addition to Egypt, while Iraq provides some military training. Fatah makes use of the Voice of Palestine radio in Cairo and publishes a newspaper, Hissad El-Asifa.

#### BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION

Available reports indicate that the Black September\* Organization (BSO) was developed by the Jihaz al-Rasd intelligence organization of Al Fatah sometime in 1971. This terrorist group reportedly recruited among the most extreme members of both the PFLP and the PDFLP. At the time of the massacre of Israeli athletes in Munich's Olympic Village on September 5, 1972, it was estimated that BSO had about 60 active members and approximately 100 recruits training in Algeria.<sup>9</sup>

It is also noted that an Al Fatah leader captured by the Jordanians, Abou Daoud, in a confession broadcast over Amman radio, stated that "Black September does not exist as an organization and all of its activities were carried out by the intelligence branch of the Fatah guerrilla organization."<sup>10</sup>

Abou Daoud also stated that the Munich massacre was planned by Salah Khalaf, who is Arafat's chief lieutenant in Fatah.<sup>11</sup> He is generally classed as a "radical" and recently has been supporting the Soviet position that the Arab guerrilla leaders take part in the Geneva negotiations for a Middle East settlement with Israel. Khalaf often uses the pseudonym Abou Iyad.<sup>12</sup>

Among the international terrorist incidents that BSO has claimed are the following:

August 24, 1971—Attempted assassination of the Jordanian Queen Mother by a bomb which exploded in her plane after it landed in Madrid.

November 28, 1971—Assassination of the Jordanian Prime Minister, Wasfi Tal, in Cairo by known Fatah members who were released by Egyptian authorities. They later made an attempt on the life of the Jordanian Crown Prince in Pakistan. The Beirut newspaper Al Nahar stated on November 30, 1971, that "Black September was in fact a part of Fatah, whose existence is not announced officially."<sup>13</sup>

September 5, 1972—Kidnaping of 11 Israeli athletes at Munich's Olympic Village and their subsequent murder at a West German airport. Some reports state that the BSO had assistance from the German Baader-Meinhof terrorist gang and that the later demand by BSO terrorists in Khartoum for the release of imprisoned Baader-Meinhof gang members tends to confirm this.<sup>14</sup>

September 19, 1972—Letter bombs were mailed to Jordanian and Israeli officials from Amsterdam; one killed an Israeli diplomat in London.

December 28, 1972—Attack on the Israeli Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand, which was held for some 19 hours by the terrorists.

\*Black September is thought to have taken its name from the successful campaign by the Jordanian Government of King Hussein against Palestinian guerrillas operating on Jordanian soil which began in September 1970. The majority of the first operations of Black September were against officials of the Jordanian Government and members of the Jordanian royal family. [People's World, May 12, 1973, p. 5.]

March 1, 1973—Murder of U.S. Ambassador Cleo A. Noel, Jr.; U.S. Deputy Chief of Mission George Curtis Moore; and the Belgian Consul, Guy Eid, by eight BSO guerrillas who forced their way into the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, where a farewell party for Mr. Moore was underway. The terrorists demanded the release of Sirhan B. Sirhan, convicted assassin of U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy as well as the release of 17 Al Fatah members in Jordanian jails and members of the Baader-Meinhof gang imprisoned in West Germany.<sup>15</sup>

It was reported in the Washington Post that the command word for the execution of the three diplomats came in code from the BSO radio command center in Beirut.<sup>16</sup> The code words, Nahr al Bard (Cold River), were the name of an alleged guerrilla training center attacked by the Israelis in February 1973. It was also reported that Yasser Arafat was present in the command center when the death code was broadcast. On April 7, 1973, spokesmen for Arafat denied this report.<sup>17</sup>

In June 1974, the Sudanese courts tried the eight captured Black September Organization terrorists. The eight Arabs admitted they murdered the diplomats, were convicted by the court and sentenced to life imprisonment. However, on June 24, 1974, Sudanese President Nimeiry, under domestic political pressure, commuted the life sentences to 7 years and had the eight men flown to Cairo to be handed over to the Palestine Liberation Organization. Earlier in 1974, Kuwait handed over to the PLO four Palestinian gunmen who slaughtered 30 passengers in Rome and hijacked a Pan-American jet in December 1973. The four were never tried by the PLO and were allowed to live in Cairo. (See New York Post, June 3, 1974, p. 13; New York Times, June 25, 1974, pp. 1 and 5 and June 26, 1974, pp. 1 and 4; and Washington Post, June 25, 1974, pp. A-1 and A-9.)

Black September itself has now splintered and, as the name won international recognition after the Munich massacre, other small independent terrorist bands associated themselves with it. Sufficient information is not available to determine with finality which of these splinters is a part of BSO, was formerly a part of BSO, or has no relationship whatsoever with BSO. In addition, the Libyan Government of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi appears to have taken over an extreme militant wing of Black September which is in agreement with his absolute opposition to any negotiation with Israel for a settlement of the October 1973 fighting.<sup>18</sup>

#### LIBYAN BLACK SEPTEMBER (NATIONAL YOUTH FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE)

The Government of Libya has consistently supported Arab guerrilla organizations. It is reported that at the formation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964, Libya promised to contribute 25

percent of the nearly \$40 million annual PLO budget.<sup>19</sup> However, the very conservative Islamic Libyan Revolutionary Command Council, led by Col. Muammar Qaddafi,\* being inflexibly hostile toward Israel, has opposed the pro-Soviet position of the PLO which is willing to make some accommodation with Israel in accordance with Soviet and Egyptian policy.

This inflexibility has brought denunciations of the Government of Jordan's King Hussein for driving guerrilla operations out of his country, and of Western nations for assisting Israel either through arms sales or trade agreements. Qaddafi's government is as strongly anti-Marxist as it is anti-Israel,\*\* and on August 18, 1973, the newspaper of the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) led by George Habash, denounced Qaddafi as a "fascist dictator" for his roundup of Libyan Marxists.<sup>20</sup>

In June 1974, Yasser Arafat and Salah Khalaf led a PLO and Fatah delegation to a meeting with Libyan leaders. Arafat declared in a newspaper interview while he was in Libya that the Arab guerrillas "will concentrate on military actions inside the occupied territories similar to those recently carried out throughout Palestine, which have proved the revolution's capability in this field." [This was apparently a reference to the massacres of Israeli civilians at Qiryat Shemona and Maalot—Ed.] The interview was broadcast from Tripoli in Arabic on June 15, 1974.

A joint statement was issued by Colonel Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, and Arafat, chairman of the PLO executive committee. Its six points of agreement, as broadcast from Tripoli in Arabic on June 15, 1974, included the declaration that "Brothers Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi and Yasir 'Arafat have studied all the means and ways to protect the [Palestine] revolution, insure its continuation and escalate the Palestinian armed struggle in the next stage." The discussions in Libya were also the subject of radio broadcasts from Tripoli on June 12 and 14, 1974.

Qaddafi has recruited his own terrorist organization from dissident Black September and PFLP members.

Qaddafi's involvement with Black September can be dated back to January 29, 1973, when an official of Al Fatah who claimed to have been associated with Black September for 2 years stated on West German television that the Libyan leader gave Yasser Arafat \$5 million as a bonus for the successful attack against the Israeli athletes at Munich.<sup>21</sup> However, Qaddafi's intent to involve Libya in such actions was evident 6 months earlier when he said in a speech that he would prepare the "whole Arab region for an all-out war of liberation by the end of 1972" and that Arabs would "fight Britain and the United States on their own lands."<sup>22</sup>

On April 9, 1973, four terrorists blew up the Israeli Ambassador's residence in Nicosia, Cyprus, and engaged in a running gun battle with Cypriot police. Racing to the airport, the guerrillas drove out onto the runway through an open gate and headed toward an El Al

\*President Qaddafi's name is also transliterated from the Arabic 'Qadhafi, Khaddafi, Muammer el-Qaddafi, Kadhafi, Quaddafi, Quaddafi, Qadhafi, etc.

\*\*In November 1972, Libya refused to attend the All-Arab People's Conference in support of the Palestine revolution, saying it would not sit down with Arab communists. [World Marxist Review, Feb., 1973, p. 67.]

plane about to take off for Israel. Security guards inside the El Al jet killed one terrorist instantly. Cypriot police joined in and captured two after receiving casualties.<sup>23</sup> A total of eight Arabs were arrested and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. However Cypriot President Makarios later released them, saying that he did not want Cyprus to become a battleground for Middle East conflicts.

The second major terrorist attack attributed to this group<sup>24</sup> came on August 5, 1973. Shafik Hussein el-Arida, 22, a Palestinian, and Tallal Khaled Kaddourah,\* also 22, arrived separately at Athens' international airport, one from Beirut and the other from Benghazi, Libya. The two men drew their guns as they approached the security search area. Four grenades were thrown into a line of passengers waiting to board a TWA flight to New York; then they sprayed the airport with machinegun fire. In the carriage, 4 Americans and an Austrian were killed and 55 other passengers (including 26 Americans) were wounded.<sup>25</sup>

After surrendering to Athens police, the two terrorists stated they were members of the Black September Organization, and that the raid was a reprisal for an Israeli attack on BSO leaders in Lebanon. Arida stated he had carried out orders he received from Black September before leaving Beirut on August 5, and asserted, "Our mission was to strike at the line of Tel Aviv-bound passengers who were Jewish emigrants posing as tourists."<sup>26</sup> Spokesmen in Beirut for the PLO denounced the attack and said BSO had nothing to do with it. On August 8, a Palestinian group calling itself both the "Seventh Suicide Squad" and the "Martyr Abu Yussef \*\* Group" claimed responsibility for this attack in a communique published in the Beirut newspaper Al Nahar.

A Greek court sentenced the two terrorists to death on January 24, 1974.<sup>27</sup> On February 2, 1974, three masked terrorists seized a Greek freighter in Karachi, Pakistan, and threatened to kill their hostages if the Greek Government did not relent and lift the death sentences.<sup>28</sup> After some 30 hours, these demands were agreed to and the gunmen in Karachi were given a jet to an undisclosed Arab country. The two terrorists imprisoned in Greece received a presidential decree commuting their death sentences to life imprisonment. On May 5, 1974, the two were deported to Libya, according to a radio broadcast from Athens on that date. Subsequent to the Cyprus and Athens incidents, reports in the press attributed the attacks to members of Libya's Black September—the National Youth for the Liberation of Palestine.

#### INTERNATIONAL GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

Remaining masked at all times, the aforementioned Karachi terrorists in a written statement said they belonged to the "Moslem International Guerrillas."<sup>29</sup> As reported in the New York Times of February 4, 1974, their statement said, "Our commandos will support

\*The two terrorists carried identification as Jihad (Arabic for "holy war") Mohammed and Talat Hussein. The media carried alternative transliterations of their real names as Shafik Al-Arid and Khanitouran Palaal.  
\*\*Abu Yussef was the code name of Mohammed Youssef Najjar, who headed Al Fatah's Intelligence division. Black September was the cover for the "special operations branch" of the intelligence division. Abu Yussef also was head of the PLO Executive Committee's Political Department. It is alleged that he planned the Cairo assassination of the Jordanian Premier, Wasfi Tal, the Lod airport massacre and the Bangkok Embassy raid. Najjar was replaced as head of the PLO Political Department by Khaled el-Hassan, after he was killed in an Israeli raid April 10, 1973.

all the oppressed Moslems of the world whether the Philippines, Palestine, Kashmir, Cyprus and Eritrea, as well as other oppressed people of the world." (Guerrilla movements in all these areas have received Libyan support.)<sup>30</sup>

Although the Karachi office of the Palestine Liberation Organization served as an intermediary in the negotiations with the terrorists, PLO chairman Yasser Arafat met with Pakistan's Ambassador to Syria and denied that his organization had anything to do with the incident.<sup>31</sup> This was the second attempt to free the two men responsible for the August 5 Athens killings.

The earlier attempt attributed to the National Youth for the Liberation of Palestine occurred on December 17, 1973. On that date six to eight men, all described as tall with mustaches and olive complexions, arrived at Rome's Da Vinci International Airport from Madrid. Some reports state they were met in the transit lounge by several persons, including a woman. At about 1 p.m. the group walked toward the search and metal detectors. As they did they pulled submachine guns from their hand luggage and rushed forward firing. Five terrorists forced their way onto a German Lufthansa jet awaiting takeoff; two others raced toward a Pan American 707 with 59 passengers and 9 crewmembers aboard, bound for Beirut and Teheran. The terrorists ran up to the front and rear doors, threw grenades in and opened up, raking the interior with submachinegun fire.

Thirty-four people somehow managed to get out the emergency exits onto the wings and jump to the ground. Survivors reported that as they escaped they heard the trapped passengers screaming in the burning jet. In all, 29 plane passengers died and two others were killed in the airport.

Then the terrorists turned their attention to the Lufthansa jet and the rest of their plan. Hijacking the jet to Athens Airport with 12 hostages aboard, the five terrorists demanded the release of Arida and Kaddourah, responsible for the August 5 Athens Airport killings. In a display of ruthlessness, they killed an Italian hostage and threw his body from the plane. However the tactic failed to shake the Greek officials, and the hijacked jet flew to Beirut where it was refused permission to land. The jet flew on to Kuwait where the terrorists surrendered and were taken into custody.<sup>32</sup>

The PLO denounced the terrorist acts for "hurting the Palestinian cause,"<sup>33</sup> and then asked Kuwait to turn over the five men to the PLO for a "trial before a Palestinian revolutionary court."<sup>34</sup> The Syrian-controlled Al Sa'iqah guerrilla organization, second largest to Al Fatah in the PLO, opposed this,<sup>35</sup> as did Morocco's King Hassan who called on the Kuwaiti monarch, Emir Sabah el-Sabah, to show "neither pity nor mercy" toward the terrorists who had killed four high Moroccan officials, including two state ministers, in the Pan Am jet.<sup>36</sup>

However, on February 25, 1974, Kuwaiti officials announced that the terrorists would be handed over to the PLO for trial as the PLO had requested. The factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization

could not agree as to how to proceed and no trial took place. The terrorists are reportedly living in Cairo.<sup>37</sup>

It is noted that the terrorist band which called itself Al Iqab (the Punishment Group), after seizing the Saudi Embassy in Paris on September 5, 1973, kidnaping four diplomats and hijacking a Syrian plane to Kuwait, was held in Kuwaiti custody until the outbreak of war with Israel on October 6, 1973. All were then released to join the fighting.<sup>38</sup>

#### KISSINGER—ALLEGED TARGET

Press reports citing unnamed military and diplomatic sources said that the primary target of the Rome Airport terrorists, all members of the Libyan-financed and directed branch of Black September, was U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The sources stated that Libya had ordered a submachine gun and grenade attack on Kissinger's life at Beirut's airport, but that Lebanese authorities had learned of the plot and diverted the Secretary of State's plane to Rayak Air Base, 45 miles east of Beirut, on December 16. These same sources are reported as saying that the Rome attack was then ordered to disrupt the opening of the Geneva talks between the Arabs and Israelis which originally were scheduled to open on December 18.<sup>39</sup>

A "Special to the New York Times" dated December 26 and printed in the Times on the following day, cites unnamed U.S. officials "drawing on information gathered by the intelligence community" as source for the allegation that the terrorists "belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by Dr. George Habash."<sup>40</sup> However a UPI report from Brussels, Belgium, described the terrorists in these terms:

They ["military and diplomatic sources"] said the guerrillas were members of the National Youth for the Liberation of Palestine, a Libyan-financed and run arm of the Black September organization.

The group split off from the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine about a year ago, and, the sources said, linked up with Black September before launching its first operation in Nicosia April 9, an attack against an Israeli airliner and the Israeli ambassador's residence.

Since then, the sources said the group has been responsible for the killing of four persons and wounding 55 at Athens airport August 5 and for planning to use surface-to-air missiles against an Israeli airliner in Italy.<sup>41</sup>

On January 17, the Libyan Embassy in Washington, D.C. issued a statement denying having anything to do with any plot to assassinate Secretary of State Kissinger.<sup>42</sup>

Admitted members of Qaddafi's Black September also hijacked a KLM Boeing 747 after it left Lebanon bound for Tokyo with 245 passengers and 17 crew members on November 23, 1973. The jumbo jet was taken on an erratic flight around the Mediterranean. The jet, after a stop in Damascus, flew to Cyprus. After failing to win release of the seven imprisoned NYLP members, the three hijackers began their zig-zag odyssey: Tripoli to Malta to Dubai to Aden, where the plane could not land because of its size, and back to Dubai, Union of Arab Emirates, where the three surrendered, ending the 3 day incident. The three received safe conduct passes to an unnamed destination. It was believed that this incident was intended to disrupt the opening of the Arab Summit meeting in Algiers.<sup>43</sup>

With the backing of the Libyan government, BSO/NYLP is a well-armed organization. The hijackers of the KLM jet had a large quantity of plastic explosives, as well as hand grenades. The Athens and Rome airport terrorists had submachine guns and grenades. The potential for still more random terror has appeared in the form of Soviet-built ground-to-air missiles.

On September 5, 1973, Italian authorities arrested five Arabs in an apartment near Rome's international airport. Seized in the apartment were two SA-7 Strella missiles.<sup>44</sup> These are small shoulder-fired missiles designed for infantry use against tactical aircraft. Normally they are fired by a two-man team, one who selects the target and one who carries an extra rocket. The Strella system of missile and launcher weighs about 30 pounds and can be sighted and fired in less than 30 seconds. The missile has an infrared homing device and an effective range of about 2.5 miles. If the missile should miss its target, it will continue to seek a heat-producing target—either another aircraft or a ground target such as a smokestack of a factory or school.

Among the Arabs arrested by the Italians was Atef Bisaysu, named by Fatah official Abou Daoud\* in his confession as a top Black September operative. Later reports indicated that this group was part of the Libyan Black September.<sup>45</sup>

#### OTHER TERRORISTS FUNDED BY LIBYA

On June 11, 1972, in a speech marking the anniversary of the evacuation of U.S. personnel from Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya, Col. Qaddafi announced he was sending arms, money and volunteers to help Irish revolutionaries in Northern Ireland fight the "perfidious" British. He stated that he would prepare the whole Arab region for an all-out war of liberation by the end of 1972 and would "fight Britain and the United States on their own lands."<sup>46</sup>

Qaddafi also announced that Libya would lead a movement to spread Islam through the world, and that his government was helping Moslems in the Philippines against that government.

The Libyan government was accused by Morocco in April 1973, of financing a terrorist movement which plotted the overthrow of King Hassan II. The Moroccan announcement said the group was responsible for the bomb placed under the car of Clifford R. Nelson, the U.S. consul in Casablanca, on March 3. Morocco charged that the group's leadership was linked to a radical wing of the leftist National Union of Popular Forces, headed by Rabat attorney Abderrahime Bouabid.<sup>47</sup>

Estimates of Col. Qaddafi's financial support to terrorist organizations include £1,000 to the Irish Republican Army (IRA); £45,000

\* Abou Daoud, whose real name is Mohammed Daud Odeh, was arrested by Jordanian authorities in February, 1973, and sentenced to death for plotting to kill King Hussein. The death sentence was confirmed by King Hussein at the time of the Khartoum murders, but was later reduced to life imprisonment. On September 18, 1973, King Hussein announced a general amnesty which would release 754 imprisoned guerrillas, including Abou Daoud. Twice terrorists had tried unsuccessfully to force Abou Daoud's release. The first attempt in Khartoum was by the Black September group. The second attempt was by the Punishment Group (Al Iqab) which attacked the Saudi Embassy in Paris on September 5, 1973. (Washington Post, Sept. 21, 1973, p. A-21.)

to Black September; and £20,000 to other terrorist groups. The factions of the IRA and BSO supported in these amounts were not reported by the sources cited.<sup>48</sup>

#### POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) emerged as a guerrilla organization in 1968. PFLP was an amalgamation of three groups, Heroes of the Return, the Palestine Liberation Front and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Arab National Movement led by George Habash.\* Habash, who heads the PFLP 5-man politburo, insists that his group is fighting a class war of liberation from imperialists and reactionaries. PFLP has announced its political aim as the creation of a socialist state of Palestine along Marxist-Leninist lines.<sup>49</sup>

PFLP has been described as eclectically communist and "solidly Marxist-Leninist." In the past, PFLP had received support from both Moscow and Peking, but material support—weapons and training—has come primarily from Syria, Iraq, Algeria, and the People's Republic of Yemen. A Maoist "left" faction broke away on March 6, 1972, to form the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Naif Hawatmeh.<sup>50</sup>

PFLP has also been called a true "transnational" terrorist organization. It has mounted attacks on Israeli offices in many countries and reportedly has relations with the Tupamaros urban guerrillas of Uruguay, the Irish Republican Army, West Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang, the Turkish People's Liberation Front, Italy's Red Brigade, the Ethiopian Eritrean Liberation Front, and the Japanese United Red Army. PFLP in 1969 became the first Arab terrorist group to hijack an airliner.<sup>51</sup> PFLP also claims to have trained members of the U.S. Black Panther Party, but this has not been confirmed.<sup>52</sup>

PFLP began the general trend to mass wanton terror with the attack on Lod airport on May 30, 1972, in which three members of the PFLP's allied Japanese United Red Army killed 25 people and wounded over 70 in a grenade and machinegun attack.

PFLP has been involved in many overseas attacks. On December 30, 1973, PFLP members forced their way into the home of a prominent member of the Jewish community in London and assassinated him. During most of 1973, the PFLP and Israeli secret agents engaged in a bloody private war throughout Europe.

A PFLP squad calling itself the Organization of Sons of Occupied Territory, in cooperation with members of the Japanese United Red Army, hijacked a Japanese jumbo jet over the Netherlands on July 20, 1973. The five-member terrorist team was headed by a woman who accidentally killed herself with an explosive device. During the 3½-day

\*George Habash was born in 1926 in Lydda (Lod), now in Israel. A Greek Orthodox, Habash graduated from the American University in Beirut and is a medical doctor. In 1948 he organized a "Vengeance" terrorist group against the Israelis. Afterwards he practiced medicine in Jordan and Syria. Long the leader of the Arab National Movement, banned in most Arab nations for its revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, Habash returned to terrorism in 1968. ["The Palestine Resistance Movement," Library of Congress study previously cited.]

incident, the hijackers flew first to Dubai on the Persian Gulf and finally landed at Benghazi in Libya.

After releasing the 137 passengers and crewmembers, the 4 terrorists (3 Arabs and a Japanese national) placed explosives around the coffin of their dead woman leader and blew up the plane. The Libyan Government then took them into custody. Press reports stated that the woman terrorist, a 27-year-old Iraqi, had received her instructions from Wadi Haddad, PFLP's intelligence chief in Lebanon who is credited with masterminding more than a dozen hijackings.<sup>53</sup>

Libya's Colonel Qaddafi has often verbally tangled with the PFLP, and the series of PFLP denunciations on August 18 may have been related to the reception accorded the hijackers.<sup>54</sup> In addition, the Libyan Black September or National Youth for the Liberation of Palestine is a splinter from Habash's group, and may be the product, as well as the cause, of more feuding.

#### AL SA'IQA

Al Sa'iqa, translated as "The Thunderbolt," is described as the military organization of the Popular Liberation War Vanguard. It is for all practical purposes a part of the Syrian Army. It has no independent operations, and on the PLO executive committee it represents the interests of the Syrian Ba'th Party.<sup>55</sup>

#### POPULAR DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), led by Nayef Hawatmeh,\* split off from Habash's PFLP in 1969 over personal and political differences between the two men. The Popular Democratic Front has been characterized as a Maoist group. Hawatmeh has cited the communist revolutionary struggles in Cuba, China and Vietnam as typifying the kind of "protracted people's war" he feels is necessary for an Arab victory over Israel. Although reportedly Maoist in orientation, the PDFLP has supported negotiations to establish a PLO-controlled mini-state in the West Bank area in which the PDFLP would have some authority. (New York Post, May 17, 1974, p. 30; Daily World, May 17, 1974, p. 1; Washington Star-News, May 16, 1974, p. A-8; Crozier, op. cit., p. 65.)

The PDFLP, whose estimated strength is 500 to 1,000 men, had not been involved in major international terrorist incidents. Instead it preferred to toss grenades into Israeli markets and buses, fire bazookas into kibbutz buildings and engage in hit-and-run raids. The organization received worldwide notoriety on May 15, 1974, for its slaughter of Israeli school children at Maalot. The PDFLP is a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization. (New York Post, May 16, 1974, p. 3 and People's World, May 25, 1974, p. 1.)

\*Nayef Hawatmeh, 39, of an Arab Christian family, was born in the town of Salt on the East Bank of the Jordan. He attended the American University in Beirut and was an early member of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Arab National Movement, as was his former mentor, George Habash. (Washington Post, May 16, 1974, p. A-24.)

The Maalot attack came during a period of tense negotiations as Secretary of State Kissinger attempted to set up a Middle East cease fire. Hawatmeh said that the Maalot operation was designed to call attention to the demands of the Arab guerrillas and create a major role for them at planned peace talks in Geneva. Said Hawatmeh, "We will force Israel to listen to the language of bullets as well as that of logic." (Washington Star-News, May 16, 1974, p. A-8; the aforementioned La Stampa article broadcast from Turin, Italy, May 17, 1974; and People's World, May 25, 1974, p. 1.)

#### POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE-GENERAL COMMAND

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) was formed from a faction of the PFLP which refused to comply with a 1970 agreement between the PLO and the Lebanese government not to use Lebanese territory to launch raids into Israel, according to an account of its history appearing in the London Times, June 16, 1974. These raids had brought prompt and unflinching Israeli retaliation.

The Popular Front-General Command is led by Ahmed Jabril,\* a Palestinian Arab who served as a captain in the Syrian army during the 1950's. Jabril, a demolitions expert, received some training in the Soviet Union, according to the London Times report.

The newspaper stated that the PFLP-GC previously concentrated on making letter bombs and booby-trapped packages and that one of these bombs exploded on a Swissair flight and killed all occupants. Another damaged an El Al plane after it left Rome in August, 1972.

The PFLP-GC, a small group numbering about 200 men, received international notoriety on April 13, 1974, when a suicide unit murdered 18 Israeli civilians in Qiryat Shemona in Israel (previously discussed).

On June 13, 1974, the PFLP-GC attacked the Shamir kibbutz in Israel and killed three women, according to a broadcast that date from Jerusalem. Abu Abbas, "official spokesman" of the PFLP-GC, held a press conference on June 13 following the attack, which was described in a clandestine Voice of Palestine radio broadcast in Arabic two days later. Abu Abbas told the press that the purpose of the Shamir raid was "to define the Front's political stand, denounce As-Sadat's [Egyptian President Anwar Sadat] reception of [President] Nixon and show the people's true reception of the American President." Abu Abbas also said that "Our representation in the [PLO] Executive Committee does not mean that we have abandoned our positions." Abu Abbas then read the PFLP-GC political statement which said in part:

We in the PFLP-General Command stress our commitment to the policy of armed struggle until the complete liberation of the homeland. We will continue to apply this slogan and carry out our struggle across all Arab borders and from inside the occupied territory until the homeland is liberated. We have reject-

\*Also transliterated Jabreel and Jibril.

ed UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 and any amendments that may be introduced to it on the basis of our rejection of the Zionist entity and our belief that Palestine—from the sea to the river—is Arab territory.

We have rejected the Geneva conference and any other conference for holding negotiations with the enemy \* \* \*

#### LEBANESE REVOLUTIONARY GUARD

This group claimed responsibility for the commando raid to destroy oil tanks at the Caltex-Mobil refinery at Zahrani, Lebanon on April 14, 1973. Two tanks were set ablaze. Their statement said the attack was aimed at the oil "which feeds imperialism and is transformed into American weapons of destruction" which are "given generously to the Israeli enemy." Earlier that week, Palestinian radio stations had called for attacks on American interests in revenge for the Israeli assault on Beirut in which leaders of the guerrillas were killed.<sup>55</sup>

#### LEBANESE SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Five members of this leftist terrorist group attacked the Beirut branch of the Bank of America on October 18, 1973. During a gun battle with Lebanese police and army commando units, the terrorists killed John C. Maxwell, an American tourist who was trapped with 39 other hostages in the bank. Two terrorists died in the battle; the other three were captured. This group, which has been described as a Marxist urban guerrilla group, had previously been known for bank robberies.<sup>57</sup>

#### EAGLES OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION MOVEMENT

The Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution Movement was the name claimed by two Arab gunmen, who, in September 1973, held an Austrian official and three Jewish Soviet emigrants captive in Vienna and demanded the Austrian Government close its facilities for emigrants to Israel. Leaflets distributed during the incident by the gunmen claimed the right to attack "Zionists wherever they are because they are the recruits of the enemy." They further stated, "We will not be turned away from our goal, which is to liberate our country by force."<sup>58</sup>

#### AL IQAB

Al Iqab or "the Punishment" group on September 5, 1973, kidnaped five Saudi Arabian diplomats from the embassy in Paris and commandeered a plane to Kuwait after having held the embassy for 28 hours. One of the terrorists' main demands was for the release of Abou Daoud from his life sentence in Jordan.<sup>59</sup> Kuwaiti authorities took "the Punishment group" into custody and held them until October 6, when they were released to join in the fighting against Israel.<sup>60</sup>

## IRANIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

Four terrorist groups operate to some extent in Iran. Largest is the National Liberation Movement, a traditional, ultraconservative group from the Shi'ite sect of Islam which in the 1950's was identified with the policies of Mossadeq. The Maoist Marxist-Leninist Siakhel terrorists are active in the Caspian province of that name. A splinter from the Tudeh Party, Siakhel terrorists have made various attacks on Iranian police posts, banks, government buildings and were responsible for the assassination of Iranian General Taheri, active in counterinsurgency operations. The Baluchi Liberation Movement in Southeast Iran has its headquarters in Baghdad. The fourth terrorist group is the Tudeh Party,\* which split in 1965 into a pro-Moscow and a pro-Peking faction, the latter called the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party.<sup>61</sup>

On June 2, 1973, two terrorists on a motorcycle shot and killed U.S. Lt. Col. Lewis L. Hawkins, 42, a financial adviser to the Iranian Minister of War. He was shot twice in the head as he walked to work from his house in a Tehran residential area.<sup>62</sup> The pro-Moscow Tudeh in a broadcast from its clandestine radio in Baghdad, denounced the killing. A later clandestine broadcast by an unidentified guerrilla said the murder was only the beginning of attacks on "imperialism." It was believed that the assassination therefore was either by the Maoist Revolutionary Organization of Tudeh or by the Islamic fundamentalist National Liberation Movement.<sup>63</sup> On June 16, Tehran security police announced that one Reza Rezai had been killed in a shootout with police. The pistol in Rezai's possession was the one used to kill Colonel Hawkins, and the Iranian police said it had been taken by assassins in 1972 from the body of General Taheri.<sup>64</sup>

In this country, the militant Iranian Students Association in the United States of America, supported by the Workers World Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Party, among others, puts forth a steady flow of anti-Iranian Government propaganda.<sup>65</sup> ISA has mounted numerous violent picket lines and demonstrations to bring attention to its causes.

## TURKISH TERRORISTS

Reports indicate that as many as six communist guerrilla organizations are active in Turkey. They include the Turkish People's Liberation Army, three members of which were sentenced to death in Ankara on February 1, 1973. Primarily comprised of university students, the 3 and 25 other supporters, who were also given long jail terms, had attempted to kidnap the head of the Turkish gendarmerie in 1972.<sup>66</sup> The People's Liberation Army is said to have contacts with the Tupamaros in Uruguay. On April 16, 1973, Turkish authorities began a mass trial of 256 members of the Turkish People's Liberation Front, referred to in some sources as the Turkish Popular Liberation Front. This group was composed mainly of former military officers, lawyers, and teachers.<sup>67</sup>

\*The pro-Soviet communist party of Iran is popularly known as the Tudeh Party. Its actual name is Hizb-e Tudeh Iran or Party of the Masses of Iran. A pro-Maoist faction split off in 1965 to form the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party. (Staar, Richard F., ed., "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1973," (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press), p. 241.)

Sixty members of the newly formed Marxist-Leninist Turkish Communist Party were arrested on April 29. This group was charged with various bombings, murders, and so forth. This group was alleged to have two secondary organizations, the Turkish Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Party and the Marxist-Leninist Union of Youth. These organizations were said to have set up cells for sabotage, burglary, weapons collection and propaganda.<sup>68</sup>

And in December 1973, 151 members of the Dev Genc [Revolutionary Youth, the popular name for the Turkish Revolutionary Youth Federation] were convicted of assorted acts of terrorism and sentenced to prison terms.<sup>69</sup>

Ten Turks, said to be part of the Turkish People's Liberation Front, were arrested December 20, 1973 at a villa outside Paris which contained explosives, letter bombs and an arms cache. The Turks were said to be receiving training at the villa from two members of the Marxist terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and an Algerian who were arrested later by French officials.<sup>70</sup>

## U.S. SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS

In the United States, virtually every communist organization, of every faction, vocally supports the Arab position against Israel. Among the Trotskyist communist parties, both the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, have sponsored numerous teach-ins and Militant Forums, often in conjunction with the Organization of Arab Students and the Iranian Students Association, to present the views of the guerrilla terrorists.<sup>71</sup> The Communist Party, USA and its Young Workers Liberation League support the PLO and Yasser Arafat.<sup>72</sup>

The militant Trotskyist Workers World Party, its youth arm, Youth Against War and Fascism, and its front, the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, sent their "deepest sympathy and condolences" to Al Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine on the death of three terrorist leaders in an Israeli raid on April 10, 1973. The Workers World Party statement justified Palestinian terrorism by stating:

But we know that the real terrorists are in Tel Aviv and particularly in Washington. From the bloodstained cellblocks and courtyards at Attica, to the napalmed villages of Indochina, to the bombarded refugee camps in Palestine, the armed forces and hired killers of U.S. imperialism have murdered the oppressed people and inflicted the daily terror of torture, disease, poverty, and homelessness upon millions.

As an organization \* \* \* we pledge to continue and step up the struggle here \* \* \* and to join with our sisters and brothers throughout the world in our common fight to defeat U.S. imperialism, the main terrorist against all humanity \* \* \*.<sup>73</sup>

In addition, groups such as the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), a member of the North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition (NAAIC), publish literature which wholeheartedly supports the positions and policies of the Arab guerrillas and which provides excuses of "self-defense" for terrorist attacks.<sup>74</sup>

### CHAPTER III

#### AFRICAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

Revolutionary groups in southern Africa, many of them active for more than a decade against the Governments of Portugal, Rhodesia, and Southern Africa, can be divided into two groups: Those involved in insurrection against the colonial administration of Portugal in the territories of Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique; and those which seek to overthrow by violence the established Governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. Diverse in their aims, the various insurgent groups share a common hatred of European rule, nationalistic aspirations often based on tribal boundaries, a readiness to accept logistical support from both Soviet and Chinese communists, and the use of savage terrorist tactics against their opponents irrespective of race.<sup>1</sup>\*

In 1973, revolutionary movements in Southern Africa sought and obtained additional assistance from communists on a worldwide basis. African insurgent delegates to the Tenth World Youth Festival held in East Berlin in July and August 1973, called for the building of "a worldwide anti-imperialist movement in solidarity with Africa."<sup>2</sup>

The call for solidarity made in East Berlin was not new. Support for revolutionary groups in Africa, and indeed throughout the free world, had always been given a high priority in Moscow. And Mao Tse-tung said in 1958:

\* \* \* Yet imperialism is still alive, still running amuck in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. \* \* \* This situation must change. It is the task of the people of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, and chiefly by U.S. imperialism.<sup>3</sup>

Aid to the African revolutionaries from both the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China is brought into sharp focus in many communist publications. According to an article in the World Marxist Review in December 1973:

The armed liberation struggle in southern Africa has the support of almost all the independent African states which are members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and which in July (1973) and since has reaffirmed its support for the armed liberation struggle, and pledged itself to render even more material and moral support to the freedom movements in southern Africa. The fighting peoples of southern Africa and the democratic movements of the continent as a whole enjoy considerable support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.<sup>4</sup>

\*Footnote numbers refer the reader to the public sources on which this study is based. These footnotes are printed in app. E, pp. 236 and 237. Asterisks designate editorial footnotes which are printed at the bottom of the page.

Since the Sino-Soviet split, aid from one major communist power has precluded assistance from the other, and many instances can be found of Soviet- and Chinese-supported revolutionary groups resorting to armed warfare with one another to resolve political differences. According to Mukudzei Mudzi, executive secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), a Maoist-leaning group more fully described later in this study, the Soviet Union chose those groups it could "control and direct \* \* \* control and manipulate in its own interest."<sup>5</sup>

The Soviet Union and its supporters recognize the following African guerrilla organizations as the official "national liberation movements" in their areas: The MPLA of Angola, Frelimo of Mozambique, SWAPO of Southwest Africa, PAIGC of Portuguese Guinea, ZAPU of Rhodesia, and ANC of South Africa.<sup>6</sup> Supporters of the Soviet position have denounced as petty bourgeois nationalists those groups who have "in one way or another attacked the Soviet Union and have supported the position of the Chinese Government." The groups so denounced include: GRAE and FNLA of Angola, Coremo of Mozambique, SWANU of Southwest Africa, Fling of Portuguese Guinea, ZANU of Rhodesia and PAC of South Africa.<sup>7\*</sup>

Political Affairs, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party, USA, in an article about PAIGC, Frelimo and MPLA, all of which have land bases within their countries, noted that "this new stage of the African liberation movements indicates a twofold revolution, the fight against colonialism and the struggle against the obsolete economic structure" (capitalism).<sup>8</sup> Political Affairs continued, "The revolutionary democratic essence of the emerging social systems in the liberated areas leaves the colonialists no illusions that they will manage to retain their position in these countries when the latter win independence."<sup>9</sup>

The magazine drew attention to the difference between the present African guerrillas and the former movements of the 1950's, saying, "The new role of the African liberation movements today is also highlighted by the fact that all of them see socialism as the answer to their problems and are willing to accept openly aid from the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. This trend fundamentally makes them different from the early African national liberation movements that were in the main nonsocialist in their orientation and did not openly accept socialist aid."<sup>10</sup>

#### ANGOLA

An overseas state of Portugal, Angola has been challenged by as many as 11 different liberation movements since the late 1950's.<sup>11</sup> However, by 1972, the following were active:

\*Full names of the organizations appear on subsequent pages.

#### GOVERNO REVOLUCIONARIO DE ANGOLA NO EXILIO (GRAE) [REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA IN EXILE]

The Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE) was set up in the neighboring Republic of Zaire in April 1962, by the Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (FNLA) [National Front for the Liberation of Angola]. They are led by Holden Roberto, an Angolan Baptist who is nonaligned ideologically and is reported to favor a military liberation before tackling socioeconomic problems. This position has resulted in major differences with a rival revolutionary guerrilla group, MPLA, and criticism from the communist press. Primary support for GRAE and FNLA is provided by Zaire.<sup>12</sup>

Early in June 1974, the first contingent of 112 communist Chinese military instructors, all experts in guerrilla warfare, arrived at the Kinkuzu Military Base in Zaire to begin training FNLA guerrillas, according to an Agence France Presse report from Kinshasa, broadcast from Paris on June 2, 1974, and another broadcast in Angola on June 4, 1974 quoting the Lisbon Radio Club. These sources said that the Chinese guerrilla warfare experts arrived under a Zairese-Chinese-FNLA agreement to create a regular army of about 15,000 men—the strength of one division. According to the agreement, the Chinese will provide two thirds of all weapons and other equipment for the FNLA division and Zaire the remainder.

The agreement to train and equip the FNLA division was one of several agreements in the field of military assistance signed by Holden Roberto during his 18-day official visit to Peking during December, 1973.

FNLA was reported to be going all out to boost its political prestige by escalating guerrilla operations in northern Angola. An Agence France Presse dispatch from Luanda, broadcast from Paris on June 12, 1974, pointed out that Portuguese military experts estimated that 6,000 FNLA guerrillas were involved in fighting in May 1974. The announced intention of the new Portuguese government to grant independence to its African provinces had caused each guerrilla group and terrorist faction to redouble efforts to enhance their military position prior to any formal negotiating sessions in the future, the dispatch asserted. FNLA troops had also taken advantage of new splits in the rival MPLA guerrilla organization to prevent MPLA forces from crossing Zaire from Brazzaville, Congo, to northern Angola, according to another AFP dispatch from Luanda broadcast from Paris on June 5, 1974.

#### MOVIMENTO POPULAR PARA A LIBERTACAO DE ANGOLA (MPLA) [POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA]

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), founded in 1956, has been active in armed revolt since 1961. MPLA is led by Agostinho Neto, a Marxist poet,<sup>13</sup> who was a close colleague

of Amilcar Cabral, assassinated leader of the Portuguese Guinean guerrilla PAIGC.<sup>14</sup>

According to a pamphlet, "National Liberation Movements," which was distributed during the African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington in May 1972, and which states it was "produced and printed by the first year students of Malcolm X Liberation University," MPLA had initially been severely damaged by Portuguese police raids in 1959 and 1960 which resulted in jail or exile for most of its leadership.

After three abortive revolts in 1961, including an armed attack on the prison in Luanda, the capital, in February 1961,<sup>15</sup> the "MPLA temporarily moved out of Angola to reorganize its program." The pamphlet states: "Until 1962 the MPLA had been mainly a propaganda organization with its leadership working just to make known the situation in Angola. In 1962 Agostinho Neto, the leader of MPLA, was released from jail and he escaped to the party headquarters in the Congo." The pamphlet continues:

Neto organized a conference in December 1972, at which it was decided that MPLA [would] become a fighting organization with a Marxist ideology. After armed attempts failed in Northern Angola and Cabinda, the MPLA decided to start the armed struggle in eastern Angola.

Most of the MPLA members were former intellectuals and assimilados who had through city life broken their tribal links. There was, therefore, a communication gap between MPLA and the people. This was one of the reasons why the MPLA had failed in the north. Lucio Lara,\* in charge of the cadres, decided that in eastern Angola the MPLA would first organize the people for armed struggle. After three years of intensive organization, the MPLA was ready to fight. Cuba and Russia sent the weapons in 1964.

In 1966 the MPLA moved into the eastern section of Angola, running away from the white racist settlers. They then established control. \* \* \* The MPLA established medical assistance service centers. Classrooms were also opened as centers for revolutionary instruction. The MPLA has now set up people's stores and guerrilla training centers.

In 1967 the MPLA made a call for the generalization of the armed struggle over the whole national territory. \* \* \*

While the leaders of MPLA claim that the organization has no official ideology, they state that "the scientific bases of Marxist analysis" are "fundamental." MPLA tactics have ranged from small groups of guerrillas attacking isolated homesteads to units of a hundred assaulting fortified positions. There is no evidence that MPLA has secured any significant military success.<sup>16</sup>

The World Marxist Review, an international communist theoretical magazine, perhaps unwittingly documents some of MPLA's problems in a May 1973, interview with Spartacus Monimambo, a member of the governing committee of MPLA. In this interview, Monimambo makes a number of grandiose claims relating to the success of MPLA military operations such as "more than a third of the territory of Angola with a population of over 500,000 has been liberated. Military actions cover five fronts in 9 out of 15 administrative districts."<sup>17</sup> He also details a December 13, 1972, agreement reached in Brazzaville between MPLA and GRAE and FNLA which set up a Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola (SCLA); a Unified Military

\*Lucio Lara is identified as a Marxist member of MPLA's Executive Committee in Crozier, op. cit., p. 46.

Command in which MPLA holds all the positions of major responsibility; and the Angola Political Council.<sup>18</sup>

While Monimambo did not report on the success or failure of SCLA, he did report that "an Arbitration Commission of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has been set up to observe the fulfillment of the agreement and resolve possible disagreements. Its members are representatives from the Congo, Tanzania, Zaire, and Zambia."<sup>19</sup> Monimambo also noted that a joint military effort had been made with MPLA and representatives of a revolutionary group in South-West Africa, but gave no details as to its extent or location.<sup>20</sup>

On November 24, 1973, the Daily World published a report from L'Humanite, the French Communist Party newspaper, which reported on the arrest of MPLA leaders in the country of Zambia. L'Humanite's report stated:

\* \* \* Knowingly or not—the result is the same—the Zambian leaders are thus participating in a plot promoted for months, to break up the vanguard of the people of Angola, which is led by Agostinho Neto.

This plot aims to place artificially in the leadership of the liberation movement a man who tries unsuccessfully to impose on the movement a reformist policy of reconciliation with the leaders in Lisbon. The man is Holden Roberto, whose forces in Angola are small, but who enjoys the support of Joseph Mobutu, President of Zaire. \* \* \*<sup>21</sup>

In 1971, leaders of MPLA toured East European and Asian communist countries. Promises of aid to them, however, were unfulfilled and large numbers of terrorists have taken advantage of a 1972 amnesty offered by the Portuguese.<sup>22</sup>

Despite political and military reverses, MPLA has not been drawn into the Sino-Soviet quarrel, seeking as they do aid "from all socialist countries." MPLA maintains offices in Lusaka, Dar-es-Salaam, Algiers and Stockholm; and is recognized by the OAU African Liberation Committee.

The wave of factional fights within and among the rival guerrilla organizations in Angola had seriously weakened the MPLA. The previously cited Agence France Presse dispatch from Luanda on June 5, 1974 said MPLA was split into two main factions, one led by Agostinho Neto and the other led by Daniel Chipemba. In addition, MPLA guerrillas have been prevented from crossing Zaire by rival FNLA guerrillas. Cut off by FNLA from their bases in the Congo, MPLA guerrillas have mounted only small attacks against Portuguese troops during the spring of 1974, according to a communique from the Portuguese armed forces in Angola, broadcast from Luanda in Portuguese on May 18, 1974.

Communist organizations and others are aware of the value of African resources on the world market. An example is the comment by the Workers World Party in January 1974, that "In the Portuguese colony of Angola, the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) is struggling in territory coveted by such U.S. oil giants as Gulf and Texaco. (Gulf has only recently discovered oil off the shores of Angola; need we state that it is now more than ever determined to secure its investment in the colony?)"<sup>23</sup>

In the United States, support for MPLA and other guerrilla organizations in Africa can be seen in the operations of the Liberation

Support Movement\* (LSM) which has offices in both Canada and California. LSM's Bay Area office director has recently written for the *Guardian* on African guerrilla movements.<sup>24</sup> Leaflets and pamphlets published by LSM state that the group has sent tons of "clothing, technical books, uniforms, and [over] \$10,000 worth of medicines and medical supplies" to MPLA forces since 1971.<sup>25</sup>

UNIAO NACIONAL PARA A INDEPENDENCIA TOTAL DE ANGOLA (UNITA)  
[NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA]

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) was founded in March 1966, by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, a former foreign minister of GRAE. In 1972, UNITA claimed to have over 3,000 trained guerrillas; however, the organization has been relatively inactive.<sup>26</sup>

In June 1973, a staff reporter for the *Washington Post* spent 10 weeks inside Angola with UNITA and described his experiences in a series of four lengthy articles in the *Post* published in December 1973. The reporter stated he had seen about 600 guerrillas, that UNITA was operating in four Angolan provinces, and that the guerrillas seemed to be successful in mixing members of several tribes in their combat units.<sup>27</sup>

In a letter to the *Washington Post* published in the magazine *Southern Africa*, a former director of the *Zambian Information Bureau* for Western Europe disagreed with the *Post* reporter's findings. He stated, "In summary, it seems that the Portuguese themselves consider that the major Liberation Movement in Angola is the MPLA and that UNITA and FINLA are small splinter groups."<sup>28</sup> UNITA has recently received publicity in publications of the Progressive Labor Party in the United States.

#### MOZAMBIQUE

FRENTE DE LIBERTACAO DE MOCAMBIQUE (FRELIMO) [MOZAMBIQUE  
LIBERATION FRONT]

Mozambique, an overseas state of Portugal, has been subjected to terrorist guerrilla attacks by members of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), a Soviet-leaning<sup>29</sup> organization founded in June 1962 in Dar-es-Salaam from the union of several older nationalist groups.

The pamphlet prepared by the first year students at Malcolm X Liberation University states that out of the three nationalist movements which formed Frelimo "came intellectuals, students, and dock workers. But slowly FRELIMO started getting the farmers, workers,

\*Liberation Support Movement (LSM) has been in operation since 1970. Its statement of principles, written by its founder, director and principal "theoretician," Don Barnett, states that it is "a political organization whose understanding and practice flow from a Marxist-Leninist class analysis of contemporary imperialism." (Principles, p. 1) In a leaflet distributed in the fall of 1973 by the Bay Area LSM, the organization stated: "Liberation Support Movement believes that it is the international duty of progressive organizations and individuals [sic] in the U.S. to support the revolutionary movements and to actively oppose colonialism and imperialism in Southern Africa."

and peasants to join the movement and fight: the revolution became a revolution of the masses." The pamphlet further states that Frelimo's "decision to launch the armed struggle grew out of intense debate and preparation." The guerrillas considered and rejected "moderate political action such as strikes, demonstrations and petitions," and "on the 25th of September 1964 the armed struggle began."

Until his assassination in 1969, Frelimo's president was Eduardo Mondlane, a former United Nations civil servant and a professor with a Ph. D. in sociology from Northwestern University. His death and the subsequent defection of several Frelimo leaders to the Portuguese have been serious setbacks to the organization.

Frelimo operates under a tripartite presidency currently dominated by Samora Machel. Recognized by the Organization of African Unity since 1963, Frelimo has received aid from Algeria, the Soviet Union and Sweden through the Swedish communist party.\* It has a representative at the United Nations.<sup>30</sup>

As in Angola there is a rival revolutionary group, the Peking-oriented *Comite Revolucionario de Mocambique* (Coremo) [Mozambique Revolutionary Committee]. Coremo guerrillas have received training in communist China. Headquartered in Lusaka, Zambia, Coremo is of minor importance when compared with Frelimo. Coremo's effectiveness was further reduced by a Frelimo ambush in which several of Coremo's central committee members were gunned down.<sup>31</sup>

In 1972, Frelimo actions were primarily directed toward slowing down or preventing the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam in northwestern Mozambique. Trains were derailed, bridges blown up, and approach roads mined. According to Portuguese sources, 216 soldiers were killed and 324 injured during the year. This pattern continues as shown by incidents in February 1974, in which five African railway passengers were killed and others injured by the Frelimo guerrillas.<sup>32</sup>

Despite these assaults on construction, Portuguese sources claim that work was on schedule. According to Joaquim Chissano, interviewed in *World Marxist Review*:

There is a tendency in the Western press to assess the successes or lack of success of the armed liberation struggle of the Mozambique patriots in terms of progress at the Cabora Bassa dam project. However, we regard the positions we hold in Tete the rear base for operations in Manica e Sofale. We see Cabora Bassa as a detail, true, an extremely important one, because participation in the dam's construction by USA monopolists, West European countries and South Africa, is one of the fundamental reasons for the support given to Portugal by its NATO partners and the racist regimes of Southern Africa.<sup>33</sup>

Those groups in the United States which support Frelimo through publicity include the Communist Party, USA; the Workers World Party (self-described Trotskyite communist organization); the *Guardian* newspaper (which supports the formation of a Marxist-Leninist

\*The Swedish communist party has taken the name Left Party—Communists (VKP).

revolutionary political party); the Liberation Support Movement (previously described); and the North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition (NAAIC).<sup>34\*</sup>

### PORTUGUESE GUINEA

#### PAIGC

The armed insurrection in Portuguese Guinea, an overseas province of Portugal, began in 1962 under the direction of Amilcar Cabral, leader of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine Portuguesa e das Ilhas de Cabo Verde (PAIGC).<sup>35\*\*</sup> The PAIGC was organized in 1956 by Cabral. The formal PAIGC structure is Leninist with democratic centralism being the primary principle of organization.<sup>36</sup> Vasco Cabral, member of the PAIGC Politbureau, which is responsible for PAIGC political ideology,<sup>37</sup> outlined his party's structure in the February 1974 World Marxist Review, the "theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties": "\* \* \* at the head of the PAIGC is the Central Committee (now called the Supreme Council of Struggle) which elects the Politbureau (now the Executive Committee of Struggle) and its Standing Secretariat."<sup>38</sup>

Amilcar Cabral, characterized as "one of Africa's foremost revolutionary intellectuals,"<sup>39</sup> and by the Guardian as "Africa's most brilliant Marxist, theorist and revolutionary leader,"<sup>40</sup> began his studies of Marxism-Leninism while studying agronomy in Lisbon in the late 1940's. One of those Cabral clandestinely studied communism with was Agostinho Neto. Their "friendship and ideological identity" continued after graduation, and after the PAIGC was formed, Cabral went to Angola, to help Neto found the MPLA.<sup>41</sup> Amilcar Cabral was shot to death on January 20, 1973, in Conakry, capital of the Republic of Guinea. Although the PAIGC and the revolutionary media have alleged that the Portuguese were responsible,<sup>42</sup> it has become clear that a dissident faction within PAIGC committed the murder.<sup>42</sup>

\*The North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition was organized in 1971 to replace the dissolved Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV), an organization which in its 1970 pamphlet, "Luta/Struggle: Voices of African Liberation" described itself as "made up of people who have served overseas, mainly in the Third World, and have had a chance to see U.S. foreign policy in action. They have come to realize \* \* \* this policy must be radically changed, both at home and abroad."

In a pamphlet distributed in May, 1973, NAAIC described itself as a "political association of groups in the United States and Canada engaged in support of national liberation movements in the under-developed areas of the world. Our support consists of obtaining material aid for those liberation movements, publicizing their progress, exposing the activity of U.S. imperialism in those countries and its adverse effects within our own borders."

This NAAIC document states that member organizations include: Friends of Haiti, the North American Congress on Latin America, the Middle East Research and Information Project, Committee for a Free Mozambique, Southern Africa Committee, Tricontinental Film Center, the Guardian, the Anti-Imperialist Journalism Project and the Union for Radical Political Economics. Cooperating groups include the Center for Cuban Studies and American Documentary Films.

\*\*PAIGC is literally translated as African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, but the word "Portuguese" is often omitted.

\*\*\*This characterization is from the introduction to a pamphlet containing speeches of Cabral, "The Struggle in Guinea," published by the Africa Research Group. These speeches were first compiled and published in the International Socialist Journal in 1964. In that introduction, the Africa Research Group defined PAIGC as follows: "PAIGC is a socialist national liberation movement and is supported by the Soviet bloc countries, China and Cuba."

The Africa Research Group, which disbanded late in 1972 and turned its literature and files over to the Africa Information Service, (LANS, Nov. 4, 1972, p. 7) defined itself in the above pamphlet as follows:

"The Africa Research Group is a movement research and education project that focuses on analyzing the United States' imperialist penetration of Africa. This group hopes to promote a more informed concern with and protest against the role the U.S. plays in the domination of Africa and to contribute to sharpening and extending an anti-imperialist and anti-racist consciousness within movements for social change."

At a Prague seminar on Maoist theory organized and reported in the World Marxist Review in November, 1973, Mahgoug Osman of the Sudanese Communist Party is quoted as saying:

If we follow the history of African national-liberation movements, we find that from the beginning the Chinese leadership has persistently tried to influence their leaders. \* \* \* The credit for their failure to split the PAIGC should go largely to the late Comrade Cabral, who was aware of the danger of Maoism.<sup>43</sup>

Amilcar Cabral's successors in the leadership of PAIGC are also said to have seen the dangers of Maoism, for on September 26, 1973, Tass reported that Luis Cabral, deputy general secretary of PAIGC and chairman of the Council of State of the new Republic, thanked the Soviet people for the "diverse aid" given them in their independence struggle, and "underlined the fact that the people of Guinea-Bissau valued highly the solidarity of the Soviet people in Guinea-Bissau's struggle against the Portuguese colonializers."<sup>44</sup> On September 24, 1973, PAIGC declared that the eastern regions under its control were now the Republic of Guinea Bissau. This is not to be confused with the Republic of Guinea which has its capital at Conakry.

The longstanding cooperation between PAIGC and the Soviet Union is apparent in two other events in 1973: In the inclusion of Amilcar Cabral's daughter among the PAIGC delegates to the 10th World Festival of Youth and Students in East Berlin in August; and in a Novosti Press Agency release published by the Washington Afro-American in December.<sup>45</sup> The Novosti press release stated in part:

The Soviet Union has stated its readiness to continue its support of Guinea-Bissau's struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. An agreement on such support and assistance was reached in Moscow during negotiations conducted here by the Party and State delegation of the recently proclaimed Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

The delegation was headed by Luis Cabral, President of the State Council and Deputy General Secretary of the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), brother of Amilcar Cabral, leader of the Guinea-Bissau liberation movement, who was assassinated by Portuguese agents.

"We are constantly aware of the fraternal presence of the Soviet Union," stated the head of the delegation in Moscow.

"We feel this presence in the defense potential available to us, in the assistance being rendered in our development and in the training of troops, necessary for our struggle . . . hundreds of young people from Guinea-Bissau are now living and studying in the Soviet Union. Thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union, we shall build a modern state after the liberation."

\* \* \* this was the first time that the tricolor flag of the independent state adorned the streets and the central airport of the Soviet Capital when the delegation, headed by Luis Cabral, arrived in Moscow on an official visit.

Both sides believe that this visit will consolidate their militant solidarity. "Relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau have now been raised to a new qualitative level—to the level of international relations," noted Nikolai Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This new quality found its incarnation in the agreement reached on the exchange of diplomatic missions.

The delegation from Guinea-Bissau stated that they would strengthen their cooperation with the Soviet Union, bequeathed to them by Amilcar Cabral.

PAIGC's success in organizing an alternative regime has stemmed from the logistical support provided by both the neighboring Republic of Guinea, in whose capital, Conakry, PAIGC maintained its headquarters, and the Soviet-bloc countries.<sup>46</sup>

In the latter context, it is interesting to note that Cuba has strongly supported the PAIGC. In 1972, several Cubans were captured while fighting with the guerrillas;<sup>47</sup> and Tricontinental magazine, issues 84 and 86 in 1973, published interviews with PAIGC leaders and other material attacking Portugal,<sup>48</sup> NATO, the United States and the Gulf Oil Co. operations in Angola.<sup>49</sup>

A statement of support made on the occasion of the "fifteenth anniversary of the triumph of the (Cuban) revolution" by the Venceremos Brigade\* makes mention of meetings between the Venceremos Brigade members and representatives of "the Republic of Guinea-Bissau"—the PAIGC guerrillas. The Brigade statement reads in part:

As activists in the Venceremos Brigade, these are inspiring examples for those of us who are helping in the development of an anti-imperialist movement, which will be truly a people's movement, within the homeland of U.S. imperialism. Our visits to Cuba, and through them, our contacts with representatives of countries and national liberation struggles around the world—such as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, Chile, the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau—have deepened our resolve to strengthen such a movement here in the U.S.<sup>50</sup>

The Brigade newsletter also published a message to the PAIGC on the occasion of its proclamation of the Republic of Guinea Bissau on September 24, 1973. The Brigade claimed the PAIGC proclamation was a "victory over the imperialist system, particularly U.S. imperialism, which supplies and organizes the Portuguese mercenaries through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)." The Brigade statement continues:

Our contact with Guinea-Bissau has been limited to visits to Revolutionary Cuba. Through those visits we have had the opportunity for direct and personal contact with outstanding representatives of the PAIGC. While we hope to continue these contacts, we realize that the struggle in Guinea-Bissau shall go on to fiercer and even more decisive levels until the Portuguese colonialists and their imperialist masters are completely routed \* \* \*.<sup>51</sup>

PAIGC's rival guerrilla movement is the Frente para a Libertacao e Independencia da Guine Portuguesa (Fling) [Front for the Liberation and Independence of Portuguese Guinea], a coalition of several small independence movements primarily supported by the Government of Senegal as a counter to the PAIGC. Its main base has been among Guinean exiles in Senegal but it has been inactive for several years.<sup>52</sup>

#### RHODESIA [ZIMBABWE\*\*]

Revolutionary activities in Rhodesia, a de facto republic since March 1970 while remaining nominally a self-governing colony of the United Kingdom, include competitive terrorism between groups influenced either by the Soviet or Chinese communists.

\*According to HCIS witnesses who had participated in the agricultural and construction projects in Cuba as members of the Venceremos Brigades, the purpose of the Brigades "was an educational program for the furtherment of the education of political individuals within the United States who are Marxist-Leninists." Cuban brigade leaders were said to have urged members of the Venceremos Brigade fifth contingent (1972) "to prepare for appropriate revolutionary action within the United States but left the decision as to what action should be taken up to the individual Brigade members." [HCIS, "Annual Report for the Year 1972," H. Rept. 93-301, June 21, 1973, pp. 136 and 137.]

\*\*Zimbabwe is the name used by the guerrillas and their supporters for all of Rhodesia. Great Zimbabwe ("stone houses" in an African language) is a group of impressive stone ruins which was the capital of an indigenous Iron Age culture which flourished between 1250 and 1750 A.D. [Davidson, Basil, "The Lost Cities of Africa," (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1959), pp. 246ff.]

#### ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU)

The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was founded by Joshua Nkomo when the National Democratic Party was banned in December 1961. Its purpose was to win African majority rule through international lobbying. Outlawed in 1962, it has maintained headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia.<sup>53</sup> The movement is Soviet-influenced and adopted guerrilla tactics in 1967, using bases in Zambia.<sup>54</sup>

In March 1973, Edward Ndlovu, national secretary of ZAPU, in an interview with a member of the Southern Africa Committee, located in the United States, stated: "The goals of ZAPU are to liberate Zimbabwe through armed revolutionary struggle. Liberation means the freeing of ourselves from an economic system which creates rich and poor, which creates racism and encourages privileges."<sup>55</sup>

ZAPU has maintained ties with the African National Congress in South Africa, and claims to have participated with ANC guerrillas in joint military operations against Rhodesian and South African targets.\* Targets include the railways, isolated farms, and the roads; and the guerrillas make frequent use of land mines. Six guerrillas were killed in Rhodesia between February 7 and 18, 1974, for a total, according to Rhodesian Government sources, of 230 terrorists killed since December 1972.<sup>56</sup>

#### ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU)

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was founded in August 1963 by former members of ZAPU led by the Rev. N. Sithole who opposed Nkomo's diplomacy at that time and favored starting a "war of liberation." ZANU guerrillas have received training in Algeria, China, Czechoslovakia, and Ghana, but no systematic guerrilla action occurred until 1966 when bases in Zambia were opened.<sup>57</sup> Both ZAPU and ZANU have headquarters in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia.<sup>58</sup>

In January 1974, the Guardian published an interview with Mukudzei Mudzi, ZANU's executive secretary, who was in the United States to address the United Nations. Mudzi said that "ZANU was formed as a nationalist party, as a Pan-Africanist party and as a socialist party." He underscored three times ZANU's pro-Peking political stance:

\* \* \* We believe that by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought applied to the concrete conditions of Zimbabwe liberation is certain. As a socialist Zimbabwe we will be able to fulfill our international duty to support the workers and other exploited people around the world. Our enemy is a common one. To weaken the enemy in one area weakens the enemy in another area as well.<sup>59</sup>

\*The African Communist's issue for the Fourth Quarter of 1967 featured an editorial, "Freedom Marches South: the Fighting in Zimbabwe," which began:

"Beginning on August 13th, advance units of Umkhonto We Sizwe, combat forces of South Africa's African National Congress, together with their comrades-in-arms of Z.A.P.U., opened a new chapter in the struggle of the oppressed people of Southern Africa, in bloody clashes with the military forces of the oppressors." [African Communist, p. 5]

This editorial also notes the beginning of transnational cooperation among African terrorist guerrillas having Soviet support:

"Nor is the concept of an alliance of the liberation forces of unliberated Africa a new one. The oppressors are closely and obviously associated in an anti-African conspiracy, and it is plainly the duty of the people's leaders to co-operate, exchange information and experience and co-ordinate their efforts. Towards this end, steadily improving relations of friendship and mutual confidence have developed between the A.N.C., Z.A.P.U., F.R.E.L.I.M.O. of Mozambique, M.P.L.A. of Angola, and other organizations of genuine and militant patriots." [Ibid, pp. 7 & 8].

At various times, ZANU and ZAPU have made efforts at unification which have failed. Mudzi explained these attempts in his Guardian interview:

ZANLA is the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, the armed wing of ZANU. Many who support our struggle confuse it with the Joint Military Command (JMC) and think ZANLA is under the JMC. ZANU and ZAPU tried to form the JMC but it is accepted by everyone now that it has not worked out and has remained a paper unity. \* \* \*<sup>60</sup>

#### FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE (FROLIZI)

A third revolutionary organization operating in Rhodesia is the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi), which was formed in October 1971 as a result of Zambian threats to withdraw support from both ZAPU and ZANU unless they united.

Frolizi served merely to divide the "liberation" movement still further,<sup>61</sup> but pressure from the OAU resulted in ZAPU and ZANU signing an accord, and a Joint Military Command was established under ZANU's leadership.

In May 1972, Essiah Zhuwrrara, representing the Frolizi guerrillas, spoke at a 2-day conference held at Howard University in Washington, D.C., on the subject of African independence. The Washington Afro-American newspaper reported his speech:

"The only way we can regain our land and set up our governments in Southern Africa is through the barrel of the gun," Zhuwrrara said amidst great applause. "Africa is never free until all segments of the continent are free," he stated. "There must be an end to 'resolutions' because they have done nothing to solve our problems," the freedom fighter said. "Revolution is the only path left." Zhuwrrara emphasized that the ultimate outcome of the struggle for liberation will be a determination of "whether Africans can conquer whites or whether whites will continue to rule us throughout the world."<sup>62</sup>

#### SOUTH AFRICA [AZANIA]

##### AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The African National Congress (ANC), the oldest of the southern African revolutionary parties, was formed in South Africa in 1912. It was outlawed in 1960.

According to The African Communist for January-March 1963 (p. 8), Moses Kotane, former secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, has served as a member of the executive committee of the African National Congress. Other Communist Party functionaries including J. B. Marks and Albert Nzula have also served on the executive committee, according to The African Communist of July-September 1964 (p. 11).

In 1961 the Communist Party decided to lead the African National Congress into a campaign of terrorism. An official of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, was placed in charge of the terrorist organization called Umkonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

On July 11, 1963 the police raided a farm near Johannesburg and captured many of the leaders of the terrorist movement including some white and black communists. The finding of the judge president in the trial of the Umkonto We Sizwe terrorists was that the African

National Congress was "communist dominated." (See pamphlet, "Rivonia, Operation Mayibuye," a review of the Rivonia trial by H.H.W. DeVilliers, published in Johannesburg in 1964.)

Subsequently, Abram Fischer, a white Communist Party member and member of a prominent Afrikaans family, was captured. He admitted during his trial in 1966 that the leaders of the terrorist movement had given assurances to the Communist Party that no action would be taken without prior consultation with the party. As a result Mandela was allowed to choose the leadership of the terrorist movement. As Fischer said, "The Congresses and the Communist Party did not wish to have their membership held liable for every act of sabotage \* \* \*"<sup>63</sup>

Despite the arrest of much of the terrorist leadership, the remnants of Umkonto We Sizwe continued to engage in terrorist activities and to coordinate with other African terrorist groups including ZAPU of Rhodesia, Frelimo of Mozambique, and the MPLA of Angola, according to The African Communist, Fourth Quarter, 1967 (pp. 5-8).

Sechaba, the official organ of the African National Congress of South Africa, and Zimbabwe Review, the official organ of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) in Rhodesia, are both printed in English in East Germany.

The African Communist was originally published in England and still lists a London address. However, for a number of years it has been printed in East Germany. (See the African Communist, Second Quarter, 1970, p. 120.)

The editor of The African Communist until his death on June 18, 1974, was Michael Harmel. A white member of the central committee of the South African Communist Party, Harmel had spent the last few years in Czechoslovakia as a member of the editorial board of World Marxist Review, the international communist theoretical organ. In order to maintain the pretense that the South African Communist Party was led by Blacks, Harmel used the pen names of Umlweli, Titshale, Terence Africanus and A. Lerumo. An obituary article on Michael Harmel appeared in the Daily World, June 22, 1974 (p. 10).

The African Communist, a quarterly published "as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our continent, by the South African Communist Party," in 1963 published a statement by the central committee of the South African Communist Party stating why acts of violence were necessary in South Africa. The party declared:

\* \* \* the oppressed masses are turning to methods that are illegal and non-peaceful. They are looking to illegal organizations like the African National Congress and the Communist Party for leadership and liberation. Violent outbreaks of one sort or another are becoming more and more common. Sometimes, as in the case of the operations of Umkonto We Sizwe, these outbreaks are purposeful, effective and carefully planned on a nation-wide level. \* \* \*<sup>64</sup>

The SACP proceeded to denounce the Poqo guerrillas sponsored by the Pan-Africanist Congress for their "uncontrolled and violent" outlook of "blind revenge on Whites."<sup>65</sup>

The African Communist for July-September 1964 carries an account of the arrest of seven people involved with the ANC, the SACP and the Spear of the Nation in 1963. The magazine said that "The police

found many confidential documents, including 'Operation Mayibuye,' the Umkonto We Sizwe draft plan for guerrilla warfare." A tenant of a farm, a member of the SACP, was arrested, the article continued. He had:

\* \* \* documents in his handwriting indicating that he had been sent abroad on a mission to find whether arms could be obtained for the Umkonto soldiers.

\* \* \* Among the documents discovered at Rivonia were manuscripts in the handwriting of Nelson Mandela, who had found refuge at the farm at one stage of his underground leadership. Next to Chief Lutuli, Mandela has become the best known and most popular of the Congress leaders. \* \* \*

\* \* \* The leaders in the dock \* \* \* disdained to repudiate \* \* \* or to deny the part that some of them had played in Umkonto. \* \* \* "I admit immediately," said Mandela, "that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkonto We Sizwe, and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962."

"I do not deny that I planned sabotage," said Mandela, "I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen \* \* \*."

\* \* \* Mandela vigorously defended the A.N.C. policy of cooperation with the [Communist] Party in the common struggle for national liberation. Leading Communists \* \* \* had served on the National Executive of the A.N.C. This was not surprising, he pointed out. The Party had for very many years fought side by side with the Congress: many Africans equated Communism with Freedom. \* \* \*

Over the years the Soviets have used ANC and its leader, Oliver Tambo, to contact various emerging African revolutionary groups.<sup>67</sup>

The Maoist group operating in South Africa is the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), founded in 1959 by Mangaliso Sobukwe. Originally advocating nonviolence, PAC turned to Maoism in 1963 and organized its members into clandestine cells.<sup>68</sup> In 1963 PAC claimed sponsorship of the Poqo guerrilla terrorists in South Africa.<sup>69</sup>

In 1967, PAC leader Potlako Leballo described his strategy as "simultaneous, protracted rural and urban guerrilla warfare" which would "pin down the enemy in the cities at the outset."<sup>70</sup>

Despite these threats, the South African "liberation forces" have been only minimally active during 1972 and 1973. Oliver Tambo explained this in an interview in the November 1973 issue of Muhammad Speaks, publication of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims), a violently antiwhite organization whose members have been involved in violent conflicts with local police.<sup>71</sup>

\* \* \* one simply can't place South Africa in the same category as every other country and say, "There is fighting here, why isn't fighting there?" We know historically and have decided that the answer to the situation is armed struggle. That stage of actual fighting must be reached as part of the process of struggle. Its timing must fit the conditions that prevail.<sup>72</sup>

While ANC is not yet, based on Tambo's statement, ready for armed struggle, one of their spokesmen, Tennyson Makiwane, has stated that ANC has "an operative link with the underground unions

of the black workers."<sup>73</sup> This remark takes on added significance when taken in context with the recent strikes in South Africa and the statement made in the July 1973 issue of the South African Communist Party magazine, *Inkululeko*, that "strikes are a potent force because they begin to instil fear into the capitalists; because they help to educate the workers about the true nature of the capitalist state."<sup>74</sup>

The article stresses that the strikes must be seen in the context of the political and ideological struggles, and quotes Lenin who wrote, "Strikes are a school of war and not the war itself, strikes are only one means of struggle, one aspect of the working class movement." States the article, "The white ruling class will not surrender its control of the State without a violent struggle, therefore the continuation of the preparation for such a struggle is essential for victory. \* \* \*"

#### SOUTH-WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)

The South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was founded in the late 1950's by a Sam Nujoma. It is active in South-West Africa, a republic incorporated into the Republic of South Africa. SWAPO has a small contingent of guerrilla forces, some of whom have received training in sabotage abroad. Ideologically, SWAPO has been chiefly inspired by pan-Africanism and its leader has claimed indifference to either capitalism or communism.<sup>75</sup> However, the Soviet Union has been vigorously attempting to exert influence over SWAPO, and some sources now characterize the organization as "Moscow-leaning,"<sup>76</sup> or pro-Moscow.<sup>77</sup> SWAPO saboteurs have received military instruction in the Soviet Union, Algeria, and Egypt.<sup>78</sup>

In November 1973, Romesh Chandra,\* secretary-general of the World Peace Council, reported to the United Nations that "With regard to Namibia, the Congress extended its full support to the liberation struggle carried out under the banner of SWAPO and called on all governments and international organizations to send concrete material assistance to SWAPO, to enable it to effectively intensify the armed liberation struggle."<sup>79</sup> (The World Peace Council is an international communist front formed at the end of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1950 as part of the Soviet-sponsored campaign against NATO. Chandra's report to the UN related to action at the Council's most recent World Peace Congress held in Moscow October 25-31, 1973.)

The Maoist<sup>80</sup> and Pan-Africanist<sup>81</sup> counterpart to SWAPO is the Southwest Africa National Union (SWANU), which has been relatively inactive during 1973.<sup>82</sup> SWANU has been closely associated with the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa, and its members formed a part of the PAC delegation to the first Tricontinental Conference in Havana in 1966. Soviet pressure on the Tricontinental resulted in its refusal to recognize the PAC/SWANU delegation's credentials; and members of that African delegation sat out the conference in their hotel as tourists.<sup>83</sup>

\* Romesh Chandra was elected to the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its 9th Congress, Oct. 3-10, 1971. [Documents of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India, published by Communist Party Publication, New Delhi, 1972, p. 414.]

## ETHIOPIA

Eritrea, a former United Nations trust territory which was federated with Ethiopia in 1952, was incorporated into that country in 1962. An armed urban guerrilla group was formed in 1958, and armed insurrection efforts by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) began in September of 1961. However, the ELF remained relatively inactive until 1965.<sup>84</sup> An article by the Eritrean Liberation Committee published in the Workers International Newsletter, a new publication of the communist Progressive Labor Party, states that the ELF had established major bases inside Ethiopia by 1968, and that at that time "the struggle reached a higher stage of ideological development." The Eritrean Liberation Committee continued, "Its objective became not only to gain Eritrean national liberation from imperialist domination, but also to bring about a socialist transformation of Eritrean society within a Pan-African framework."<sup>85</sup>

The Eritrean Liberation Committee credits "the widening progressive international support" with preserving and strengthening the ELF. More specifically, reports indicate that several Arab nations, including Syria, Libya, and Algeria, have provided the ELF with support at various times. The article notes a U.S. affiliate of the ELF, Eritreans for Liberation, operates from Box 1247, New York, N.Y. 10027.

In 1969, ELF guerrillas seized the U.S. consul general in Asmara, capital of Eritrea, and held him captive for several hours before releasing him. In 1970, two American citizens from the National Geographic Society were seized and held for more than 2 weeks by ELF commandos.

On March 26, 1974, three American and two Canadian mineral prospectors were kidnapped when guerrillas forced down their helicopter. The Americans are Motta Pauela, a consultant to the Ethiopian Ministry of Mines, Powers W. Kayce, Jr., 36, a geologist, and J. W. Rogers. The Canadians are Don Wederfort, 28, the pilot, and Clifford M. James, 27, a geologist. The Tenneco Oil Co., employer of the scientists, began negotiations with the terrorists.<sup>86</sup>

On May 7, 1974, the ELF announced that the five men would be held by the ELF "revolution command" as hostages for the release of political prisoners by the Ethiopian government. The announcement was broadcast from Tripoli in Arabic on May 8, 1974.

Four armed ELF terrorists kidnaped two nurses from a missionary hospital run by the American Evangelical Church on May 27, 1974. One nurse, a 54-year old Dutch citizen, had no shoes and could not keep up on the forced march over stony ground. She was mercilessly shot down. The surviving nurse, Mrs. Deborah Dortzbach, 24, an American, continued the march to a clearing where the group was met by a helicopter obtained from Tenneco on the pretext that an ELF representative would return in it to negotiate the release of the 5 men captured in March. Mrs. Dortzbach, six months pregnant and in precarious health, was released by the ELF after 23 days captivity. The foregoing account of the kidnaping is based on articles appearing in the Washington Post of May 30, 1974 (p. A-19); May 31, 1974 (p. A-19) and June 23, 1974 (p. A-15); and the New York Times, May 30, 1974 (p. 1).

## CHAPTER IV

## EUROPEAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

## INTRODUCTION

Two primary types of terrorist organizations exist in Western Europe: Nationalist separatist groups and Marxist revolutionary groups which may incline toward one or more of the various tendencies, pro-Moscow, Trotskyist, Maoist, et cetera. Both the nationalist and the Marxist groups often have international ties and may cooperate to some extent. This chapter treats the groups most recently active.

## FRANCE

Two separatist organizations are presently active in France. One, the Front de Liberation de la Bretagne (FLB) [Front for the Liberation of Brittany], announced on January 8, 1974, that it was working internationally with the Irish Republican Army and the Basque Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA) separatist movements. The FLB, which is composed of ethnic Celtic militants, has claimed responsibility for bombings of government and police facilities in Brittany.<sup>1</sup> \*In the south of France, the Embata (a wind which blows before a storm), which was founded in 1963, seeks to unite the Spanish Basque provinces with those in France to form a separate Basque nation. Members of the Embata have ties with ETA exiles who have their headquarters in southern France also.<sup>2</sup>

At times during the past 2 years, small Maoist and Trotskyist bands of urban guerrillas have engaged in revolutionary violence. A Maoist group, the New Popular Resistance, which has some influence among African, Algerian, and Portuguese workers in France, kidnaped a Renault executive in March 1972, but released him unharmed when their demands for the release of five jailed Maoists were not met.<sup>3</sup>

## WEST GERMANY

Since 1970, the primary urban terrorist organization in West Germany has been the Rote Armee Fraktion, more commonly called the Baader-Meinhof gang after the names of two leaders who were trained in sabotage in Palestinian guerrilla camps in 1970.

The Baader-Meinhof gang is believed to have been responsible for a series of bombings in May 1972, which killed three U.S. servicemen in Heidelberg, an Army colonel in Frankfurt, and partially destroyed police stations in Munich and other cities. The three top leaders of this leftist-nihilist group, attorney Horst Mahler, 35; Andreas Baader, 29; and Ulrike Meinhof, 38, were arrested during 1972.<sup>4</sup>

\*Footnote numbers refer the reader to the public sources on which this study is based. These footnotes are printed in app. E, p. 238. Asterisks designate editorial footnotes which are printed at the bottom of the page.

However the Baader-Meinhof gang has remained active despite the loss of leadership and has been involved in bank robberies, extortion threats, and violent attacks on police. Reports indicate the group provided logistical assistance for the Black September terror squad which killed 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team at Munich in September 1972. Recently police in West Berlin raided suspected hideouts of gang members who had threatened a rocket attack on a soccer match. Police confiscated machineguns, land mines, hand grenades, tear gas, hand guns, and ammunition in this raid which netted 15 suspects.<sup>5</sup>

In an interview, Ulrike Meinhof justified her terrorist actions saying, "What we want to do and show is that armed confrontation is feasible—that it is possible to carry out actions where we win, and not the other side. Cops have to be fought as representatives of the system. Cops are pigs, not human beings."<sup>6</sup>

#### IRELAND

The Irish Republican Army, illegal in both the southern republic (Eire) and in Northern Ireland (Ulster), can be traced back to a reorganization of the Irish Volunteers in 1913. Relatively inactive during the postwar years, the IRA began to rebuild in the 1960's. In 1969 the organization split into two factions, the Officials or Regulars and the Provisionals or Provos.\*

The Official IRA is a Marxist revolutionary organization<sup>7</sup> with a legal political front known as the Official Sinn Fein\*\* headquarters in Dublin.<sup>8</sup> Under its chief-of-staff, Cathal Goulding, the Official IRA has pursued a "war of national liberation" with the goal of creating a united Irish Socialist Republic.

In the pursuit of their goal, the Officials cooperate with the Communist Party of Ireland and other communists, generally of the pro-Soviet variety.<sup>9</sup>

The Official IRA has observed a semicessation since 1972. While avoiding frequent clashes with police and British Army troops, the Officials have continued to smuggle weapons into Ireland and have waged a campaign of selective assassination since the 1972 "cessation." A report on the Official IRA by the Institute for the Study of Conflict states:

\* \* \* Under Cathal Goulding and Sinn Fein leader Thomas MacGiolla \* \* \* the Officials display more elegant political acumen than the Provisionals \* \* \*. While the Officials do not eschew violence, they differ from the Provisionals in their use of violent method on purely tactical grounds. The Officials believe, like Trotsky, that by killing a few you influence thousands. Murder is thus dignified as a political act, so that assassination is made to seem more ethical than premeditated murder.<sup>10</sup>

The Official IRA operates several supporting fronts including the Republican Clubs, active mostly in Northern Ireland as the legal front for the banned Official Sinn Fein.<sup>11</sup> The executive committee of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association is also controlled by

\* An article in Win magazine, Dec. 13, 1973, p. 9, referred to the two IRA factions and the support they receive in the United States as follows:

\*\* \* \* Irish Republican clubs in the United States do pretty much what the Northern Irish Aid does—raise money for the IRA. But there's a difference.

† In Ireland the IRA is split into two factions. The Republican Clubs support the Official IRA, which analyzes the Northern Ireland situation in Marxist-Leninist terms and calls for a revolution of the working class, both Protestant and Catholic, as the solution. Irish Northern Aid, on the other hand, supports the Provisional IRA (Provos), which shuns the idea of class revolution and sees the struggle in the nationalistic terms of independence from Great Britain and the unification of Ireland.

\*\* Translated as "Ourselves Alone."

the Official IRA, according to an article in Win magazine, April 25, 1974 (p. 14).

An informational brief on the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI) in the April 1974 issue of World Marxist Review (p. 140) stated that, "The Party wields considerable influence in the trade unions and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). Some leading members of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions \* \* \* and the NICRA belong to the Party leadership." The main sources of funds for the Official IRA are reportedly Irish-American organizations in the United States, primarily the Irish Republican Clubs (IRC) and the National Association for Irish Freedom (NAIF) according to a study by the London Institute for the Study of Conflict issued in June 1973 under the title "Ulster: Politics and Terrorism." NAIF was characterized in the aforementioned Win magazine article as "the American support group for NICRA."

The Provisional IRA has less political cohesion than the Marxist Official faction. Its roots are in an extremist Catholic sectarianism, and its tactics are those of undirected terror. Like the Officials, the Provisional IRA has an overt, legal front in the southern republic, Provisional Sinn Fein, which is banned in Northern Ireland. The Provisional IRA aims for a united Irish republic. Its chief leaders include Sean MacStiofain, chief of staff; Joe Cahill and Seamus Twomey.<sup>12</sup>

The Provisional IRA funds are reported to come from numerous robberies in Ireland, but the largest external source of funds is the Irish Northern Aid Committee (NAC) in the United States. On January 17, 1973, the U.S. Embassy in Dublin revoked the visa of Provisional Sinn Fein president Rory O'Brady who was scheduled to address a \$20-a-plate dinner in New York City to raise funds for Provisional IRA "political prisoners."<sup>13</sup>

The two factions of the IRA have forged several transnational links with other terrorist organizations. These include separatists such as the Front for the Liberation of Brittany, the Basque ETA, and the Free Wales Army.<sup>14</sup> More important, links have been made with the Palestinian terrorist organizations which have become a source of arms since tight security has greatly hampered gun running from the United States.

The links with Palestinian terrorists date back to 1968 and 1969 when some IRA members received training in guerrilla camps operating at that time in Jordan. In March 1971, some 13 leftist groups issued a manifesto of support backing the IRA which hinted this was in return for IRA positions of support for "the revolution in South Yemen, Palestine, and the occupied Arab Gulf."<sup>15</sup> In April 1972, Col. Muammar Qaddafi of Libya stated, "We consider the struggle in Ireland a national one. We help the free Irish to free themselves from Britain." Later the Libyan leader specified his support. "There are arms," he said, "and there is support for the revolutionaries of Ireland."<sup>16</sup>

On May 27 and 28, 1972, a conference of guerrilla groups from around the world met in Dublin. Attending were nine members of the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) which also has close ties with the Japanese United Red Army. According to British press reports, the PFLP offered the diplomatic

cover of at least one Arab government to run guns and explosives into Ireland.<sup>17</sup>

The PFLP now has a front group operating an office in Dublin and has developed contacts with both the Official and Provisional wings of the IRA.<sup>18</sup> In January 1974, Palestinian guerrilla leaders in Beirut announced "joint military operations on British territory against Zionist organizations" with the IRA. The terrorist bombing campaign in London in December 1973, was described as the start of that cooperation.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to its transnational links to the Palestinian terrorists, the Provisional IRA has alliances with several Trotskyist<sup>20</sup> groups affiliated with the Fourth International. These include the British International Marxist Group (IMG) and Irish Solidarity Campaign (ISC),<sup>21</sup> and the Irish Saor Eire [Free Ireland] which reportedly provided the Provisionals with the terror team which carried out numerous bombings in London in December 1972.<sup>22</sup> British security forces quoted in the press have stated that "extremist guerrilla forces are linking up for coordinated terrorist campaigns throughout the world." These sources further stated that while "previously the front organizations of guerrilla groups have met, largely to declare solidarity with each other, \* \* \* they are now getting down to details and exchanging expertise."<sup>23</sup> \*

#### SPAIN

##### FRONT D'ALLIBERAMENT CATALA [CATALAN LIBERATION FRC]

The Front d'Alliberament Catala (FAC) is a nationalist organization formed in 1968 to work for the creation of a Catalan state by armed struggle. This state would include the Catalan province of Rousillon, the Spanish Balearic Islands, and the province of Valencia. FAC has claimed numerous bombings and sabotage attacks on railroads, public buildings and Spanish government offices.<sup>24</sup>

##### EUZKADI TA AZKATASUNA (ETA) [BASQUE NATION AND FREEDOM]

Most prominent of the terrorist organizations operating in Spain has been the Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA) [Basque Nation and Freedom]. Originally a faction which broke away from the exiled Basque Nationalist Party, ETA split into Marxist and non-Marxist sections.<sup>25</sup> The ETA has worked with and supported the illegal Workers' Commissions in which the Spanish Communist Party, also illegal, reportedly has played "a leading role" along with many activists from Spain's Catholic Left. The Spanish Communist Party

\* The London Daily Telegraph of June 5, 1974 reported the following:

"Belfast - Guerrilla organisations from several parts of the world are being invited by the official IRA [Irish Republican Army] to a conference of revolutionaries in the Lower Falls area of Belfast next month. Sean Kenny, a leading figure in the official republican movement, was reported last night to be traveling in Europe gathering left-wing support for the meeting. Invitations have gone out to Palestinian leaders in Beirut and Damascus, to Frelimo in Mozambique, the Tupamaros in Uruguay and others. "The official Marxist policy is in line with that of the groups, and security forces believe a number will find it difficult and dangerous in the Falls."

The London Daily Telegraph of June 7, 1974, reported that the Official IRA organization planning the "world guerrilla conference" to be held between July 22 and August 2, had received "several visits from Mr. Victor Louis, the KGB public relations agent, who travels frequently in the West." The article also noted: "The official IRA are most open to Russian influence. They have accepted Russian-made rockets and rifles as well as money from Communist East European countries and Soviet supported guerrilla organizations in the Middle East."

maintains ties with both the Soviet and Chinese communist parties.<sup>26</sup>

Two of the "significant" splinters from the ETA, operating in competition with the non-Marxist parent organization in 1973, were the ETA(V) and ETA(VI)—so named after the fifth and sixth conferences of the ETA at which each had predominated. (See SR/World, March 9, 1974, p. 16 and Crozier, "Annual of Power and Conflict, 1973-74," op. cit., pp. 23, 24.)

By the end of 1973, ETA (VI), which had engaged in terrorist activities of its own, had merged with Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League), one of the Spanish sections of the Trotskyist Fourth International. The new Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI) (LCR-ETA(VI)) had seven delegates at the February 1974 congress of the Fourth International, all of whom voted in support of armed insurrection and terrorism, according to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin of the Fourth International, April 1974, vol. XI, No. 5 (p. 13).

The ETA has been linked to numerous bombings, kidnappings and bank robberies in northern Spain over the past 4 years.<sup>27</sup>

On December 20, 1973, a mine placed in a tunnel excavated under a Madrid street was exploded as the car of Premier Luis Carrero Blanco drove over, killing him instantly. Four Basque revolutionaries held a press conference in southern France at which they claimed responsibility in the name of the ETA.<sup>28</sup> The Spanish Government is seeking

ETA terrorists including two who attended the press conference.<sup>29</sup>

ETA(V) splinter carried out the murder of Carrero Blanco, as mentioned in the aforementioned Crozier study, "Annual of Power and Conflict, 1973-74," and an interview with a member of the LCR-ETA(VI) appearing in Intercontinental Press, January 21, 1974, p. 64. (The Intercontinental Press is published from New York City. Its leader Joseph Hansen for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, according to the "Yearbook on International Communism, 1971" of the Hoover Institution.)

The murder of Carrero Blanco was supported by the LCR-ETA(VI) in a declaration issued a day after the assassination. The statement, as printed in Intercontinental Press of January 21, 1974 (p. 62), declared that "Both in the encouragement to the masses that the execution of Carrero Blanco represents and in the objective effects his disappearance will have within the ruling class, the consequences of the attack appear positive to us. For this reason our support to the action is total."

In the United States, the Daily World, official newspaper of the Communist Party, USA, linked the assassination of Carrero Blanco to the opening of the trial of the Carabanchel 10.<sup>30</sup> These were mem-

\* In the United States, the Communist Party, USA mounted an energetic publicity campaign on behalf of the Carabanchel 10. [Daily World issues September-December 1972.] Since the conviction of the Carabanchel 10, the Communist Party has continued to press for an international campaign for amnesty "for the Carabanchel Ten and all political prisoners in Spain." [Daily World, Jan. 10, 1974, p. 5]. The campaign urges labor leaders to "advocate resolutions in union meetings protesting Franco's suppression of unions." [Daily World, Jan. 10, 1974, p. 5].

A committee on behalf of the Carabanchel 10 was set up which operated from the law offices of Stanley Faulkner and Eric Schmidt in New York City, both active members and former officers of the National Lawyers Guild. The U.S. Committee for the Carabanchel 10 sent four observers to the Madrid trial. These were Eric Schmidt, representing both the NLG and the U.S. Committee for the Carabanchel 10 of which he was the secretary; Henry Foner, representing the Joint Board, Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Union (AFL-CIO) as well as several other unions; Henry Giler, a Los Angeles NLG member who represented the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. [Guild Notes, Jan. 1974, p. 8] For additional information concerning the Communist Party, USA-orientation of the National Lawyers Guild, see Staff Study on the NLG, HCIS hearings on "Revolutionary Activities Directed Toward the Administration of Penal or Correctional Systems," pt. 3, July 24 and 25 (in part), 1973, exhibit No. 1, pp. 1301-1317.

bers of the Workers' Commissions and included Marcelino Camacho Abad, "veteran of the Communist Party of Spain," and Francisco Garcia Salve, a worker-priest long active in the Spanish underground labor movement.<sup>31</sup> The Workers World Party speculated, "Timed as it was to coincide with the workers' trials, the assassination of Carrero Blanco may signal a new alliance between the Spanish working class and the oppressed nations in struggle against the fascist government."<sup>32</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### FAR EASTERN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

#### INTRODUCTION

In South and Southeast Asia, many official communist parties are in the process of waging an open guerrilla war and are backed in this effort by the Soviet Union and the communist Chinese. In many of these areas, Cambodia and Laos for example, the guerrillas fight in regular military formations alongside the North Vietnamese regular army units and it has been reported that many Khmer Rouge and Pathet Lao officers have been trained in Hanoi.<sup>1</sup> \* A number of these communist controlled guerrilla movements have been in existence for more than two decades, having started as resistance groups against the Japanese in World War II.

#### BURMA

Communist guerrilla warfare and terrorism in Burma has existed since 1948.<sup>2</sup> The primary communist terrorist organization is the White Flag Communists, popular name for the underground and actively insurgent Burma Communist Party (BCP). According to State Department sources they have between 4,000 and 4,500 men under arms.<sup>3</sup> One of the key leaders of this movement is Thakin Than Tun also known as Thakin Ba Thien Tin. He is presently in Peking according to U.S. State Department reports.<sup>4</sup> During the World War II Japanese occupation of Burma, Thakin Than Tun served as Minister for Agriculture in the Japanese puppet government.<sup>5</sup>

The White Flag Communists receive logistical support from the Chinese communist government. The same type of support is given by the Red Chinese to minority nationality insurgent groups which collaborated with the communist terrorists.<sup>6</sup> On July 7, 1972, former Congressman John Schmitz placed a statement into the hearing record of the House Committee on Internal Security showing that the zones of operation of the communist and communist-supported terrorist groups in Burma, Thailand, and Laos were the same areas which produce and ship opium—the so-called Golden Triangle.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, while major guerrilla and regular detachments fight rather traditional battles in Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam, other groups, more nearly analogous to the terrorist organizations of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, exist in Japan and the Philippines.

#### JAPAN

The Rengo Sekigun (United Red Army) was formed in 1969 as a splinter of the Japanese Socialist Student League, and advocated immediate armed uprising and the waging of a "people's war." During

\* Footnote numbers refer the reader to the public sources on which this study is based. These footnotes are printed in app. E, pp. 238 and 239. Asterisks designate editorial footnotes which are printed at the bottom of the page.

its first year, Japanese police arrested some 200 members of the URA for plotting the assassination of the Japanese premier. Since its formation, the URA has been linked to the murders of 11 police and defense officials in Japan, and it has been involved in numerous bank robberies, bombings and attacks on police.<sup>8</sup>

The URA first gained international attention with the May 1970, hijacking of a Japanese jet to North Korea by nine armed terrorists.<sup>9</sup> In that year, the URA made contact with the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) whose leader, George Habash, visited Pyongyang in September 1970. Later, members of the URA traveled to Beirut to contact the PFLP, and in October 1971, PFLP sent one of its leaders, Ruvashi Ghanen, to Japan for meetings with the URA. As a result of these meetings, the two groups jointly published a pamphlet, "Arab Guerrillas and the World Red Army."<sup>10</sup> Since that time, the URA and the Marxist PFLP have closely cooperated in international terrorist incidents.

The URA reconstituted itself after the initial arrests and absorbed several smaller Japanese extremist groups. Its ideology has been described as a mixture of Maoism, Marxism, and Trotskyism fused with the philosophy of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Its aim is to overthrow the Japanese Government by armed revolution.\*<sup>11</sup>

The most notorious URA actions have been in conjunction with the PFLP. Having received PFLP training, weapons, and logistical support, three URA members killed 26 and wounded 80 in a grenade and machinegun attack in the lounge of Israel's Lod airport on May 30, 1972. At the time of the Lod massacre, a PFLP spokesman in Beirut praised the terrorists for obeying their orders and claimed that the PFLP had also trained members of the IRA, leaders of the U.S. Black Panther Party, members of black African guerrilla movements, and members of the Syrian-supported Eritrean Liberation Front which operates in northern Ethiopia.

In the past, the URA has been reported to have had connections with the Uruguayan guerrillas, Cubans, and with the Black Panther Party in the United States. The URA first gained international notoriety in May 1970, when nine of its members hijacked a plane from Japan to North Korea. It is noted that members of both the Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver factions of the Black Panther Party were present in North Korea during July and August 1970.<sup>12</sup>

Since the Lod massacre, the URA has participated in several international terrorist acts with the PFLP. Most recently, on January 31, 1974, two Japanese nationals and two Arabs attempted to blow up oil storage tanks at a refinery of Shell Eastern Petroleum in Singapore. Attempting to escape, the four saboteurs seized a ferryboat in the harbor and five hostages.<sup>13</sup> A note in English thrown over the side of the ferry stated the bombing was "for the solidarity with Vietnam revolutionary (sic) people, and for making revolutionary situation after considering the situation of today's oil crisis."<sup>14</sup> After a stand off lasting several days during which demands for a plane were not met,

\* The Rengo Sekigun's savagery has not always been turned on outsiders or strangers. Early in 1972, more than a dozen bodies of URA members killed by their comrades in a purge were discovered by Japanese authorities. [Crozier, op. cit., p. 80; Washington Post, June 1, 1972, p. A-11.]

PFLP attacked in Kuwait to force release of the team on the ferry. Five Palestinian Arabs captured the Japanese embassy in Kuwait and held Japanese diplomats hostage until the ferryboat terrorists were flown to that Arab gulf nation. The PFLP released the diplomats and the two teams of terrorists were flown to an unnamed location in an Arab country.<sup>15</sup>

#### PHILIPPINES

The New People's Army was formed in 1969 from a Maoist splinter from the Communist Party of the Philippines\* led by Bernabe Buscayno who calls himself Commander Dante. The New People's Army was estimated at the end of 1972 to have 1,000 guerillas under arms and support groups numbering about 6,800 members. The New People's Army operates a militant youth movement, the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) [Nationalist Youth]. The New People's Army engaged in numerous armed clashes with Philippine army and police units during late 1972 and early 1973.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the imposition of martial law and counter-insurgency measures by the Philippines Government, recent reports indicate that the NPA is still the "most active and the strongest in terms of manpower, organization and armament."<sup>17</sup> The NPA is still recruiting at the universities and continues training for urban guerrilla warfare. Students who went underground after the declaration of martial law swelled the ranks of the guerillas to an estimated strength of 2,266 in late 1973. Some 350 incidents of NPA terrorism were reported during 1973.<sup>18</sup>

The NPA has infiltrated its cadres into noncommunist guerrilla movements in the Philippines, including remnants of the old Huk \*\* forces which have degenerated into banditry, and the Muslim Independence Movement<sup>19</sup> which has been engaged in major fighting with government troops since December 1973.

The Muslim rebellion in the southern islands is reportedly led by Nur Misuari, a Maoist and the chief aide of Jose Sison who heads the political committee of the New People's Army. Both these men formerly taught at the University of the Philippines.<sup>20</sup>

The New York Times interviewed in October 1973 the Rev. Edicio de la Torre, a priest who had gone underground with the NPA rebels. The article stated:

A member of the Society of the Divine Word, the young priest said he was in charge of liaison between the [New] People's Army and Christians for National Liberation. He said that many members of church youth organizations had joined the Communists, but that others wanted to form specifically Christian guerrilla groups. The Communists had cooperated, he said, by making available their training manuals.<sup>21</sup>

\* A pro-Soviet communist party and a Maoist communist party in the Philippines both use the same title, Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) [Communist Party of the Philippines]. Students of communist movements often distinguish between them by referring to the pro-Soviet party as the PKP and to the Maoist group as the CP/ML or Communist Party of the Philippines (Marxist-Leninist). This study adds the appropriate initials in brackets to make clear which of the parties is referred to.

\*\* The insurgents commonly known as Huks actually represent three groups. The Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP) in 1942 took the lead in organizing an Anti-Japanese People's Army, or Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon, also referred to as Hukbalahap.

In 1948, the Huks were reorganized as the PKP's formal military arm. They were known as the People's Liberation Army or Hukbo ng Mapagpalaya ng Bayan. By June 1957 they had become "little more than a conglomeration of furtive bands of terrorists and brigands." [Staar, Richard F., op. cit., p. 538.]

An article by William J. Pomeroy,\* *Daily World* correspondent in London, in the *Daily World* of March 5, 1973, indicates that the Philippines Communist Party (PKP) has adopted a program calling for autonomy for the Moslems and redistribution of the land.<sup>22</sup>

Win Magazine in March 1974, prints an article by Bradford Lyttle entitled, "The Philippines—An Overview." In this overview he writes:

Japan occupied the Philippines in 1942 and remained for two years. During this period, the Philippine Communist Party [PKP—Ed.], which had been founded in 1930, organized a resistance force called the Anti-Japanese People's Army—HUKBALAHAD (HUK) is the abbreviation of the name in Tagalog.

\* \* \* \* \*

During the Ramon Magsaysay regime, the Huks had switched from a struggle against the Japanese to war against the Manila government. Magsaysay succeeded in critically weakening their movement by a combination of military action, reforms, and pardons. In 1968, the Philippine Communist Party [CPP/ML—Ed.] resurrected the tradition of organized guerilla resistance, through formation of The New People's Army. This guerrilla movement, Maoist in political orientation, leadership, and strategy, has tried to closely follow \* \* \* the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions. It has had considerable success in rural areas of Luzon.

A second source of resistance against the government has been the Muslims in the southern Philippines. \* \* \* They have a 400 year-old tradition of rebellion against Christian, Manila-based authority. \* \* \* New People's Army cadres cooperate with the Muslims.<sup>23</sup>

U.S. groups having an interest in the Philippines resistance movement were described by Lyttle as follows:

About 500,000 people of Philippine ancestry or birth live in the US, 18,000 in Canada. They quickly responded to Marcos' repressive actions by forming the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines (NCRCLP), which now has chapters in New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, and at least ten other cities and areas. NCRCLP organized a demonstration in Washington last June 9, and has had demonstrations in San Francisco and other cities. Under its auspices, a group of Filipinos have prepared a program including nationalist songs and an anti-imperialist skit, which they present on request. They are located at 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, IL 60614.\*\*

Another anti-Marcos organization is the Movement for a Free Philippines or MFP [see WIN, Dec. 6, 1973]. Their address is PO Box 568, Madison Sq. Station, New York, NY 10010. Its prime mover is former Philippine Senator and Foreign Secretary Raul S. Manglapus. Former head of the Philippine Christian Social Movement, Manglapus is now in exile in the US.

\*\*William J. Pomeroy, born in New York in 1916, served in the Philippines during World War II as a historian attached to the Fifth Air Force. Returning after the war, he married Celia Mariano, a Filipina, and together joined the Huk guerrilla movement." [biographical material about the author in "Apartheid Axis: United States & South Africa," International Publishers, 1971]. Pomeroy and his wife were sentenced to life imprisonment by the Philippines government for their participation in the communist-led Huk guerrilla rebellion in the Philippines. After serving ten years, they were pardoned in 1961.

Pomeroy returned to the United States to a hero's welcome from U.S. communists, but his wife was denied entry under U.S. immigration laws. Two years later, the Philippines government granted his wife a passport to go to a third country which would accept them. Financed in part by a \$2,000 grant from the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, the Pomeroy's moved to England where he was a correspondent for the U.S. weekly *National Guardian* which at that time followed the Soviet line. Becoming London correspondent for the CP USA's official newspaper, the *Daily World*, after the *Guardian* switched to support of the communist Chinese, Pomeroy has been a prolific writer on guerilla movements in the Philippines, South Africa, the Portuguese African colonies and Latin America. Pomeroy has stated that he was a communist from the age of 20. [American Dialog, Summer 1972, pp. 16-17].

In letters published in a report of the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities, "The Illegality of the Communist Party of the Philippines," Manila, 1951, pp. 97-98, Pomeroy wrote to the Central Committee of the Philippines Communist Party (PKP) asking whether for purposes of payment of dues he was to be considered a member of that party or of the CP USA. The Philippines Communist Party replied they considered him a member of CP USA on special assignment in the Philippines.

\*\*A position paper distributed by the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines (NCRCLP) in December 1972, entitled "The Unfinished Revolution in the Philippines," sets forth NCRCLP support for the "anti-imperialist forces in the Philippines" as reflected in the Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP), described by NCRCLP as "The powerful nucleus of a United Front against the three principal enemies of the Filipino people, namely: U.S. imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism."

A third, more recently formed Filipino group, is Katipunan NE MGA Demokratikong Pilipino (Union of Democratic Filipinos—KDP) founded Sept. 27, 1973 in California. KDP can be reached at PO Box 23644, Oakland, CA 94623. Phone: 415-652-4219. It has chapters in seven other cities. It supports a national democratic revolution in the Philippines, and socialism in the US. KDP holds that the struggle for economic and political freedom in the Philippines and the US are intertwined and must proceed together.\*

In October, a new group, the Friends of the Filipino People, was formed to mobilize US public opinion on behalf of the Filipino people, and put political pressure on Washington. Its national headquarters are at 235 E. 49th St., NYC 10017; (212) 421-1592. It's already represented by the independent bimonthly *the Philippines Information Bulletin (PIB)*, 14 Glenwood Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139.\*\*<sup>24</sup>

\*The Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) has received favorable mention for its "progressive" views from both the *Guardian* [Feb. 27, 1974, p. 3] and the *Call*, the political newspaper of the October League, (Marxist-Leninist). [The *Call*, April 1974, p. 4.] In its March 7, 1974, issue, *Win* magazine characterized the October League as a "straightforward Marxist-Leninist group formed around the *Guardian*. The October League looks forward to forming a new Communist Party in the US—someday." [Win, March 7, 1974, p. 12].

\*\*Bradford Lyttle is director of the New York Office of Friends of the Filipino People. Formerly entitled American Friends of the Filipino People, the organization published its first *Philippines Information Bulletin* in January 1973. The publications have contained articles from a wide range of sources—from the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Victor Perlo) through New Left research groups such as NACLA to the New People's Army (Jose Maria Sison, head of the Central Committee of the CPP-ML). [See *Philippines Information Bulletin* vol. I, No. 1, January 1973 and vol. II, No. 2, April 1974].

## CHAPTER VI

U.S. COMMUNIST POSITIONS ON THE USE OF TERROR AND  
GUERRILLA TACTICS

## COMMUNIST PARTY, USA POSITION

In 1970, a pamphlet published by New Outlook Publishers, an official publishing house of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and written by Gil Green, a member of CPUSA since 1923 who has served on its National Committee and in many other high party positions for many years, cautions against the premature use of terror tactics. Green emphasizes that "Lenin, the revolutionist, the Marxist, did not reject terrorism in principle," but asks "Are the people of this country now ready to 'assault the fortress'?"

Green criticizes the New Left street fighting and rioting as inappropriate, ineffective and inopportune, but not immoral; and quotes Che Guevara in arguing that the minimum conditions for a guerrilla movement do not exist in the United States because "the government has come to power by popular vote, and the possibilities of peaceful struggle have not yet been exhausted."<sup>1\*</sup>

The role of the communist organizer, writes Green, "whether in the ghettos or elsewhere, is to organize the people and give them leadership." He uses the so-called "right of armed self-defense against police or racist violence" to excuse violence in black communities. Green stresses that the willingness to engage in "armed self-defense" and to organize "mass self-defense by a variety of means" must be subject to discipline.<sup>2</sup>

In common with all Marxist-Leninist parties, CPUSA reserves to itself the decision as to when the time is ripe for the employment of terrorism. An article from Labour Monthly, a British communist publication, reprinted in People's World in December 1973, clearly shows that the communists oppose what they define as terrorism—"the system of individual assassination"—but that they support "full partisan warfare of every kind—denounced as 'terrorism' by the workers' enemies." The article by Andrew Rothstein states:

Revolutionary Social Democrats everywhere in those years condemned the tactics of individual terrorist acts \* \* \*. This did not mean that in a period of mass upheaval, whether for a social revolution or for the overthrow of national oppression, when the ruling classes and governments were using terror on a large scale themselves, Marxists ever condemned mass counter-terror by the workers and other oppressed. During the revolutionary years of 1905-6 in Russia, the Marxists supported to the full partisan warfare of every kind—denounced as "terrorism" by the workers' enemies—and urged its extension. When the Irish people in 1919-21 were fighting their heroic partisan struggle against the war conducted against them by the British Army, police and "Black-and-Tan" thugs, neither Marxists nor other honest socialists were deterred in supporting them by the denunciations of the Irish patriots by politicians and millionaire

<sup>1</sup>Footnote numbers refer the reader to the public sources on which this study is based. These footnotes are printed in app. E, pp. 239-241. Asterisks designate editorial footnotes which are printed at the bottom of the page.

newspapers as "terrorists". During the second world war, the name of "terrorists" was regularly applied by the Nazis to the thousands of resistance fighters who used every device they could to kill the invaders \* \* \*. And when British imperialism, administered by a right-wing labour government, had begun open war in 1948 against the working people of Malaya, led by the organized workers and the Communist Party of Malaya, the stubborn struggle for national liberation was also denounced as the work of "terrorists" by the reptile press and politicians in Britain and other capitalist countries—but this did not hide from the working class movement here and abroad that the Malayan partisan armies were waging a legitimate war of self-defense. \* \* \*

## COMMUNIST PARTY, USA ON THE PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS

The Communist Party's position in support of certain Arab and Palestinian terrorist organizations whose policies meet Soviet approval (see preceding chapter II) was set forth in an article in the Daily World in January 1974, by Hyman Lumer. Lumer is a member of CPUSA's Central Committee and is the head of the party's Jewish Affairs Commission. Lumer notes as "especially important" the "growing unity and strength of the Palestine Liberation organization movement \* \* \*. At its head stands the Palestine Liberation organization, led by Yasser Arafat and embracing a number of groups, chief among them Al Fatah."

Lumer continued, "The Israeli ruling circles seek to brand the PLO as a terrorist gang \* \* \*. But this is entirely groundless." Lumer claims that the PLO "has increasingly come to the fore as a responsible political organization recognizing the need for mass struggle in all forms." As an example of this new "responsibility," Lumer notes:

"An ever more unified fight for the right of self-determination is shaping up, with the PLO at its center. The PLO warmly endorsed the World Conference of Peace Forces in Moscow and took an active part in its deliberations. Its members fully associated themselves, along with other Arab delegates, with the Report of the [U.N.] Commission on the Middle East \* \* \*."

## COMMUNIST PARTY, USA AND AFRICAN TERRORISTS

CPUSA's support of terrorist movements abroad is especially evident from its support of African guerrillas. This support has been greatly stepped up in response to decisions made during the planning for the Tenth World Youth Festival held in East Berlin, July 28-August 5, 1973.<sup>3</sup>

World Youth, the official publication of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, in its issue of May 1973 (p. 8) referred to the Tenth World Youth Festival as "a new stage in the world festival movement that was initiated in 1947 by the World Federation of Democratic Youth." The WFDY was characterized as an international communist front by the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Judiciary Committee in its "Handbook for Americans," April 23, 1956. Honored guests and speakers at the festival included Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Angela Davis, a member of the Central Committee of CPUSA; and representatives of African guerrilla movements including the African National Congress (ANC) and Frelimo.<sup>4</sup>

The conference call distributed by the U.S. Preparatory Committee stated:

The preparation and content of the 10th Festival will be a powerful demonstration of solidarity with the national liberation movement, with the struggle

of the youth of the Arab countries, of the Palestinian peoples, of the people of the Portuguese colonies, of Africa, Latin America and Asia, for their freedom, national independence, democracy and social progress, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid \* \* \*.

An editorial in *The Young Worker*, the official publication of CPUSA's youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), stated that, "The Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students for Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship \* \* \* was a tremendous success \* \* \*. The U.S. delegates learned from first-hand experience that socialism works. \* \* \* They learned that in Africa, Marxist-Leninists play leadership roles in the liberation movement, such as Frelimo (Mozambique), PAIGC (Guinea Bissau), MPLA (Angola), and the ANC (South Africa). \* \* \*"

NATIONAL ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH AFRICAN LIBERATION.

Anthony Monteiro, eastern regional coordinator of the National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation (NAICSAL) is a member of the YWLL central committee who has also publicly acknowledged his membership in the Communist Party, USA, according to the *Daily World*, July 17, 1970 (p. 3). In the following report, Monteiro describes the organization of the conference in response to a call by the Tenth World Youth Festival:

The message of African delegates to the recently held Tenth World Youth Festival was a call for building a worldwide anti-imperialist movement in solidarity with Africa.

To the U.S. delegates and to all U.S. youth, this call is most urgent. The obligation to defend the liberation struggles on every continent against U.S. imperialist aggression is at the heart of our own struggles. Thus, the call from Africa requires our most serious consideration and preparation for struggle.

The importance of this struggle is demonstrated by the new attention that U.S. imperialism has been focusing on Africa, including: (1) increased sponsorship, directly and through NATO, of Portuguese aggression in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique; (2) strengthening of the military and economic might of South African and Rhodesian fascism; (3) indirect financing, together with West German imperialism, of the Cabora-Bassa and Cunene dam projects in Mozambique and Angola; and (4) the utilization of Israeli imperialism as a beachhead for the spread of counterrevolution to Africa. These policies directly support colonialism in Africa and are *designed to dismantle the national liberation movements*.

Such U.S. imperialist policies are supported by global efforts on the part of world and national financial institutions, international commercial agencies, and multinational corporations, to undermine the post-independence struggles in the independent African states. But the international base of operations remains the United States. Counterrevolution on the African continent is labeled "made in the USA."

After many months of national discussion, a meeting was held in Chicago on June 16th, in which some 30 labor, community, church and political organizations participated. The meeting was called by three African-American journals—*Freedomways*, *African Agenda*, and *Afro-American Affairs*. It charted a course for a conference on October 19-21 in Chicago, Ill., at the Paul Lawrence Dunbar High School, for the purpose of building in the U.S. an anti-imperialist movement in solidarity with African liberation.

This is a movement of Black people that will seek broad support from all other segments of society. It will meet the advanced requirements of the moment and parallel the present course of political development on the African continent.

This movement will focus on the major enemy—U.S. state monopoly capitalism, itself the basis of U.S. imperialism. It will be supportive of the military, political and diplomatic initiatives in Africa. Further, it will combine the anti-imperialist struggle with our domestic struggles against racism, unemployment, the military budget, etc.

Internationalism in support for Africa will merge with the struggles against monopoly here at home.

The June 16th meeting, while noting the new levels of aggression and genocide being perpetrated in Africa, hailed the great historic advances that are there being accomplished. It recognized the growing unity of the anti-colonial and anti-neo-colonial struggles. In particular, it felt that any inroads that imperialism can find in establishing new neo-colonial structures in Africa will complement imperialist desires for fortifying the bastions of old colonialism, i.e., Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

The June 16th meeting gauged its thrust towards the September conference in relationship to a series of international meetings—in Zambia, held last spring to condemn apartheid and to build anti-apartheid solidarity; in Geneva, Switzerland, called by the International Labor Organization to condemn apartheid; and to the upcoming World Congress of Peace Forces that will be held in Moscow.

The Young Workers Liberation League is called upon to play a significant role in mobilizing for this conference.

The October conference has already gotten wide support and sponsorship from the Black community, particularly from Black labor. Also, the major liberation organizations on the African continent have welcomed the initiative and will in all likelihood fully participate. It is felt that the conference will be an historic contribution to the global anti-imperialist movement and will lay a firm basis for anti-imperialist struggles here in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

The NAICSAL gathering in Chicago, October 19-21, 1973, was coordinated and chaired by Franklin Delano Alexander, a member of the National Council of the Communist Party, USA.<sup>9</sup>

The conference sponsors included a number of individuals publicly acknowledged to be national officers of the Communist Party, USA. They were Henry Winston, the party's national chairman; William L. Patterson, National Council member; Charlene Mitchell, John Pittman and Jarvis Tyner, members of the party's Political Commission; and Carl Bloice, Angela Davis and Jose Stevens, members of the Central Committee of the CPUSA.

A number of other identified Communist Party members who also sponsored the conference included Jesse Gray, Esther Jackson, Victoria Stevens and Carlos Russell.<sup>10</sup> A complete list of sponsors of NAICSAL, as printed in the official Call to the conference, appears on pages 80 and 81.

## PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS

- Rev. Ralph Abernathy—National President, SCLC  
 Rev. Forest Adams—Tucker Baptist Church, Syracuse, New York  
 Afro-American History and Cultural Society, Inc.  
 Lerone Bonnett—Senior Editor, Ebony  
 Black American Law Students Association, Dopauw University Chapter  
 Black Women and Man—Los Angeles, California  
 Carl Bloice—Editor, Peoples World  
 Walter Boags—Kentucky Political Prisoners Committee  
 Edward Bragg—New York Black Trade Unionists  
 Professor Dennis Brutus—Northwestern University, Sec., Int'l. Campaign Against Racism In Sports, President, South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee  
 Professor George Bunch—Afro-American Studies, Syracuse, New York  
 Haywood Burns—Executive Director, National Conference of Black Lawyers  
 Margaret Burroughs—Founder, DuSable Museum, Chicago, Illinois  
 Father Robert Chapman—Former Director of Social Justice, National Council of Churches  
 Rev. Ben Chavis—Commission of Racial Justice, United Church of Christ  
 Rev. Robert Clay—St. Paul A.M.E. Church, Chicago, Illinois  
 Matt Crawford—Chairman, Berkeley Black Caucus  
 McKinley Dabney—Third World Students Union, University of Kentucky  
 Margot Dashiell-Ben—Berkeley Black Caucus  
 Angela Davis—Co-Chairperson, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression  
 Mrs. Saliya Davis—Birmingham, Alabama  
 Rev. Al Dortch—S.C.L.C., Los Angeles, California  
 L. A. Dunigan—International Representative of Textile Workers Union of America; Vice President, Black Labor Leaders, Chicago, Illinois  
 Curtis Ellis—Owner, Ellis' Book Stores  
 Carl Farris—Labor Director, SCLC For Members Only (Black Students Organization)—Northwestern University  
 O'Dell Franklin—Secretary-Treasurer, Local #10 International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union  
 Hoyt Fuller—Editor, Black World  
 Emily Gibson—Los Angeles Sentinel, Columnist  
 Jesse Gray—New York State Assemblyman; National Tenants Organization  
 Dick Gregory—Chicago, Illinois  
 Odela Griffin—Southern Committee to Free All Political Prisoners  
 Irving Hamor—Urban League; Harlem Street Academy  
 Jack Hart—International Representative of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America  
 Professor Froddya Hill—Northwestern University  
 Esther Jackson—Managing Editor, Freedomways  
 Hulbert James—President of the Board, Pan-African Skills Program, New York  
 Minerva Johnson—Democratic Coalition, Memphis, Tennessee  
 Professor Leon Johnson—Trenton State College  
 Professor Charles Junior—Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute  
 William Lucy—Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers  
 Rev. Wycliff Jangdarrie—Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
 Malcolm X Student Government—Chicago, Illinois  
 Professor Bernard Magubane—University of Connecticut  
 Kevin Mercodel—President, Harvard-Radcliffe University Association of African and Afro-American Studies  
 Ronald McCantz—Seafarers Local 777, Chicago, Illinois  
 Vermont McKinney—President, Los Angeles Chapter National Association of Black Social Workers  
 Midwest Coalition of Black Trade Unionists  
 Charlene Mitchell—Executive Secretary, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression  
 Professor Leith Mullings—Yale University, Chairperson, Continuations Committee, 10th World Youth Festival

- George Murphy—Editor, Washington Afro-American.  
 Melika A. Najjola—Progressive Black Youth, Memphis, Tennessee  
 Dr. Lendor C. Nesbitt—Chicago, Illinois  
 Proxy Nesbitt—African Information Service, New York, New York  
 Rozell Rufus Nesbitt  
 Juana Nkomo—Young Workers Liberation League, Martin Luther King Branch  
 Organization of Black Students—University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois  
 Naroshiamh Osei—United Defense Against Repression, Los Angeles, California  
 Frank Paige—Black Students Union, University of Kentucky  
 Lu Palmer—Editor, Black X-Press  
 William L. Patterson—Author, We Charge Genocide  
 Gwen Patton-Woods—Former Co-ordinator National Association of Black Students  
 Janis Payne—Black Panther Party, Memphis, Tennessee  
 Peoples Action Union—Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Peoples Voters League—Shreveport, Louisiana  
 John Pittman—Editor, Daily World  
 Leo Rabouine—Black Caucus; Chairman, Citywide Brewery Workers, New York, New York  
 Scottie Ray—African American Solidarity Solidarity Committee, Chicago, Illinois  
 Professor Harold Rogers—Editor, African Agenda  
 Carlos Russell—Dean of the School of Contemporary Studies, Brooklyn, New York  
 Bill Scott—Committeeman; Local #664 United Auto Workers, Tarrytown, New York  
 K. Shabazz—W. E. B. Du Bois Community League, Memphis; Tennessee  
 Judi Simmons—Southern Conference Educational Fund  
 Mary Smith—Black Labor Leaders; Independent Service Employees Union, Chicago, Illinois  
 Black Panther Party, Memphis, Tennessee  
 Ray Smith—Teamsters, Local #208, Los Angeles, California  
 Jose Stevens—Director, W. E. B. Du Bois Community Center, New York, New York  
 Victoria Stevens—Campus Director, Young Workers Liberation League  
 Lola Taylor—Afro-American Exhibits, Memphis, Tennessee  
 Johnnie Tillman—Executive Director, National Welfare Rights Organization  
 Edward Todu—Textile Workers Union of American, AFL-CIO  
 Jarvis Tynor—National Chairman, Young Workers Liberation League  
 Rev. Cecil Williams—Glide Memorial Church—San Francisco, California  
 Rev. Hosea Williams—President, Atlanta Branch, SCLC  
 Agnes Willis—President, National Afro-American Labor Council, New York, New York  
 Clarence Willis—Memphis Committee to End Repression and Free All Political Prisoners  
 Stan Willis—University of Chicago Organization of Black Students  
 Henry Winslow—National Chairman, Communist Party, U.S.A.  
 John Woodford—Reporter, Chicago Sun Times

\*Organizations and affiliations listed for identification only.

At the September press conference announcing the conference, Irving Hamer, director of the New York Urban League's Harlem Street Academy, announced that invitations had been sent to "PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands; ANC of South Africa; MPLA of Angola; Frelimo, of Mozambique; SWAPO, of Namibia; ZANU-ZAPU of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia); and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)." <sup>11</sup>

Guerrilla representatives to the NAICSAL included Oliver Tambo, general secretary of the African National Congress; Thami Mhlambiso, ANC permanent representative to the United Nations; Theo Ben Guival, the representative to the UN and North America of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO); John Silver and Sulahudin Matteos, PAIGC; Ibrahim Ebeid, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Edward Ndlovu, national secretary of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU); and Mukudzei Mudzi, executive secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), a pro-Peking guerrilla group. <sup>12</sup>

Workshop topics at the conference, whose estimated attendance was over 800 people, <sup>13</sup> included African Liberation Movements; the Republic of South Africa and Apartheid, Immigration and Deportation; Worldwide Support of African Peoples and the Role of the United Nations; Education, Culture, Media and Propaganda; Oil, Palestine and the Middle East; the Special Role of Labor in an Anti-Imperialist Front; U.S. Economic, Political and Military Policy in Africa; Nixon's Domestic Cutbacks; and Roads of Development of Independent Countries. <sup>14</sup>

According to the Daily World, Angela Davis "told the conference that she had recently returned from Africa, had visited the People's Republic of the Congo, The People's Republic of Guinea, and Tanzania, had met with the leaders of liberation movements in Southern Africa." <sup>15</sup> The Daily World report continued:

"The progressive and revolutionary people of Africa know that unity is the most powerful weapon against imperialism," she said, adding that "the first task of this conference is going to be to build a mighty fist of strength and solidarity" capable of linking the support movement for African liberation with the Black liberation movement and the working class movement in the United States. <sup>16</sup>

And as the conference ended, Franklin Alexander was quoted as saying, "We are on the eve of a tremendous breakthrough in the battle for a free Africa, and for the destruction of imperialism." <sup>17</sup>

A week after the NAICSAL meeting ended, the CPUSA gave a birthday luncheon for Oliver Tambo attended by 20 people which reaffirmed international communist solidarity and support for the ANC guerrillas. The luncheon was hosted by Henry Winston, CPUSA's national chairman, and "included such veterans of the Black Liberation Movement as William L. Patterson and Ossie Davis." <sup>18</sup>

Tambo said, "I regard this reception as a measure of the esteem you hold for ANC and the fighting people of South Africa." The Daily World reported that a "consistent theme of Saturday's gathering was the importance of the unity of the world revolutionary forces—the socialist states, the national liberation movements and the progressive workers in the capitalist states united with the peace and

democratic forces." Tambo praised the Soviet Union for its aid and stated, "The socialist countries have come to our aid consistently without hesitation, at the UN and elsewhere, and have always responded to our calls for material support."

And Henry Winston explained the aims of the NAICSAL meeting, stating, "The movement that will emerge from the Chicago gathering should quicken our pace. What is developing is a front to reverse the policies of U.S. imperialism in Africa and advance the struggle against U.S. monopoly at home." <sup>19</sup>

#### THE DEVELOPING SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

The Communist Party's newspapers made little mention of the African solidarity movement that Henry Winston called for until mid-December, 1973, when People's World, the West Coast publication of the CPUSA, reported a press conference given by "black Communist—Franklin Alexander," chairman of the continuations committee of the NAICSAL. Franklin Alexander, who had just returned from the World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow, Oct. 25-31, 1973, made a statement about the breaking of relations with Israel by many black African governments, who insisted on a permanent settlement to the Middle East crisis, and noted that this was supported "both in the [World Peace Congress] deliberations and in private conversations I had with delegates from African countries."

Alexander concluded his press statement by saying that in the United States the "Anti-Imperialist Conference [NAICSAL] mandated that its continuations committee mobilize support among Afro-Americans for the just struggles of the Arab peoples in the Middle East." He said that the continuations committee was to meet on December 15 to "plan concrete steps to be taken in support of the Arab people's struggle." <sup>20</sup>

No mention of the NAICSAL continuations committee has been found in the Daily World since December 1973. However, an organization called the National Anti-Imperialist Committee in Solidarity with African Liberation and a local Harrisburg, Pa. committee of the same title (Harrisburg Anti-Imperialist Committee in Solidarity with African Liberation) have been mentioned in the Daily World as a product of NAICSAL. <sup>21</sup>

In addition, the Young Worker, February-March 1974 (p. 3) reports that an Anti-Imperialist Committee which developed from the NAICSAL in the fall of 1973 is operating from an office in Chicago.

The NAICSAL had emphasized the need to halt "the imports of chrome and other critical and strategic minerals from Rhodesia." <sup>22</sup> The CPUSA has given much space to publicizing such efforts by the American Committee on Africa, the Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa, and rank-and-file dockworkers. <sup>23</sup>

The CPUSA also publicized a campaign demanding that "the United Nations oust the Republic of South Africa and admit Guinea Bissau." This campaign opened at a rally in Harrisburg, Pa. on March 5, 1974, at which the featured speaker was Thami Mhlambiso, representative of the African National Congress to the United Nations. <sup>24</sup>

## AFRICAN MAOIST CRITICISM OF CPUSA AND THE SOVIET UNION

It is of interest to examine what Mukudzei Mudzi, executive secretary of the ZANU guerrilla terrorist organization, who attended the NAICOSAL conference, had to say about support by the Communist Party, USA and the Soviet Union for African guerrillas. In an interview with the Guardian in January 1974, he was asked:

\* \* \* how do you account for the fact that Angela Davis (of the CPUSA) and the editors of the African Agenda, at a recent anti-imperialist conference in Chicago in support of African liberation recognized ZAPU and not ZANU as the authentic liberation movement in Zimbabwe?

Mudzi replied:

In brief, I would say in terms of the Chicago conference, you have to understand that the so-called six legitimate movements (recognized by the meeting) are the movements supported by the Soviet revisionists. I attended that meeting in October and saw that the U.S. Communist party follows the USSR's line on the question of support for the liberation movements. The organizations listed in the October issue of the African Agenda and put forth at the conference are the ones supported by the Soviet Union. \* \* \* You must understand there is a history to this, to these organizations which used to be referred to as the "Authentic Six" by the Soviet Union—SWAPO, PAIGC, MPLA, ANC, ZAPU, FRELIMO.

I would say in the case of SWAPO, FRELIMO and PAIGC, the Soviet Union had no option but to recognize them since they were the only liberation movements in those areas. But the difficulty arises with South Africa, Angola and Zimbabwe, where there was more than one movement and the Soviet Union could choose those they could control and direct. With those criteria, they could not chose [sic] ZANU.

First, as you know, there is the Sino-Soviet split. Since the formation of our party, we have enjoyed the support of the People's Republic of China. Because of this, the Soviet Union has refused to support us in our struggle inside Zimbabwe. The Soviets tend to support only those movements it can control and manipulate in its own interest. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
While the Soviet strategy of projecting the "Authentic Six" might be a new one for the American movement it is not new to us. The same thing occurred, I think it was 1969, in the Sudan, where the revisionists called a conference of the "legitimate" liberation movements—to which ZANU was not invited. The same thing has been tried through OSPAL (Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, based in Havana), where the Soviet Union has attempted to define who and what is revolutionary.<sup>25</sup>

A recent Daily World article alleged that the "Communist Party with a 54-year history, has often been a victim of terrorism but it has never been accused, even by its enemies, of being a terrorist organization."<sup>26</sup> In light of this allegation, it is of interest to examine the record of CPUSA's general secretary, Gus Hall.

Gus Hall was a leader of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in a strike against Republic Steel in 1937. In sworn testimony before the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities on November 4, 1938, Edward J. Herzog, a former undercover informant within the CPUSA, testified that Hall had directed attacks against the steel corporation and that Hall "told the boys to go to Oil City and bring back some nitro-glycerin. \* \* \* there were rifles, shotguns, clubs, ballbats, pieces of pipe, pieces of old sickle onto clubs, and a couple of tommy guns. There were about 3 gallons of nitro-glycerin in the headquarters at that time, and Gus told Art Scott to get the crew together and go down and blow out the bridge across the plant \* \* \* and to take another lot out and blow up the benzol plant. They had approximately a quarter of a million gallons of volatile benzol. Gus gave them orders to go out and blow up the benzol plant."<sup>27</sup>

And the testimony at the same hearing by Lester Abele, at the time of the Republic Steel strike adjutant for the 73rd Ohio National Guard Brigade, states:

We obtained the confessions of one Arthur Scott, John Borawies \* \* \* and George Bundas.

\* \* \* The gist of the confessions was this, that Gus Hall was the leader of the group who obtained, or sent for and obtained, dynamite and nitro-glycerin \* \* \*.

\* \* \* The orders of Gus Hall, according to these confessions, were to blow up and destroy the property of the Republic Steel Corp., homes of non-striking workers; railroad property, including tracks and bridges. They were to blow up the huge tanks, holding perhaps a quarter of a million gallons of highly volatile benzol on the property of the Republic Steel Corp. They were to blow up the municipal electric light plant in Warren.

They were to destroy the power transformers near the steel plant. The Meander Dam \* \* \* was to have been blown up. And there were plans to fly over the steel plant shops in an airplane and drop bombs \* \* \*.<sup>28</sup>

The program of assassination, kidnaping and bank robbery put into operation in California by the Symbionese Liberation Army in late 1973 and early 1974 was denounced by the Communist Party, USA, however. The official party newspaper, the Daily World, on February 16, 1974 (p. 7) described such acts of terrorism as useless because they do not move the masses to revolution. The editorial stated:

Neither kidnapings—nor killings, which the group has been accused of—move masses into motion. Revolution does not consist of a series of holdups. It is not simply a symbolic gesture.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Self-defeating anarchism is not the answer. Only the leadership of a revolutionary working class in alliance with a politically conscious mass movement can eliminate poverty by abolishing the capitalist system. \* \* \*

But of the SLA members, the Daily World noted:

Bourgeois newspapers call the kidnap gang "insane." It is more accurate to call them victims of capitalism who protest against capitalism's ~~ill-effects~~ to its own evil methods.

More recently, CPUSA has joined with the Black Panther Party in denouncing the SLA as the alleged invention of police designed to discredit revolutionaries by acts of random terror. (See Daily World, April 20, 1974, p. 7; The Black Panther, April 13, 1974, p. 3.)

#### REVOLUTIONARY UNION POSITION ON ARMED STRUGGLE AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

The Revolutionary Union, an avowed Maoist revolutionary communist organization, stated its position on armed struggle in the Red Papers, #1:

An oppressed class which does not strive to use arms, to acquire arms, deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out, and there can be none, except by means of the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class.

\* \* \* \* \*  
We recognize the need for organized armed struggle against the power of the state, and assume the responsibilities of revolutionaries in the preparation of that struggle. The people must be armed, organized and under the direction of a revolutionary party serving the working class. We further recognize that the

revolution will not end with the seizure of state power. That power must be retained and consolidated under the political rule of the working class, that is, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It will be under the political leadership of the working class that the secure transition to socialism will be effected.

The recognition of class struggle leads inevitably to the recognition of the necessity for violent revolution and the political rule of the working class. It is the task of the revolutionary party of the working class, guided by Marxism-Leninism, to lead the people to victory. The organized repressive violence of the state must be met with the organized revolutionary violence of the people. **POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

The Revolutionary Union's statement of purpose says:

The Revolutionary Union is a national communist organization made up mainly of workers and students, Black, Brown, Asian, Native American and white. Our immediate program is to bring together, under the leadership of the working class, the main spearheads of struggle against the US imperialist system: the liberation struggle of the oppressed minority nationalities, the fight against imperialist wars of aggression like Vietnam, the defense of democratic rights and opposition to the growth of fascist repression by the imperialist state \* \* \* and resistance to the monopoly capitalists' attacks on the peoples' living standards. \* \* \*<sup>29</sup>

The RU further states that its goal is "to overthrow the dictatorship of the handful of monopoly capitalists (imperialists) and to establish the dictatorship of the working class \* \* \*." The members of the Revolutionary Union believe that the United States will not be ready for an armed revolution for about 15 years. Nevertheless it is a requirement that each RU member acquire and become proficient with the use of firearms now, especially with the four preferred weapons: the .30 caliber carbine, .30-06 rifle, the 12-gauge shotgun and the 9-millimeter or .45 caliber automatic.<sup>30</sup>

RU "Position Paper B" states:

Since the main form of struggle will (for some time) be mass non-military work, the armed struggle will have the purpose of supporting the non-military struggle, military work will have to be carried on separately from our main form of organization. \* \* \* A separate apparatus must be developed, outside the main cadre formation, to carry on military work. \* \* \*<sup>31</sup>

The position of the Revolutionary Union toward the Hearst kidnaping by the Symbionese Liberation Army was set out in detail in the April 1974 issue of *Revolution*, the RU newspaper (page 4). Pertinent portions are quoted below:

One thing certainly can be said for the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA)—it has created considerable debate within the movement, shedding light on some significant differences.

The RU's position is in the March issue of *Revolution*, and we only want to summarize it here before going on to discuss some other people's ideas. One, we don't give a flying fig for the Hearsts. They are members of the imperialist ruling class and it doesn't bother us a bit to see them squirm. In fact, we enjoy it.

Two, the ruling class says the kidnaping has caused widespread sympathy for the Hearsts. Within the ruling class, there is certainly widespread sympathy. The people who prey together, stay together. But there is no such widespread sympathy among workers and other oppressed people.

Three, the proletariat engages in many forms of struggle against the imperialists, rejecting no tactic in principle. A tactic is useful if it advances the struggle, not useful if it doesn't. But no tactic or series of tactics can be raised to the level of a strategy. So it's necessary to distinguish between terrorist tactics, which are sometimes correct, sometimes incorrect—depending on the concrete situation—and terrorism as a strategy, which is always incorrect.

Four, while we enjoy watching the Hearsts and the entire ruling class get hysterical, we tend to think that the Hearst kidnaping wasn't particularly useful

because it is an isolated act committed by people who, as far as we know, are themselves isolated from the revolutionary movement. We don't think that, on the whole, it has helped to build revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary organization, and hasn't really done the bourgeoisie much harm.

On the other hand, we don't see how it has done the proletariat and the revolutionary movement any real harm at this time, either. The "Communist Party" USA and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers' Party—feigning great concern for the well-being of the movement—have roundly condemned the kidnaping as playing right into the hands of the bourgeoisie and seriously hurting the cause.

#### PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY POSITION ON ARMED STRUGGLE AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary communist party organized early in 1962 after the rift between Moscow and Peking was made public. For nearly a decade, the PLP gave unswerving allegiance to Mao Tse-tung's brand of Marxism-Leninism. Early in 1971, however, the PLP concluded that Peking, like Moscow, had become "revisionist" in establishing a foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" with both Soviet communist satellites in Eastern Europe and with the United States.<sup>32</sup> PLP has isolated itself from all the major international communist tendencies, denouncing Moscow, Peking and Havana with the vitriol formerly reserved for U.S. "imperialists" and the Soviets.

HCIS hearings to investigate the Progressive Labor Party determined that PLP propaganda continuously calls for the destruction of the present capitalist system and the creation of a socialist people's state in the United States. PLP's official publications have openly and clearly stated that this goal can be realized only through armed and violent revolution.<sup>33</sup>

In January 1974, PLP produced a new magazine to be published quarterly, *W.I.N.*, Workers International Newsletter. PLP states:

Our journal, *Workers' International Newsletter* (WIN) is committed to the principles of revolutionary communism—to the proposition that the working people of all nations must unite and by means of revolutionary struggle destroy the old imperialist-capitalist world and establish our own class rule in order to build a new socialist-communist society.

WIN is open to all revolutionaries who are fed up with the sell-out policies of the old communist movement and the fake Trade Union leaders who collude with the bosses to perpetuate their rotten system of exploitation and oppression.

WIN recognizes that ideological unity will only be achieved through open and protracted struggle. Therefore our pages are open to friends and representatives of revolutionary organizations throughout the world who recognize the necessity of building a new workers' international and who are willing to frankly exchange views and debate differences.

We also hope that WIN can grow as a revolutionary and coordinating information center on important class battles that are developing internationally.

The initiative for WIN was made at the International Workshop of the Progressive Labor Party's third national convention, July 1973 in New York City, at which representatives of more than 20 countries resolved to build a new Workers' International.<sup>34</sup>

The magazine contains an analysis of the fall of Chile's Marxist government which lists as the lesson learned, "The need for a truly revolutionary communist party \* \* \*"

A development of interest is the amount of space the PLP journal devotes to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The maga-

zine devotes four pages to the PFLP analysis of the international situation taken from the PFLP Political Program. The PFLP document states in part:

The contradiction which exists between the interests of the toiling masses \* \* \* and all the forces of counter-revolution is a basic contradiction in the Arab world and cannot accept any procrastination or coexistence. That is why an armed struggle against this oligarchy, which is organically connected with imperialism and capitalism, is a necessary condition to achieve liberation from exploitation and tyranny.

Therefore the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements are an integral part of the world revolutionary movement against imperialism and colonialism \* \* \*<sup>33</sup>

The PFLP goes on to call for "proletarian internationalism" and the steering of an independent course critical of both the Communist Chinese and the Soviet Union on some issues. PLP's magazine also contains articles noting direct contacts with Japanese revolutionaries, and sympathetic stories by members of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the small UNITA guerrilla organization in Angola.

The Progressive Labor Party commented on the Symbionese Liberation Army in these terms in its publication, Challenge, dated March 7, 1974 (p. 5):

WE HAVE NO SYMPATHY FOR FOSTER, who tried to institute a cops-in-the-schools program in Oakland, and supervised a racist and drug-infested school district. We have no sympathy for the Hearsts, who through their ownership of newspapers and TV stations propagate much racism \* \* \*.

But the Symbionese crackpots who think that their cheap gangsterism will help fight what they call the "fascist insect" are fools. More likely, many of them are cops. \* \* \* The antics of these terrorists only serve to create sympathy for their victims and fear of revolution. \* \* \*

The only kind of violence that PLP approves of is that which is directed against the bosses and leads to gains for workers and other oppressed people. It is often necessary to use mass violence against cops and scabs in order to win a strike, or to stop Nazis & other common criminals. But the Symbionese brand of violence weakens our class by creating an atmosphere of sympathy for the bosses and anti-communist hysteria, which facilitates attacks on our movement.

#### VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION POSITION ON ARMED STRUGGLE AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

The Venceremos Organization, a militant splinter from the Revolutionary Union formed in January 1971, announced its disbandment in August 1973. However, its former members continue to be active in several revolutionary front organizations still operating in California. Former Venceremos members are very close to and may completely dominate the very radical and revolutionary United Prisoners Union (UPU), which in turn has served Venceremos as a method of contacting revolutionary prisoner groups such as the Polar Bear Party.<sup>36</sup> Press reports have indicated that revolutionary terrorists from the Symbionese Liberation Army used groups such as the now disbanded Black Cultural Association (BCA) as the meeting ground for making contact with revolutionary prisoners.<sup>37</sup> Several identified members of the SLA also had close associations with Venceremos.<sup>38</sup>

Two members of Venceremos were convicted for engineering the escape of a prisoner, Ronald Wayne Beaty, who was being transported from Chino to a court appearance. In effecting Beaty's escape, one correctional officer was killed and the other seriously wounded.<sup>39</sup> Another member of Venceremos, Thero M. Wheeler, identified as a

member of the Symbionese Liberation Army, escaped from the Vacaville prison facility in California on August 2, 1973.<sup>40</sup>

The Venceremos Principles of Unity state in part:

The right of the people to defend themselves cannot be taken away by anybody. The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution says that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. We believe that an unarmed people are slaves or subject to slavery at any time. Therefore every VENCEREMOS member must learn to operate and service weapons correctly, must have arms available, and must actively teach the oppressed people the importance and methods of armed and organized self-defense.

Furthermore we recognize the right of revolution stated in the Declaration of Independence \* \* \*.

The oppressed people will have power by any means necessary. And every day our rulers teach us one lesson very clearly: Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

We are part of a single world revolution against a common enemy. We do not see that our duties are fundamentally any different from those of our revolutionary sisters and brothers throughout the world.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!

¡LA HORA YA LLEGO!<sup>41</sup>

#### SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY POSITION ON ARMED STRUGGLE AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

The Trotskyist brand of communism also takes its positions from the writings of Marx, Lenin and Engels in addition to Leon Trotsky. The largest of three international coordinating organizations for Trotskyist communist parties is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International with which the Socialist Workers Party in the United States is aligned.<sup>42</sup> The Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1971, contained the following analysis of the SWP's position regarding the support of guerrilla insurgents:

\* \* \* In its bid for broad-based tactical coalitions with dissident groups in the United States \* \* \* The party on the one hand participated in the electoral process \* \* \*; on the other hand, its pronouncements \* \* \* including the espousal of many Castroite revolutionary views \* \* \* and its participation, together with the YSA, in violence-oriented activity, \* \* \* appeared to indicate a different approach to U.S. political and social questions.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Conforming to its ideological alignment with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the SWP \* \* \* press also reported extensively on developments in the Middle East, aligning itself steadfastly with the views of Palestinian guerrilla organizations.<sup>43</sup>

The Fourth International has stated that it is the task of Trotskyists to "move ahead with the most militant strata of the participants in these movements towards more radical and effective forms of action than mere demonstrations \* \* \*." [The International Situation and our Tasks, adopted by the Fourth International, June 1963.]<sup>44</sup>

The SWP has stated that the "basic aim of our current \* \* \* approach is the same as its predecessors. It seeks to promote a struggle for power and socialism \* \* \* and to build a strong, democratically disciplined combat party capable of leading that struggle to the end."<sup>45</sup>

The majority of the Fourth International publicly supported guerrilla warfare and the use of mass terrorist tactics in Latin America, at its Ninth Congress in 1969. Latin American Trotskyists were told, "Take advantage of every opportunity not only to increase the number of rural guerrilla nuclei but also to promote forms of armed

struggle especially adapted to certain zones \* \* \* and to undertake actions in the big cities aimed at both striking the nerve centers \* \* \* and at punishing the hangmen of the regime as well as achieving propagandistic and psychological successes \* \* \*"<sup>48</sup>

As noted in the HCIS report on Political Kidnapings, previously cited, a militant minority within the Socialist Workers Party in the United States supports the position of the United Secretariat on guerilla warfare and terrorism. The SWP leadership, however, has expressed disagreement with the United Secretariat's position. The SWP majority makes it clear, nevertheless, that it is not opposed to terrorism under any circumstances but merely considers it inopportune at this time.

The official position of the Socialist Workers Party on the Symbionese Liberation Army is indicated in its newspaper, the Militant, of March 8, 1974 (p. 5):

Those weeping and wailing over the "ordeal" of the reactionary millionaire Hearst are the same figures who condoned the terror bombing of the Vietnamese, the slaughter of workers in Chile, the torture of political prisoners around the world, and all the day-to-day violence and suffering that capitalism inflicts upon the masses of workers and oppressed people.

The tender concern of such reactionaries for Patricia Hearst is nothing but a cynical maneuver to divert attention from their own crimes and facilitate a witch-hunt against all opponents of the status quo.

Revolutionaries reject individual terrorism not for pacifist or moral reasons but because it is *politically counterproductive*. The fundamental error of terrorism is the attempt to substitute the action of a handful of self-appointed liberators for the organization and mobilization of the oppressed masses themselves.

#### SLA's goals

The SLA proclaims as its goals:

"To assure the rights of all people to self-determination and the rights to build their own nation and government. . . .

"To destroy all forms and institutions of Racism, Sexism, Ageism, Capitalism, Fascism, Individualism, Possessiveness, Competitiveness, and all other such institutions that have made and sustained capitalism."

Such far-reaching aims can never be accomplished by a tiny armed band—even one that styles itself an "army"—pitting itself against individual capitalists or officials. Even if the SLA forces Hearst to give \$70 worth of food to every poor person in California, would that be any lasting step toward ending hunger? Can the unequal distribution of wealth be changed by ripping off one capitalist family at a time? Obviously not.

Poverty, exploitation, and racist and sexist oppression are deeply rooted in the capitalist system. To change these conditions will require the strength of *masses* of people—conscious of their own interests and mobilized to fight for them.

#### U.S. COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

An article describing the origins of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) was published in the confidential SWP publication, Internal Information Bulletin in December 1973. The article, written by Miguel Fuente, a member of the Grupo Trotskista Venezolano [Venezuelan Trotskyist Group], the sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Venezuela, said: "We should above all include in the record that it has been the SWP comrades, as well as the Argentine comrades of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) [Socialist Workers Party] who have done exceptional revolutionary work in solidarity with the PRT-ERP comrades in the face of the heavy repression of which they have been the victims."

The article continued, "The SWP comrades have organized and promoted the effective work of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), whose periodical, the *USLA Reporter*, has carried many reports on the repression in Argentina. The USLA has organized tours throughout the USA for Argentine activists to give talks denouncing Lanusse's dictatorial regime and the crimes he has committed, such as the Trelew massacre."<sup>47</sup>

The importance placed on Latin American affairs by the SWP may be seen in the three-week tour of Latin American countries in May 1972 by Linda Jenness, the SWP Presidential candidate that year. Her tour, which included Mexico, Peru, Chile and Argentina, was sponsored by the Partido Socialista Argentino.<sup>48</sup>

In May 1973, USLA took up the case of a woman arrested in connection with the 1972 kidnap murder of Fiat executive Oberdan Sallustro by ERP terrorists in Argentina.<sup>49</sup> During 1972 and 1973, USLA sponsored extensive tours of the United States by several Argentinian "activists" including Damian Blanco,<sup>50</sup> Elena Rodriguez,<sup>51</sup> and Daniel Zadunaisky.<sup>52</sup> Upon his arrival in Miami on November 6, 1972, Zadunaisky was denied entry into the United States, but at a subsequent hearing by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, he was given permission to enter and conduct his speaking tour "in defense of his comrades imprisoned in Argentina."<sup>53</sup> Reporting on the tour, USLA claimed Zadunaisky had spoken at 65 meetings in 15 cities, that he had received 30 hours of radio time, and that the mass media of six major cities covered his appearances.<sup>54</sup>

The USLA was organized in 1966. Richard Garza, a member of the SWP's national committee,<sup>55</sup> became the assistant executive secretary of USLA.<sup>56</sup> Garza was the SWP candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York in 1966.<sup>57</sup> USLA was described as "SWP-dominated" by another Trotskyist group, the Spartacist League.<sup>58</sup>

USLA established a policy of cooperation with other left groups from the beginning and gained sponsors from groups including Students for a Democratic Society, the North American Congress on Latin America, the National Guardian, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and National Lawyers Guild.<sup>59</sup>

The USLA Statement of Aims said that "with the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in the closing days of 1958, it seemed reasonable to hope that a new era \* \* \* was opening. The reason for this reversal of trends and dashing of hopes is all too evident: the policies of the United States of America." USLA stated that one of its tasks would be to gather and disseminate information to bring public pressure "for a basic change in policy toward Latin America." USLA further said it intended to "cooperate with organizations in Latin America and other countries which have similar purposes."<sup>60</sup>

One group with which USLA has worked closely since 1967 is the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), a group described by SDS leader Carl Davidson as the New Left's "intelligence-gathering arm."<sup>61</sup> NACLA's draft statement on ideology dated May 1967, stated in part:

In the context of this involvement in the revolutionary struggle at home, NACLA is exploring possibilities for maintaining relationships with Latin American organizations \* \* \* by means of contacts with members of radical move-

ments in various countries and through the work of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.<sup>62</sup>

USLA and NACLA have jointly sponsored many meetings, seminars, rallies and demonstrations, and USLA's initial sponsors included several persons who were either NACLA staffers or on its national coordinating committee, including John Gerassi, Jon Frappier, Fred Goff and Mike Locker.<sup>63</sup> USLA produced a pamphlet on student unrest in Mexico entitled "Mexico 1968: A Study of Domination and Repression."<sup>64</sup>

At its 11th National Convention, December 28-January 1, 1972, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth arm of the Socialist Workers Party, joined USLA in an "international defense campaign." "Revolutionaries in many Latin American countries have been imprisoned, tortured, and murdered for their opposition to repressive national regimes subservient to the interests of U.S. imperialism," reported the Militant, the SWP's weekly newspaper.<sup>65</sup> The campaign was focused on the urban terrorists of Argentina, the Trotskyist People's Revolutionary Army, as well as movements in Brazil and Bolivia.<sup>66</sup>

In March 1972, Lynn Silver and Sue Adley, identifying themselves as members of Lower Manhattan YSA, noted in an article in the Young Socialist Organizer that "USLA work is not only important, international defense work, but it is also important in building the YSA."<sup>67</sup> The Militant reported that Jerry Frelwirth, a member of the YSA national committee, said the YSA would continue to support the activities of the USLA.<sup>68</sup>

USLA developed a new speaker during the first months of 1973. Mary Elizabeth Harding, a former U.S. Maryknoll nun, was arrested by Bolivian officials and deported on January 13 after six weeks detention.<sup>69</sup> In an interview with the Washington Post, Harding admitted to being a member of, and recruiter for the guerrilla ELN (Bolivian National Liberation Army), founded by Che Guevara.<sup>70</sup> USLA and the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee co-sponsored Harding's six week lecture tour.<sup>71</sup>

With the fall of Chile's Marxist government which had been led by Salvador Allende, USLA moved into organizing protests and teach-ins in protest of the coup. Among those speaking at USLA-sponsored rallies have been Americans who either had toured after the takeover or had been in Chile during the rule of the Marxist Popular Unity coalition. These include Edward Boorstein, a former assistant to Allende's economic adviser;<sup>72</sup> Mark Cooper, Allende's personal translator;<sup>73</sup> Heather Dashiell, another former translator for Allende;<sup>74</sup> and Joe Collins of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).<sup>75</sup> The Militant reported Collins' speech at a rally in New York City on November 4, 1973, on his return from an investigative tour of Chile, as noting the "urgency of on-going visible protests" against the new Chilean government.<sup>76</sup>

USLA solicits funds for "political prisoners" and their families. It also receives the royalties from a record, "Cancion Protesta: Protest Song of Latin America," which was recorded in Cuba at an artists' conference which ran simultaneously with the first meeting of Castro's Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS).<sup>77</sup> "Cancion Protesta" is published by Paredon\* Records of Brooklyn,

\*Paredon in Spanish means "to the wall"; it became a Castroite slogan referring to the fate of those opposing his regime.

# CONTINUED

# 1 OF 3

Palestine (PDFLP) in April 1973.<sup>93</sup> Several leaders of these guerrilla groups had been killed in an Israeli raid on April 10, 1973. The statement included this justification of the use of terrorism by Palestinians:

But we know that the real terrorists are in Tel Aviv and particularly in Washington. From the blood-stained cellblocks and courtyards at Attica, to the napalmed villages of Indochina, to the bombarded refugee camps in Palestine, the armed forces and hired killers of U.S. imperialism have murdered the oppressed people and inflicted the daily terror of torture, disease, poverty, and homelessness upon millions. \* \* \*

As an organization \* \* \* we pledge to continue and step up the struggle here \* \* \* and to join with our sisters and brothers throughout the world in our common fight to defeat U.S. imperialism, the main terrorist against all humanity, \* \* \*

Similarly, in September 1972, commenting on the Munich murders of the Israeli athletes, a Workers World article stated:

It is U.S. imperialism which is responsible for the bloodshed at Munich, in the Middle East, in Indochina, and the world over. And it is the imperialists who are the real terrorists, the real menace to humanity, who terrorize workers and oppressed people daily. And until their terror is wiped out, the killing and human misery they cause will never cease.<sup>94</sup>

And a YAWF leaflet distributed in East Cleveland, Ohio, unequivocally stated, "We condemn imperialist aggression in the Middle East and support the guerrilla movements which are struggling to oust the imperialists."

On June 8, 1973, Workers World carried a brief account of the murder of Lt. Col. Lewis Hawkins, a financial advisor to Iran's war minister, as he walked to work in Tehran. Headlined "Iran Not Safe for Mass Murderers," the article said:

Iranian leftists (sic) guerrillas executed a high-ranking U.S. military officer in the capital city of Teheran on June 2. Lieutenant Colonel Lewis Hawkins was shot in the head three times as he walked from his house to his chauffeured limousine parked outside. The American Embassy refused to tell reporters what Lt. Col. Hawkins' duties were in Iran.

The revolutionaries who killed him escaped on a motorbike.

Guerrillas have been attacking high-ranking American officials in Iran since 1970. Despite the execution of 118 Iranian leftists as "terrorists" by the Pahlavi regime since 1970, the anti-U.S. movement continues to grow. \* \* \* Broadcasting from a clandestine radio station, Iranian guerrillas said that the shooting of Hawkins was "only the beginning."<sup>95</sup>

Commenting on African guerrilla organizations in its January 25 issue, Workers World said:

The oppressed masses of southern Africa—workers, peasants, and intellectuals—are taking the only route to true liberation that the oppressors allow. \* \* \* In the words of one liberation fighter, ZANU Executive Secretary Mukudzei Mudzi, commenting on imperialism, "It is only through armed struggle that we can resolve this problem."<sup>96</sup>

On the same page of that issue of Workers World was a description of a militant demonstration in Boston on January 20, 1974—the first anniversary of the assassination of Amilcar Cabral, founder of the PAIGC guerrilla movement in Portuguese Guinea. "Boston cops and Portuguese consular officials were forced to back down," after a "confrontation took place when the police tried to remove several demonstrators who were holding banners on the steps of the consulate," the newspaper said.

Not neglecting Latin American terrorists, the February 8, 1974 issue of Workers World carries an article dated February 5 which expresses support for the policies of the Argentinian People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and its political party, the PRT, as well as for the Chilean MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria]. In this article, the Workers World Party severely criticizes "the revisionist CPUSA," "so-called Maoist groups" and the Socialist Workers Party line on the ERP as failing to recognize the "limited character of the tactic of peaceful struggle in even the most democratic of capitalist nations."<sup>97</sup>

Excerpts from this article, which contains a full statement of the WWP position on the necessity for armed struggle, follow:

While the ERP and its political party, the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), have concentrated their military attacks on foreign monopolies and the ultra-right armed forces of Argentina, they have also unconditionally attacked the Peron government politically for its repressive measures and its outright subservience to the Argentinian capitalist rulers. The intention to develop a revolutionary vanguard completely independent of Peron and Peronism has clearly differentiated the ERP and the PRT from all other political organizations in Argentina.

However, some radical organizations here in the U.S. have gone out of their way to denounce the ERP. The revisionist CPUSA, for instance, calls the ERP ultra-left for not recognizing the "progressive" aspects of Peron.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Some of the so-called Maoist groups in the U.S. have criticized the ERP for not adhering to the line of what they call "people's war" and the "two-stage revolution" in Argentina. The latter position claims that Argentina is in the "anti-imperialist and democratic revolution" stage, and therefore, that the ERP attacks on the Argentine military are wrong.

Not only has the two-stage revolution theory been long ago refuted by historical experience, but to place Argentina, the most industrialized country in Latin America, within that model is doubly absurd. \* \* \*

Another tendency in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attacks the ERP as "terrorist" and not "mass-based," or not correctly oriented to "independent electoral politics." This line argues that Argentina is at the present time conducive to "electoral struggle" and that armed struggle is a false "Guevarist" position.

First of all, Che Guevara was a leader of a victorious socialist revolution which once again confirmed the Marxist-Leninist position of the necessity of armed insurrection to completely smash and destroy the old capitalist (and in this case also colonial) state. Secondly, it is false to say that Guevara excluded parliamentary struggle from the arsenal of tactics to be employed by a revolutionary party. Guevara pointed out the temporary and limited character of the tactic of peaceful struggle in even the most democratic of capitalist nations.

These tendencies in the U.S. were the same ones who vociferously denounced the MIR in Chile during the Allende regime, for very much the same reasons. Yet, the MIR was virtually the only organization in Chile conscious of and prepared for the inevitable counter-revolution in that country. To this day, the MIR offers the greatest resistance to the fascist terror in Chile.

\* \* \* \* \*  
There is certainly room for healthy ideological struggle in Argentina over the strategy and tactics of the ERP and the PRT. But the opportunist attacks on the ERP by some of the major radical tendencies in the U.S. are not in that spirit—they are in a spirit of narrow factionalism and "respectable" capitulationism.

The Workers World Party has made no direct statement on the Symbionese Liberation Army. However, Andy Stapp, writing in Workers World, March 22, 1974 (page 11) noted "massive food lines"

formed in response to the food giveaway program demanded of Randolph Hearst by the SLA. Stapp wrote:

The vehement attacks against the SLA by certain socialist groups who have forgotten the elementary lessons of class solidarity have become downright scandalous.

In one horrified chorus, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Guardian have rushed into print with condemnations, not only of the Hearst heiress kidnapping, but even of the free-food program itself and of the people who have been waiting in long lines to get a bag of groceries!

Stapp asked:

Are they afflicted with a blindness born of dogmatism—or rather a cowardly eagerness to prove that they are not to be confused with “terrorists”?

## CHAPTER VII

### TERRORIST ACTS IN THE UNITED STATES

#### SKYJACKINGS AND BOMBINGS

The hijacking of commercial and private aircraft is the first international terrorist act which involved numbers of U.S. citizens. The body and baggage searches as well as the added security charges to plane fares which have been brought about by the threat of hijackings affect hundreds of thousands of airline passengers daily.

Records furnished to the committee by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA)\* concerning all known “skyjacking” both foreign and domestic reveal that from 1931 to April 1974, there have been recorded 434 actual or attempted “skyjackings”—hijackings of aircraft—committed for such purposes as to seek political asylum, to obtain the release of terrorists and prisoners held by governments, or to extort money. From the information furnished it is not possible to determine which cases were attributable solely to political motives as opposed to clearly criminal motives.

Hijackings of aircraft generally have included demands that the hijacker be deposited in alien territory unfriendly to the country in which the hijacking has been committed. For example, the statistics provided by the FAA reveal that from 1930 (month not specified) through April 2, 1974, there have been 99 successful hijackings of U.S. registered aircraft, 85 of which have terminated in Cuba. These 85 occurred since 1961.

In 1968 the rate of such incidents in the United States and abroad rose significantly. They reached a peak in the calendar year 1969. Of the aforementioned 434 incidents recorded since 1930, 87 hijacking attempts were reported in 1969. The total for 1970 was 83 and the rate of such incidents continued to decrease in subsequent calendar years. Internationally, there were 22 attempts (11 successful) reported in 1973. In the first three months of 1974, there were 8 international attempts (2 successful) with no successful attempts reported concerning U.S. registered aircraft.

The FAA statistics compiled in coordination with the U.S. Department of Justice indicate that there have been 220 persons involved in 163 hijackings of U.S. registered aircraft (64 attempts, 99 successful). Sixty-one of these persons have been convicted; 3 acquitted; 18 committed to mental institutions; 2 had their cases dismissed; one was not prosecuted; and 11 were killed or committed suicide. Four cases are pending. Still hunted are 120 fugitive skyjackers (who include passive companions indicted with active hijackers).

Revolutionary terrorist attacks in the United States have primarily been bombings, although groups such as the Black Liberation Army, discussed later in this chapter, have engaged in ambushes of police and

\*See app. A to this study for additional FAA statistics on hijackings.

bank robberies as their major actions. The kidnaping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army to win "political" demands and gain publicity for the SLA's beliefs, is the first political kidnaping in this country. However, evidence exists that others have planned similar crimes.

For example, on August 29, 1972, a deputy district attorney placed into the record of Alameda County Superior Court a detailed survey of former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and his family. The survey was seized in a March 31, 1972, raid of a Berkeley garage which netted a cache of leftist literature, arms, ammunition and explosives. Among the weapons was a Chinese-made machine gun. The three men arrested in the raid pleaded guilty to charges including possessing components of a destructive device and possession of explosives and received jail sentences.\*<sup>1</sup>

A study of terrorist bombings released by The Conference Board (a business research group) in October 1973, indicates that terrorist bombings in the United States have declined by more than 60% from the high levels reached in 1969, 1970 and 1971. The study said that the major motives for bombings such as personal revenge and malicious destruction overwhelmed motives such as antiwar or anti-establishment feelings by a 6-1 ratio. The report showed that bombing incidents in the United States have declined from an average of 433 a month in 1971 to a 1973 average of 163 a month.<sup>2</sup>

A detailed analysis of bombings in California during 1971 by the Bomb Data Analysis Center of the California Attorney General's office revealed that "In most areas, attacks appear to be motivated by marital rifts, pranks, malicious mischief, vandalism and profit."<sup>3</sup> Others, the report stated, were committed by "the psychologically ill" and labor racketeers. That report showed that only about 5% of the 1,084 attacks reported were attributable to revolutionaries. About half of those attacks were from Molotov cocktails and other incendiary bombs. The 1,084 attacks in California in 1971 included 20 attacks on military installations; 23 bombings of courthouses; 24 bombings of other government buildings, and 33 attacks on colleges.

#### FOREIGN TERRORISTS FIND TARGETS IN UNITED STATES AS WELL AS ABROAD

Because of their special significance to Members of Congress and Federal officials, the following incidents are set forth separately. The objectives of foreign terrorist groups, it will be noted, allegedly provided the motive for threats against or actual attacks on U.S. officials within the United States as well as overseas. Officials and citizens of other nations residing in the United States were also reportedly victims of such terrorism.

March 6, 1973—Three rental cars packed with explosives were discovered by FBI agents parked near three separate Israeli businesses in New York City. Black September literature was found in each vehicle. In May a federal grand jury indicted Khalid Al-Jawary, an Iraqi citizen who entered the United States from

\*Footnote numbers refer the reader to the public sources on which this study is based. These footnotes are printed in app. B, pp. 241-24. Asterisks designate editorial footnotes which are printed at the bottom of the page.

Canada in January on a visitor's visa issued in Lebanon. Al-Jawary left the United States just prior to the discovery of the bomb-carrying autos and is a fugitive.<sup>4</sup>

April 16, 1973—Shots were fired through the bedroom window of the home of New Zealand's charge d'affaires in what was believed to be an attempt to kill the Jordanian diplomat who formerly lived in the house. Painted neatly in red beneath the window of the Washington, D.C. home was "There will be a homeland for all or a homeland for none. Death to the Zionists and their functionaries." Inside a five-pointed star were the words "Black September."<sup>5</sup>

June 13, 1973—Sharif Bishara Sirhan, 39, brother of the convicted assassin of Senator Robert Kennedy, was convicted of mailing a threatening letter to Secretary of State William P. Rogers. Signed "Palestinian Liberation Front," the letter warned that Israeli prime minister, Golda Meir, would be shot during her March 1973 visit.<sup>6</sup>

July 1, 1973—An Israeli Embassy armed forces attache, Col. Yosef Alon, was shot and killed outside his suburban Montgomery County, Md., home by assailants believed to have been an Arab commando team.<sup>7</sup>

Aug. 27, 1973—Mrs. Nora Murray, a secretary at the British Embassy in Washington, D.C., was maimed when a letter bomb exploded in her hands. The bomb was part of a series attributed to IRA terrorists who had sent more than 30 such devices to British officials and retired officials during the last two weeks of August.<sup>8</sup>

Aug. 30, 1973—Susan Agnew, daughter of the Vice President, was forced to stop her work on the hospital ship, SS Hope, which was anchored off the coast of northeastern Brazil because of an increasing number of threats on her life. Miss Agnew did not have a U.S. bodyguard, but the Brazilians, as a courtesy, provided one.<sup>9</sup>

Dec. 11, 1973—Reports of a Black September plot against the life of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger caused stringent security measures to be taken to guard his life during a negotiating trip to the Middle East. Salah Khalaf, the No. 2 man in Al Fatah and guiding force behind Black September, in a clandestine radio station broadcast in southern Syria December 10, made veiled threats to "embarrass \* \* \* particularly the Jordanian regime, U.S. imperialism and Israel." Later in the month Libyan Black September members massacred unarmed civilians at Rome's international airport, having been thwarted in their attempts to kill the Secretary of State.<sup>10</sup>

Dec. 27, 1973—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington reported that he had received threats from Arab terrorists for his position on the energy situation. The Senator's staff stated they were alert for letter or package bombs.<sup>11</sup>

#### AD HOC GROUPS

Credit for bombing and sabotage acts has sometimes been claimed in telephone calls or letters to the media. In many cases it has never

been publicly disclosed whether the organization ever existed or whether the act was that of a single individual. Examples of such incidents include the following:

*Americans for Justice:*

On March 7, 1974, a timed high-explosive charge exploded in the Shell Oil Company distributing yard near San Jose, Calif. A male caller directed reporters to a Berkeley phone booth where a list of demands of Americans for Justice was discovered. By chance, the explosion was touched off beside an empty gasoline storage tank. The other tanks each contained 55,000 gallons of fuel. The letter with the list of demands stated that the bombing was to protest high fuel prices and demanded free fuel for senior citizens.<sup>12</sup>

Previously, Americans for Justice had claimed credit for the bombing on November 27, 1973, of a 66,000 watt Pacific Gas & Electric Co. transformer at a South Bay substation in Mata Vista, Calif. An estimated 15 pounds of explosives were used to destroy the substation. In that instance a middle-aged woman hand delivered a message to a San Francisco newspaper, making demands similar to those made in the March 1974 incident.<sup>13</sup>

*Black Revolutionary Assault Team:*

On April 12, 1973, a phone caller to the Associated Press in New York City gave credit to the aforementioned team for the bombing earlier that day of the office of the South African consul general.<sup>14</sup>

On September 20, 1971, United Press International received a call from a person stating that the BRAT had placed bombs at the Congo (Kinshasa) United Nations mission because of that country's refusal to allow "freedom fighters" to cross into Angola. On the same day, a second bomb, unexploded, was found at the Malawi mission to the United Nations.<sup>15</sup>

*Citizens Committee to Demilitarize Industry:*

On March 26, 1972, a message from the aforementioned claimed responsibility for sabotaging on the same day several box cars full of bomb casings at the York, Pa., American Machine and Foundry factory.<sup>16</sup>

*Hoover Vacuum Conspiracy:*

On December 17, 1970, it claimed responsibility for destroying Selective Service records in offices in Elizabeth and Union City, N.J. The alleged group left an antiwar message in the vandalized offices.<sup>17</sup>

*Perfect Park Home Grown Garden Society:*

The alleged group claimed it had bombed a Bank of America branch on October 8, 1970, on the anniversary of the death in Bolivia of Che Guevara. Perfect Park was a lot taken over by students and "street people" near the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California.<sup>18</sup>

*Proud Eagle Tribe:*

This professed militant women's liberation organization took responsibility for two blasts, one on October 15, 1970, at the Harvard Center for International Affairs and a second on October 14, 1971, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Communiques gave its motive as opposition to the Vietnam war.<sup>19</sup>

*Purple Sunshine Clan:*

It claimed it had placed a bomb (which failed to explode) on Oct 8, 1970, outside the Center for the Study of Law and Society in Berkeley, and also took responsibility for a prior bombing on an Oakland police station. In a letter to a campus newspaper, the clan noted the bomb was placed on the anniversary of the Weathermen's Days of Rage riots in Chicago. The bomb was placed because the Center had "investigated black rebellion and Telegraph [Avenue, Berkeley] riots."<sup>20</sup>

*Quarter Moon Tribe:*

It claimed responsibility for the October 8, 1970, bombing of ROTC headquarters on the University of Washington campus in Seattle. The alleged group said it had timed its blasts to coincide with the anniversary of Che Guevara's death and said, "No longer will the death culture use campuses for bases of imperialism. We intend to disarm, dismantle, disable and destroy the military and pig might of Amerika \* \* \*"<sup>21</sup>

*Red Willow Family:*

It claimed it firebombed cars on a State of California parking lot on August 22, 1971, "in retaliation" for the death of convict George Jackson in a prison escape attempt the day before.<sup>22</sup>

*Sam Melville Squadron, Revolutionary Army:*

It took responsibility for the bombing in late 1971 of the Iranian consulate in San Francisco which caused over \$1 million in damages "to make clear our determination to defend the people and attack the pigs."<sup>23</sup>

*Revolutionary Action Party:*

A communique stated it was "at war with all white, nationalistic governments." It claimed responsibility for the August 29, 1970 bombings of the Rhodesian Information Office and the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, D.C.<sup>24</sup>

*Volunteers of America:*

It claimed responsibility during a week of antiwar activity in April 1970, for bombing the power line to the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at the University of California at Berkeley. It stated its target, the laboratory and the university, were "major sources of research for Amerika's war in southeast Asia."<sup>25</sup>

The following are examples of incidents in which those involved in the terrorist act were identified. With the exception of the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives and BAMB, however, there is no information in committee files to show that the alleged organization was more than a temporary ad hoc group.

*Black Afro Militant Movement (BAMB):*

Three leaders of this Florida organization were charged in 1971 with demonstrating the use of explosive devices and possession of a destructive device in violation of Federal antiriot and gun control laws. One man pleaded guilty; the other two were tried and convicted. All were sentenced to jail terms.<sup>26</sup>

*Brothers United:*

In Philadelphia, 13 members of this group, characterized by police as "a small black militant organization," were arrested and charged with possession of two cartons of stolen Army fragmentation grenades. The group was alleged to have thrown two of the grenades into a city parking lot on October 6, 1969, destroying 12 police cars. Also seized in raids were assorted rifles and pistols, ammunition, a quantity of arsenic, and literature on guerrilla warfare.<sup>27</sup>

*"Camp McCoy Three":*

Three GPs, all organizers for the American Servicemen's Union (ASU),<sup>28</sup> pleaded guilty to placing dynamite under a telephone exchange and attempting to dynamite a water reservoir. The three men also pleaded guilty to the bombing of Camp McCoy, a Wisconsin Army reserve training base, in July 1970.<sup>29</sup> The American Servicemen's Union was founded and led by Andrew Stapp for the purpose of unionizing Army enlisted men. In July 1969, Stapp explained his purpose as follows: "Just as the Bolshevik party organized through the soviets in 1917 against the Czar and the depression in Russia, the American Servicemen's Union is organizing soviets within the U.S. imperialist army."<sup>30</sup>

"The Workers World Party and Its Front Organization," a study prepared by the minority staff of the House Committee on Internal Security, identified Andrew Stapp as a member of the Workers World Party and the American Servicemen's Union as a front for the Workers World Party.\*

*East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives:*

The East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives was described in 1970 by then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as an "anarchist group."<sup>31</sup>

On February 20, 1970, a group of nine, including four Catholic priests, held a press conference to identify themselves as the ones who had vandalized General Electric Co. records and Selective Service offices in Philadelphia on February 6 and 7, 1970. After the vandalism an anonymous caller told reporters that the action was "to disrupt the functioning of the machine of death and oppression."<sup>32</sup>

Seven members of this group, referred to as the "Harrisburg Seven," were indicted in April 1971 on charges of conspiring to kidnap Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, to bomb utility tunnels under Federal buildings in Washington, D.C., and to vandalize tunnels under Federal buildings in nine states. After a lengthy trial the jury failed to reach a verdict and the conspiracy charges were subsequently dismissed. However, two members of the group were convicted on a lesser charge of smuggling letters in and out of prison.<sup>33</sup>

On December 17, 1972, five persons were arrested by Pennsylvania state police who saw the group pour cement into a railroad siding switch outside the American Machine and Foundry factory in York, Pa. The factory makes bomb casings. A plastic wrapped message was found embedded in the concrete stating that the act of sabotage was in

\*Stapp was identified as a representative of the WWP in meetings with the North Korean Workers Party (the communist party of North Korea) in 1971, according to his wife, Delrae Griswold Stapp, in a report she wrote in July 1972 for "the Cubans." Her report titled "A Brief Resume of the Ideology of Workers World Party" was printed in full in "The Workers World Party and Its Front Organizations," a study prepared by the HCIS minority staff, printed in April 1974.

protest of the Vietnam war and justifying it as a small act of protest in comparison to the "disruption of life in Indochina."<sup>34</sup>

*Northwest Liberation Front:*

The FBI charged the group with bombing of a U.S. Navy and Marine Corps recruiting station on January 2, 1973, and a U.S. Army recruiting station on January 4. A group of nine men and a woman arrested for these acts have been charged with the bombings, three bank robberies and many other counts. The FBI characterized the group as "a revolutionary organization desiring radical social change by violent means."<sup>35</sup>

*People's Liberation Army:*

In February 1972, three bombs exploded at police and fire headquarters in Manchester, N.H. A fourth bomb placed under a window of the police chief's office failed to explode. Shortly after the explosions, a man and a woman were arrested. In their possession was a press release which said the bombings in the name of the People's Liberation Army were in protest of the Vietnam war. The release also said that the reelection campaign headquarters of the President had been a target although no explosives were found there.<sup>36</sup>

A similar organization about which considerable information is available is the New Year's Gang.

*NEW YEAR'S GANG*

On November 1, 1973, in Madison, Wisconsin, Karleton Lewis Armstrong, 29, was sentenced to 23 years imprisonment. He was originally charged with first degree murder as the result of an August 24, 1970, bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC) on the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison in which a graduate student, Robert Fassnacht, was killed. Armstrong was allowed to plead guilty to second degree murder and other lesser charges.

Armstrong not only admitted to the AMRC bombing, but also to his part in the December 28, 1969, bombing of campus ROTC classrooms; to the January 3, 1970, firebombing of the ROTC administrative offices; to the January 4 1970, bombing of the university's Primate Research Lab mistaken by Armstrong for the Selective Service office next door; to attempted sabotage of the power substation which provided electricity to the Badger Army Munitions Plant in Baraboo, Wisconsin; and to an unsuccessful aerial attack using a stolen plane against the Badger munitions factory.<sup>37</sup>

The bombers sent a letter taking responsibility for the AMRC bombing to the Madison Kaleidoscope which published it on Aug. 24, 1970 (p. 1). The letter, as reprinted in *Liberated Guardian*, September 24, 1970 (p. 3), read:

Today, August 24, the battle cry against imperialism was raised again as the Mathematics Research Center of the U.S. Army was struck by revolutionary cadres of the New Year's Gang.

The AMRC, a think-tank of American militarism was a fitting target for such revolutionary violence. As the major U.S. Army center for solving military mathematical problems, it bears full responsibility for American military genocide throughout the world. While hiding behind a facade of academic "neutrality" the AMRC plays a vital role in doing the basic research necessary for the development of heavy artillery, conventional and nuclear bombs and missiles, guns and mobile weapons, biological weapons, chemical weapons, and much more.

Its neutralist facade is exposed even by its self-proclaimed policy of operation: "To anticipate the needs of the army, and when it is able, to develop or learn of new techniques to meet these needs, it should forthwith call these to the Army's attention and help it find the area in which these techniques can be used."

Today's explosion was the culmination of over a year's effort to remove ARMC's [sic] ominous presence from [sic] the Wisconsin campus. Previous efforts to even negotiate were met with indifference, such as the response of imperialistic authority to public sentiment. Our actions, therefore, were deemed necessary, for with every passing day, the AMRC takes its toll in mutilated bodies.

We see our achievement as more than just the destruction of one building. We see it as part of a world-wide struggle to defeat American imperialism, that monster which is responsible for the starvation and oppression of millions over the globe, that monster which is a direct outgrowth of corporate capitalism.

For this reason, we declare solidarity with our revolutionary brothers in Uruguay, the Tupamaros, who are struggling to loosen the U.S. military and corporate grasp on their continent. We also declare our solidarity with the San Raphael Four, revolutionary black brothers who died fighting the racist court system. But more importantly, we declare our solidarity with each and every peasant, worker, student, and displaced person who in his day-by-day existence struggles against the oppressive conditions heaped upon him by the monster.

The Vanguard of the Revolution demand the immediate release of the Milwaukee 3 (Black Panthers), the abolition of ROTC, and the elimination of the male supremacist women's hour on the Wisconsin campus. If these demands are not met by Oct. 30, revolutionary measures of an intensity never before seen in this country will be taken by our cadre. Open warfare, kidnapping of important officials, and even assassinations will not be ruled out. Although we have thought to prevent any physical harm to all people on the part, we cannot be responsible for the safety of pigs if our demands are not met.

Power to the People!

Marion Delgado\*

Note: The detonation was supposed to occur 5 minutes after the phone call to the Madison Police. It exploded prematurely. The New Year's Gang regrets the death of Fassnacht.

Those sought by the FBI in connection with the bombings included Karleton Armstrong, and three who remain fugitives, Dwight A. Armstrong; David S. Fine, a former SDS activist who reportedly was a member of the SDS Weatherman faction and participated in the October, 1969, "Days of Rage" riots organized by the Weathermen; and Leo F. Burt.<sup>38</sup> The three fugitives have been placed on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted List."

The New Year's Gang sent a letter to the underground newspaper, Madison Kaleidoscope, during the period when all four suspects were fugitives. It gave a brief history of how the group took its name. The group was also known as the Vanguard of the Revolution and the Marion Delgado Collective, its correspondence revealed.

This is a letter from the four underground members of the New Years Gang. Hopefully, it will contribute to an understanding of us and our bombings. It can also be taken as a warning to our enemies that we are still around.

First, a short history. In December, 1969, the first cadres of the New Years Gang came together under the irreverently self-indulgent name, "The Vanguard of the Revolution." The Vanguard's purpose—concrete damage to U.S. imperialism—became clear within weeks through the New Years bombing offensive which included the aerial bombing of the Badger Ordnance Works. It was after this popular wave of attacks that we were given our present handle.

The formation of the Gang was a response to the failures of the Madison left during the previous fall to force implementation of its demands that the University of Wisconsin sever all ties with the military. The bombings, however,

\*Marion Delgado is a pseudonym used by some members of new left groups. The reference is to a 5-year-old child who accidentally wrecked a train—hence the sabotage symbolism. As noted hereafter, the name was also used by the group which is more popularly known as the New Year's Gang.

we saw as a complement to mass struggle, not a substitute for it, and our demands were basically the same as those made by S.D.S. three months earlier: abolition of the Army Mathematics Research Center, ROTC, and the Land Tenure Center. Foremost in our minds was the 1962 Declaration of Havana which advised "the role of Job does not behoove a revolutionary. Each year by which America's liberation may be hastened will mean millions of children rescued from death, millions of minds freed for learning, innumerable sorrows spared the peoples..."

It was with this attitude that we then began preparing to implement the demand to abolish the AMRC \*\*\*<sup>39</sup>

According to Takeover, an anti-establishment underground Madison newspaper, Vol. 3, No. 10, June 6, 1973, p. 2:

\*\*\* Jim Rowen\* exposed the deadly work Army Mathematics Research Center was doing in a series of articles printed in the Daily Cardinal [the campus newspaper] in 1969, titled "Profit Motive 101". \*\*\* Until then, very few of us were aware of the existence of a research center named AMRC much less what the nature of their mathematical calculation was. \*\*\* Armed with the information that Rowen gathered, Army Math became a household word. \*\*\* In the fall and early winter, several hundred people marched demanding the end of Army Math \*\*\* Demonstrations and riots continued through the bitterest cold of the winter, gaining momentum. \*\*\* Jim Rowen was there in the thick of the battle. \*\*\* If any individual helped set off the movement that led to the bombing of AMRC it is Jim Rowen. His research was the fuel that gave direction to our discontent.

At Armstrong's trial, an unprecedented two-week mitigation of sentence hearing was held which provided the accused with "an unexpected chance to tell publicly why he did what he did, and to propose convincingly the argument that his acts were necessary. More than forty witnesses, many of them prominent scientists, historians and political activists, came to Madison to testify on Armstrong's behalf and sound the core thesis of his defense: The war in Vietnam was 'immoral and illegal' and all resistance to that war was justified."<sup>40</sup>

Among the 41 witnesses during Armstrong's two-week mitigation of sentence hearing were Philip Berrigan, Daniel Ellsberg (who sent a taped statement), and Anthony J. Russo, Jr. According to the New York Times, "all asserted that Armstrong \*\*\* had been driven to a desperate act by his frustration over escalation of the war and alleged war research conducted by the Army Mathematics Center." The New York Times reported the following concerning the testimony of witness Anthony J. Russo, Jr.:

In his testimony, Mr. Russo said that after one trip back to the United States from Vietnam in 1968, when he was employed by the Rand Corporation, a "think tank" with government research contracts, "I brought a grenade back."

"I was angry, very angry," he said over the continuing escalation of the war. "I walked down the halls of Rand to the computer room and wanted to toss it in there. I thought I had to do this for mankind." He said that he finally threw the grenade off a pier at Santa Monica, Calif.<sup>42</sup>

Mr. Russo was also quoted as saying that he didn't have the strength to use the grenade; however, "Had I been younger I would have done it."<sup>42</sup>

Armstrong had allegedly concluded his own defense by saying, "I can say, in good conscience, under exactly the same circumstances, I would do it again to end the war."<sup>43</sup>

\*In September 1969, Jim Rowen and three others wrote a pamphlet, "The Case Against the Army Math Research Center," which was distributed by the Madison SDS chapter in cooperation with the New University Conference and the University of Wisconsin Moratorium Committee.

David S. Fine, the fugitive also wanted for the New Year's Gang bombings, had reportedly sent a letter, "Note from the Underground" to his supporters in Madison which said, "Armstrong is a stone communist revolutionary" ["stone" is a slang term meaning perfectly or completely]. Fine explained his praise for Armstrong by noting he was "not much of a movement activist, belonged to no established political organization, and was rarely seen in the circles of the Madison left."<sup>44</sup>

On April 18, 1974, Armstrong was sentenced to 10 years on Federal charges related to his bombings. This was in addition to the 23 year sentence on state charges which he is now serving at Wapuna State Prison. The terms of the state and Federal sentences will make Armstrong eligible for parole in five years—1979.<sup>45</sup>

### WEATHERMEN

#### FROM NONVIOLENCE TO CONFRONTATION

The best publicized domestic terrorist organization of the revolutionary left has been the Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The street-fighting, bomb-making Weatherman faction developed out of a peaceful socialist student organization whose past can be traced back to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS) founded in 1905 by Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Clarence Darrow and Walter Lippmann. This labor-oriented socialist organization changed its name to the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) in 1921; its student auxiliary was the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID).<sup>46</sup>

SDS developed from a reorganization of SLID which included a name change in 1959, under the impetus of student interest in the civil rights movement. From the start, SDS/SLID had a close relationship with the militant civil rights groups, and participated in the founding conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in April 1960, with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), whose leader at that time, James Farmer, had been a SLID national secretary in the 1950's.

During its first two years, SDS attracted only a small following which numbered perhaps 200, and enjoyed no spectacular growth; however, early in 1962, the SDS national executive committee asked Tom Hayden, SDS field secretary and organizer of the University of Michigan chapter at Ann Arbor, to draft a statement of the relevance of SDS to the new tide of student activism. Hayden's militant "Port Huron Statement," adopted at the June 1962, SDS national convention which elected him president, paved the way for the subsequent growth in membership and militancy. By the end of 1962, SDS claimed a membership of 1,000; and at the height of its influence in 1969, the late J. Edgar Hoover estimated it had 250 chapters and 40,000 members, but was able to influence many thousands of additional students.<sup>47</sup>

SDS cooperation with SNCC was so close until the end of 1964 that SDS described itself as a "Northern Arm" of SNCC and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

During this period, SDS began to move openly to the left. Its long association with the "legal bulwark of the Communist Party,"<sup>48</sup> the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), on which SDS came to depend heavily as its illegal actions increased, began about 1964, when the NLG formed the Committee for Legal Assistance in the South (CLAS) and sent lawyers to the South to work on legal problems faced by various demonstrators. SDS committed itself to electoral politics and working for the seating of the MFDP in the House of Representatives, coordinated by NLG activists Arthur Kinoy, Benjamin E. Smith and William Kunstler. With the failure of that effort, SDS abandoned the field of electoral politics forever, but its leaders continued to associate with NLG leaders. Bernardine Dohrn, later to become a Weatherman leader, was hired as the NLG's student organizer in 1967.<sup>49</sup>

SDS refused any further support to its Political Education Project which then folded. The civil rights movement began to close its doors to white organizers. As the NLG's own history notes, militancy and separatist anti-white sentiments among blacks were rising. And "in the spring of 1965, both CORE and SNCC field staffs came close to voting against allowing white college students to help them in the south that summer."<sup>50</sup>

SDS ended its involvement with liberalism and reform and began to move openly into a Marxist-Leninist analysis of class war and imperialism. Late in 1964, the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley gained SDS support, and SDS moved into the antiwar, anti-imperialist agitation on the campuses. SDS began cooperation on projects with such revolutionary communist organizations as CPUSA's W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs, the then Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and its youth group, the May 2nd Movement (M2M); and Trotskyist youth groups such as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). SDS dropped its constitutional provision barring communists from membership at its June 1965 convention. Until this time LID had been funding SDS; this association was severed in October that year.

SDS remained deeply involved with antiwar and anti-imperialist agitation during 1966 and 1967. In campus actions, SDS members and supporters seized buildings, engaged in confrontations with police, disrupted ROTC activities, blockaded the cars of Government and business recruiters, and demonstrated against Government policies in Southeast Asia. As part of its new interest in anti-imperialism and the Third World, SDS's Radical Education Project (REP) helped form the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), an organization seeking "revolutionary change in Latin America" and which also takes "a revolutionary position" toward the U.S. society (see chapter I).

#### INFATUATION WITH GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS

From turbulent campus demonstrations and participation in numerous spring marches on Washington, SDS interest progressed to Marxist-Leninist theory, the writings of Mao Tse-tung, and guerrilla warfare modeled on the Cuban, Vietnamese and Uruguayan examples.

The SDS publication, *New Left Notes*, indicated that Che Guevara's "Guerrilla Warfare" was virtually required reading for SDS members "seriously" interested in social change.<sup>51</sup>

Moving toward the idea of setting up centers for urban guerrillas, SDS national vice-president Carl Davidson called for the creation of "permanent local centers of radical opposition with the capacity for becoming the foundation of an American resistance movement."<sup>52</sup> The same month, SDS national secretary Greg Calvert argued that student radicals alienated from American society "can only find meaningful expression through involvement in activities which will reorient America towards a creative interaction with revolutionary movements in the Western-dominated Third World."<sup>53</sup>

In accordance with this increasing fascination with terrorist guerrilla theory, SDS leaders began to make more journeys to Hanoi and Havana. Nicholas Egleson, Linda Evans, Rennie Davis, and Norman Fruchter reached Hanoi, while Jeff Jones, Cathy Wilkerson and Steve Halliwell were unable to complete their trip because of U.S. air attacks in North Vietnam. And Mark Rudd led a 20-member SDS delegation on a three-week stay in Cuba during February 1968, shortly before he led the Columbia University SDS chapter in violent disturbances.

The April 1967 message from Che Guevara "from somewhere in the world" and its call for the creation of "two, three, many Vietnams" in Latin America captured the imagination of the SDS revolutionaries. It was a major influence in the rhetoric of the June SDS convention. In July, SDS sent a representative to the Latin American Solidarity Organization meeting in Havana. This conference of leaders and potential leaders of pro-Castro revolutionary guerrilla movements in Latin America urged a struggle against "Yanqui imperialism."

The more militant SDS leaders began to turn from planning civil disobedience actions and demonstrations to discussions of mobile street fighting tactics and affinity groups.

Infatuation with the violence of street fighting brought a workshop on sabotage to the June 1968 SDS convention. The former organization of socialist reformers and liberals now studied "flushing bombs in toilets to destroy plumbing; using sharp, tripod-shaped metal instruments to halt vehicles; firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns; jamming radio equipment; and dropping thermite bombs down manholes to destroy communications systems."<sup>54</sup>

In August 1968, SDS members were present on the streets of Chicago during the riots at the time of the Democratic National Convention.

The accelerating trend toward terrorist violence is evidenced by a pamphlet, "Sabotage," circulated at the SDS national council in October, 1968. This was a reproduction of pages from a booklet, "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," by Alberto Bayo, a Cuban general who claimed to have been the "man who trained Castro." After the SDS participation in the Chicago Democratic convention riots and the emergence of Mark Rudd as a national SDS spokesman after the Columbia University disorders, a new tendency developed in SDS: one that felt the growth of SDS had depended on attracting new members with the militancy shown at Columbia and on the streets in Chicago. This

tendency felt that in order to grow, SDS had to emulate street gangs and show it was a "fighting movement."<sup>55</sup>

#### FORMATION OF A TERRORIST CADRE

SDS as an organization split into three factions at the June 1969, National Convention in Chicago. The smallest and most disciplined, sometimes called the Worker-Student Alliance faction, followed the Progressive Labor Party line.

It was created after PLP disbanded its M2M youth group in February 1966, and ordered its members to join SDS. The majority opposition was split into two factions, Revolutionary Youth Movement I and II. The RYM II faction, led by Mike Klonsky, while supporting the Marxist-Leninist concept of an armed revolution in which the "ruling classes" were overthrown in a "violent civil war" followed by the dictatorship of the proletariat, believed that the role of SDS was to build the "revolutionary cadre" of a future communist party "guided by the \* \* \* teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao." RYM II completely separated from the RYM.I [Weatherman] faction after the October 1969 "Days of Rage" street battles in Chicago.

The Weatherman faction received its name from a position paper<sup>56</sup> submitted primarily by people associated with the SDS National Office in Chicago. Written by Karen Ashley, Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, John "J.J." Jacobs, Jeff Jones, Gerry Long, Howie Machtlinger, Jim Mellen, Terry Robbins, Mark Rudd and Steve Tappis,<sup>56</sup> the paper attempted to analyze the potential for revolution in the United States. The Weatherman group believed that on the question of revolution and black self-determination, the "correct path" was to "build a white movement which will support the blacks in moving as fast as they have to and are able to, and still itself keep up with that black movement enough so that white revolutionaries share the cost and the blacks don't have to do the whole thing alone."<sup>57</sup> The Weathermen felt that those who thought blacks should not proceed alone in making their own revolution, or that they should do it alone without the whites were racists.

#### THE MOVE TO UNDERGROUND TERRORISM

The Weatherman faction quickly moved to implement violence. The SDS Weathermen, under the slogan "Bring the [Vietnam] war back home," called a national demonstration in Chicago October 8-11, 1969. The riots which developed from these demonstrations became known as the Days of Rage and resulted in the arrests of many Weathermen and their supporters.<sup>58</sup>

\*The glorification of the criminal street gang perhaps can be best shown in the lyrics to a Weatherman parody sung to the tune of "Deck the Halls."

Deck the pigs out on the sidewalk  
We are now a fighting movement  
Don we now our boots and helmets  
We used to talk but now we do it  
Smash your fist into his thorax  
Spray his face with lye and borax  
Drive your boot into his organ  
For this pig there's no New Morning!

[Song sheet distributed in Washington, D.C. in November 1969 during anti-Vietnam war demonstrations.]

\*\*Testimony describing the assaults on police by the Weathermen during the Days of Rage action may be found in HCIS hearings, "Investigation of Students for a Democratic Society," pt. 7-B, Dec. 17 and 18, 1969.

Failing to spark another Vietnam in the streets of Chicago, the Weathermen called a "war council" in Flint, Michigan, December 27-30, 1969. A Liberation News Service report published in the Guardian on January 10, 1970 (p. 3) stated that "Weatherman sees revolutionary change in America as happening almost solely, if at all, as a belated reaction to a successful world revolution including a successful revolt by the black colony inside the U.S." The Weathermen gloried in the thought of "barbarism," and praised the murder of actress Sharon Tate, eight months pregnant, by the Manson gang.

Bernardine Dohrn was quoted, "We're about being a fighting force alongside the blacks \* \* \*. We have to get into armed struggle." Liberation News Service stated, "Part of armed struggle, as Dohrn and others laid it down, is terrorism. Political assassination \* \* \* and literally any kind of violence that is considered anti-social were put forward as legitimate forms of armed struggle." The purpose of the terror, Dohrn said, was to scare "honky America."

Following the Flint meeting, Weatherman faction members for the most part went underground. A bomb explosion which demolished a townhouse on West 11th Street in New York City in March 1970 revealed the location of some of the missing Weathermen. Three died in the blast: Ted Gold, Diana Oughton and Terry Robbins. Evidence indicated that Gold may have been constructing an anti-personnel bomb at the time of his death. Identified as having escaped from the collapsing building were Kathie Boudin and Cathlyn P. Wilkerson.

#### THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

In the fall of 1969, after the disintegration of SDS into three rival factions, but before the Flint, Michigan War Council, the Weathermen began to seek wider support among the "drop-out" and "student/hip" communities. Harold Jacobs, editor of the book, "Weatherman," provided an analysis of this period.

\* \* \* Weatherman turned its attention toward reconstituting SDS as a national revolutionary mass organization. It sought to bring together, within SDS, all forces on the Left struggling to build a revolutionary youth movement. \* \* \* Weatherman envisioned creating an alliance with other white revolutionaries—Yippies,<sup>28</sup> White Panthers,<sup>29</sup> "Conspiracy 8" trial defendants and their militant supporters—to push the developing youth culture in a class-conscious, anti-imperialist direction and to turn the militant but fragmented youth movement into a coherent and united political force. ["Weatherman," ed. by Harold Jacobs, Ramparts Press, Inc., Berkeley, 1970, p. 308.]

Bernardine Dohrn's first communique for the Weather Underground reiterated the group's belief that its natural allies were to be found in the alienated members of the drug using "youth culture." Weather Communique #1 read in part:

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. \* \* \* 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 guerrilla strategy of the Viet Cong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros to our own situation here in the most technically advanced country in the world.

He 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.

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 town-house where kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns—fugitives from Amerikan justice are free to go. \* \* \*

Dohrn's communique concluded with a promise:

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.<sup>30</sup>

Dohrn's promise of revolutionary violence was met. On June 9, 1970, a bomb exploded in the New York City police headquarters on Centre Street. Weatherman Communique #2 gloated—

\* \* \* They guard their buildings and we walk right past their guards. \* \* \* They build the bank of America, kids burn it down. \* \* \* The time is now. Political power grows out of a gun, a Molotov, a riot, a commune \* \* \* [From the Berkeley Tribe, July 31, 1970, reprinted in "Weatherman" by Harold Jacobs, p. 512].

Communique #3 noted the Weatherman "celebration" of the Cuban national holiday on July 26 by a blast in the early hours of July 27th at the Bank of America offices on Wall Street.

The Weather Underground, as the faction was now usually referred to, moved in September 1970, to "rescue" the apostle of the drug culture, Dr. Timothy Leary, from the San Luis Obispo prison farm in California. Communique #4, signed by Bernardine Dohrn, hailed Leary as the destroyer of normal U.S. culture ("a barren wasteland that has been imposed on this country by Democrats, Republicans, Capitalists and creeps"). This fourth communique was accompanied by a statement from Leary in which he called on people to "resist physically," and "Arm yourself and shoot to live . . . Life is never violent. To shoot a genocidal robot policeman in the defense of life is a sacred act." [Reprinted in "Weatherman," pp. 517 and 518]. The wanderings of Timothy Leary through Algeria, Switzerland and Afganistan; his arrest and eventual extradition to the United States; his involvement in international drug smuggling and hallucinogenic drug manufacture are documented in Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearings "Hashish Smuggling and Passport Fraud: The Brotherhood of Eternal Love," October 3, 1973.

During the summer and fall of 1970, the Weather Underground relied on the YIP to distribute several of its communiques and messages. Communique #5 from the Weather Underground, handwritten by Bernardine Dohrn and signed by Jeff Jones and Bill Ayers, was received at the YIP office in New York City on Tuesday, October 6, 1970, at 11 a.m. The letter, postmarked Monday in Chicago, took credit for the destruction of a statue of a policeman in Haymarket Square. Accompanying the letter was a tape recording by

Bernardine Dohrn which was authenticated by her sister, Jennifer, a spokesman for the YIP, at a press conference in New York.<sup>61</sup> The tape predicted more violence.

The Weathermen followed up on their threats with bombings of the Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael, California, the place where Jonathan Jackson, younger brother of convict revolutionary George Jackson, died in an attempt to free several prisoners in August, 1970. On the same day, October 8, 1970, a National Guard armory in Santa Barbara, and the ROTC facilities at the University of Washington in Seattle were severely damaged in explosions claimed by the Weather Underground.<sup>62</sup> These bombings were followed by an attack on the Queens, New York, Courthouse on October 11, 1970.<sup>63</sup>

Many bombings have been claimed by communiqués and telephone calls from the Weathermen. Some of the major bombings to date include:

March 1, 1971—U.S. Capitol.<sup>64</sup>

August 28, 1971—Offices of the California Department of Corrections in Sacramento and San Francisco to protest the death of George Jackson in an abortive prison escape.<sup>65</sup>

May 19, 1972—the Pentagon.<sup>66</sup>

May 18, 1973—Two New York City Police Department patrol cars.<sup>67</sup>

September 28, 1973—Offices of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation in New York City in what a phoned message described as "retaliation of the I.T.T. crimes they committed against Chile."<sup>68</sup>

March 7, 1974—Health, Education and Welfare Department offices in San Francisco to protest Government policies on welfare and sterilization.<sup>69</sup>

#### LEGAL MOVES AGAINST THE WEATHERMEN

The Weatherman faction has managed to evade a massive and intensive search for its leaders which has lasted four years. While the Weatherman leadership has remained as fugitives, its legal representatives have waged a series of protracted court battles against two major indictments for violations of federal statutes.

On April 3, 1970, a Federal grand jury in Chicago handed down indictments for conspiracy to riot in the Days of Rage "national action," a violation of 18 USC § 2101. Those indicted were Jeffrey Jones, Terry Robbins, Mike Spiegel, Linda Evans, Howie Machtinger, Judy Clark, John Jacobs, Lawrence Weiss, Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers and Kathie Boudin. There were 28 alleged co-conspirators. On January 3, 1974, all Federal charges relating to the Days of Rage demonstrations were dropped in this case.

According to a recent summary of the status of cases against the Weathermen in the Washington Post,<sup>70</sup> "In the Chicago case, only two of the 12 defendants—Linda Evans and Judy Clark—have been apprehended. They were tried on state charges and served 90 days in jail. The others are still at large and several of them face local charges brought by state authorities in Illinois and elsewhere." The article also notes that Howard Machtinger, one of the Chicago defendants, "was arrested on East 86th Street (New York) in September, then jumped his \$2,500 bail in October."

According to the National Lawyers Guild's official national publication, Guild Notes, the lack of success in apprehending many of the fugitive Weathermen and changes in the rules governing electronic surveillance which resulted from the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *United States v. U.S. District Court*, 407 U.S. 297 (1972), were the primary factors in causing the government to file its motion to dismiss.<sup>71</sup>

On July 13, 1970, a Federal grand jury in Detroit indicted 13 people for conspiring with named but unindicted co-conspirators to illegally acquire and transport in interstate commerce various explosives and incendiary bombs, to plan bombings in several cities, and to carry out a bombing in Cleveland.

A superseding indictment against 15 people was issued in Detroit on December 7, 1972, against William Ayers, Kathy Boudin, Robert Burlingham, Bernardine Dohrn, Dianne Donghi, Linda Evans, Ronald Fliegelman, John Fuerst, Leonard Handelsman, Naomi Jaffe, Russell Neufeld, Mark Real, Mark Rudd, Roberta Smith and Cathy Wilkerson. Of those, John Fuerst, Leonard Handelsman, Mark Real and Roberta Smith had not been named in the original indictment, although Real had been listed as an unindicted co-conspirator. Larry Grathwohl and Jane Spielman, named as defendants in the first indictment, were dropped in the superseding one.

The following were listed<sup>72</sup> as unindicted co-conspirators (those marked with an \* were added to the second indictment):

Karen Ashley*	Linda Josefowicz	Terry Robbins
Kirk Augustin*	Michael Thomas	Robert Roth
Paul Augustin*	Justesen*	Deborah Stern
Peter Clapp	Mark Laventer	Schneller*
David Flatley*	Mark Lencl	Pat Small*
Judith Ann Cohen	Howard Machtinger	Michael Spiegel
Flatley*	Peter Neufeld	Marsha Steinberg
David Joseph Gilbert*	Diana Oughton	Robert Swarthout
Ted Gold	Wendy Panken	Joanna Zilsel*

On October 15, 1973, this indictment was dismissed over questions of evidence obtained from electronic surveillance.

Of the 15 Detroit defendants, only five either never went underground or were apprehended. Linda Evans has been living in an all women's collective in Arkansas; Mark Real, described as a Kent State Weatherman,<sup>73</sup> re-enrolled at that school in Ohio; Russell Neufeld, 26, lives in New York City's Lower East Side and works on the National Lawyers Guild newsletter for prisoners,<sup>74</sup> *The Midnight Special*, and has written for the NLG publication, *Guild Notes*, on the status of the Weatherman indictments. Dianne Donghi lives in Boston and is studying to be a veterinary nurse; and Robert G. "Bo" Burlingham since May of 1972 has been an editor of *Ramparts* magazine.<sup>75</sup>

The following underground Weathermen are wanted on Federal fugitive charges as of February 15, 1974, for these violations of the law, according to the records of the U.S. Department of Justice:

Lawrence Barber—violation of Selective Service Act  
 Judith Bissell—sabotage  
 Silas Bissell—sabotage  
 Kathie Boudin—mob action

Peter Clapp—criminal possession of dangerous drugs  
 Bernardine Dohrn—mob action  
 Judith Ann Flatley—forgery  
 John Fuerst—mob action; possession of unregistered destructive devices; transportation of unregistered destructive devices; violation of the National Firearms Act  
 David Gilbert—arson and conspiracy to commit arson  
 Leonard Handelsman—mob action; violation of National Firearms Act  
 John Jacobs—aggravated battery and jumping bail  
 Jeff Jones—aggravated battery and jumping bail  
 Michael Justesen—violation of anti-riot laws  
 Howard Machtinger—bond default; aggravated battery; violation of Selective Service Act  
 Celeste McCullough—mob action  
 Jeffrey Powell—mob action  
 Robert Roth—mob action  
 Mark Rudd—aggravated battery  
 John Skardis—malicious destruction of property; armed with a dangerous and deadly weapon  
 Roberta Smith—conspiracy; possession of unregistered destructive devices  
 Mike Spiegel—aggravated battery and jumping bail  
 Barry Stein—aggravated battery  
 Larry Weiss—mob action  
 Cathlyn Wilkerson—mob action; homicide  
 Joanna Zinsel—violation of the National Firearms Act

#### WEATHERMAN ATTITUDES

An interview with Neufeld, Donghi and Burlingham reported in the National Observer on Jan. 5, 1974, explored their attitudes toward revolutionary violence and the Weatherman terror campaign. Neufeld was quoted:

I still think America needs a revolution from top to bottom; and I don't think that the people who are running this country are going to give it up without a fight. We also need a revolution in the way people treat other people. It requires political work on many levels, including illegal levels like the Weather Underground bombing of the ITT office here a few weeks ago.

The National Observer states, "Like Neufeld, Miss Donghi supports the Weather Underground's terror campaign of bombing," although she explains that rioting on the other hand "scared me to death."

Burlingham, who shortly after his indictment, married Lisa Meisel, an active Weatherman organizer at Kent State,<sup>9</sup> had worked for various Boston underground newspapers. The interview notes that Burlingham's "well-publicized past posed no problems with either his employer or his news sources. \* \* \* Rather than being stigmatized by the indictment, Burlingham's career may have even benefitted by it." The article goes on to quote him as follows:

\* \* \* I support what the Weather Underground has done—the bombings. They have used violence against property to call attention to the incredible violence against humanity in defense of property, which continues to be carried out by most of the major institutions of our society.

I don't feel that I've particularly changed my attitudes because of what's gone on in the past 3½ years or how society must change. \* \* \* I don't think an equitable, fair, free, democratic world order is going to happen any other way than through violence.

Others associated with the Weathermen have voiced continuing approval of the use of terror tactics to force radical social change. Bernardine Dohrn sent letters, postmarked Berkeley, to San Francisco newspapers expressing her support of the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army. Dated "Weather Underground, February 20, 1974," this was the first communication signed by the fugitive revolutionary since December 1970. Dohrn's letter, as printed in the Berkeley Barb of March 1-7, 1974 (p. 3), states in part:

Sisters and Brothers,

A massive morality play of American life is occurring, [sic] bringing home the message that this society will necessarily continue to produce revolutionaries, whose essential purpose will be understood by masses of people. It demonstrates [sic] that the American [sic] Empire is violent, ruthless, and based on oppression.

\* \* \* the guerrillas have kidnaped the daughter of a rich and powerful man in order to provide food to the poor. Their action has unleashed an astonishing practical unity among peoples' organizations, and a leap in everyone's consciousness about the fundamental reality which will not die or pass into the memories of a previous decade. That is, the war between the rich and the poor.

There are four points we would offer.

1. American society is maintained by force and violence. The ruling class has held a monopoly on violence and has fed us a steady diet for centuries.

2. We support the right of people to food. Shadowing the more blatant terror is the silent violence of malnutrition, forced sterilizations, and schools which teach children to be illiterate. This secret form of murder is increasing and it is systematic.

3. There have always [sic] been attempts to disassociate extremists from moderates \* \* \*. It is the people who make revolution, and they must determine how and when revolutionary violence is necessary. \* \* \* Don't do the enemy's work. The media distorts and denounces in an attempt to divide the revolution. Movement spokespeople who react to political crises by asserting their own moderation and legitimacy are providing ammunition which will be used in the ruling class ploys [sic] to split and weaken us.

Beware of the familiar phrases used against every kind of revolutionary action: "it's premature," "it turns people off" (some people), "it brings down repression." The same words are used to attack sit-ins, draft-card burnings, urban rebellions, the struggle of women, G.I. revolts, or occupations of institutions. \* \* \*

Today Nat Turner and John Brown are considered revolutionary heroes. In their own time, each was attacked as a murderous lunatic by the more "respectable" abolitionists. Revolution is officially revered only in retrospect.

4. Revolutions are uneven. They develop from concrete [sic] conditions. Like people, like nations, they are each unique and yet share common qualities. They will not behave according to expectations; they are forged in grinding suffering and resistance.

We do not comprehend the execution of Marcus Foster, and respond very soberly to the death of a Black person who was not a recognized enemy of his people. But it is wrong to allow such questions to become a grant of immunity to enemies and executioners of the oppressed. The system always holds that its massive violence is legal and moral and that revolutionary violence by the people is illegal and outrageous. It is the opposite that is true.

Committed political workers will be criticizing and discussing the Hearst kidnapping for a long time, but we must acknowledge that this audacious intervention has carried forward the basic public questions and starkly dramatized what many have come to unperceive [sic]: It will be necessary to organize and to destroy this racist and cruel system.

For the Weather Underground,

Bernardine Dohrn.

A second letter of support for the Symbionese Liberation Army terrorists printed in the same issue of the Berkeley Barb was written by Stew Albert, a former organizer of the International Liberation School in Berkeley, one-time No. 3 man in the Yippies, and a self-proclaimed suspect in the Weatherman bombing of the U.S. Capitol in 1971.<sup>77</sup> The letter reads:

DEAR BARB: I want to speak, in this open letter, to some old and very dear comrades about the SLA. The Barb asks if the "New Left is running scared of revolution." From the letters written to the Barb and from what I hear from friends, the Left is presently running scared of its shadow.

The "revolutionary arrest" of Ms. Hearst occurred many times in the 1960's urban guerilla day dreams of campus political tables and Mediterranean Cafe chitchat. Now it's happening in a cyanide-tipped reality and having to come to terms with a myth which has grown human flesh seems to have freaked us out. Our response shows that fear, loathing and paranoia have become for us not a momentary aberration but a full-fledged life style.

Why do so many American radicals find the kidnapping of Ms. Hearst, a scion of the (imperial) ruling class, so extraordinarily shocking? Events like this occur with intensifying periodicity in the Third World.

In a neo-colony like Argentina, political kidnappings and ransoms have become an expected price of doing corporate business.

The National Liberation Front of Vietnam made French rubber plantation owners pay through their greedy Gallic noses.

We do not call the perpetrators of those activities brainwashed sexist CIA zombies. We do not denigrate their character by labelling them "fanatics" and "extortionists." So why, when at long last the revolutionary guerilla finally grows out of North American soil, do we see omnipotent Plumbers pulling everybody's string but our own?

The most dramatic blueprint for revolution in America was authored by George Jackson in "Blood in My Eye." Jackson declares, over and over again, that survival programs and demonstrations will come to nothing but emptiness unless they are backed by the existence of a functioning guerilla army which both defends and attacks. Unless survival demands are backed, by the barrel of many guns, the best intentioned revolutionaries will wind up "serving the people" peanuts.

Now it seems like some victims of the Soledad Slave Ship have got their feet on the street and are trying to implement a little George Jacksonian democracy. Why the panic? I expect it from the Timid Trots and Breshnev Boosters, but this manic paranoia even comes from those who really have seen the clear light of revolution.

To publicly praise the profoundly revolutionary character of the Hearst kidnapping is not to endorse all the actions of the SLA. From everything I have been able to learn, the Foster assassination was an immense political mistake. But again, do we really believe every Vietnamese village chief cut down by the NLF deserved to die? Have we such supreme faith in the Cuban government that we can state categorically, its revolutionary firing squads were never pointed in the wrong direction? We must admit that sometimes honest revolutionaries commit injustices, but we must never savagely abuse them as "enemies of the people."

Finally, I do not think supporters of the SLA should maintain a low profile. The surest way to invite political persecution is to live in the shadows. Either you go underground like the great Weather People and do "illegal things" like putting a bomb in the Capitol building, or you show your true face in the sun and absolutely defend your right to freedom of speech and association.

If you don't make this defense, who will?

STEW ALBERT.

#### THE WEATHERMEN TODAY

In the early evening of March 7, 1974, a bomb placed by the Women's Brigade of the Weather Underground blew out a wall in the Health, Education, and Welfare Department offices in San Francisco. The Women's Brigade communique said that the attack against HEW was taken "for all women who: Wait in line for too few food stamps and brave food distribution lines because our families have to eat \* \* \*."<sup>78</sup> The bombing was also dedicated to two young black girls "who were sterilized in a Montgomery, Alabama family planning clinic funded by HEW."<sup>79</sup> This terror attack on the Government's social service agency makes it clear that the Weathermen will continue to use illegitimate terror tactics in their attempts to achieve revolutionary social change.

Most of the SDS Weathermen who went underground after the Flint meeting in December 1969 have not been apprehended.

#### BLACK EXTREMISTS

##### CLEAVER FACTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Founded in California in 1966 by a small group of militant blacks that included Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale and joined in 1967 by Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther Party was the subject of extensive investigation and hearings by the Committee on Internal Security in 1970. The committee's report concluded that "the Black Panther Party through its deliberately inflammatory rhetoric and through the actual arming and military training of its members, has contributed to an increase in acts of violence and constitutes a threat to the internal security of the United States."<sup>80</sup>

Early in 1971, a factional dispute split the BPP. Five West Coast Panthers were expelled from the organization for allegedly attempting to organize themselves into a roving armed band and planning Newton's assassination.<sup>81</sup> Among the five expelled was Elmer Gerard "Geronimo" Pratt,\* former deputy minister of defense of the southern California BPP chapter and a supporter of Cleaver.

Further purges followed. In February 1971, eleven East Coast Black Panthers were expelled for advocating a "real" revolution involving armed struggle.<sup>82</sup> As a result of the February purge, two of those expelled fled to Algeria where they joined the Black Panther Party International Section (BPPIS) led by Eldridge Cleaver.\*\* The two Panthers who fled to Algeria were Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor and Richard Moore, also known as Anaye Dharuba (both at the time

\*Elmer Gerard Pratt was one of 13 Black Panthers convicted in Los Angeles of conspiracy to possess illegal weapons and possession of illegal weapons—charges stemming from a 5-hour shootout with police in that city in December 1969. Pratt received the maximum State prison sentence of one to five years for that conviction. Pratt was expelled from the Black Panther Party by the Huey Newton group in 1970. In 1971 he was considered the leader of the Cleaver faction in the United States. In 1972, Pratt was tried for robbery and murder and convicted on September 22, 1972. He is now serving a life sentence in the California correctional system. [Guardian, Jan. 5, 1972, p. 2; Guardian, Feb. 2, 1972, p. 2; Washington Post, Nov. 24, 1971, p. A-6; Los Angeles Times, Sept. 23, 1972.]

\*\*To avoid a parole revocation hearing scheduled for Nov. 27, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver left the United States. He lived in Cuba until May 1969 when, complaining bitterly of Cuban racism, Cleaver moved to Algeria where he organized the International Section and functioned as BPP "Minister of Information." [HCIS report, "Gun-Barrel Politics" \* \* \* op. cit.]

defendants in the New York 21 bombing conspiracy trial and later acquitted.)

During February 1971, Cleaver attempted to reconcile the two factions. His efforts failed, and in mid-March Newton's Oakland headquarters issued a statement that the entire Algiers International Section had "defected" from the Black Panther Party.<sup>83</sup>

The Black Panther International Section, its name subsequently modified to Intercommunal Section, did not disintegrate. Rather it opened a headquarters in the Bronx, New York. By the fall of 1971, it had replaced its "ministry of information" with the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network (RPCN) to "provide the above ground information apparatus to the revolutionary forces" in the United States and other nations, particularly those on the African continent.

The Black Panther Party's International Section explained in a news release from Algiers on September 13, 1971, that the new structure was initiated "in keeping with the new conditions of struggle" and appealed to "all revolutionary people, organizations, and movements" to help build the communications network by affiliating their existing facilities with it or forming a network link.

A "Position Paper No. 1" from the International Section of the BPP circulated under the heading "Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network, Vol. 1" was the text of a statement of the Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party given to the Second World Conference on Palestine, in session in Kuwait, February 13-17, 1971. Don Cox,\* BPP field marshal, presented the Panther statement which declared in part:

Long years of treachery, torture, bloodshed and exploitation at the hands of the imperialist butchers link the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Afro-American people for their just liberation. \* \* \* we both have discovered that it is only when we throw off dependency and patience and pick up weapons ourselves to fight for our freedom that we begin to taste success.

The six-page Position Paper No. 1 concluded:

Within the United States, the revolutionary movement against fascism and racism and capitalism is daily growing in momentum. Attacks upon police, military and government installations, banks and big business increase daily. \* \* \* Rebellions occur even within the prisons. The U.S. Army is in a state of disarray \* \* \*. Bombings and snipings are a regular occurrence. The progressive student movement is turning more and more to revolutionary violence. \* \* \* The time to attack U.S. Imperialism is ripe, while attacks are coming from each and every side, for the monster is on its death-bed, and the people shall be victorious. \* \* \*

#### COMMUNICATIONS LINK FOR GUERRILLAS

It was not until September 1971, that the Cleaver Faction of the BPP detailed the exact role of the RPCN as a revolutionary guerrilla support group. At that time a document was circulated entitled "What is the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network." Signed "In-

\*Don Cox, a fugitive from justice residing in Algeria, joined Cleaver early in 1970 while charged with conspiracy to murder and assault in the torture-killing of a Baltimore Panther suspected of being a police informer. Under the initials "D.C." Cox wrote a pamphlet for the Cleaver group, "On Organizing Urban Guerrilla Units," distributed by the RPCN during 1971 and 1972. The pamphlet is a theoretical justification and a practical handbook for ambushes, murder, kidnaping and robbery. Cox admits in the booklet that he was a member of a terrorist team that attacked a San Francisco police station and killed a police officer. [HCIS Annual Report for the Year 1971, pp. 264 and 265.]

ternational Section, Black Panther Party," in Algiers, the document was published in the October 1971, issue of Voice of the Lumpen, an RPCN-linked tabloid published in West Germany.

This position paper said:

The Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network was created to replace the former Ministry of Information of the Black Panther Party, to provide a new structure for dissemination [sic] of information and mass organization in keeping with the new conditions of struggle and to structurally and organizationally separate the above ground and underground apparatus of the revolutionary forces fighting inside the United States. At this point, the arm of a vanguard organization engaged in above ground revolutionary work cannot allow a direct link to those arms engaged in underground work of a more deadly nature. Neither can the underground revolutionary apparatus afford to be involved in the above ground work of producing and disseminating [sic] information. Therefore, the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network was initiated to provide the above ground information apparatus to the revolutionary forces many of whom are underground in Babylon.\* Within the United States, the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network engaged in mass above ground work and political operations, while all other types of revolutionary activity are structurally separated in another apparatus.

An article published in the February 15, 1972 issue of Right On! the "national" newspaper of the Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party, was entitled "In Memory of Malcolm." It stated:

We must apply some of the same methods and actions of the brothers and sisters in South America that they are using to gain their liberation and now after being slaves for over 400 years Black people have all the justification for waging revolutionary war in Babylon.

Included as tactics in that article were the bombing of police officers' homes, theft of police uniforms and weapons, jail escapes, bank robbery, "execution of businessmen," and kidnaping diplomats. This article also lists the logistical requirements of urban guerrillas and clearly states the source of weapons:

\* \* \* A lot of this you can find in banks and gunshops etc. etc. Check out your local street merchants and armories or police and mafia arsenal. There are .38's and .357's in the streets in blue uniforms \* \* \*

During 1970 and 1971, the Cleaver faction tried to establish relationships with African guerrilla groups such as the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)<sup>84</sup> and the Palestinian Al Fatah guerrillas. The December 15, 1971 (p. 19) issue of Babylon (an RPCN newspaper) stated that the Algerian government gave the Cleaver group the same facilities it provided for those other "liberation" organizations which operate offices in Algiers "PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZAPU, ANC, El Fatah, NLF of South Vietnam, etc." Babylon stated that Cleaver had established "a positive working basis with the liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and with the progressive governments of Asia."<sup>85</sup> It was further stated that "in September 1970 the International Section of the Black Panther Party was officially recognized by the Algerian Government as the representation [sic] of the Afro-American struggle outside the United States \* \* \*"

In January 1972, Cleaver was replaced as the head of the International (or Intercommunal Section) by Felix "Pete" O'Neal, a founder of the Kansas City branch of the BPP.<sup>86</sup> In February 1973,

\*In Cleaver's rhetoric, "Babylon" was often used as a synonym for the United States.

Cleaver vanished from his Algiers apartment. He turned up in December 1973, in France seeking political asylum. Cleaver's initial appeal for asylum was denied, but his case was taken on appeal.<sup>87</sup>

The Algerian Government had broken with the Algiers-based Panther organization in September 1972. It cut off the RPCN Telex machine and telephone. Cleaver at that time was living apart from the rest of the Panthers in his own Algiers apartment. He had not followed through with January statements to return to the United States to lead the "Afro-American Liberation Army."<sup>88</sup>

Available data does not show that Cleaver has exercised control over his faction since February 1973. However, FBI publications consistently refer to the group as the Eldridge Cleaver faction, which distinguishes it from the faction headed by Newton.

In the spring of 1971, Eldridge Cleaver's wife, Kathleen Neale Cleaver, and their two children returned to the United States. She embarked on raising funds for the RPCN by the "traditional means"—speaking at campus and other engagements. Among her speaking engagements were several in the Los Angeles area in support of the 13 Los Angeles Panthers on trial for participating in a shootout with police on December 8, 1969. Four members of the group on trial described themselves as "members of the Toure Cadre of the AALA [Afro-American Liberation Army]"—Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, Willie Stafford, Isiah Houston and Jackie Johnson.<sup>89</sup>

In an interview with Associated Press reporters in October 1971, Kathleen Cleaver acknowledged that her mission in the United States was to organize a new structure for the black revolutionary movement. She further said she would give speeches across the country to "revolutionary forces" in a campaign for "new fighters."<sup>90</sup> Her speaking tour took her to the Southeastern Peoples Revolutionary Conference sponsored by the Malcolm X United Liberation Front in Tallahassee November 26–28, 1971. At this gathering, Kathleen Cleaver and Afeni Shakur, former New York Panther 21 defendant, represented the RPCN; and Virginia Collins, who calls herself Dara Abubakari, represented the Republic of New Africa and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). This meeting is one of several links between the RPCN and the RNA.<sup>91</sup> Subsequent to Kathleen Cleaver's nationwide tour, RPCN publications listed affiliates in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, Buffalo, Los Angeles, San Francisco, St. Louis, Kansas City and Washington, D.C.

#### CLEAVER FACTION PUBLICATIONS

The Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network, previously described propaganda arm of the Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party, included at least three tabloid newspapers in its "network":

*Babylon*, published by the RPCN from 248 West 102nd St., New York, N.Y. 10025. Staff included Denise Oliver, Managing Editor; Eldridge Cleaver, International Editor; and Correspondents Jane Cyril, N.Y.; Mumia, Philadelphia; J. Franklin, San Francisco; Paulette Frye, Detroit.

*Right On!*, the Black Community News Service, "national" news paper of the Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party, published

from 2026 7th Avenue, Harlem, New York. Staff included Bernice Jones, also known as Aiyada Katara; Nathaniel Jones; Obayana Katara, photography; Lawrence Wallace, graphics; and as reporters, "Muhammad Hassan and the Black Panther Party."

*Voices of the Lumpen*, published by Martin Walser from Frankfurt, West Germany and directed toward U.S. military personnel in Europe. There was no listing of staff; and much of the content was reprinted from *Right On!* and *Babylon*.

During 1971, the RPCN published thousands of words in communiques, press releases and position papers. These papers include "South Africa and World Imperialism;" "Especially U.S. Imperialism;" "Letter to the Lumpen;" "The Afro-American and the Military;" "Towards a People's Army;" "An Appeal to All Comrades who are ready to get down Militarily in Babylon at this time;" "On the Murder of George Jackson" and "On the Prison Rebellions in Babylon."

#### AFRO-AMERICAN LIBERATION ARMY

The facts are not completely clear as to the relationship between the Afro-American Liberation Army and the Black Liberation Army which will be described in a subsequent section of this chapter. It is known that members of the Afro-American Liberation Army once used the name Black Liberation Army and that some arrested members of the Black Liberation Army were members of the Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party (also known as the Afro-American Liberation Army). Credit for acts of terrorism has been claimed under both names. They will be treated separately in this study, however.

As noted previously a factional dispute split the Black Panther Party in 1971. A group of East Coast Black Panthers were expelled for proposing immediate active violent revolution. The position of the latter faction was adopted by Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, who was already living as a fugitive in Algeria, and the name "Cleaver faction" has been generally used to describe this violence-oriented Black Panther group.

The Cleaver faction retained the name Black Panther Party, but also began using the name Afro-American Liberation Army, describing it as "the military arm of the Black Panther Party" according to a document attributed primarily to Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt.

The document is a pamphlet of the Afro-American Liberation Army, printed without date by the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network, but from its context clearly produced in the year 1972. The introduction to this pamphlet, which bore the title "Humanity, Freedom, Peace," reads as follows:

#### INTRODUCTION

The Afro-American Liberation Army is a revolutionary military organization. It grew out of the contradictions caused by the criminal direction that Huey P. Newton and the rest of the "Peralta Street Gang" has taken the Black Panther Party, which is now no more than a low level "Mafia" organization diverting and confusing the people's struggle.

So recognizing the fact that the BPP had completely divorced itself from the military aspect of the struggle in Babylon, certain revolutionaries saw the necessity to organize the AALA and to educate, by example, the Afro-American people in Amerika. For too [sic] long revolutionary guerrilla warfare has been pro-

jected as something in the far-off mystical future. Even though the physically and mentally violent oppression that people suffer is not in the far-off future, but here and now, and so must our solution [sic] here and now.

Much of the work in this pamphlet was written by Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a revolutionary now imprisoned in Los Angeles on trumped-up murder charges. Though we realize that Geronimo is a righteous revolutionary and his example is important in terms of our education, just as the example of Eldridge Cleaver and many other comrades is important, here we would like to make it clear that we understand the incorrectness of any hero worship. It is important tonotehere that most people relate to heroes in hopes that a perfect hero will lead them in the right direction and save them from the necessary study that all revolutionaries must do. In terms of heroes we have one philosophy and that is a philosophy that has been prevalent in all revolutionary struggles whether it be China, Cuba, Vietnam the Peoples' Republic of the Congo or any other struggle. This is, you name children, programs, and places only after dead heroes. *Their politics don't change.*

The Afro-American Liberation Army is not a regular army but a guerrilla army. Consequently, it has no central headquarters that directs. It is directed by revolutionary principles and is made up of small units that are knowledgeable of the particular area in which they operate. True to all guerrilla operations, each unit is not aware of any other units' actions unless they are directly involved. The major requirements for membership are adherence to progressive, revolutionary principles and above all, action.

Like progressive organizations all over the world, (Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, Uruguay, Northern Ireland, etc.) it is time for our forces here in Babylon to attack, attack, attack . . .

DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN

That adherents of the Afro-American Liberation Army had used the name "Black Liberation Army" is established by the aforementioned pamphlet by Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. The pamphlet reproduces an interview with Pratt conducted in the fall of 1971, with the following editor's note:

\* \* \* At the time this interview was conducted [apparently October, 1971] the term Geronimo used was "Black Liberation Army." He has asked that it be explained that the reason it is now called Afro-American Liberation Army is that it is more descriptive than "Black Liberation Army" because it recognizes our connectedness with Africa \* \* \*

A statement in the pamphlet written by Pratt in January 1972 continued to employ both names, however. "On August of that same year (1970)," Pratt recalled, "the hierarchy of our Mother organization (the B.L.A.-A.A.L.A.) assigned me to help spearhead our program of mobilizing the masses in the countryside." And Huey Newton, in August 1970 still head of a united Black Panther Party, was referred to by Pratt as "then a well-loved person in the B.L.A.'s political machinery."

According to the 1972 FBI Annual Report, when Cleaver announced in January 1972 that he was "assuming control of the Afro-American Liberation Army," the AALA was described as an underground group that would carry on urban guerrilla warfare activities in the United States. The report carried the following additional descriptive information concerning Cleaver followers in the United States:

The Cleaver faction has a membership of approximately 150. Its publication "Right On!" has carried articles calling for political assassination and other terrorist acts, as well as detailed instructions on the conduct of urban guerilla warfare in the United States. In the past year, individuals associated with the Cleaver faction have been directly linked to killings and assaults of police officers, armed robberies, and airplane hijackings.

#### AALA IDEOLOGY

The pamphlet, "Humanity, Freedom, Peace," contained interviews with others imprisoned in California, in addition to Pratt. Pratt declared that "We view ourselves at this particular time as a political cadre of the AfroAmerican Liberation Army \* \* \*" (p. 19) Pratt defined the AALA ideology in these words:

AfroAmerican Liberation Army ideology is the collectivism of revolutionary principles learned from over 400 years of struggle—from Turner, Vesey, Toussaint, to brother Malcolm, Bunchy, Melville and George.\* That is the magnifying glass through which we study Marxism-Leninism.

In the same pamphlet (p. 14), Ronald Freeman, one of the 13 Los Angeles Panthers arrested in a December 1969 shootout, stated:

We relate to revolutionaries around the world. We see what they are doing in Brazil, in Uruguay, the Palestinians. They don't ask for money, they take it. Revolution is right on, either-or. Either the oppressed stop the oppression or the world will be destroyed. From capitalism to communism, from the dog-eat-dog to the collective. I do my bit and you do yours. You know, from each according to his ability to each according to his need.

Ronald Freeman's brother, Roland, commented on the AALA position on racism on page 15 of the pamphlet:

We don't distinguish between Black and white pigs. It is a class struggle. Our problem is racism and we know that stems out of capitalism. There is a point of departure. Like Mao says, every class is stamped with a brand. We live in a class society. We recognize that for what it is. Just because a man is Black doesn't mean anything.

The RPCN in 1971 distributed an AALA manual written by Don Cox entitled "On Organizing Urban Guerilla Units." This 54-page pamphlet provides information on guerrilla tactics and the use and care of weapons. Cox's pamphlet also gave an account of a raid he claims to have led against a San Francisco police station in which an officer was killed.

Another section of the AALA manual deals with "fund raising":

\* \* \* funds raised by traditional means must be augmented by funds raised by other means. The means of armed attacks upon financial institutions for the purpose of taking back the profits of the world slave system. There should be no place where the pigs keep their stash that are safe from attacks by guerrilla units for the purpose of fund raising. Because we have used this method traditionally and most of us are used to this type of activity, I feel it necessary to issue a warning that this type of activity should not be taken lightly. The same amount of planning must go into fund raising as a unit would put into assaulting a police station. \* \* \* [p. 44]

#### TERRORIST ACTS

The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin for July 1973, page 4, contained the following references to the Afro-American Liberation Army:

While linked most often to ambushes and other shooting confrontations with police, the Afro-American Liberation Army has also used explosives, especially on the west coast. Early this year, components for making time bombs were seized by police from members of this group. In May 1972, a bomb was discovered at the Portuguese Consulate in San Francisco. The Afro-American Liberation Army claimed credit for placing the bomb in a letter directed to the news media.

\*References are probably to Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Pierre Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, Malcolm X, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, Sam Melville and George Jackson.

The device in this case consisted of 14 sticks of dynamite, a blasting cap, and a fuse, all contained in a brown paper sack. A dirt-filled cloth sack was placed over the bomb to direct the force of the blast, but the bomb failed to detonate when the fuse went out.

After a police car was bombed in Los Angeles on October 7, 1972, an anonymous caller claimed credit for the bombing in the name of the Afro-American Liberation Army. Although this group has used explosives more on the west coast, a house used as a training base in the South was boobytrapped with a heavy explosive charge when the guerrillas moved out. The "army" has also considered the use of light bulbs filled with explosives and straight pins as antipersonnel booby traps.

During the summer of 1972, two jets were hijacked to Algiers by BPP Cleaver faction members. The first hijacking occurred in June. The two hijackers were identified as William Holder and Linda Kerrow.<sup>92</sup> The half million dollar extortion payment for the plane was returned by the Algerian government over the protests of the Cleaver group.

#### BLACK LIBERATION ARMY

In February 1972, Assistant Chief Inspector Arthur C. Grubert of the New York City Police Department offered the following characterization of the Black Liberation Army:

"There appears to be an affiliation between hard-core individuals who have been associated with the Black Panther party and are dissatisfied or unhappy with the lack of extremism of the party at the present time."

He continued:

"A great many of these people who have been identified in connection with attacks on policemen were themselves Panthers. Others were in jail with Panthers."<sup>93</sup>

The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin for July 1973, page 4, states that the Afro-American Liberation Army and the Black Liberation Army are "synonymous." The FBI Annual Report for the same year set out descriptive information concerning the Black Liberation Army. The report states on page 28:

The classic covert urban guerrilla group today is the Black Liberation Army (BLA) operating out of New York City and composed basically of black extremists with current or past ties to the Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party (BPP). These revolutionary types philosophically if not actually acknowledge Eldridge Cleaver as their leader and mentor. Cleaver, a fugitive from justice, had been living in self-imposed exile in Algeria and recently was reported to be seeking asylum in France.

#### ASSAULTS ON POLICE

In the spring of 1971, a campaign of anti-police terror, attributed to the BLA, began.

Soon after 9 p.m. on May 19, 1971, two New York City police officers attempted to stop a car moving in the wrong direction on a one-way street near the home of the Manhattan district attorney. The occupants of the car shot and severely wounded the two officers with a machine gun. Two days later, Patrolmen Waverly Jones and Joseph Piagentini were shot in the back and killed while answering a routine call in Harlem.

Two hours before the second attack, a package was delivered to the New York Times which contained a license plate of the car used in the

May 19 attack, a live .45 bullet from the machine gun, and a message. It read:

All power to the People.

Here are the license plates sort [sic] after by the fascist state pig police. We send them in order to exhibit the potential power of oppressed peoples to acquire revolutionary justice. The armed goons of this racist government will again meet the guns of oppressed Third World Peoples as long as they occupy our community and murder our brothers and sisters in the name of American law and order \* \* \* the domestic armed forces of racism and oppression will be confronted with the guns of the Black Liberation Army, who will mete out in the tradition of Malcolm and all true revolutionaries real justice. We are revolutionary justice \* \* \*<sup>94</sup>

The next day, a second letter arrived with the BLA claiming responsibility for the shootings. Latent fingerprints were found inside the package wrapping. They belonged to Richard "Dharuba" Moore, a former Panther 21 defendant, and to Eddie Joseph, also a Panther.<sup>95</sup> Until the fingerprints were found, Moore had been believed to be in Algeria with the other Panthers. On June 2, 1971, four men, Moore, Eddie Joseph, Irving "Butch" Mason (another Panther) and Augustus Qualls were arrested during the holdup of an after hours club in the Bronx. Among the weapons seized by police was a .45 caliber sub-machine gun, the same gun allegedly used in the shooting of the patrolmen on May 19.<sup>96</sup> Moore, once a N.Y. state field secretary for the BPP, was sentenced to seven years for the bar hold up. On April 26, 1973, he received a sentence of life imprisonment for the machine gun attack.<sup>97</sup>

Voice of the Lumpen in October 1971 (p. 3), contained a communique from the Black Liberation Army giving its support to the members of the Republic of New Africa arrested in a shootout in Jackson, Mississippi on August 18, 1971. In the shootout, seven RNA members were arrested and charged with the murder of a Jackson police officer and the wounding of a second police officer and an FBI agent. On the same page, an article, "On Revolutionary Justice," hailed the "machine-gunning of two fascist Storm Troopers who were the bodyguards for District Attorney Frank Hogan" and asked "what could have been more fitting than to kick it off on Malcolm's Birthday." Voice of the Lumpen went on to state that these terrorists were "the NEW URBAN GUERRILLAS who constitute the military arm of the Black Liberation Army. Their job is to move on pig cops whenever it is necessary, mainly to capture weapons."

On August 1, 1972, Melvin and Jean McNair, Joyce Tillerson, Larry Burgess and Harry Singleton—accompanied by three young children—hijacked a Delta jet on a flight from Detroit to Orlando, Fla. After \$1 million in ransom was placed aboard the jet and 87 passengers were released, the hijackers flew to Algiers. The Cleaver group awaiting them at the airport identified the terrorists as members of the Black Liberation Army. Once again the Algerian government returned the ransom to U.S. officials.<sup>98</sup>

More recently, however, as arrested BLA suspects have been linked to the murder of police officers by the possession of the slain officers' handguns, the terrorists have advised each other to look elsewhere for weapons. A notebook of guerrilla techniques found in the possession of a BLA suspect involved in purchasing a considerable arsenal noted,

"We do not need to take weapons from iced [killed] pigs, specially those that have been righteously baconized. There are better places to rip-off weapons—not where they can be linked to butchered hogs." 99

The heavy arsenals favored by the BLA are shown by the seizure of a cache in Brooklyn, N.Y. on February 15, 1973. Seized were two .45-caliber sub-machine guns, one antitank 3.5 inch bazooka, 6 rifles, five shotguns, two .9-mm. pistols and 200 rounds of ammunition. Also seized were several boxes of Black Liberation Army pamphlets.<sup>100</sup> Arrested were Oscar Washington and Alberto Estremera; sought on various charges relating to the gun cache and attacks on police were Raul Estremera, Edwin Torres, Elvin Torres and David R. Vann.<sup>101</sup> Raul Estremera, charged with being the BLA armorer, was recently arrested in Montreal, Canada.<sup>102</sup>

A description of the Black Liberation Army, attributed to New York City and other police departments, appeared in the New York Times of February 19, 1972 (p. 32). It is reproduced on page 127 of this study.

[New York Times, Feb. 19, 1972, p. 32.]

## Black Liberation Army Called Cautious and Mobile

By LES LEDBETTER

They don't boast or spend their money flamboyantly, they don't associate openly with people the police might be watching—and they don't drink or use drugs heavily.

They keep moving, using aliases backed up by seemingly valid identification cards, they dress and live conservatively and they try to make the rules and regulations of society work for them.

These are the tactics that the New York and other Police Departments say are followed by a small group they call the Black Liberation Army.

And it is these tactics of anonymity and mobility, the police say, that have made it difficult to apprehend the men and women wanted in connection with the slaying of four policemen in New York City, and assaults on policemen in Atlanta, St. Louis, Kansas City and Catawaha County, N. C. They are also being sought in connection with a number of armed robberies around the country.

It is these tactics, the police also say, that have made the usual intelligence networks of informers—electronic surveillance and other techniques—less effective than they have been in the past against criminals and other groups.

### Two Slain in St. Louis

Two alleged members of the Black Liberation Army have been killed in separate gun battles and others are in custody in St. Louis, San Francisco, Philadelphia, New York City and Raleigh, N. C.—most captured after gun fights.

But the others—they may number up to 100, according to the police—remain at large because of their ability to move swiftly and unnoticed in small, unstructured groups.

Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy noted here earlier this month that such groups were nearly impossible to infiltrate or spy upon because they did not have a defined leadership that could be watched or headquarters or storefronts that could be wiretapped.

"And the Federal people must do it," he added, "because they move from city to city."

"If other crooks and revolutionaries ever began using these methods, half the police in the nation would be constantly confused," said Sgt. Louis Graham, the black Atlanta detective seeking some of the alleged members of the group in connection with a series of robberies, a jailbreak and the murder of a patrolman last fall.

The methods he described were smaller to those urged by many current militant writers in "ding the late George Jackson, the former California prisoner killed last August, whose book, "Blood in My Eye," will be published Monday by Random House.

Jackson wrote that the Amer-

ican Government was fact and should be resisted by "the fluid, mobile, self-impelled attrition of people's urban guerrilla activity" that lies "in wait inside the Black colony."

"Courteous and Deferential" They used false names like professional con men," said an Atlanta police official who asked not to be identified. "And they always were polite, courteous and deferential to those officers they decided not to shoot it out with."

The Atlanta police found dozens of false identification cards, ranging from Army discharge papers to United Nations and McGraw-Hill employee cards when they raided a frame house that the revolutionaries had apparently used.

"They might not be enough to fool a detective," Sergeant Graham said, "but with a driver's license and bill of sale for their car they could pass any check by the average patrolman."

A North Carolina police official, speaking unofficially, said, "If they hadn't panicked and shot the officer that stopped them near Newton, they probably would have made bail under their false names and been gone long before F.B.I. fingerprints told us who we really had."

### Tactics Are Not New

The tactics of mobility and anonymity that the self-styled revolutionaries are said to use are not new. They have been used by urban guerrillas outside the United States for years, and extensive instructions on their application have appeared in numerous established and "revolutionary" publications.

What is new is that these young black militants are apparently using them in this country with some success and are likely to be copied by others. A high St. Louis police official, who asked that he remain anonymous, said he had seen signs that these tactics were being increasingly adopted by criminals.

"With the Interstate highways, it's easy to move 500 miles in a day, move into a large urban area, find a place to live and pull robberies for a week before heading to another city," the policeman said. "No one asks these days why a stranger is where he is."

Arthur Grubert, chief of intelligence for the New York Police Department, noted in a statement yesterday the ease with which the alleged members of the group moved around the country.

"They appear to have a connection, an association with one another from one end of the country to the other," the statement read. "They have the ability to find assistance in another city, housing, food, new identification, weapons. They keep to themselves, use

false names and evidence shows that they are not known by the general black community."

Another high police official here added that one reason why the guerrillas were hard to find was an alleged failure of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and most local police forces to "effectively use trained black officers" because what he called an inherent racism "that prefers to use unreliable tips and informants."

### Development in St. Louis

Special to The New York Times  
ST. LOUIS, Feb. 18 — Local and Federal authorities today intensified their search here for alleged members of the Black Liberation Army after learning that the car involved in a Tuesday night shootout with detectives had been chased by local policemen five days earlier.

Police officials indicated they believed this incident meant

that at least four other black militants were in town, since the four men involved in the Tuesday shootout had only arrived from Cleveland a day earlier.

One of those said to have been driven from Cleveland was Ronald Carter, 23 years old, who was wanted by the New York City police in connection with the killing of two policemen there in late January. Carter was shot and killed Tuesday, two of the men with him were captured and a third escaped.

Albert A. Steinhilber, chief of detectives in New York, postponed plans to return home and was joined by Kansas City detectives also seeking details on the revolutionaries.

In Cleveland, detectives said they had been able to obtain positive photographic identification that at least seven of those linked to the Black Liberation Army had been in Cleveland'sough area for the last month.

## BLA IN THE PRISONS

Many alleged members and supporters of the Black Liberation Army are now in prison, sentenced or awaiting trial.

The Black Guerrilla Family, described as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization, was formed in the California prison system during 1971 as a prison counterpart of the Black Liberation Army. This violent inmate group has formed alliances with other inmate groups and has been involved with the revolutionary Venceremos Organization and the United Prisoners Union.<sup>103</sup>

Contraband correspondence between admitted BLA members and their associates inside prison has been intercepted by the prison authorities. A letter dated December 7, 1973 and mailed in an envelope dated January 4, 1974, after the usual rhetorical "revolutionary greetings," states, "Socialism is our ultimate goal." It continues, "We are at war in battle zone on Combat duty. I need some AK-47 with a lot of ammunition. Do you read me Sister? \* \* \* With history before me I know no compromise! We must destroy everything that gets in our way. Support us, the Black Liberation Army, through arm[ed] struggle!!! \* \* \* don't just remember Attikkka, [sic] don't remember Comrade George \* \* \* avenge them, now! \* \* \*"

The letter included the following passage: "As soon as my sister receive (sic) this letter, write this lawyer, Virginia Starke, Esq., New York Civil Liberties Union, 84 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10011. Our beloved sister will pass our correspondence." The letter, signed "Jomo Donreed Leuce 28599, POW," was addressed to "Ms. Jodi Jeane Harris" at Alderson prison and had a return address, "V. Starke, NYCLU, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011."

Literature from supporters of the BLA has been sent into the prisons. Sister Asia Shabazz of the Black (Weusi) News Service, sent a two-page leaflet in February 1974 to Ruchell Magee in San Quentin Prison. Magee was one of the inmates charged in connection with an escape attempt in August 1970. Magee was subsequently acquitted. The leaflet calls for support for two members of Cleaver's faction, Richard "Dharuba" Moore and "Geronimo" Pratt, and provides guidelines for urban guerrilla teams, setting up ambushes, etc. It is reproduced in part on pages 129 and 130 of this study.

## TWO'S AND THREE'S IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The thought that you have to belong to some political organization and get orders from it in order to participate in revolutionary action, is a deep planted misconception in amerikkka today. To be a revolutionary is to make revolution.

When first starting to plan concrete action, you must start with the basic conception that you are going all the way, i.e. to take life in order to give life. Your strategy (main plan) is to stop, slow down hurt in any way, the power system you are fighting. The tactics (operations) you use to do this is governed by your ability and resources.

To destroy a system government as groups, it must suffer physical, mental and economic destruction. For example, a newspaper reports that a slum tenements heating system broke down because of cheap material or neglect, and gas kills some People who are forced to live there. The landlord (slumlord) is guilty of murder because he put the interest of money in front of the interest of the Peoples lives and should be treated as a murderer. In most cases it might be hard to locate the slumlords address unless it is given in the article. If not, contact persons in the building through a second person.

Once he is located he is at your disposal. Hit's should be carried out at close range with a handgun or loaded shotgun to make sure of success. After completion within a week of the hit, you should have information distributed on the block in which the fatality happened. Why? Let the People know why yhe hit was made as the news media may try and make it look like a criminal act. Above all, keep your mouth shut. Bragging will get you killed. Another example; two pigs are walking together and the conditions are favorable. You approach them to disarm them. A team of no less than three guerilla's should undertake this kind of action, and at least one shotgun should be used in the pattern.

X ADVANCE  
XX PIGS  
XX BACKUP

ONE GUERRILLA  
TWO PIGS  
TWO GUERRILLA'S, ONE SHOTGUN

Many cops carry their personal guns along with their service revolver. Any person who approaches the pigs should always be ready to evade, but remember from the first time you approach them until you are ready to secure them, you should have a clear field of fire and be ready to fire at all times, even after they have been secured. Keep a distance away from them and stay ready. Do not underestimate them or overestimate yourself. After securing them, SEARCH THEM GOOD. Take their gun, bullets, badge, I.D., walkie-talkies and any cash. All pigs should be offed. After taking I.D., wallets should be dropped with note of the time and the place put in the pigs wallet. This is good psychological warfare and will tend to undermine the already low morale of the corrupt swine.

Only after making sure that the pigs are secure (dead) should you leave the area. The pig that you see on the block everyday is only part of the total force that you will have to deal with. The only one that can really hurt you is the spy or undercover pig cop. Now dig it, in the 50's we were killing each other for nothing in gang wars; taking contracts out on each other for bum s ---. So why bitch up when it's a MF that can really hurt you?

The pigs are now putting plainclothesman in the streets in force. Know your enemy! Trust no one but yourself and keep a check on him. Before each operation prepare at least two routes from which you can escape, and know them. When sealing a mortal blow to the forces of repression, pick a specific pig that is known in the community as a murderer, beater of women, etc. Now when you were working for the family you knew how to do it, so do it. It might have to wait until he has committed some further act against the People, but no matter how long it takes, DO IT.

In Los Angeles it's S.W.A.T. NYTPF, Chicago-G.I.S, Detroit-S.T., R.E.S.S. In each city the pig forces have an elite squad which they use for moments of rebellion. At large demonstrations or rallies they usually show up by the busload. These are the cream of the crap and if they are hit it would be a great demoralization to the pigs. As I said, they show up by the busload. When the time is right, slip a thermite grenade under the gas tank. Make sure that there are no People around. The thermite grenade is made of:

[descriptive information on manufacture of thermite grenade deleted]

1. The deleted word appears in the original document retained in committee files.

[ descriptive information on manufacture of thermite grenade deleted ]

Everyday the pigs occupy our communities, and they wont leave on their own accord. If you dont move on them, they'll sure as hell move on you.

HERE'S A FEW NOTES TO REMEMBER  
& SINS OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA

**First** the enemy is stupid, underestimates his intelligence, believes everything is easy, and as a result leaves clues that can lead to his disaster. Because of his inexperience, the urban guerilla can also overestimate the forces of the enemy, believing them to be stronger than they really are. Allowing himself to be fooled by this presumption on the urban guerilla becomes intimidated, and remains insecure and indecisive, paralyzed and lacking in audacity.

**Second**, boasting about the actions he/she has completed and broadcasting them to the four winds.

**Third**, vanity. The urban guerilla who suffers from this sin tries to solve the problems of the revolution by actions erupting in the city, but without bothering about the beginnings and the survival of the guerilla in the rural areas. Blinded by success, he/she winds up organizing an action that he/she considers decisive and puts it into play and puts into play all the forces and resources of the organization. Since the city is the area of the strategic circles which we cannot avoid or break while urban guerilla warfare has not yet erupted and is not at the point of triumph, we always run the fatal error of permitting the enemy to attack us with a decisive blow.

**Fourth**- Exaggerate his/her strength and to undertake projects for which he lacks forces and as yet does not have the required infrastructure.

**Fifth**- Precipitous action. The urban guerilla who commits this sin loses patience, suffers an attack of nerves, does not wait for anything and impetuously throws him/herself into action, suffering untold reversals.

**Sixth**- To attack the enemy when he/she is most angry. Which means the guerilla is acting out of emotions.

**Seventh**- To fail to plan things and to act out of improvisation. Here's a list of what you will need to operate here in babylon.

1. Arms and explosives
2. Money
3. Transportation
4. Black areas (revolutionary bases of operations.)
5. Communications
6. Information and Propaganda
7. Security and Intelligence
8. Training
9. Political Education
10. Medical needs
11. Method and recruitment
12. Logistic of Material Resources

A lot of this you can find in banks and gunshops, etc. Check out your local street merchants, armories, or police and mafia arsenals.

ON THE ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, ORTAND PRISONERS OF WAR, WE BELIEVE THE TUPAMAROS HAVE SET THE BEST EXAMPLE OF LIBERATING OUR COMRADES INCARCERATED IN THE DUNGEONS ALL ACROSS BARYLON. THE MOST PRACTICAL METHOD IS TO TAKE ANY IMPORTANT ENEMY AND DO SOME "NEGOTIATING". IN OTHER WORDS, " IF YOU DONT LET OUR COMRADE LOOSE, WE'RE NOT GOING TO LET THIS IMPORTANT ENEMY WE GOT LOOSE EITHER."

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

REMEMBER THE BLACK SEPTEMBER"

SLIP ON INTO DARKNESS

FREE "DHARUBA" MOORE & "GERONIMO" PRATT

WAR RIGHT ON NIGGERS AND ALL PRISONERS OF

1 The deleted word appears in the original document retained in committee files.

At dawn on December 27, 1973, New York City police arrested four "alleged sympathizers" of the Black Liberation Army. Three men and a woman were arrested when one of the men emerged from a sewer manhole outside the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs). A police captain stated that the four had rifle and pistol ammunition in their pockets and a list of BLA members under arrest with the dates on which each was scheduled to appear in court. Other material in their possession related to the case of Henry "Sha Sha Malik" Brown, who was then facing trial for the murders of Officers Gregory Foster and Rocco Laurie. Brown had already attempted one escape and had successfully escaped from Kings County Hospital on September 27, 1973, but was recaptured a week later in Brooklyn. Brown was acquitted of the murders in March, 1974,<sup>104</sup> but is serving a 25-year sentence for the shooting of an officer in St. Louis in 1972.<sup>105</sup>

Arrested was Bernice Jones,\* 23, national communications secretary of the Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party, in whose pocket was a marriage certificate attesting to her marriage with Twymon Meyers, a BLA gunman slain in a shootout with police in the Bronx on November 14, 1973. Another arrested was Michael Maurice Alston, 19, who was acquitted in 1972 of murdering a Plainfield, N.J. police officer in September 1971. The others arrested were Neil O. Thompson, who was carrying false identification in another name, and Harold Simmons. All were charged with criminal tampering, burglary and possession of burglar's tools.<sup>106</sup>

TWO BLA MEMBERS STATE OBJECTIVES

A brochure published by the National Committee for the Defense of Joanne Chesimard and Clark Squire,\*\* New York, contains an article signed Zayd Malik Shakur as leader of the BLA. He describes the organization as follows:

Many people are asking what is the Black Liberation Army? We are small urban guerrilla units, waging armed struggle against the agents of death—the united states government, operating throughout Babylon. We are niggers, who, having grown tired of the defensive posture of the past, have decided to stand up, finally coming to the conclusion that the best defense is a good offense. We "view guerrilla war as an embryonic form of the National Liberation Army." We are the Babylonian equivalent to the Tupamaros of Uruguay, Frelimo of Mozambique, or the NLF of Vietnam. In other words we are the embryonic form of the people's army.<sup>107</sup>

\*A "Communique from the Black Panthers" entitled "The American Indian Movement and its Relationship to Black People," written by Bernice Jones, linked the struggle of the BLA to that of AIM in Wounded Knee. The statement said in part:

"The recent attacks by the Black Liberation Army on the agents of our oppressor was in response to a long train of abuses perpetrated against Black people by the U.S. government and its lackies. \* \* \*

\* \* \* The native people of America and Black people's struggles are intertwined due to the fact that we have a common enemy.

"To our brothers and sisters of the Ogalala Sioux Nation at Wounded Knee and in America as a whole we would like to say, 'Welcome to the club brother, we have been at it a long time, but together we shall surely win.'" [New York Recorder, Saturday, April 28, 1973, p. 6]

\*\*Zayd Malik Shakur [James Costan, 32] was killed in a shootout with New Jersey State Police on the N.J. Turnpike on May 2, 1973. One State trooper was killed and another wounded in the exchange of gunfire. Captured in the shootout was Joanne Deborah Chesimard, 25, characterized by New York City police officials as the "soul" of the BLA. Arrested later in New Jersey was Clark Edward Squire, 36. Both have been charged with the murder of the State trooper. Squire was convicted of first degree murder on March 15, 1974 and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The same article deals with the use of criminal acts by Black revolutionaries. It observes that "Brothers and sisters underground must deal with their personal survival. Most of them are outlaws \* \* \*." Shakur's article quotes the late Brazilian revolutionary, Carlos Mari-gheila, to the effect that "It is impossible for an urban guerrilla to subsist or survive without taking part in the battle of expropriation."

Shakur continues:

Sometimes the acts of revolutionaries and the acts of bandits are indistinguishable. The guerrillas must set very clear examples so that the oppressed masses can make very clear distinctions. Bandits indulge in rip-offs for individualistic reasons, for personal gain. The guerrillas deal with expropriation of funds for the purpose of financing the revolution.

Therefore, the guerrillas will try to make clear the political purpose of his actions, in two ways: He will refuse to behave like a bandit, either by misguided violence, or by taking money or personal possessions from customers who may be in the bank; and he will back up expropriation by some form of propaganda—writing slogans attacking the ruling class and imperialism on the wall, handing out pamphlets, or giving people leaflets explaining the political purpose of what he is doing.

In the final analysis, there is a thin line between bandits and revolutionaries. Ali Aponte, the famous revolutionary of the Algerian Revolution, at one time was a bandit. After becoming politicized and because of a strong sense of nationalism, he pointed his guns at the enemies of the Algerian people, and put his expertise at their command. Ben Bella did two years in prison for sticking up the colonialists banks. Patrice Lumumba did sixteen months for attacking Belgian post offices. At one time even Brother Malcolm (Big Red) was a bandit. Stalin was the bank robber for the Russian Revolution. Ho Chi Minh spent many years in French prisons for ripping off the interests of the French colonialists. Mao Tse Tung and Chou En-Lai both had prices on their heads. And we could go on, and on, and on. There are also tactical reasons for letting revolutionary acts seem like acts of banditry. By allowing expropriations to seem like acts of banditry, Brazilian revolutionaries gained time and were able to confuse the reactionaries for a year.

A lot of space has been dedicated to expropriations of funds because this is the area in which we have encountered the most difficulties. Another area in which the Black Liberation Army has run into heavy criticism is when they have dealt with revolutionary executions, particularly when the lives of Black policemen have been snuffed out. Many Black people say, "Right On!" when white policemen have been snuffed out, but have hang ups when it comes to moving on Black policemen. The Black policeman, Waverly Jones, met with Revolutionary Justice along with his white counterpart, Joseph Piagentini, in May of last year (1971); and Gregory Foster caught up with the same fate along with his crime partner, Rocco Laurie, in January of this year (1972). The pigs tried to play on the sympathy of the people. Every reactionary and his cousin went off into a Machiavellian divide and conquer bag. In desperation, high police officials were quoted as saying, "The Black Liberation Army is deliberately hunting Black policemen as murder targets," in their futile attempt to win the sympathy of Black people. But revolutionary executions are not a question of Black and white. It's a question of who wears the midnight blue.<sup>108</sup>

The same brochure contains an article by BLA member Clark Squire who calls himself Sundiata Hashashim Zayd Acoli. Writing July 18, 1973 from the Middlesex County Jail in New Jersey, Squire describes the use of prisons as recruiting and training grounds for Black revolutionaries. He wrote:

\* \* \* Many revolutionaries will go to jail and also, the graveyard. And many, many oppressors will go to the graveyard. And everytime the oppressor announces that he has "broken the backs" of the Black Liberation Army, of the revolutionaries, we will know that he's lying, he's whistling "dixie." The oppressor is caught in a terrible trick bag, and he knows it. For there will be revolutionaries, there will be a Black Liberation Army for as long as there are jails and oppressed

Black people. Every time he sends someone to jail he is creating revolutionaries, he's increasing the ranks of the BLA. And every time he says he has "broken the back" of the revolutionaries, of the BLA, more brothers and sisters will rise to make him gag, strangle and choke on his own lies, suffocate in the vomit of his own greed.

The jails are the Universities of the Revolutionaries and the finishing schools of the Black Liberation Army. Come, brothers and sisters, meet Assata Shakur. She is here holding seminars in "Getting Down," "Taming the Paper Tiger," and "The Selected Works of Zayd Malik Shakur." So brothers and sisters do not fear jail. Many of you will go anyway—ignorance will be your crime. Others will come—awareness their only crime.

In all sincerity, I think everyone should go to jail at least once. In jail, for the first time, you will read as you never read before, you will think, write and discuss ideas with other brothers and sisters about our common oppression both in the jails and in the streets and what to do about it. You will eat, sleep and breathe oppression 24 hours a day—and you will meet the oppressor—full blown and buck naked in his natural surroundings. You will also meet some very beautiful, bold brothers and sisters that will help you righteously deal with the oppressor even in his very bowels. And you will become aware! You will become aware that you have been in jail all your life; that revolutions are conceived in the jails, then birth, grow and mature in the streets; and last, that most of our true leaders, most of our true heroes are in jail.<sup>109</sup>

#### BLA SUPPORT OF SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

The Black Liberation Army and its California prison counterpart, the Black Guerrilla Family, have sent letters of support for the SLA to the underground Berkeley Barb. Nancy Perry, an admitted member of the SLA, reportedly visited the head of San Quentin's Black Guerrilla Family under the name Lynn Ledworth.<sup>110</sup>

The BLA letter states in part:

#### AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE AND ALL COMBAT UNITS OF THE UNITED FEDERATED LEGIONS OF THE SLA:

Comrades in Arms, we the BLA speak to you from our prison cells, our underground safehouses, from the streets and the GRAVE. We send to you (SLA) the most profound revolutionary greetings. We welcome you with open arms, the level of struggle has truly reached the point of no return. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
From our vantage point the most advanced forms of struggle are our clandestine BLA assault squads, the weatherunderground, and the SLA combat units. All are working from the promise laid down by our fallen Comrade George Jackson. He recognized that a focal motor, or armed combatants, are the vanguard of urban guerilla warfare. It was he who taught us our theater of combat was the urban centers of Amerikkka, and the ranks of long time associates. From these ranks are flowing more and more armed combatants filling the ranks of the BLA in particular and the Resistance movement in general.

But comrades, there is a high price that we have paid and will pay for our mistakes. That price is death, or life imprisonment. The level of repression is ruthless and they will stop at nothing to suppress us. Our declaration of war has resulted in the retaliation of their domestic military agencies. Our women (Assata Shakur) have been gunned down on expressways with magnum loads, our comrades have been hunted down by the FBI and shot twenty-five times; using (Comrade Tyrone) as an example of what their standing "Shoot On Sight" order really means.

\* \* \* \* \*  
But, in order to deal with the enemy; we must reduce our mistakes to absolute zero. No missions undertaken when surveillance teams report unfavorable conditions. No safe houses or surveillance houses where combat or surveillance units live should have any uncoded information lying around. No posters or literature should be in possession of combatants at any time. Any items used to carry out a mission should be totally destroyed; and above all pay close

attention to detail. All underground units should by now have learned to stay off the streets and highways late at night.

Being on the streets in Concord at that time of the morning was as costly to the SLA as the capture of JoAnn Chisamard (Assata Shakur) and Mark [Clark—Ed.] Squire, and the murder of Zayad Shakur to the BLA. Both happened during a period when all combat units should have been in safe houses. We must remember what Assata Shakur said of the mistake, "He who travels while the sun sleeps will stumble many times."

We have noted from our prison cells and our underground safehouses, that the reactionary revisionist elements of the movements of the past, i.e. Huey Newton [sic] and Angela Davis say that SLA actions divide the community. It is rather ironic that they would say this, since they defected from the struggle sometime ago. Perhaps Manchild Jonathan Jackson would be alive today, if they hadn't deserted him in his hour of need. The BLA is aware of the crime that you have committed against the people, so who are you to determine the legitimacy of any revolutionary act.

We have also observed carefully chosen comments concerning people who said that they would refuse SLA offers of food because they wouldn't accept blood money. We say to them, it is rather ironic that you would say this because every time you eat fruit, drink coffee, ride in automobiles, and wear diamond rings, you are accepting [sic] an exchange of blood money, for blood products. For the raw materials for these products are taken from the poor and oppressed people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Every Black African in South Africa, Mozambique, Angola just to name a few, are raped of their natural resources everyday. So how can you say that you will not take blood money, it is so much a part of your condition that if you didn't you would die of starvation.

So we of the Black Liberation Army support your call to Arms. We recognize your ideology as extremely progressive. We recognize that the suffering of the worlds population is connected to one disease—The Corporate Fascist Military Empire. Resistance to this disease is the single greatest human endeavor today. Every greater and lesser conflict is connected; from Mozambique to the Middle East, from Southeast Asia to Latin America and from Mexico to the tip of the North American continent.

It is the wildfire [sic] of the peoples struggle to overcome imperialism and corruption and to spreading the flames of socialism filled with love, comradeship, and human decency [sic]. We understand that the SLA acts are political acts and that the power of the act is an example of what an armed combatant can accomplish. LA HORDA IS HERE!<sup>111</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

BLACK GUERRILLA FAMILY SUPPORTS SLA

The Black Guerrilla Family letter, sent "in the spirits" of the late George Jackson and William Christmas (the latter a convict killed during the attempt by Jonathan Jackson to free several prisoners at Marin County, Calif. Courthouse) said:

AN OPEN STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE

The cruel decree of circumstances for military purpose and political cause so happens to have fell on Miss Patricia Hearst. All members of the true guerrilla embrace this action as promoting the revolutionary cause of the people. \* \* \*

We—who long ago initiated what was considered to be the most significant and appropriate alternatives (approach) to the only direction which made the unavoidable confrontation against the No. 1 enemy of the people in its true grass roots of guerrilla activity—view the many rhetoricians presently joining voice with the ruling class pigs as a standard procedure for once upon a time militants and reformists. These rhetoricians will continue to be locked upon in the same light as so stated above as long as they continue to comment, opinion, criticize [sic] and disregard the good acts of those who have put words into practice. The SLA's actions only drew out the exploiters and capitulators.

Power to the SLA and death to the fascist pigs and all other kinds of pigs joining the "oink!"<sup>112</sup>

THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

The most recently identified urban terrorist organization on the left in the United States is the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA).<sup>\*</sup> This group first achieved notoriety by claiming responsibility for the murder of Oakland's Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Marcus Foster, and the serious wounding of deputy superintendent, Robert Blackburn, in an ambush on the night of November 6, 1973. On November 10, the Oakland Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle and radio station KPFA-FM, a part of the Pacifica network, each received a photocopied letter from the Western Regional Youth Unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army taking credit for the shootings.

This letter, a "warrant order" for the "execution by cyanide bullets" of Foster and Blackburn, complained of a school identity card system "patterned after the system of apartheid"; of cooperation among police, probation officers and school officials; and of the projected creation of a school system security force "patterned after fascist American tactics of genocide, murder and imprisonment practiced by American financed puppet governments in Vietnam, The Philippines, Chile and South Africa."

Although an intensive investigation was started at once into the murder of Dr. Foster and the wounding of Mr. Blackburn, no further information on the origins of the SLA was available until an incident in the early morning hours of January 10, 1974. At that time in Concord, California, a suburban town 20 miles northeast of Oakland, Sgt. David Duge stopped a van for a routine traffic check. The van's two occupants fired on the officer but missed, and the slightly wounded driver, Russell J. Little, 24, was arrested immediately. The passenger, Joseph M. Remiro, 27, was found hiding under a car in the vicinity four hours later.<sup>113</sup> In the van were Symbionese Liberation leaflets.

Ballistics tests on the .380 Walther pistol carried by Remiro identified the gun as the one used to cut down Dr. Foster.<sup>114</sup> Both Remiro and Little have been charged with assault with intent to kill the Concord police sergeant<sup>115</sup> and with the murder of Dr. Foster.<sup>116</sup> They have entered pleas of innocent to all charges.

On the evening of January 10, the headquarters and armory of the SLA were revealed by the discovery of an arson at a house at 1560 Sutherland Court, Concord. As smoke was seen by neighbors, a woman known as Nancy Devoto and several others left at high speed in William Wolfe's heavily laden car.<sup>117</sup> In the house, firemen discovered several pounds of potassium cyanide, the poison used in the Foster murder, bullets, pipe bombs, explosives, assorted boxes of rifle and handgun ammunition and parts of dismantled weapons.<sup>118</sup>

Contra Costa County grand jury testimony released to the press on February 7 by Robin M. Yeamans, Remiro's lawyer, stated that in the SLA house, there were "death warrants against Kaiser Industries, General Tire and Rubber, a candy corporation and others."<sup>119</sup> The

<sup>\*</sup>The House Committee on Internal Security issued a 13-page staff study, "The Symbionese Liberation Army," on Feb. 18, 1974 in response to numerous requests for information on the organization.

To avoid interference with ongoing criminal investigations of the SLA by the FBI and police, the committee has not conducted active investigation concerning the group. The information in the aforementioned study of February 1974 and in this section of the study on "Terrorism" was compiled entirely from public source material.

SLA house also contained maps marked to show possible escape routes in and around the Oakland area; an undelivered SLA communique concerning a planned kidnaping (which did not in fact take place); the original of the photocopied communiqués announcing the murder of Dr. Foster; and press clippings related to the claim by the August Seventh Guerrilla Movement (ASGM) that members of that group had shot down an Oakland Police Department helicopter, killing two officers on October 2, 1973.<sup>120</sup>

Police investigations revealed that Nancy Devoto was an alias of Nancy Ling Perry, 26, who had rented the Sutherland Court house using the Devoto name, actually that of a high school friend.<sup>121</sup> Further investigations revealed that an apartment at 1621 Seventh Avenue, Oakland, only five blocks from the site of the Foster-Blackburn ambush, was rented by Nancy Ling Perry under the name of Lynn Ledworth. Russ Little had used the address 1621 Seventh Street, actually a parking lot, when he was first arrested. Residents of the apartment building identified Little and Perry as having been in the apartment which apparently was used as a staging area and hideout for that killing.<sup>122</sup>

#### POLITICAL KIDNAPING

The Symbionese Liberation Army again made national headlines with America's first political kidnaping while investigations into the Concord incident and the Foster assassination were in progress. In a fast-moving commando operation much like those of the Uruguayan Tupamaros and the Argentinian People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), three SLA terrorists on February 4, 1974 forced their way into the apartment of Patricia Hearst, 19, daughter of the president of the San Francisco Examiner and chairman of the board of the Hearst Corporation. After beating her fiance Steven A. Weed, and a neighbor who fought with the SLA, the terror team forced Miss Hearst into the trunk of a car and drove away while a backup team fired M-1 carbines at the apartment building to discourage witnesses.<sup>123</sup>

Following the examples set by the Argentinian and Uruguayan terrorists that have been so much in the news during the past year, Miss Hearst's kidnapers demanded "charitable" donations of "quality food" to the disadvantaged before her release could be negotiated. Although the Hearst family responded immediately to meet the SLA demands, the SLA expressed dissatisfaction with the massive food giveaways. The SLA demanded that \$70 worth of "high quality food" be given to each poor person in California. The Hearst family created a People in Need program to go beyond the SLA quick giveaway demands and create a supplemental food program that would demonstrate that the "so-called power elite could respond with a program that would make the SLA's limited demands seem puny and self-serving by comparison \* \* \* and by doing so, bring the weight of public opinion to bear against SLA and perhaps even influence the release of Miss Hearst."<sup>124</sup>

However, a March 11 SLA taped communique from a woman who called herself "General Gelina," (identified as Angela Atwood in

Time magazine, April 29, 1974, p. 14) revealed the true purpose of the SLA "charity":

Our strategy was to show by example what can be done: That this goodwill gesture was intended to give some food to the people while at the same time point out our understanding that the people can never expect the enemy to feed them. That in fact, the people do not want the enemy to feed them, but rather \* \* \* must have back their land and control over their own destinies. \* \* \* 125

The large crowds at the food distribution centers have shown the SLA analysis incorrect. The group became angry with the Hearst family for having demonstrated this, a Washington Post analysis observed. "What was misread," Post said, "was the SLA's determination, the extent of its intelligence system, (it is apparent that someone is getting reports to SLA), and the single-mindedness of its purpose."<sup>126</sup>

On April 4, 1974 a communication was received from Patricia Hearst stating that she had become a member of the SLA and had adopted the revolutionary name, Tania, reportedly the name of Che Guevara's girl friend, killed in a fight with Bolivian troops.

Donald David DeFreeze, Camilla Christine Hall, Nancy Ling Perry, and Patricia Mizmoon Soltysik were charged by the FBI with having robbed a San Francisco bank on April 15, 1974. During the robbery they reportedly identified themselves as being "with the SLA." Patricia Hearst was also identified in press accounts as having accompanied the robbers into the bank while armed with a .30 caliber sub-machine gun and was being sought by the FBI as a material witness.<sup>127</sup>

#### SLA ORGANIZATION AND AIMS

According to documents of the Symbionese Liberation Army, the army is "a grouping of the combat elements from different revolutionary organizations or groups and parties whose leadership had joined together in the Symbionese War Council."\*

The SLA claims to be part of a Symbionese Federation of "members of different races and people and socialist political parties of the oppressed people of The Fascist United States of America \* \* \*." The components were further identified in the SLA statement that "We are a United Front and Federated Coalition of members from the Asian, Black, Brown, Indian, White, Women, Grey, and Gay Liberation Movements."

Reference to so many different groupings helps to explain the use of the term Symbionese. As SLA literature has pointed out, "The Symbionese Federation and the Symbionese Liberation Army is made up

\*The SLA included "elements" of the Venceremos organization, according to a former Venceremos organization member who testified before the California Senate Subcommittee on Civil Disorder on March 15, 1974. The witness said there was no difference between the ideology of the SLA and the Venceremos organization and that the "action with Patty Hearst is practically out of the [Venceremos] manual that we wrote."

The origins and activities of the Venceremos organization and its parent group, the Revolutionary Union, were detailed in an HCS report, "America's Maoists, the Revolutionary Union, the Venceremos Organization," H. Rept. 92-1166, June 22, 1972. The report concluded concerning both organizations:

"Joining Marx and Engels, these organizations 'openly declare that their ends can be attained only by forcible overthrow of all existing social contradictions.' They have gathered firearms and explosives and have trained members in their use under anticipated guerrilla warfare conditions. Included in their organization is a 'secret apparatus' intended for completely illegal activities—assassinations, robberies, and sabotage. Noting these methods, coupled with an illegal objective, the committee has no difficulty in finding that the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos organization constitute a potential threat to the internal security of the United States." (pp. 128 and 129)

of the aged, youth and women and men of all races and people. The name Symbionese is taken from the word symbiosis and we define its meaning as a body of dissimilar bodies and organisms living in deep and loving harmony and partnership in the best interest of all within the body."

SLA communiques have carried the symbol of a seven-headed cobra (see page 143 of this study). The group explained that it had adopted as an emblem a 170,000-year-old sign signifying God and life, which was traceable to religions in ancient Egypt, North Africa, and Latin America and to the Buddhist and Hindu religions.

The objective of this united front is allegedly struggle "for the independence and self determination of each of their races and people and The Liquidation of the Common Enemy."

SLA expressed its intention "by Force of Arms and with every drop of our blood, to declare revolutionary war against The Fascist Capitalist Class, and all their agents of murder, oppression and exploitation." A "Declaration of War," issued under date of August 21, 1973 and printed in the Berkeley Barb, issue of February 15-21, 1974 (p. 3), concluded with the following statement:

\* \* \* We call upon all revolutionary black and other oppressed people within the Fascist United States to come together and join The Symbionese Federation and fight in the forces of The Symbionese Liberation Army.

This and other declarations by the SLA relating to its organization, aims and purposes and originally printed in the Berkeley Barb are reproduced on pages 139-143 of this study.

FED. 15-21, 1974 BERKELEY BARB PAGE 3

## DECLARE WAR

THE SYMBIONESE FEDERATION  
& THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY  
DECLARATION OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR  
& THE SYMBIONESE PROGRAM

August 21, 1973

The Symbionese Federation and The Symbionese Liberation Army is a united and federated grouping of members of different races and people and socialist political parties of the oppressed people of The Fascist United States of America, who have under black and minority leadership formed and joined The Symbionese Federated Republic and have agreed to struggle together in behalf of all their people and races and political parties interest in the gaining of Freedom and Self Determination and Independence for all their people and races.

The Symbionese Federation is not a government, but rather it is a united and federated formation of members of different races and people and political parties who have agreed to struggle in a united front for the independence and self determination of each of their races and people and The Liquidation of the Common Enemy.

And who by this federated formation represent their future and independent pre-governments and nations of their people and races. The Symbionese Federation is not a party, but rather it is a Federation, for its members are made up of members of all political parties and organizations and races of all the most oppressed people of this fascist nation, thereby forming unity and the full representation of the interests of all the people.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is an army of the people, and is made up of members of all the people. The S.L.A. has no political power or political person over it that dictates who will fight and die if needed for the freedom of our people and children, but does not risk their life or fight too for our freedom, but rather the S.L.A. is both political and military in that in the S.L.A. the army officer, whether female or male is also the political officer and they both are the daughters and sons of the people and they both fight as well as speak for the freedom of our people and children.

The Symbionese Federation and The Symbionese Liberation Army is made up of the aged, youth and women and men of all races and people. The name Symbionese is taken from the word symbiosis and we define its meaning as a body of dissimilar bodies and organisms living in deep and loving harmony and partnership in the best interest of all within the body.

We of the Symbionese Federation and The S.L.A. define ourselves by this name because it states that we are no longer willing to allow the enemy of all our people and children to murder, oppress and exploit us nor define us by color and thereby maintain division among us, but rather have joined together under black and minority leadership in behalf of all our different races and people to build a better and new world for our children and people's future. We are a United Front and Federated Coalition of members from the Asian, Black, Brown, Indian, White, Women, Grey and Gay Liberation Movements.

Who have all come to see and understand that only if we unite and build our new world and future, will there really be a future for our children and people. We of the People and not the ruling capitalist class, will build a new world and system. Where there is really freedom and a true meaning to justice and equality for all women and men of all races and people, and an end to the murder and oppression, exploitation of all people.

We of the Symbionese Federation and The S.L.A. are the children of all oppressed people, who have decided to redefine ourselves as a Symbionese Race and People. Yet, recognizing the rich cultures of each and enforcing our rights to existence of our many cultures within a united federation of independent and sovereign nations, each of them flourishing and protected by its own laws and codes of self determination.

We are of many colors, but yet of one mind, for we all in history's time on this earth have become part of each other in suffering and in mind, and have agreed that the murder, oppression, and exploitation of our children and people must end now, for we all have seen the murder, oppression and exploitation of our people for too long under the hand of the same enemy and class of people and under the same system.

Knowing this, the Symbionese Federation and The S.L.A. know that our often murderous alienation from each other aids and is one of the fundamental strengths behind the ruling capitalist class's ability to murder and oppress us all. By not allowing them to define us by color, and also recognizing that by refusing ourselves to also internalize this false division definition, knowing that in mind and body we are facing the same enemy and that we are all comrades of one people, the murdered and oppressed, we are now able to become a united people under the Symbionese Federation and make true the words of our codes of unity that to die a race, and be born a nation, is to become free.

Therefore, we of the Symbionese Federation and The S.L.A. do not under the rights of human beings submit to the murder, oppression and exploitation of our children and people and do under the rights granted to the people under The Declaration of Independence of The United States, do now by the rights of our children and people and by Force of Arms and with every drop of our blood, Declare Revolutionary War against The Fascist Capitalist Class, and all their agents of murder, oppression and exploitation. We support by Force of Arms the just struggles of all oppressed people for self determination and independence within the United States and The World. And hereby offer to all liberation movements, revolutionary workers groups, and peoples organizations our total aid and support for the struggle for freedom and justice for all people and races. We call upon all revolutionary black and other oppressed people within the Fascist United States to come together and join The Symbionese Federation and fight in the forces of The Symbionese Liberation Army.

## THE WAR COUNCIL

### THE UNITED SYMBIONESE WAR COUNCIL TERMS OF MILITARY/POLITICAL ALLIANCE

Our commitment to the revolutionary struggle for self-determination for all oppressed people and races and the international proletarian revolution is total and fully uncompromisable. Therefore, any relationship the Symbionese War Council has with any group or organization is based on their active military/political commitment to the goal of gaining freedom for all oppressed people and races.

1. Our alliance with any group or organization is based upon their firm decision to fight as well as talk in behalf of the people's interest, and once this commitment is clear then we can come together in order to:

- 1) collectively develop a common strategy
  - 2) work together to develop tactical coordination
  - 3) Assist each other in developing the abilities and talents of all the members of the Symbionese War Council and to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the leadership in order to constantly better all aspects of the ability and actions of the War Council, and its individual leadership from other organizations.
2. Command positions of The War Council are subject to the approval of all members of the council, based upon the military/political thinking and ability of the presented officer to work with others in the interest of freedom for all people and races.
3. Command positions in The War Council are not appointed by one who knows, ones sex, ones color or by the group or organization one belongs to, but only by ones Courage, Determination, Intelligence, Aggressive Initiative and Capability as a leader and ones Military/Political thinking.
4. All members of The War Council are expected and fully are responsible for the military/political leadership of The S.L.A. They must fight and speak for the people and their struggle understood clearly by all members.
5. No member of The War Council can elect or select himself or herself to a position such as the head of a government or people's council. The War Council is totally an alliance of people against the common enemy. The people themselves shall have and hold the only right to select and elect their governments and government heads of state.
6. It is not the policy of The War Council to rip off leadership or membership from other organizations, but rather it is the policy of The War Council to aid and support the development and education of leadership to fulfill truly its responsibility to the people, and to allow the collective intelligence, leadership and resourcefulness of the leadership, from different organizations and groups to flourish together and grow together, thereby forming an area where the collective interests and needs as well as weaknesses and strengths of each can benefit each in the common struggle to annihilate the common enemy.
7. A successful military force is a necessity for actualizing political goals and must therefore be held as a priority; therefore, the true assistance in the supplying of military equipment, materials, finances, personal is of the utmost importance, once these forces have fully committed themselves to open and total warfare against the common enemy and members of The War Council must understand this clearly.

8. Leadership of any group or organization who is truly committed and in agreement with the goals of The S.L.A. and the terms of military/political alliance may be presented to The War Council; however, the presented officer's membership is not confirmed until it is verified that prior to presentation for membership a combat action has been taken part in by that group or organization within the last 12 months.
9. Once The War Council collectively agrees to an action or plan of strategy then that action shall be understood as an action of The S.L.A. and not of any single group or organization. Just as the fingers cannot call themselves a fist, and the fist cannot call itself the fingers. From time to time the membership on The War Council may disagree upon a particular action or strategy. When in disagreement, that particular membership need not participate in The S.L.A. action, but membership on The War Council is maintained only as long as all commitments made to the collective Symbionese War Council are continued to be fully adhered to. It is the disagreeing group or organization's responsibility to, on its own, prove out their ideas in order to change or modify its own or The collective War Council's direction.
10. It is the policy of The War Council not to involve itself in the internal political affairs of disagreements that may result within different organizations or groups. However, The War Council recognizes and accepts membership to the Council of any military/political unit, cell or organization that qualifies and shall recognize them as true representatives of that particular organization or group. It is the collective policy of The War Council that the failure of the elected leadership to take her or his revolutionary responsibility as far as the War Council is concerned shall be totally the responsibility of the elected leader and not that of The War Council.
11. Organizations or groups that wish to serve in combat units must select two persons, one female and one male (if possible), who have full responsibility and authority to act and represent their group or organization and who will hold a command position in the unified command of The United Symbionese War Council.

## "NEW MEANING TO LIFE & LOVE"

### THE GOALS OF THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

1. To unite all oppressed people into a fighting force and to destroy the system of the capitalist state and all its value systems. To create in its place a system and sovereign nations that are in the total interest of all its races and people, based on the true affirmation of life, love, trust, and honesty, freedom and equality that is truly for all.
  2. To assure the rights of all people to self-determination and the rights to build their own nation and government, with representatives that have shown through their actions to be in the interest of their people. To give the right to all people to select and elect their own representatives and governments by direct vote.
  3. To build a people's federated council, who will be a male and female of each People's Council or Sovereign Nation of The Symbionese Federation of Nations, who shall be the representatives of their nations in the forming of trade packs and unified defense against any external enemy that may attack any of the free nations of the federation and to form other aids to each others' needs.
  4. To aid and defend the cultural rights of all the sovereign nations of The Symbionese Federation, and to aid each nation in the building of educational and other institutions to meet and serve this need for its people.
  5. To place the control of all the institutions and industries, of each nation into the hands of its people. To aid sovereign nations of the federation to build nations where work contributes concretely to the full interest and needs of its workers and the communal interest of its communities and its people and the mutual interest of all within the federation of nations.
  6. To aid and defend the rights of all oppressed people to build nations which do not institute oppression and exploitation, but rather does institute the environment of freedom and defends that freedom on all levels and for all of the people, and by any means necessary.
  7. To give back to all people their human and constitutional rights, liberty, equality and justice and the right to bear arms in the defense of these rights.
  8. To create a system where our aged are cared for with respect, love, and kindness and aided and encouraged to become assets in their own ways to their nations and to their communal community. That the life that moves around them is not a frightening and murderous one and where life is not a fear, but rather one of love and feeling and of unity.
  9. To create a system and laws that will neither force people into nor force them to stay into personal relationships that they do not wish to be in, and to destroy all chains instituted by legal and social laws of the capitalist state which acts as a reinforcing system to maintain this form of imprisonment.
  10. To create institutions that will aid, reinforce and educate the growth of our comrade women and aid them in making a new true and better role to live in life and in the defining of themselves as a new and free people.
  11. To create new forms of life and relationships that bring true meanings of love to people's relationships, and in turn communes on the community level and bring the children of the community into being the responsibility of the community, to place our children in the union of real comradeship and in the care and loving interest of the revolutionary community.
  12. To destroy the prison system, which the capitalist state has used to imprison the oppressed and exploited, and thereby destroy the love, unity, and hopes of millions of lives and families. And to create in its place a system of comradeship and that of group unity and education on a communal and revolutionary level within the community, to bring home our daughters and sons, and sisters and brothers, fathers and mothers and welcome them home with love and a new revolutionary comradeship of unity.
  13. To take control of all state land and that of the capitalist class and to give back the land to the people. To form laws and codes that safeguard that no person can own the land, or sell the land, but rather the nations' people own the land and use it for their needs and interest to live. No one can own or sell the air, the sky, the water, the trees, the birds, the sun, for all of this world belongs to the people of this earth.
  14. To take controls of all buildings and apartment buildings of the capitalist class and fascist government and then to totally destroy the rent system of exploitation.
  15. To build a federation of nations, who shall formulate programs and unions of actions and interests that will destroy the capitalist value system and its other anti-human institutions and who will be able to do this by meeting all the basic needs of all of the people and their nations. For they will be all able to do this because each nation will have full control of all of its industries and institutions and does not run them for profit, but in the full interest of all the people of its nation.
  16. To destroy all forms and institutions of Racism, Sexism, Ageism, Capitalism, Fascism, Individualism, Possessiveness, Competitiveness and all other such institutions that have made and sustained capitalism and the capitalist class system that has oppressed and exploited all of the people of our history.
- By this means and the mutual aid and unity of each nation within The Symbionese Federation, will each nation be able to provide to each person and couple and family free of cost the five basic needs of life, which are food, health care, housing, education and clothing, and in this way allowing people to be able to find and form new values and new systems of relationships and interests based on a new meaning to life and love.

BERKELEY BARB, FEB. 15-21, 1974, PAGE 5.

All members of The Symbionese War Council must clearly understand that our commitment is total and our goal is the total freedom of the people and children and the destroying totally of the common enemy. Therefore, it is held that any restraining of supplies or other war materials etc. for political reasons or reactionary reasons or political chess games with the enemy, by any officer or other person in the War Council that by its actions endangers the lives of the women and men of The Symbionese Liberation Army shall be held as a full and total violation of this alliance pact and compromising with the enemy and the freedom and life of the people and children and therefore is punishable by death.

**TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR  
THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF THE PEOPLE  
LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS  
EXPRESS THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.**

Gen. Field Marshall  
CIN  
S.L.A.

## WILLING TO DIE

### TACTICAL SUPPORT UNITS

Each cell of The S.L.A. tactical support units is composed of elements of other organizations and groups and individuals. Under the strategy of The S.L.A. it is totally impossible to follow the egotistic aspirations of many leaders of political organizations, since they continue to organize new organizations everytime one falls apart, when they fail to understand that the people always organize to fight the enemy; and when leaders fail to start the fight, then the people fail from that organization.

To continue in this manner is totally reactionary, egotistic, opportunist and anti-revolutionary, since to do so only allows for the continued grouping and regrouping of the same revolutionary people for the fight that never comes and with the only purpose of organizing.

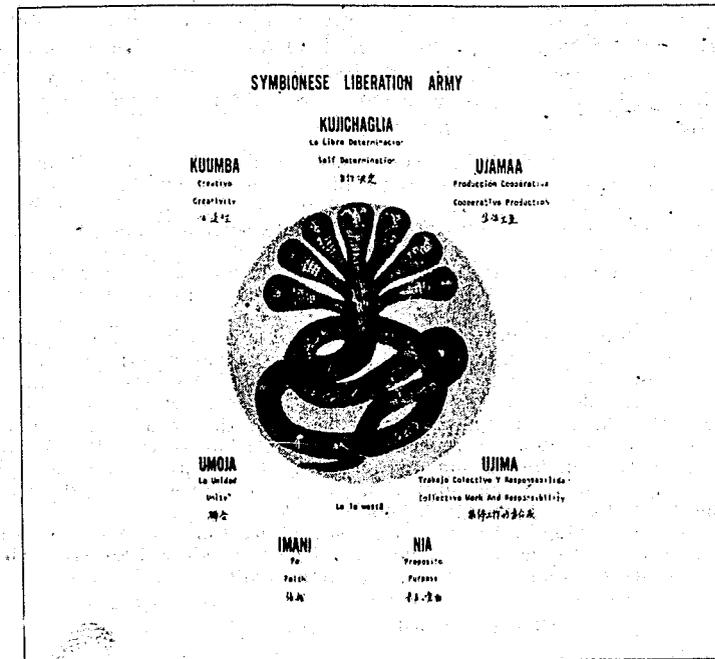
This is totally anti-revolutionary for within the true purpose of revolution there is only two deep purposes: to destroy the enemy and free the people. This in itself means the need for an army of the people that fights the enemy.

In order to organize, one must organize in support of something, one does not organize in support of having or belonging to or just to organize, but rather one must have a purpose to organize around, and since in revolution it is the purpose to organize to fight the enemy and to support those that fight on the front lines, it is then clear that the people organize to fight and destroy the enemy. They do not organize to fight the enemy and then when it comes time to fight, claim that to fight the enemy will endanger the organization for this would show them to be lovers of positions and the organization and not true revolutionaries that love the people and children.

Since you as members of the people have organized to fight the enemy, for the reason that you are and do love the people, then it is clear to you where your true responsibility is, and that it to join and support those who are in the front lines fighting the enemy of us all, regardless of what color, group or organization they belong to, for the people are just this, they are not organization or color or group, they are the oppressed, exploited and the murdered, they are those we love and for whom we, if needed are willing to die for, they are our children.

Therefore what is now is for you as lovers of the people to select in what area you are able and willing to fight in or give support to, either in the combat units or support units of The S.L.A., the choice is yours alone; to be and show yourselves as lovers of the people and our children and true to your word revolutionaries or as egotistic opportunists and lovers of the group and organization and enemies of the people.

FEB. 15-21, 1974 BERKELEY BARB PAGE 5



Page 4:

Page 5:

**IF THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM IS DEATH  
THEN BY THE DEATH OF THE ENEMY WILL  
BLACK AND OTHER OPPRESSED PEOPLE  
FIND AND REGAIN THEIR FREEDOM**

**TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES  
AND FUTURE OF OUR PEOPLE, LET THE  
VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS  
THE WORDS OF FREEDOM.**

## 7 AIMS

**Umoja - La Unidad - Unity** - To strive for and maintain unity in our household, our nation and in The Symbionese Federation.

**Kujichagulia - La Libre Determinacion - Self Determination** - To define ourselves, name ourselves, speak for ourselves and govern ourselves.

**Ujamaa - Trabajo Colectivo Y Responsabilidad - Collective Work and Responsibility** - To build and maintain our nation and the federation together by making our brothers' and sisters' and the Federation's problems our problems and solving them together.

**Ujamaa - Produccion Cooperativa - Cooperative Production** - To build and maintain our own economy from our skills, and labor and resources and to insure ourselves and other nations that we all profit equally from our labor.

**Nia - Proposito - Purpose** - To make as our collective vocation the development and liberation of our nation, and all oppressed people, in order to restore our people and all oppressed people to their traditional greatness and humanity.

**Kuumba - Creativo - Creativity** - To do all we can, as best we can, in order to free our nation and defend the federation and constantly make it and the earth that we all share more beautiful and beneficial.

**Imani - Fe - Faith** - To believe in our unity, our leaders, our teachers, our people, and in the righteousness and victory of our struggle and the struggle of all oppressed and exploited people.

The organization, purposes and attitude of some of its members toward acts of violence were the subject of "A Letter to the People" dated January 17, 1974 which was received by the San Francisco Examiner and printed in its issue of February 10, 1974 (pp. 1, 12 and 13). The author of the letter identified herself as Nancy Ling Perry, who had taken the new name of Fahizah. Fahizah described some of her reasons for joining the SLA:

\*\*\* My name was Nancy Ling Perry, but my true name is Fahizah. What that name means is one who is victorious, and I am one who believes in the liberation and victory of the people \*\*\*. So, my name is Fahizah and I am a freedom fighter in an information/intelligence unit of the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army. \*\*\* I am compelled to speak because I wish to make clear my position and why I am fighting, what it is I am fighting for, what the purpose and nature of the SLA information/intelligence unit is, and why I will continue to fight.

First of all, I think I should tell you something about my background and the evolution of my consciousness. Basically, I have three backgrounds: I have a work background, a love background, and a prison background. My prison background means that I have close ties and feelings with our incarcerated brothers and sisters. What they have taught me is that if people on the outside do not understand the necessity of defending them through force of arms, then it is because these people on the outside do not yet realize that they are in an immediate danger of being thrown into concentration camps themselves, tortured, or shot down in the streets for expressing their beliefs. \*\*\*

The experience of living in *Amerikkka* has since taught me the realities of what fascism, imperialism, and genocide mean; and I have discovered the truth about the military take-over and the police state dictatorship \*\*\*.

#### JUSTIFICATION OF VIOLENCE

Fahizah's letter described the role of the SLA "information/intelligence unit" in which she serves and attempted to justify selected SLA targets of violence such as the Oakland school superintendent and his deputy:

As a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence unit, I fight against our common oppressor, and this I do with my gun as well as my mind. \*\*\* I want to make it clear that the SLA was not indiscriminately issuing death warrants for Foster, Blackburn or anyone else, but rather we were attacking the programs and proposal of which they were the initiators, supporters and first signers. Such an attack was the only means left open to us to demand that the people's wishes be met, and that all such dangerous, genocidal programs be stopped.

\*\*\* the SLA is a federation formed in the style of a revolutionary united nations whose commanding leadership is composed of representatives of the black, brown, yellow, red and white communities. \*\*\*

I am a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence unit and that means that my responsibility is to aid the combat units with information, and keep myself armed at all times. \*\*\* SLA information/intelligence units have a military/political alliance with SLA combat units. What that means is that information units totally support armed struggle. That is to say that all members of the SLA understand that politics are inseparable from struggle, in fact politics have no meaning without armed combat and information units to give politics a purpose.

The SLA member decided other groups which fear "revolutionary violence" and insisted that they should proceed as though they were in a "state of war" in the United States:

The Symbionese Liberation Army is unlike many existing political organizations in this country which support the armed liberation struggles of peoples throughout the world, but when it comes to the struggle here in *Amerikkka*, they

consistently denounce militancy and revolutionary violence, and in so doing denounce the only means left to the people to achieve their liberation. \*\*\* All members of the SLA recognize that we, right here in *Amerikkka* are in a state of war, and that in a state of war, all must be armed, and understand the true meaning of self defense. When any member of the people's army strikes out at the murderer of our people and children, we are doing so in self-defense, we are doing so because we are left no alternative, and force of arms is now our only legal means to affect [sic] revolutionary justice. However, the natural instincts of many people in our country have become perverted by the conditionings to which they have been subjected, they have been conditioned to be afraid of revolutionary violence. I no longer have these fears because as a comrade of mine named Osceola has taught me, "The only way to destroy fear is to destroy the makers of fear, the murderer and the oppressor." \*\*\*

Since January 11, 1974, SLA support units as well as its combat units have been armed with weapons which fire cyanide bullets, the letter claimed:

\*\*\* everyone in SLA combat forces is offensively armed with cyanide bullets in all weapons that they carry; and up until today this had not been the case for SLA information/intelligence units or any any [sic] support units, at that time all units but combat were only defensively armed with hand guns and carried no cyanide bullets. \*\*\* Beginning January 11th however, a directive was issued by The SLA and The Court of the People stating that as of that date, all units of The Symbionese Liberation Army are to be heavily, and offensively armed with cyanide bullets in all their weapons. I would like to convey the word, to my 2 captured companeros: you have not been forgotten, and you will be defended because there has been no set back and all combat forces are intact.

The revolutionary viewpoint of others who joined the Symbionese Federation when it was formed in June of 1973 was revealed in a letter to the editor of the Berkeley Barb by two unidentified professed former members (Berkeley Barb, February 22-28, 1974, p. 2.)

The two alleged ex-members resigned after the assassination of Dr. Marcus Foster and criticized the SLA for this "misuse of violence." The two wrote that "Violence, when necessary, can support revolutionary strategy, but never originate or justify it." They also complained that:

\*\*\* Although some of the brothers and sisters asserted that to create a positive vision of a new society required serious thinking—a clear and comprehensive theory and strategy—others insisted that all that was necessary was to put yourself into situations where your --- \* would get kicked and armed bravery would do the rest. Some of the brothers and sisters were complaining about the lack of democracy within the organization. The justification for this was always that we were in a "state of war."

It increasingly became apparent to us that the Symbionese Federation was not fundamentally opposed to the errors of the Left we had known, but was rather the culmination of all its defects. The process of the organization was totally top-down. The War Council made decisions in secret and the members were expected to obey orders without question, just as in a capitalist army.

Serious conflict developed over the subordination of the support units, as of all non-military activities of the organization, to the combat units: That is, the "Army" came to be seen as the chief agent of the revolution. We began to suspect that the War Council was manipulated either by some local right-wing organization or the CIA itself. The secret decision to kill Marcus Foster, and its execution, confirmed our suspicions.

Communiques from Field Marshal Cinque (Donald DeFreeze) concerning the composition and duties of the SLA tactical support units are reproduced on pages 146-153 of this study.

\*Deleted word appears in the original.

## Communiques From Field Marshal Cinque on Tactical Support Units and SLA Organizational Chart

### "TACTICAL SUPPORT UNITS"

Each cell of The S.L.A TACTICAL SUPPORT UNITS is composed of elements of other organizations and groups and individuals, since under the strategy of The S.L.A. it is totally impossible and clear that to follow egotistic claims of many leaders and organizations that they must continue to organize new organizations everytime one falls apart, when they fail to understand that the people always organize to fight the enemy, and when leaders fail to start the fight, then the people fall apart from that organization.

To continue in this manner is totally reactionary, egotistic, opportunist and anti-revolutionary, since to do so only allows for the continued grouping and regrouping of the same revolutionary people for the fight that never comes and with the only purpose of organizing.

This is totally anti-revolutionary for within the true purpose of revolution there is only TWO DEEP PURPOSE'S, TO DESTROY THE ENEMY AND FREE THE PEOPLE, this in it's self means the need for an army of the people that fights the enemy.

In order to organize, one must organize in support of something, one does not organize in support of having or belonging to or just to organize, but rather one must have a purpose to organize around, and since in revolution it is the purpose to organize to fight the enemy and to support those that fight on the front lines, it is then clear that the people organize to fight and destroy the enemy. They do not organize to fight the enemy and then when it is time to fight, claim that to fight the enemy will endanger the organization, for this would show them to be lovers of positions and the organization and not true revolutionaries that love our people and children.

Since you as members of the people have organized to fight the enemy, for the reason that you are and do love the people, then it is clear to you where your true responsibility is, and that is to join and support those who are in the front lines fighting the enemy of us all, regardless of what color, group or organization they belong to, for the people are just this, they are not an organization or color or group, they are the oppressed, exploited and the murdered, they are those we love and for whom we, if needed are willing to die for, they are our children.

Therefore what is needed now is for you as lovers of the people to select in what area you are able and willing to fight in or give support to, either in the combat units or support units of The S.L.A, the choice is yours, love, to be and show yourselves as lovers of the people and our children and true to your word revolutionaries or as egotistic opportunist and lovers of the group and organization and enemies of the people.

### "RESPONSIBILITY'S OF THE S.L.A TACTICAL SUPPORT UNITS"

Each cell of The S.L.A TACTICAL SUPPORT UNIT will select from it's members two members to serve as officers in command, these officers will be first in the command and the second in command, these officers must be when possible, a female and a male and must be those that have shown through their actions to be able to lead and must have the Determination, Courage, Intelligence and the Capability, Aggressive Initiative and Creativity to build the units power of support and at the same time maintain the necessary discipline and security and respect from the other comrades within the unit.

These officers will maintain the necessary discipline and security that will allow the unit to be maintained at a functional level. It is these officers responsibility to form those rules which meet the conditions and needs of that unit. The Codes of War Of The Symbionese Liberation Army specifically apply

to the forces in combat units activities, except crimes punishable by death under The Codes Of War, which relate to crimes against the people and the army of the people, however, all the people should strive for constant revolution & discipline by following all codes of freedom and those demanded by the people.

It is the duty of all officers in command to follow the orders of The United Symbionese War Council. It is the duty also of all officers to always look to the needs and interests of those under their command first, and therefore to their security, it is therefore his or her responsibility when a unit commander becomes to "HOT" to stay above ground, to see to it that the comrade is seen as possible, removed by the Mobility Unit to the Combat Unit.

Each group or cell unit after reading this document, will select from the unit activities listed, one which they feel able and willing to best work in, upon this selection the officer in command will inform it's contact agent of it's ability to take control of the selected unit activity, therein this unit will function and become responsible for that stated unit activity and will be so classified as such.

All units will work and build other units to meet the needs of our united army forces, they will form and work in the building of security approved communication lines and forms of codes needed to continue communications between units and the war council, and necessary secondary emergency codes and communication lines. It is also the responsibility of command officers to work together in forming a secondary emergency unit base area, in case the main base is uncovered by the enemy. This secondary base must be able to take over operations within 72 hours notice.

The War Council will aid in all ways the building of units and their bases and the forces under their unified commands.

"TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPE AND FUTURE  
OF OUR CHILDREN, LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS  
EXPRESS THE WORDS OF OUR CHILDRENS FREEDOM."

GEN. FIELD MARSHAL  
CIN  
S.L.A

**"MOBILITY UNIT"**

It is the responsibility of The Mobility Unit to provide for the movement of supplies and military personal and the necessary equipment needed to safely move said personal and supplies.

It is responsible for the safe movement of supplies between other units and to and from the combat units, and providing needed hiding places and distances necessary in the movement of combat elements, and supplies and equipment.

It is also responsible for the receiving and decentralized stocking of those supplies and equipment under its authority and which combat forces have found to be in excess of their supplies after expropriation operations.

1. The building of hideouts for hiding personal and supplies, the acquiring of apartments and houses that will serve from time to time the needs of combat units in operations in different areas of the state and other states as actions allow.
2. The acquiring, building and camouflaging of vans, buses, and other means to allow safe movement of supplies and personal.
3. Fitting and armor plating of said type auto's and the building of means of concealment for supplies and personal, to also build defense systems into said auto's, such as oil, smoke, and nail release systems.
4. Maintaining of auto's in top condition and giving them top speed and drive ability at the same time bulletproofing and tires ect.
5. Acquiring, decentralized stocking and receiving and providing of phony and real ID papers, uniforms of movement, such as disguises for mailmen, priest, gas man, policemen, nun, army, navy, air force, wigs, shoes and type said equipment, parts to repair auto's, gas and oil facilities, tires, and power generating equipment for tools.

**"MEDICAL UNIT"**

It is the responsibility of the Medical Unit to provide medical combat personal when combat units open operations in any area of the state.

To provide needed medical care that elements of our forces may need from time to time and to decentralize stocking of medical supplies and equipment under its authority and that which may be sent from forward combat units after expropriation operations against the enemy.

It is the Medical units responsibility to build and find means to safely hide medical equipment and supplies for its use by its medical personal and that of combat elements, as with all security, the less people knowing the whereabouts the better.

It is the responsibility of the Medical Unit to build and provide underground operating rooms and the needed personal and equipment to run them in all and different areas of the state, both in urban and rural areas.

To build of recuperation areas that are security sound.

To build of mobile medical teams that are able to be within a 10 mile area of combat force units in its operations, thereby allowing combat elements aid as soon as possible under our conditions.

3. The building of training facility for medical combat training, warfare and its medical needs call for military medical training in the areas of gun shot wounds, cuts, shock, gas, burns, poison ect and should be held as the main training authority.

4. Acquiring of generating power equipment for operating rooms and medical equipment.

5. The acquiring, receiving and decentralized stocking of medical supplies and equipment across the state in safe and underground areas with only a few security cleared personal knowing the whereabouts of said supplies.

**"ARMORMENT UNIT"**

It is the responsibility of the Armorment Unit to provide, stock, build and repair military equipment and to develop new revolutionary weapons.

To provide decentralized stocking and hiding areas for weapons and ammo and other type equipment, and supply combat elements with supplies when needed.

1. To build booby traps, bulletproofing, and mines, electric shotgun mines ect.
2. To build facilities for the making of machine guns, reloading equipment, cyanide bombs and bullets, poison and arms to fire them with.
3. Acquiring or building ammo, gas masks, sniper rifles, silencers, mortars, anti-tank weapons, flamethrowers and explosives.
4. To work with others in the use of the people and the people's creativity to find new means and ways to destroy the enemy better than he can destroy us.

**"PROVISION UNIT"**

It is the responsibility of the Provision Unit to provide food and other such supplies has are under its authority to those units that request it, to see to it that the needs of the Medical Unit are met and that of other units.

To form and develop hiding places and underground areas where food and other provisions can be safely stored.

1. Stocking of canned foods and other foods and acquiring of means to maintain the food value of these foods.
2. Decentralized stocking across the state of foods, cooking fuels, equipment for cooking, soap and other equipment necessary.
3. To receive and supply those foods under its authority.

**"COMMUNICATION UNIT"**

It is the responsibility of the Communication Unit to see to it and provide all combat units, support units and command sections with communication equipment, to repair said and build its own equipment if possible, to train personal in the use of radio and type equipment and to provide trained personal to combat units and command sections.

1. To build and maintain jamming and monitoring equipment and personal to jam and monitor enemy communications.

2. To build with other units, communication lines between other units, by alert and approved security means, to form teams of communication runners. Make use of dogs, birds, women, children, old comrade people etc., to form areas to aid units in forming dead drops and cut outs for security.
3. To maintain, acquire and receive equipment that has been appropriated by combat units from the enemy, and supply said equipment when needed to other units.
4. To stock by decentralized means across the state these supplies and to also to build and set up communication teams across the state with both long and short range radio equipment, thereby giving them the ability to keep all of our units in full contact with each at all times.

#### "INTELLIGENCE UNIT"

It is the responsibility of the Intelligence Unit to build and provide means whereby the enemy is always two steps behind us, but never in front of us, it must maintain a ever flowing line of information on the enemy, informers, and supplies that our forces may need.

It must intake intelligence and find out clearly the truth of it and pass it on to command sections as soon as possible, it must not over look any action of the enemy or those who are near the enemy.

It must maintain running files and run photo teams to be able to supply the unit and central command with all possible information on the enemy or buildings and terrain that may be needed in carrying out of operations.

1. Building of files on known informers and agents, addresses, family, photo if possible, car color and license number.
2. The forming of information on the movements of police, agents, prison officers and family, photos if possible.
3. Formulating information on movements of money, military equipment, medical supplies, food supplies, arms, explosives, radio equipment, gas and oil and other type supplies.
4. Acquiring of maps of government institutions, jails, prisons, banks, storm drains, communication stations and lines, power plants and lines, oil and gas and other fuel supply tanks areas, air ports, navy, army base areas and explosive and arms makers locations and security that is used for all these type buildings and areas.
5. Information on movements of police and other military elements, placing of S.L.A agents in police and military institutions.
6. Forming of counter intelligence agent teams and the forming of means to carry out security checks of S.L.A personal.

#### "PROPAGANDA UNIT"

It is the responsibility of the Propaganda Unit to maintain clandestine press and printing equipment, mimeograph equipment or other type means to provide leaflets, pamphlets, flyers and stamps for propaganda and agitation against the enemy and to allow the people to know both our victories and our failures, to provide the people with truthful information on it's oppression and the need for them to fight against the common enemy as one people.

- The incorporation of members of the people for the purpose of working in propaganda actions in their community, to train them in the use of walls, tape recordings, loudspeakers, drawings and other forms of propaganda.
- To provide propaganda to the actions of combat units against the enemy, to seek to turn enemy soldiers against their officers, to seek to keep unity among our people, while the enemy is trying to divide us.
- To use radio and other means to bring forth a war of nerves against the enemy, and to give the spirit of struggle to all our people.
- To by letters sent to government officers attempt to turn them to our side and explaining the meaning of our armed forces actions and that there only hope is to take the side that will win in the end, the people.
- The misinforming, spreading lies and forming of uncertainty in the enemies forces and personal in local areas, announcing of false information to the enemy, using rumors, information on corruption of government members and all possible means to bring about a war of nerves upon the enemy.

"TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPE AND FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN, LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF OUR CHILDRENS FREEDOM."

GEN. FIELD MARSHALL  
CIN  
S.L.A

PENALTY BY DISCIPLINARY ACTION

ALL CHARGES THAT BRING DISCIPLINARY ACTION SHALL BE UNDER THE FULL CONTROL OF THE OFFICER IN COMMAND, AND HE OR SHE SHALL WEIGH ALL EVIDENCE AND SHALL DECIDE THE VERDICT AND IF NEEDED, DIRECT THE DISCIPLINARY ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY THE CHARGED COMRADE AS DEEMED NECESSARY TO CORRECT THE OFFENDER. RE: the digging of holes and other type digging, removal of teeth for a week, the full suspension of tobacco for a week and other type actions.

DISHONORABLE DISCHARGE

1. ANYONE HAVING BEEN UNDER DISCIPLINARY ACTION FOR ACTIONS IN THE FOLLOWING FOR MORE THAN (TWO TIMES) SHALL BE DISHONORABLY DISCHARGED: SEE 1,2,3.
2. ANYONE HAVING BEEN UNDER DISCIPLINARY ACTION FOR ACTIONS IN THE FOLLOWING FOR MORE THAN (THREE TIMES) SHALL BE DISHONORABLY DISCHARGED: SEE 5,9.
3. ANYONE HAVING BEEN UNDER DISCIPLINARY ACTION FOR ACTIONS IN THE FOLLOWING FOR MORE THAN (FIVE TIMES) SHALL BE DISHONORABLY DISCHARGED: SEE 4,6,7,8.

CONDUCT OF GUERRILLA FORCES TOWARDS THE ENEMY SOLDIER AND PRISONERS

1. ALL ENEMY FORCES SHALL BE ALLOWED TO SURRENDER, IF SAFE TO DO SO, IF SO, THEREUPON THEY SHALL BE CAREFULLY AND FULLY SEARCHED AND INTERROGATED AND ALL WOUNDED SHALL BE GIVEN MEDICAL AID AND THEN PRISONERS WILL BE FULLY INDOCTRINATED AND THEN RELEASED IN A SAFE AREA.
2. ALL WEAPONS, MEDICAL AND FOOD SUPPLIES AND KIDS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND MONEY ARE TO BE CONFISCATED AND TURNED IN TO OFFICER ASSIGNED TO THIS POST.
3. ONLY ENEMY OFFICERS SHALL BE RELIEVED OF PERSONAL PROPERTY AND SHOES ETC...
4. UNDER NO CONDITION SHALL ANY RANK-FILE ENEMY SOLDIER BE RELIEVED OF HIS PERSONAL PROPERTY.
5. ENEMY FORCES SHALL BE ALLOWED TO REMOVE THEIR DEAD, ONLY WHEN SAFE TO DO SO FOR GUERRILLA FORCES AND DEEMED SO BY OFFICER IN COMMAND.

CONDUCT OF GUERRILLA FORCES TOWARDS THE PEOPLE

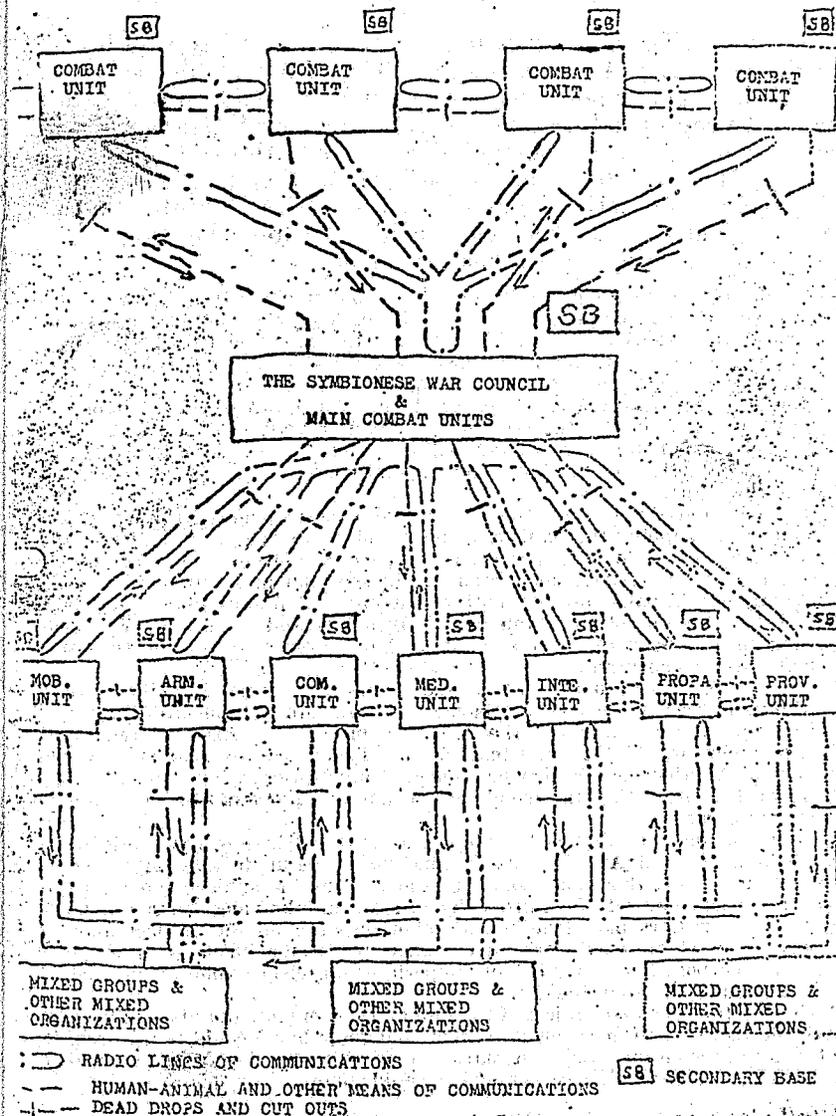
ALL GUERRILLA FORCES SHALL CONDUCT THEMSELVES IN A MANNER OF RESPECT TOWARDS THE PEOPLE, AND SHALL, WHEN ABLE AND SAFE TO DO SO, PROVIDE FOOD AND OTHER AIDS TO THE PEOPLE... THEY SHALL WHEN POSSIBLE, INFORM THE PEOPLE OF THE GOALS OF THE UNITED SYMBIONESE FORCES AND LOOK TO TAKE IN OTHER WOMEN AND MEN TO SERVE THE PEOPLE AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

ALL COMRADES HAVE ONE MAIN RESPONSIBILITY, THAT IS TO STRUGGLE TO WIN AND TO STAND TOGETHER, SO NO COMRADE STANDS ALONE, ALL MUST LOOK OUT FOR EACH OTHER, ALL MUST AID AND HELP THE OTHER, BLACK, WHITE, BROWN, MAN OR WOMAN, ALL OR NONE.

THIS DOCUMENT MAY CHANGE FROM TIME TO TIME, SO OFFICERS ARE REQUESTED TO FOLLOW THE CHANGES WITH DISCIPLINE.

"TO THOSE WHO WOULD BEAR THE HOPES AND FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN, LET THE VOICE OF THEIR GUNS EXPRESS THE WORDS OF OUR CHILDREN'S FREEDOM."

GEN. FIELD MARSHALL  
S.L.A. CII



## SLA OPERATIONAL TECHNIQUES

Among the SLA documents found in police searches were lists of San Francisco Bay Area businessmen. The SLA "intelligence units" noted their corporate positions, business and home addresses and other social and professional involvements. As an article in Human Events recently noted, "Reliable sources indicate a sophisticated terrorist plot had reached a near operational stage." [Human Events, Mar. 9, 1974, p. 13] From information obtained from the SLA surveillance notebooks, the Human Events article provides the following graphic account of the terrorists' professional technique:

An oxidized blue 1969 station wagon slowly, but unobtrusively, drove by the beautiful suburban home. The black male driver kept alert for any other cars or persons out at the 7 a.m. hour. Next to him the 25-year-old white girl made rapid notes in a steno pad as a new 450SL Mercedes Benz drove out of the driveway and headed down the street in the opposite direction.

As the limousine, carrying the vice president of a major banking complex in San Francisco, moved into the stream of commuter traffic, a few blocks away another vehicle carrying two young whites pulled in behind and cautiously followed the executive to his breakfast appointment. Again the passenger was taking copious notes.

This was a surveillance operation of the Symbionese Liberation Army in preparation for kidnapping the banker. Other members of the group had recorded the movements of his wife and two children, one a college student in another city and the other a high school freshman in the affluent suburb.

Photographs of all the subjects, both documentary and surveillance, had been collected. Descriptions of their vehicles, daily habits and patterns were noted: maps had been made of the streets about the home, even a diagram of the house floor plan had been acquired.

At one of the SLA "combat unit" headquarters in an adjoining city a pretty girl, who had recently received her bachelor's degree in English literature, was pounding out the communiqué that would announce the executive's having been "taken prisoner" by the SLA and that if their demands were not met he would be executed. All that remained, when she was finished retyping from the carefully re-worked draft that the members had agreed upon, was to add the date in the upper corner.

Instructions for surveillance techniques, as outlined in the hypothetical scenario, were also found. An SLA communiqué was typed up, lacking only the date of execution, stating the name, company and reasons the subject had been kidnapped and was being held for ransom. The rhetoric of the unmailed communiqué suggested the writers had done considerable research on the subject and his company. It cited his employer's involvement in foreign business in which it charged the corporation was guilty of "imperialism, racism, exploitation" and all the other popular clichés of the left.

Obviously, the proposed subject of the kidnap-ransom plot, and his family, were quickly flown to a safe location until they and their home could be secured. In what was to become the SLA trademark, the communiqué demanded the ransom be paid or the victim would be executed by cyanide bullets.

## REACTION FROM OTHER LEFT GROUPS

Predictably, organized communist parties in the United States denounced the acts of the Symbionese Liberation Army, often labeling them as acts of agents provocateurs, right wingers or police. A milder form of criticism chided the SLA for acting prematurely.

Specific comments from spokesmen for the Communist Party, USA; Progressive Labor Party; Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Union are quoted in sections of the preceding Chapter VI dealing with those particular communist organizations.

As noted in preceding sections of this chapter, statements of support for the Symbionese Liberation Army were published in the name of the Weather Underground, the Black Liberation Army and the Black Guerrilla Family.

There were both positive and negative reactions to the SLA in other segments of "the left."

The San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle interviewed several "radicals and activists" including "New Left activist" Jane Fonda who said, "\* \* \* in this point of time I oppose any form of kidnaping. \* \* \* I don't agree that it's a useful tactic."<sup>128</sup> David DuBois, editor of The Black Panther newspaper, said, "This action can only hurt other organizations of a revolutionary character \* \* \*."<sup>129</sup> And David Horowitz, "a well known Bay Area radical and a former editor of Ramparts Magazine," said that the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst was "counterproductive."<sup>130</sup>

The Trotskyist splinter group, the Spartacist League, has provided an analysis of the SLA in Workers Vanguard: "Insofar as the SLA has any program, it seems to be a melange of terrorism, megalomaniacal New Left rhetoric and outright religious mysticism. \* \* \*"

Workers Vanguard continued with an examination of the groups participating in the food distribution plan set up to meet SLA demands:

The free food is to be distributed by a coalition of six groups including the Glide Memorial Church, the American Indian Movement, the Black Teachers' Caucus, Nairobi College, the United Prisoners' Union and the National Welfare Rights Organization. And while all of the coalition members rush to wash their hands of the SLA and its "methods," there is nonetheless a certain parallel between these organizations and the SLA. The SLA imagines that it can solve the problem of poverty under capitalism through terrorism, forcing the bourgeoisie to feed the poor, the victims of the capitalist system, by ransoming one teenage girl. The coalition members, on the other hand, hope to achieve the same ends through more prosaic reformist protest and pressure tactics. The SLA has simply carried the free breakfast program of the Black Panthers to a terrorist conclusion.<sup>131</sup>

The Guardian, which has expressed disapproval of the SLA, on March 20, 1974 printed two letters to the editor, criticizing the stand of the Guardian and supporting the SLA:

Hearst Kidnap—1  
J.L., Concord, N.H.:

\* \* \* \* \*

This is my main criticism. As for the politics, I disagree with you about the need at this time for guerrilla activity. The tired argument of such tactics bringing the oppressor on us is not relevant for us millions who are already hungry, under and unemployed, cold and daily brutalized by the pig. Your reprinting of selective bourgeois media accounts about this or that welfare recipient not wanting the food aside, the poor people in the Bay Area have already demonstrated by their long waits at the distribution centers that they are ready and willing and even eager to accept this food.

It can be argued that this type of activity leaves the masses as spectators but vanguard exemplary actions are an effective proven method of propaganda, especially when huge numbers of people directly benefit, thus understand from them. . . .

HEARST KIDNAP—2

Maxwell Stirner, Orono, Maine: The Guardian's condemnation of the SLA puts it in league with the state and its henchmen. It is a violation of the principle of revolutionary solidarity. It also shows a lack of nerve in the face of the enemy.

You echo the charge of terrorism hurled at the SLA by the ruling class press. This is not a case of terrorism but a case of expropriation of surplus value from one of America's ruling class families. I, for one, support the SLA's action and wish them all the luck in the world.

The struggle in America is a complex one and must be carried on, on many different levels.<sup>132</sup>

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) has been struggling to dissociate itself from the founder of its East Bay chapter, Joe Remiro. After his arrest in January, VVAW issued a press release stating that Remiro had left the organization in March 1973; and in the March 1974 issue of the organization's tabloid, Winter Soldier, editorialized that law enforcement officials were trying to link VVAW/WSO with the SLA to "thereby discredit" the group.<sup>133</sup>

In this context, the same issue of Winter Soldier carries a report on indictments handed down on February 7, 1974, against members of the Leavenworth Brothers, prisoners charged with offenses arising from a 1973 prison rebellion at the Federal prison. The article lists four men charged with murder, assault and kidnaping and three charged with assault and kidnaping. Winter Soldier notes, "all are VVAW/WSO members."<sup>134</sup>

The Berkeley Barb carried a brief letter from this in-prison chapter of VVAW/WSO to "Comrade Fahizah and Brothers and Sisters of SLA" which said:

SISTER NANCY (FAHIZAH)

You may be few in number but you are surpassed in thought! We love you, we only regret that we are unable to join you in your fight against the Facist [sic] Pigs. You have our solidarity and love!

"All Power to the people"

The Leavenworth Brothers.<sup>135</sup>

On May 16, 1974, the presence of SLA cadres in Los Angeles was revealed when a store detective attempted to apprehend a man and a woman in a sporting goods store. As the man and woman, later identified as Bill and Emily Harris, struggled with the security guard on the sidewalk, automatic weapon fire erupted from a van parked across the street. The person who fired the machine gun enabling the two suspects to escape was later identified as Patricia Hearst.

The following day, Friday, May 17, acting on a tip from a woman whose grandchildren reported seeing a group of white people with weapons in a neighborhood "crash pad," Los Angeles police Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) units surrounded a frame house. Police orders to surrender were met with a barrage of machine gun fire from the house. During the intense gunbattle that followed, the house caught fire. The next day, six members of the terrorist band were found dead in the charred rubble of the house. They were Donald DeFreeze, Willie Wolfe, Angela Atwood, Camilla Hall, Patricia or Mizmoon Soltysik and Nancy Perry.

The other SLA terrorists remained at large.<sup>135a</sup>

PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE SLA

The following have been identified in the mass media as members of the Symbionese Liberation Army: (See also app. B.)

ANGELA ATWOOD, 25, also known as General Gelina, and her husband, Gary, were close friends of Emily and Bill Harris when all four were students at Indiana University. In a 3-page article in The Militant, June 7, 1974 (pp. 28, 22 & 23), Gary Atwood described how the four involved themselves in antiwar activities and the study of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other revolutionary materials.

When the Atwoods' marriage broke up in 1973, Angela turned their apartment over to Willie Wolfe and moved in with Emily and Bill Harris. Using an alias, Atwood is reported to have visited James "Doc" Holiday, leader of the Black Guerrilla Family at San Quentin Prison on January 10, 1974. On that date she left her job as a waitress and disappeared. Angela Atwood was identified as a participant in the Hearst kidnaping and the April 15 bank robbery. She was killed in a shootout in Los Angeles on May 17, 1974. (Washington Post, Mar. 25, 1974, p. A-4; San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 29, 1974, p. 28; Time, Apr. 29, 1974, p. 14; San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 18, 1974; New York Times, May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10; The Militant, June 7, 1974, pp. 28, 22 and 23; Washington Post, May 24, 1974, p. A-3; New York Times, May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10.)

DONALD DAVID DEFREEZE, 30, was also known as Field Marshal Cinque after the leader of a slave ship rebellion. Born in Cleveland, De Freeze dropped out of school at 14 and his arrest record began in 1965 when he was found in possession of explosives and blasting caps. In 1969 he was arrested after a shootout with police and convicted of possession of a bomb. He was sent to California's Vacaville prison in June 1970 to serve a sentence of 6-14 years for first degree robbery and assault. In Vacaville DeFreeze joined the Black Cultural Association (BCA), an inmate self-help program which had been functioning since 1969, and became an active member.

In 1972, Willie Wolfe joined the BCA as an outside visitor and received DeFreeze's permission to bring other whites into the group. These people included Russell Little and Robyn Steiner. According to inmates, the whites introduced "this Maoist stuff \* \* \* all this dialectical material. It sure wasn't helping the inmates."

Donald DeFreeze was believed to be the leading member of the SLA. He was identified as participating in the Hearst kidnaping and leading the April bank robbery. Wounded by several police bullets, DeFreeze committed suicide in the burning house in Los Angeles. (San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 15, 1974, pp. 1 and 28; Newsweek, Apr. 29, 1974, pp. 20-25; New York Times, Feb. 23, 1974, p. 50; Village Voice, Feb. 21, 1974, p. 12; Washington Post, May 24, 1974, p. A-3; New York Times, May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10.)

CAMILLA CHRISTINE HALL, 29, a native of Minnesota, was graduated from the University of Minnesota with an A.B. in humanities in 1967. At the university she had been active in the campus "gay" (homosexual) rights movement. The daughter of a minister, she worked after graduation in Duluth as a social worker and later in Milwaukee as a counsellor to unwed mothers.

In 1970, Hall moved to Berkeley and in 1972 became acquainted with Patricia Soltysik. Neighbors described them as lovers active in the gay liberation movement. Hall and Soltysik were active in the Bay Area prison movement and worked together on a documentary film on prisons. On February 19, 1974, Hall disappeared. She was

identified as a participant in the bank robbery. Her remains were found in the burned house in Los Angeles. (San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 29, 1974, p. 28; Time, Apr. 29, 1974, p. 14; Newsweek, Apr. 29, 1974, p. 23; New York Times, May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10.)

**EMILY MONTAGUE SCHWARTZ HARRIS**, 27, was graduated from the University of Indiana, taught English for a year in Bloomington, then moved to Berkeley with her husband. At the University of California at Berkeley, Emily Harris earned a degree in languages. She worked as a clerk-typist for the university and became deeply involved in Maoist activities. Emily Harris headed the Chino Defense Committee, an organization which raised funds, organized the defense and generated publicity for members of the Venceremos Organization who were charged with the murder of a prison guard during the escape of a prisoner.

Emily Harris was active in the prison movement. Prison records show she was a frequent visitor with James "Doc" Holiday and Barron Broadnax. Holiday was the leader of the Black Guerrilla Family, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization formed late in 1971 inside California prisons and reportedly affiliated with the Black Liberation Army. Broadnax acted as Holiday's bodyguard during the period that both were in San Luis Obispo prison. Harris' last visit to Broadnax was on January 10, 1974, shortly after Remiro and Little were arrested. That same day she left her job and disappeared; as of July 17, 1974, she was still a fugitive. (San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 29, 1974, p. 28; HCIS Report, "Revolutionary Target \* \* \*," op. cit., pp. 78 and 79; Time, Apr. 29, 1974, p. 14; New York Times, May 23, 1974, p. C-27 and May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10; New York Post, June 3, 1974, pp. 1 and 4.)

**WILLIAM TAYLOR HARRIS**, 29, served as a Marine in Vietnam. Claiming to have been radicalized by his service experiences, Harris was an active member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) while attending the University of Indiana. Harris and his wife moved to Berkeley where he earned an M.A. in urban education. He was employed as a Post Office clerk and a delivery truck driver. According to Gary Atwood, Harris became deeply involved in Maoist theory and supported the terrorist action of Black September at the Munich Olympic games as "armed propaganda." Harris also became involved in the Venceremos organization, according to accounts in Newsweek and Time for April 29, 1974.

Harris has traveled widely abroad, including an extended trip to North Africa during the time he was a student in Indiana. His burned passport found in the Los Angeles house indicated trips to Spain, Russia and Poland in recent years. (San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 29, 1974, p. 28; Time, Apr. 29, 1974, p. 14; Washington Post, Mar. 25, 1974, p. A-4; New York Times, May 23, 1974, p. C-27; Berkeley Barb, May 31-June 6, 1974, p. 5; The Militant, June 7, 1974, pp. 28, 22, 23.)

**CLIFFORD JEFFERSON**, also known as Death Row Jeff, 48, was described by California prison officials as having been associated with militant and radical activities for most of his 28 years in prison. Among his regular visitors in prison were Nancy Ling Perry, Russell Little

and Willie Wolfe. Jefferson has been described as one of the founders of the SLA and as its "old man"—its respected in-prison sponsor. (San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 18, 1974, p. 1; Newsweek, Apr. 29, 1974, p. 23; Rolling Stone, July 18, 1974, pp. 32-39.)

**RUSSELL JACK LITTLE**, 24, also known as Osceola, was graduated from the University of Florida where he had taken a course in philosophy taught by a Marxist. Little has said in interviews that that course changed his life, opening him to Mao, Marx, Lenin, Eldridge Cleaver and Malcolm X. In the summer of 1971, he and his girl friend traveled to Berkeley where he continued to read revolutionary literature. Little has said, "I studied Debray, Che, Carlos Marighella—urban guerrilla warfare \* \* \*. It was becoming obvious that the New Left was floundering," according to the Washington Post, May 28, 1974 (p. A-20). Little also said he joined the prison movement to "search out the revolutionaries, political prisoners and prisoners of war, and see what their thoughts were." In the process, Little became acquainted with the Harrises and Joe Remiro. Little is in custody awaiting trial for the murder of Marcus Foster. (Oakland Tribune, Jan. 11, 1974 and Jan. 14, 1974; Contra Costa Times, Jan. 17, 1974, p. 4; Washington Post, May 28, 1974, p. A-20.)

**NANCY LING PERRY**, 26, a Californian, dropped out of graduate premedical courses at the University of California at Berkeley in 1967 and drifted in the Berkeley street scene. She became heavily involved in drug use and held such jobs as topless blackjack dealer in a San Francisco nightclub and counter-girl at a Berkeley orange juice stand.

The owner of the juice stand reported that early in 1973, Nancy Perry gave up drug use and became involved in radical politics and the prison movement to the extent of giving prison inmates at Vacaville \$130 of her \$140 a week income. Perry was a regular visitor to Death Row Jeff and his close associate, Albert Taylor, a white, 22-year-old convicted mass murderer who has acknowledged that he was a fringe member of the SLA in the prison. Perry also visited with Folsom inmate Raymond Sparks, 27, a "militant" serving a life sentence without possibility of parole for a 1965 Los Angeles conviction for kidnaping with bodily harm, sex perversion and second degree robbery. On her visits to Folsom, Perry had been often accompanied by members of Peking House, the collective on Chabot Road in Berkeley where Russell Little had lived.

Nancy Ling Perry was shot in the spine and killed in the Los Angeles shootout. She had been identified as a participant in the April 15 bank robbery in San Francisco. (Oakland Tribune, Jan. 14, 1974, p. 1; San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, Jan. 13, 1974, pp. 1 and 4; San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 15, 1974; San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 18, 1974; New York Times, May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10; Rolling Stone, July 18, 1974, p. 33.)

**JOSEPH MICHAEL REMIRO**, 27, also known as "Bo" served two voluntary hitchhikes in Vietnam with the 101st Airborne Division. Released from the Army in 1968, he returned to San Francisco. In July 1973, when purchasing a .380 Walther from a gun shop, Remiro listed his occupation as machinist. Prior to his arrest on January 10, 1974 Remiro had been charged (in 1970) with desecration of the American flag for wearing one sewn to the seat of his pants; the charge

was reduced to disorderly conduct and resulted in a 30-day suspended sentence. News accounts state that Remiro was charged with smuggling marijuana in 1967 while in the Army, but give no disposition of that case.

Joe Remiro was a founding member of the East Bay chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). Remiro worked in the VVAW/WSO office at 4919 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, where the telephone and other utilities were listed in his name.

The Washington Post of May 28, 1974, reported that Remiro had joined the Venceremos organization as well as the Vietnam Veterans group. The newspaper stated that the organizations "fell short of his increasing militance" and "he moved on."

Remiro studied auto mechanics and made the dean's list at the College of Alameda in the spring of 1973, listing his address as 4614-16 Bond Street. While living there, Remiro was involved in the Oakland electoral campaign of Black Panther Party figures Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, with boycott activities of the United Farm Workers, and with other "community" programs.

At the 4616 Bond Street house, Remiro lived with Willie Wolfe; Jean Tarshis Dolly, nee Bonner, a former member of the Palo Alto Venceremos chapter who now works with the West Oakland VVAW/WSO Discharge Upgrading Project and who in December 1973, was nominated to the post of national coordinator of VVAW/WSO; and Bob Hood, 28. The February 11, 1974, VVAW/WSO newsletter reported that Bob Hood was arrested on February 6 for "assault with deadly force on a police officer." VVAW/WSO described Hood as the organization's "sub regional coordinator."

Remiro and Little wrote a statement on the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst by their comrades. In the letter, the two expressed their solidarity with their "comrades" Lolita Le Bron, a Puerto Rican convicted of participation in the 1954 shooting attack on Congress; Joanne Chesimard; Clark Squire, a self-admitted member of the Black Liberation Army convicted of the murder of a New Jersey state trooper; and others in the BLA and SLA. The letter ended with two slogans, "A Luta Continua" (the struggle continues—slogan of the Angolan MPLA) and "Venceremos" (we will win) (Oakland Tribune, Jan. 11, 1974, Jan. 13, 1974 and Jan. 14, 1974; San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 12, 1974, Jan. 14, 1974 and March 30, 1974; San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 11, 1974, p. 1; Washington Post, May 28, 1974, p. A-20; Newsweek and Time, April 29, 1974; Stanford Daily, Feb. 15, 1974; and Palo Alto Times, Feb. 11, 1974.)

MARY ALICE LANGLES SIEM, 24, described by the FBI as "a known acquaintance" of Donald DeFreeze and Thero M. Wheeler, was identified in one press account as a member of the back-up SLA team involved in the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst.

Mary Siem was a regular visitor to identified SLA member Thero Wheeler. She visited him the day before his escape on August 2, 1973, at Vacaville. Her father stated in an interview that Wheeler and his daughter had visited his home briefly in October. Mary Siem and her sister, Janet Langles Swift, wife of attorney Sam Swift, both were active with the Black Cultural Association.

Mary Siem has been in hiding, but through her lawyer, Vincent Hallinan, she has disclaimed participation in illegal SLA activities. (New York Times, Feb. 23, 1974, p. 50; Oakland Tribune, Feb. 17, 1974, p. 1.)

PATRICIA SOLTYSIK, 25, also known as Mizmoon and Zoya, was believed to have been the SLA's theoretician. A native of Goleta, Calif., Soltysik was a high school honors student, senior class treasurer, and an active 4-H club member. Patricia Soltysik won a scholarship to the University of California at Berkeley. In 1971 she became involved in many left-wing causes, dropped out of college and worked for the university in the library as a part-time janitor. In honor of a poem written to her by her alleged lover, Camilla Hall, Soltysik legally changed her first name to Mizmoon.

Both Soltysik and Hall participated in the filming of a documentary on prisons and were active in the Bay Area prison movement. During the summer of 1973 after De Freeze had escaped, Soltysik lived with him in many Berkeley locations while they attempted to organize the Symbionese Federation. In January, 1974, she disappeared. Soltysik reportedly participated in the April bank robbery. She was killed in the Los Angeles shootout on her 25th birthday. (San Francisco Chronicle, March 28, 1974, p. 1; San Francisco Chronicle, March 29, 1974, p. 28; Time, Apr. 29, 1974, pp. 11-14; Newsweek, Apr. 29, 1974, pp. 22-23; New York Times, May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10.)

THERO M. WHEELER, 29, was an avowed prison inmate member of the Venceremos Organization. He was a close friend of Donald DeFreeze during the time the two were imprisoned at Vacaville. His arrests date back to 1962 when as a teenager he was charged with stomping and robbing a 57-year-old man in San Francisco. At the time of his escape from Vacaville in August 1973, Wheeler was serving time for a previous escape from Soledad prison.

Wheeler had been involved in considerable activity with Venceremos while he was at Folsom prison. In November 1972, he was sent to Vacaville to undergo "stress assessment" before being considered for a parole. In January 1973, Wheeler was authorized to receive work assignments outside the Vacaville grounds, but the prison authorities refused to allow this because of Wheeler's past record of escape and his ongoing relationship with the Maoist communists of the Venceremos Organization.

Wheeler then wrote an apparent letter of resignation to the VO. As a result of his supposed split with the revolutionaries, Wheeler was given work assignments on the outside starting on June 29, 1973. Wheeler's last visitor before his escape on August 2 is believed to have been Mary Siem, whose sister, Janet Swift, and her husband Sam Swift, an attorney, were active in organizing a campaign to free Thero Wheeler on parole in 1972.)

Wheeler has been identified as one of the participants in the Hearst kidnaping and as one of those making extortionist demands on the Hearst family. (San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, Aug. 26, 1973; San Francisco Chronicle, March 29, 1974, p. 28; Pamoja Venceremos, Oct. 10-11, 1972.)

WILLIAM LAYTON WOLFE, 22, also known as Willie and Cujo, was the son of a prominent Pennsylvania anesthesiologist. In 1971 and

1972 he attended the University of California at Berkeley, then dropped out and became involved in radical politics. While he was still attending the university, Willie Wolfe took a course in black studies given by Colston Westbrook, an instructor who also taught classes for the Black Cultural Association. In May 1972, Wolfe began attending meetings of the BCA regularly. At the same time, Dave Gunnell, a self-proclaimed socialist, jazz musician and artist, also began attending the BCA classes and meetings.

Wolfe received permission from Donald DeFreeze to bring other white revolutionaries into the BCA. Described by inmate BCA members as Maoists, these included Russell Little and his girl friend, Robyn Steiner.

Wolfe moved into Gunnell's house on Chabot Road in Berkeley, a collective known as Peking House. Gunnell's wife, Jean Wah Chan, ran a sidewalk stand in Berkeley next to the juice bar where Nancy Perry worked. The two women were active in the BCA and Bay Area prison movements and visited inmates at Folsom together. During 1972, Russell Little and Robyn Steiner moved into the Peking House collective and during the height of BCA activity in the fall of 1972, Wolfe, Gunnell, Jean Wah Chan, Steiner, Little and Perry were frequent visitors to Vacaville. When DeFreeze was transferred to Soledad in December 1972, Wolfe, Little and Steiner dropped out of the Vacaville BCA.

Wolfe was a regular visitor to Folsom inmate Death Row Jeff.

By October of 1973, Wolfe had moved out of Peking House and was living at 4614 Bond Street with Joe Remiro. Russ Little broke with Robyn Steiner and moved in with Wolfe and Remiro. Steiner continued to live at the Peking House until January, then disappeared. The SLA named her to a "death list" for supposedly "informing" on their activities to law enforcement.

On the morning of January 11, 1974, Willie Wolfe, who was visiting his parents in Pennsylvania, received a telephone call from the San Francisco area. He then left his parents' house and disappeared. He was identified as a member of the backup teams for the Hearst kidnapping and bank robbery. Wolfe was killed in the shootout with Los Angeles police on May 17, 1974. (San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 27, 1974, p. 1; Mar. 28, 1974, p. 1; and Mar. 29, 1974, p. 28; Time, Apr. 29, 1974, pp. 12 & 17; Newsweek, Apr. 29, 1974, p. 12; York Times, May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10; Washington Star-News, June 9, 1974, p. A-3.)

#### PUERTO RICAN ORGANIZATIONS

Terrorism has become the trademark of several Puerto Rican revolutionary groups who demand independence for Puerto Rico, although its residents overwhelmingly chose commonwealth status with the United States during the plebiscite in 1967. According to the most recent annual report of the FBI, terrorist organizations advocating independence have carried out over 400 bombings or incendiary attacks since that free election. These acts have not been limited to Puerto

Rico; numerous department stores and public buildings in New York City have been targets.<sup>136</sup>

At the core of the movement are the 135 or more leaders who have been trained in communist Cuba to carry out guerrilla warfare, sophisticated sabotage, and preparation of explosive devices.<sup>137</sup>

Foremost among the terrorists is the small, loosely knit and mobile group commonly known as MIRA\*. In 1970 and 1971, over 100 bombings and incendiary attacks or attempts on New York City public buildings and department stores were attributed to associates of MIRA. All of the devices used by the terrorists had distinctly similar characteristics.<sup>138</sup> Puerto Rican independence advocates linked to MIRA have been convicted of possession of bombing devices.<sup>139</sup> In Puerto Rico, Cuban trained Filiberto Ojeda Rios, described by police as a MIRA member, was arrested on October 13, 1970 for the bombing of five hotels in the San Juan area in December 1969.<sup>140</sup> He is currently a federal fugitive, having fled while on reduced bail.

The Armed Liberation Commandos known as CAL [Comandos Armados de Liberacion] is not known to be present in the United States. However, CAL has claimed credit for millions of dollars of destruction of U.S. owned firms in Puerto Rico. An insurance company executive maintained that CAL is well on its way toward achieving a goal of \$100,000,000 destruction of U.S. properties to drive the U.S. Government out of Puerto Rico.<sup>141</sup> CAL describes itself as the "fighting arm of the Puerto Rican independence movement" whose actions are "designed to undermine the stability and colonial peace of the imperialist invaders." Its alleged goals are "independence and socialism."<sup>142</sup>

Far more serious than the millions of dollars worth of damage to U.S. Government and private property is the murder of law enforcement officers in Puerto Rico. Police officers were killed during a confrontation on March 11, 1971 over ROTC at the University of Puerto Rico. Juan Mari Bras, then general-secretary of the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI) [Movement for Independence], credited his organization with the riot, calling it "our greatest triumph."<sup>143</sup> Later that year, Mari Bras became general secretary of MPI's successor organization, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party [Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno], an avowed Marxist-Leninist organization. He visited Havana, Moscow, Prague, Hanoi, and Peking.<sup>144</sup>

The PSP under Mari Bras' direction has been closely associated with the Cuban delegation at the United Nations.<sup>145</sup> PSP has been the leader in seeking release of the "political prisoners" serving prison terms in the United States for killing a White House guard while attempting to assassinate President Truman in November 1950 and for the wounding of five U.S. Congressmen in the House of Representatives in March 1954. The terrorists were members of an organization no longer dominant in the Puerto Rican independence movement, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico [Partido Nacionalista].<sup>146</sup>

\*Although there are no public sources showing the current existence of the organization, the committee has been informed by law enforcement authorities that MIRA is still active. MIRA has been translated in various ways, including:

Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement [Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado]; Armed Revolutionary Movement for Independence [Movimiento Independiente Revolucionario Armado] and Armed Rebel Independence Movement [Movimiento Independencia Rebelde Armada].

The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Socialist Party [Partido Socialista Revolucionario de Puerto Rico, PSRPR] is under the leadership of the avowed Marxist and Cuban trained Narciso Rabell Martinez, who was recently arrested with nine of his cohorts for robberies and burglaries of banks—"expropriations" perpetrated to further the independence cause.<sup>147</sup>

APPENDIX A

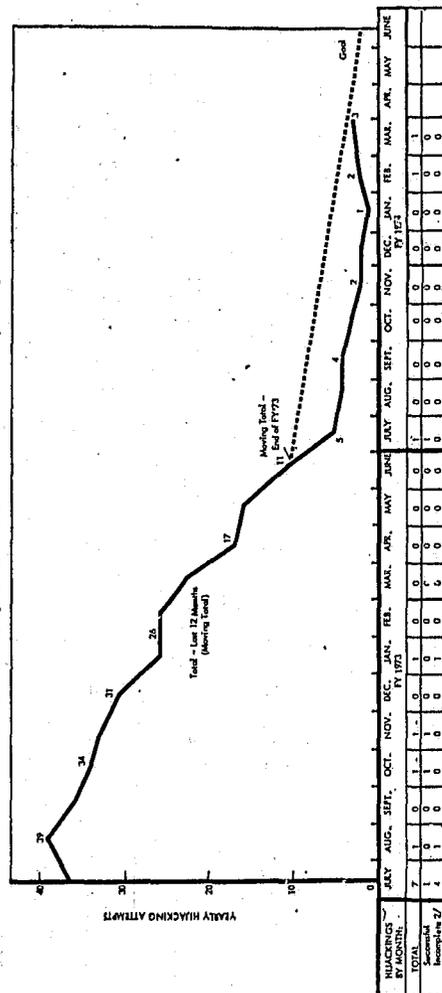
FAA STATISTICS ON HIGHJACKINGS

Issued: 4/2/74  
 Updated: Monthly  
 As Of: 4/2/74

Department of Transportation  
 Federal Aviation Administration

**HIJACKING ATTEMPTS ON U.S.-REGISTERED AIRCRAFT**  
 FAA Goal 3: Objective - Reduce the Threat of Hijacking

Updated By: ASE  
 Source: ASE 5



U.S. HIJACKING ATTEMPTS SINCE NOV. 10, 1972

DATE	FLIGHT NUMBER	ORIGIN	DESTINATION	STATUS	REMARKS
July 7	DL 101	Washington	Baltimore	Successful	1 male - surrendered
July 11	Halifax	Halifax, N.S.	Halifax, N.S.	Successful	1 male - captured
Feb. 22	DL 257	Baltimore	Atlanta	Unknown	Unsuccessful - 1 male - killed
Apr. 30	NA 150	Nome	Nome	Unknown	Unsuccessful - 1 Male - Captured

WORLD WIDE REPORTED HIJACKINGS

Year	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Total	21 (21)	23 (23)	27 (27)	21 (21)	22 (22)	24 (24)	21 (21)
Successful	19 (14)	2 (3)	18 (16)	23 (14)	15 (11)	10 (10)	6 (6)
Unsuccessful	2 (7)	21 (20)	9 (11)	8 (7)	9 (11)	14 (14)	15 (15)
Total	23	25	27	31	31	38	36

Figures in parentheses represent USA Hijackings.  
 / Successful hijacking or as a result of "negotiation".  
 \ Unsuccessful hijacking or as a result of "negotiation".

APPENDIX A, p. 2

As of April 2, 1974

FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION - OFFICE OF AIR TRANSPORTATION SECURITY  
WORLDWIDE REPORTED HIJACKING ATTEMPTS - SUMMARIZATION

CY	1930-67	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	TOTAL
USA - Successful	7 (6)*	18 (18)	33 (31)	18 (14)	12 (10)	10 (6)	1 (0)	0	99 (85)
Incomplete **	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	5 (1)	9 (1)	14 (0)	1 (0)	0	32 (5)
Unsuccessful	4 (2)	3 (0)	6 (5)	4 (0)	6 (3)	7 (1)	0	2 (0)	32 (11)
Sub-Total	12 (9)	22 (19)	40 (37)	27 (15)	27 (14)	31 (7)	2 (0)	2 (0)	163 (101)
Other - Countries	25	7	18	29	22	24	15	6	64
Successful	52 (5)	11 (8)	37 (27)	37 (17)	10 (3)	13 (3)	10 (2)	2 (1)	172 (66)
Unsuccessful	15 (2)	2 (1)	10 (6)	19 (4)	21 (6)	18 (1)	10 (2)	4 (0)	99 (22)
Sub-Total	67 (7)	13 (9)	47 (41)	56 (21)	31 (9)	31 (4)	20 (4)	6 (1)	271 (88)
World - Successful Incomplete (USA)	59 (11)	29 (26)	70 (64)	66 (31)	22 (13)	23 (9)	11 (2)	2 (1)	271 (151)
Unsuccessful	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	14 (0)	1 (0)	0	32 (5)
Unsuccessful	19 (4)	5 (1)	3 (1)	3 (1)	27 (9)	25 (2)	10 (2)	6 (0)	131 (33)
Total	79 (16)	35 (25)	74 (67)	70 (27)	51 (23)	62 (11)	22 (4)	8 (1)	434 (189)

\* Figures in parentheses represent at emp.  
\*\* An incomplete hijacking is one in which result of "hot pursuit."

Used during hijacking or as a

APPENDIX A p. 3

FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION, OFFICE OF AIR TRANSPORTATION SECURITY

HIJACKING STATISTICS  
U.S. Registered Aircraft  
(1961 - Present)

UPDATED: April 2, 1974

Definitions & Legend:

S - Successful = hijacker controls flt. & reaches destination or objective.  
U - Unsuccessful = hijacker attempts to take control of flight but fails.  
I - Incomplete = hijacker is apprehended or killed during hijacking or as a result of "hot pursuit."

	Air Carrier				General Aviation				Total			
	I(%)	S(%)	U(%)	T	I(%)	S(%)	U(%)	T	I(%)	S(%)	U(%)	T
1961	1(20)	3(60)	1(20)	5	0-	0-	0-	0	1(20)	3(60)	1(20)	5
1962	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	1(100)	0-	1	0-	1(100)	0-	1
1963	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	0-	0-	0
1964	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	1(100)	0-	1	0-	1(100)	0-	1
1965	0-	1(25)	3(75)	4	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	1(25)	3(75)	4
1966	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	0-	0-	0
1967	0-	0-	0-	0	0-	1(100)	0-	1	0-	1(100)	0-	1
1968	1(3)	13(76)	3(18)	17	0-	5(100)	0-	5	1(4)	18(82)	3(14)	22
1969	5(19)	33(82)	6(15)	46	0-	0-	0-	1	1(3)	33(82)	6(15)	40
1970	8(32)	11(44)	6(24)	25	1(50)	1(50)	0-	2	9(33)	12(44)	6(22)	27
1971	14(50)	8(29)	6(21)	28	0-	2(67)	1(33)	3	14(45)	10(32)	7(23)	31
1972	1(100)	0(0)	0(0)	1	0	1(100)	0	1	1(50)	1(50)	0	2
1973	0-	0-	2(100)	2	0-	0-	0-	0	0	0	2(100)	2
TOTAL	31(21)	86(58)	31(21)	148	1(7)	13(86)	1(7)	15	32(20)	99(60)	32(20)	163

NOTE: There have been 14 successful hijackings of U.S. Registered Aircraft which terminated at locations other than Cuba. The locations are:

- Honolulu, Hawaii 1965
- Damascus, Syria 1969
- Rome, Italy 1969
- Beirut, Lebanon 1970
- Cairo, Egypt(2) 1970, 1970
- Zarka, Jordan 1970
- Vancouver, B.C. 1971
- Woodland, Wash. 1971
- Honduras 1972
- Algiers(2) 1972, 1972
- Vic. Peru, In. 1972
- Wichita Falls, Tx. 1973

There have been three incomplete hijackings which terminated outside the U.S.:

- Nassau 1971
- Buenos Aires 1971
- Vancouver, B.C. 1971

## APPENDIX B

## SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

[NEWSWEEK, April 29, 1974]



## The Saga

There she was, caught in the eyes of the automatic camera—the slim, tousle-haired girl who had been dragged screaming into the night a little more than two months ago. But this time, it seemed, her captors were her comrades. Brandishing automatic rifles and screaming curses, Patricia Campbell Hearst and four members of the terrorist Symbionese Liberation Army swept into a San Francisco bank last week and made off with \$10,000, leaving two passersby wounded in the street. It was the first sign that Patricia, 20, was alive since her dramatic, tape-recorded “conversion” to the SLA a fortnight before. But for the Hearsts, it was one more grotesque vision in a seemingly nonstop nightmare. “It’s terrible,” Patty’s distraught father declared wearily. “It’s one of the most vicious things I’ve ever seen. Sixty days ago, she was a lovely child. And now... there’s a picture of her in a bank with a gun in her hand.”

Only Patricia and her captors knew for sure who—or what—she had become. Somewhere in the Bay Area, the woman now known as Tania and the motley group that had abducted her—“General Field Marshal Cinque,” “Mizmoon,” “Fahiz” and perhaps a half dozen more—were hidden away preparing their next move. Patty Hearst might still, as her fiancé insisted, be an unwilling hostage coerced into helping the gang; she might, as her father now saw it, be a brain-washed victim manipulated into temporary rebellion against her society. In either case, the SLA had once again shown its disruptive power and kept control, however tenuously, over the deteriorating situation.

## ‘WE LOVE YOU’

It was guerrilla theater—a drama designed to show the SLA’s power and dedication and to highlight the “crimes” of the rich and ruling. The media provided the stage; the nation served as spellbound audience. Compounding the Hearsts’ torment, tourist buses rolled daily out of San Francisco past their Hillsborough, Calif., mansion; pop psychologists and self-appointed leftist “leaders” moved in to exploit the family’s ordeal for their own ends, and posters began popping up on Berkeley billboards bearing the now famous photo of Patricia holding a submachine gun and the message: “We love you, Tania.”

The last act of the drama had yet to be played. The FBI still insisted that it did not know precisely where the SLA was holed up. But Patricia’s pledge of allegiance to her captors brought a bluster from Attorney General William Saxbe (page 35) that “the lid is off”; after the robbery, he said she was part of a group of “common criminals.” Under growing pressure from Saxbe and mount-

Tania at the bank: A grotesque vision in a nonstop nightmare

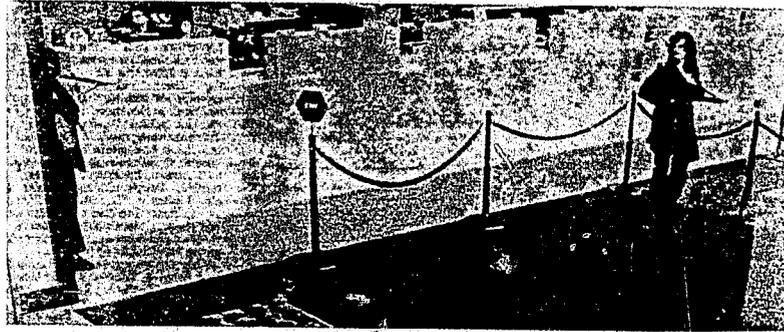
## of Patty Hearst

ing public impatience, the FBI—which already had more than 100 agents on the case—announced that it was intensifying its investigation still further. The agents were now understood to know the neighborhood, if not the house, where the gang was hiding. At the weekend, the prospect could not be discounted that a final, and possibly tragic, de-encounter might not be far off.

The latest turn in the case was the most explosive since the original kidnaping on Feb. 4. Just before 10 one morning last week, four white women dressed in black and a stubbly-bearded Negro in a broad-brimmed floppy hat marched into the Sunset District branch of San Francisco's Hibernia Bank. "They

kind of slow-motion pirouette so that Cinque could see the pistol at his hip. Cinque disarmed him, and Shea got down on the floor. Patricia and two of the other women—identified in the photos as Camilla Christine Hall, 29, and Nancy Ling Perry, 26—kept their guns trained on the prostrate prisoners.

Bank manager James D. Smith, in his office on the second floor, heard some "high-pitched yelling" and thought at first that someone had fainted. But when he moved to a small window overlooking the bank floor, he was shocked to see two women brandishing guns—one of them the figure later identified as Patty Hearst. "I would say she was pointing [her gun] right at the people on the



In no man's land as the robbery unfolds: Guerrilla theater with real guns and bullets

came in like an assembly, all bunched together in a line," said the 66-year-old bank guard, Edward E. Shea. "Then they took up positions like it had been planned." All five produced .30-caliber carbines that had been hidden in their coats. "This is a holdup," barked the man, later identified as Cinque—Donald DeFreeze, 30. "This is the SLA." Someone else snapped, "This is Tanla Hearst." Cinque ordered the employees and patrons to hit the floor—and Tanla, said Shea, "was really pouring it on. She's shouting, 'Keep down, or we'll shoot your mother-f---ing heels off.'"

Someone tripped a silent alarm, alerting police seven blocks away. The automatic cameras clicked on. Shea, a retired payroll clerk, remained standing with his hands up—but as Cinque walked past him dragging a young woman clerk who hadn't moved fast enough, Shea did a

floor," he said. "It looked to me that either one of them were ready to let go if there were the slightest problem."

The fourth woman, Patricia Soltysik, 24, ran behind the tellers' cages. "Where's the key?" she yelled; someone told her, and she looted two cages—leaving behind more money in others. It all took only three minutes or so. But as the bandits were leaving, a customer, Peter Markoff, 59, was on his way in. Cinque squeezed off four quick rounds, shattering the bank's thick glass doors. Markoff went down, a bullet in his hip, and the bandits raced past him, firing as they ran. "They came out in precision—real military-like," said pharmacist Ken Outlander, who started to run to Markoff's aid. Cinque fired again. Outlander dived and the shot went past him. But another winged 70-year-old Eugene Brennan. The bandits piled into a station

wagon and roared off, followed by another car carrying four more SLA gunmen who had been covering their comrades from across the street. Police arrived moments later, and ultimately found both cars abandoned only ten blocks from the bank. The bandits had vanished.

The FBI promptly filed bank-robbery charges against DeFreeze, Hall, Perry and Soltysik. But Federal authorities seemed uncertain how to treat Patricia's role in the holdup. A warrant sworn out for her arrest in San Francisco named her only as a material witness. An FBI spokesman explained that some of the 1,200 photos taken by the bank's cameras showed Patricia to be under the gun of at least one of the bandits throughout the robbery. "There is reason to believe," said U.S. Attorney James Browning, "that she may not have been acting under her own will." But bank guard Shea had no doubt she was an enthusias-

tic member of the gang, and Attorney General Saxbe declared himself satisfied that Patricia was "not a reluctant participant." One psychiatrist suggested that the robbery may have been an initiation rite. "The guilt is thus shared," he said, "and it makes it more difficult for the hostage to go back."

Whatever the answer on that score, it seemed increasingly unlikely that Patricia had connived at her own kidnaping from the beginning. To the embarrassment of the police and FBI, a story leaked to The San Francisco Chronicle that a notebook found last Jan. 10 in the partly burned former headquarters of the SLA contained what seemed to be the notes of a telephone conversation planning an operation of some kind against Patricia Campbell Hearst... at U.C.—daughter of Hearst... Junior, art student... on the night of the full moon

21



**FIELD MARSHAL CINQUE:** Donald DeFreeze, 30. Born in Cleveland, the first of eight children of a ghetto family, DeFreeze has a long police record that shows a series of petty crimes, a history of mental illness and a fascination with guns. Imprisoned after a police shoot-out in 1969, he became active in a black educational group. A year ago he escaped, reportedly moving in with Soltysik; together they founded the SLA. "I think he is sick," his mother has said, "but I don't think he could hurt anybody."

of January 7... teams... guns... Register the van by February 1." Patricia's father, Randolph, who had not heard of the notes before last week, said they were "unquestionable proof" of his daughter's innocence. Still, her behavior in the bank was hard to explain.

The authorities were forced to confront still another embarrassment—the possibility that the SLA may have been holed up with Patricia in the Sunset area all along. When authorities distributed photos of the suspected SLA troopers, local residents had no trouble identifying several of them, and some storekeepers said that they had been trading with bespectacled Camilla Hall for two months.

### 'WHAT'S WRONG WITH ME?'

Precisely what brought the gang together remained a mystery. Police traced some roots back to a now-defunct black-culture program at Vacaville State Prison, others to a mélange of East Bay militants left over from the '60s. Whatever the SLA's origin, it was aptly named. The term "Symbionese" comes from symbiosis—the living together of dissimilar organisms—and it is hard to imagine a less likely gang of revolutionaries. The dozen or so militants believed to constitute the SLA's main force ranged from well-to-do, college-educated whites to black escaped convicts. Their credo was a loose blend of verbal gunsmoke and pseudo-Marxian argot; their emblem—a seven-headed cobra—

supposedly a 170,000-year-old symbol of God and life. And for all of Cinque's posturing, authorities believed the SLA's leaders might well be women.

Police first got word of the gang last November, when the SLA boasted of the murder of Oakland's liberal black school superintendent, Marcus Foster—apparently under the delusion that he was an ene-



**FAHIZAH:** Nancy Ling Perry, 26. Raised in Santa Rosa, Calif., she was a cheerleader and Barry Goldwater supporter. While at Berkeley she married a black musician, used drugs heavily, worked as a topless blackjack dealer before discovering the radical left.

my of the people. But recently fresh information has begun to surface about the gang—especially the four who were with Patty Hearst in the bank:

■ **Cinque:** The only full-fledged Third Worlder the FBI identified as still active in the SLA was Donald DeFreeze, 30, a Cleveland-born ninth-grade dropout hailed by SLA literature as a black prophet and leader in the tradition of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. In reality, DeFreeze had compiled a lengthy history of mental instability involving an obsession with firearms and explosives, and a criminal record stretching back fourteen years. Estranged from his wife and six children, he had served three years of a six-year sentence for robbery and assault when he vaulted over a wire fence in a minimum-security wing of Soledad Prison last year and made his way to the East Bay—where he offered his services in a number of radical plots so violent that several left-wing groups were convinced he was a government agent provocateur. An enigma even to himself, DeFreeze once said that his wife and doctors told him he was mentally ill, but "they never tell me why, what's wrong with me."

■ **Mizmoon:** The SLA's chief theoretician was believed to be Patricia Soltysik, 24, the daughter of a pharmacist in Goleta, Calif. A high school honors student, senior-class treasurer and avid 4-H clubber, Soltysik won a scholarship to Berkeley—where she met and fell in love with Camilla Hall, another future SLA member. When Camilla wrote her a love poem calling her "Mizmoon," she legally adopted the name. Sometime in 1971, Mizmoon dropped out of school and took up a whole string of left-wing causes while working as a part-time janitor in the Berkeley library. She was believed to have taken up with DeFreeze after his escape last summer,

and with him to have forged the nucleus of the SLA. About the same time, Mizmoon broke with her family, ordering them to burn all her photographs and to forget all about her. She has now taken the SLA name Zoya.

■ **Camilla:** Camilla Hall, 29, the gentle, impressionable daughter of a Minneapolis minister, was perhaps the most unlikely candidate for an SLA trooper. As a child nicknamed Candy, she watched her sister and two brothers sicken and die of childhood diseases. A humanities graduate of the University of Minnesota, she is remembered for composing delicate love poems, drawing Thurberesque pictures and thoroughly embracing a nonviolent, flower-child kind of social consciousness. As one Minnesota professor put it, "It was a kind of Peter, Paul and Mary attitude—just spread some love on the sore places and the hurt will go away." In 1970, after three years as a social worker at home, Candy moved to Berkeley, got a job as a gardener and took up with Mizmoon Soltysik. Two weeks after Patricia Hearst's kidnaping—five days before the FBI came calling—Candy abandoned her Berkeley cottage, taking nothing but her Siamese cat. "We love her," said her distraught father when he learned she was being hunted by the FBI. "Without any qualifications—like God's love."

■ **Fahizah:** The fifth SLA trooper charged with bank robbery was Nancy Ling Perry, 26, the tiny (4 feet 11 inches), pretty daughter of a prominent businessman in Santa Rosa, Calif. A junior high school cheerleader, 1964 Goldwater backer and onetime student at Whittier College (President Nixon's alma mater), Nancy transferred to Berkeley in 1966, married a black jazz pianist and seemingly took on a whole new identity. Working variously as a topless blackjack dealer in San Francisco and an orange



#### NATIONAL AFFAIRS



**MIZMOON:** Patricia Soltysik, 24. A pharmacist's daughter, Soltysik was a high-school honor student, president of the Usberettes and 4-H member. On scholarship at Berkeley, she got caught up in radical politics and became the lover of Camilla Hall, from whose poem she took the name Mizmoon. After the Berkeley library fired her from janitorial work in 1973, Soltysik severed all ties to her family and dropped out of sight. She is thought to be a major theoretician of the SLA.

squeezer at a Berkeley juice bar called Fruity Rudy's, Mrs. Perry was a heavy user of LSD and amphetamines for a time. But last spring she suddenly quit drugs, turned political and moved in with a prison-reform activist named Russell Little—in an East Bay house that later became the first headquarters of the fledgling SLA.

According to the police, the four SLA troopers in the second car outside the

bank were William (Willie) Wolfe, 22, William Harris, 29, his wife Emily, 27, and an old friend of the Harrises from their days at Indiana University, 25-year-old Angela (Angel) Atwood. All were white; Wolfe, a Berkeley dropout and the son of a Pennsylvania doctor, once roomed with Little. The Harrises, who came west last year after William earned a master's degree in education, were involved in the Venceresmos—then one of the most militant Mao-oriented groups in the Bay area. Mrs. Atwood moved in with the couple after her marriage broke up last year. And the four met through the black-culture program at Vacaville State Prison, where they got to know Donald DeFreeze. At midweek, Alameda County authorities issued pick-up warrants on all four—on charges of perjury for giving false information to obtain drivers' licenses.

#### 'THE QUESTION IS WHEN'

The three remaining SLA members known to authorities are all in jail. Clifford (Death Row Jeff) Jefferson, 48, one of the founders of the organization at Vacaville State Prison, is serving a life sentence there for killing another inmate. Little, 24, a philosophy graduate from the University of Florida who turned up in the Bay area two years ago, and Joseph Remiro, 27, a San Francisco veteran of two tours in Vietnam who bunked in with Little and Nancy Ling Perry and dated Angela Atwood, are both in jail awaiting trial for the November murder of school superintendent Foster. And



■ **CAMILLA:** Camilla Hall, 29. Daughter of a Lutheran minister, she was a social worker in Minneapolis before moving to Berkeley. A painter and poet, she is described as a romantic believer in nonviolence, but "suggestible."

April 29, 1974

#### NATIONAL AFFAIRS

that, so far as is known, is the extent of the rebel army whose self-proclaimed goal is "to destroy . . . the capitalist state and all its value systems."

For the FBI, the SLA's tiny size only made it harder to find. The FBI was not able to penetrate the gang, Newsweek learned, nor to develop informers within its ranks. But by using agents posing as postmen, garbage collectors, delivery men and the like, the FBI is understood to have infiltrated the SLA's neighborhood—and to have come up with valuable new leads. Back in Washington, the anonymous "case agent" in charge of the Hearst investigation (re-

onetime prestige and present a new and open face to the public. Yet it confronted the fledgling SLA just when it was overcompensating for Hoover's relentless concentration on the Communist Party, so that the new line was: "We are only interested in individuals; we don't go after groups."

#### 'WE CANNOT STAND BY'

The agency's newly flexible attitude, seeking to protect Patricia Hearst even at the cost of obeying the SLA's dictates, proved singularly unsuited to the new phenomenon of political terrorism—and criticism of the results was com-

accounts, the couple lived quietly together in their Berkeley flat, tending their cats and potted plants, occasionally inviting a small circle of friends over for a glass of wine and a little pot, or zipping off on weekends in Patty's perky blue MG to the Hearst's secluded cabin at Lake Tahoe. And lately she had been busying herself with plans for their wedding this June.

The Tania of the tapes was as far removed from Patty Hearst as anyone who knew her could conceive. "It simply isn't her," said a law-student friend who often visited the couple. "Patty saw her future in a home with Steve. He'd be a professor and she'd be a mommy—and they'd nestle quietly together in the exiles of academe."

#### 'A TEACHER IS POWERFUL'

If there was a conversion, how did it happen? Dr. Frederick Hacker, a psychiatrist specializing in terrorism, suggests that a temporary "brainwashing" was by no means out of the question. "If a prisoner's information input is carefully regulated and confinement is close, fear might well cause the conversion," Hacker says. "And two months is not such a short time."

Superficially at least, Patty offered a kind of *tabula rasa* the SLA could work on—and shared certain qualities with several of the SLA women. Bright, passably educated, Patty was essentially apolitical, impatient with causes and cant, and largely unread in society's problems. She was independent enough to leave home at 17, moving in with her former tutor in the easy informality of California's graduate-student society, but she had weathered no major crises. She seldom looked at newspapers—especially not her father's—and she showed so little interest in her own lineage that she had never read "Citizen Hearst," or seen the movie "Citizen Kane." "Steve was once her teacher," noted another old friend. "A teacher is a powerful figure. And now, despite herself, she may have another one—Cinque."

To be sure, she could also have acted under duress. Her expression in the SLA's color photo was hardly ablaze with revolutionary fervor. The bank photos released by the FBI did show guns trained on her as she stood in a kind of no man's land in the center of the bank floor. Analysis of her voice on the tapes by a device called a psychological stress evaluator strongly suggested she was not telling the truth—a number of key points—particularly when she said she had not been coerced by her captors. And there seemed to be a compelling point of logic to this view; if Patricia actually *was* a convert, the SLA troopers had only to let her go long enough to show that she was unharmed to free Hearst's additional \$4 million for their cause. They chose not to.

For her parents, the Tania-Patty riddle was an agonizing torment. "Only Patty herself in person," said her mother,



The Hearsts coming home: A feeling like a kick in the stomach

porting directly to FBI Assistant Director Robert E. Gebhardt each day) was working as many as eighteen hours a day sifting and coordinating leads from all over the country. Meanwhile, lab technicians were scrutinizing all the physical evidence—the SLA's photo of Patricia, the tapes, even the bottle with which Steven Weed was beaten during the kidnaping—for more clues. Special Agent Charles Bates, who has been heading up the case on the scene, remained confident that it would eventually be broken. "The only question," the investigator said, "is when."

For the agency's image, it had to be soon. Shaken by the long decline of J. Edgar Hoover and the Watergate disgrace of his successor, L. Patrick Gray III, the FBI has been struggling to regain its

ing not only from Washington but from angry state officials as well. "All our timidity has accomplished nothing," said California Attorney General Evelle Younger last week. "We cannot in good conscience place the safety of one citizen above all others . . . We cannot stand by while violent criminals terrorize the 20 million people of California."

If Patty Hearst was the central figure in the drama, she was also the most enigmatic. Until her abduction, she seemed an almost ordinary child of the '70s—an open, easygoing California girl given to jeans and sandals, Paul Simon records and touch-football games with Steve and his friends. If her tastes were expensive—Persian rugs, for example—they were tasteful. She seemed little affected by her family's wealth and position. By all



Posters in Berkeley: Rebel recruit or captive under coercion?

Catherine, "can convince me the terrible and weary words she uttered came from her heart." But for her father, Randolph, the 53-year-old son of William Randolph Hearst and president of the San Francisco Examiner, the possibilities were more complex. His introduction to radical terrorism had taken him on a journey nearly as long as his daughter's.

Even after the SLA's first shattering demand for a "good faith" food giveaway that would have cost \$400 million, Hearst was determined to believe that his antagonists were rational and could be dealt with. He spent \$2 million of his own. "This is an honest effort," Hearst said. "I think they'll believe that." But Cinque called the effort nothing but "a few crumbs," and warned that unless Hearst came up with an additional \$4 million for the plan within 24 hours, the SLA would break off negotiations. Patty herself told him on the tape, "I don't believe you're doing anything at all." Hearst apologized objectively and set out to raise the \$4 million from the Hearst Corp.

#### 'I HAVE CHOSEN'

Behind the scenes, he was doing even more. During the long wait, he met with the SLA's Russell Little and Joseph Remiro, who were awaiting trial in San Quentin in the Foster murder case. Little and Remiro put Hearst in touch with lifer Clifford Jefferson at Vacaville State Prison. Hearst was getting his first glimpse ever of the reality of prisoners and prison life; a family friend who accompanied him to the secret meeting with Jefferson described Hearst's attitude: "It was as if he were meeting a monarch."

Jefferson drafted a letter to his SLA comrades urging them to set Patty free; the next day, the SLA promised to let a

time and place for releasing her within 72 hours. But two days later the Tania picture arrived with its taped "voicemail." "I HAVE CHOSEN TO STAY AND FIGHT," The Hearsts, said a close friend, "feel like they've been kicked in the stomach." Bewildered, the family flew off for a soul-searching retreat in Las Cruces, Mexico, where Hearst finally faced the reality of his tormentors. "They are just terrorists... monsters," he said. Then came the cruelest blow of all, the Hibernia Bank robbery. The Hearsts flew home—and behind the high white walls of their mansion, with its Greek chorus of newsmen at the gate, Hearst could only speculate on what had happened to his daughter. "There are



The bank's bullet-shattered windows: 'Real military-like'

Newsweek

noted ways of bending people's minds and making them do things that they wouldn't ordinarily do," he ventured.

Stevin Weed was unwilling to go even that far. In his view, Patty had been under coercion all along, and the SLA contrived the bank robbery specifically "to get people to believe she is converted without having to let her go." He told NEWSWEEK's Mary Alice Kellogg, "She does not have a stubborn pride. She's very practical. She would do exactly what she thinks gives her the best chance of getting out." But after examining the photos of Patricia in the bank, Weed was the farthest thing from optimistic. "She is sick," he said. "She's lost a lot of weight. She's exhausted and is being humiliated by a group of people who are definitely not going to let her get out of this alive."

#### ORDEAL OF A FIANCÉ

Weed, a philosophy instructor at Berkeley, has been through an ordeal of his own. He is 10 pounds lighter than he was two months ago, and for a time the FBI considered him a prime suspect in the case. As a Princeton undergraduate, agents learned, Weed roomed with several radical activists, including the campus chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society and a young man who is now an officer in the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Muslims. Authorities speculated that such ties might link him to the SLA. But after weeks of relentless grilling and a lie-detector test, the FBI seems satisfied that Weed had nothing to do with Patricia's kidnaping.

He has had his troubles with the Hearst family, too. Immediately after the kidnaping, Weed closed the Berkeley apartment he shared with Patty and joined his in-laws to be in Hillsborough. But five weeks ago, he packed his possessions in a small leather tote bag and moved out; he has been drifting around

#### NATIONAL AFFAIRS

the Bay Area staying with friends ever since. "For a pretty long time now we've been doing things separately," Weed acknowledged. "There are tremendous tensions in the house."

Not the least of them has been Weed's increasing willingness to speak out independently on the case. The Hearsts—who call him "Toothbrush" behind his back for his unruly mustache—did not invite Weed down to Las Cruces with them. While they were there, he flew off alone to Mexico City, where he persuaded Regis Debray, the former comrade-in-arms of the late Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara, to write an open letter to Patricia urging her to demonstrate that her conversion to the cause of revolution was genuine. The SLA ignored the letter; said Weed glumly, "It's beginning to look like nothing we do is going to work. I can't think of any way the SLA will let Patty go."

The stalemate could explode into violent tragedy at any moment—a resolution nobody wanted. But until Patty Hearst's long saga was over, the enigma of her conversion to terrorism would remain. The brave words were that she couldn't possibly have done it; the dark fear was precisely that she could.

#### The Zebra Killers

Having the Symbionese Liberation Army in residence might seem enough bad fortune for any city, but it is barely the beginning of San Francisco's troubles. While the SLA was shooting up bystanders in a bank robbery last week, other killers were perpetrating a set of crimes that sounded like a city dweller's nightmare come true: a stranger approaches and, often without a word, shoots down his victim and calmly walks away. There were three such shootings last week. The victims were white, witnesses said the gunmen were black, and police theorized that the seemingly motiveless shootings were the work of a small group of men (called the "Zebra killers" by police and press) who have now killed twelve whites and wounded six since November.

The shootings and their aftermath bitterly upset a city that considers itself America's most civilized. Whites were fearful, streets were deserted in the evening hours when most of the shootings have taken place, and police advised people not to walk the streets except in groups. On orders from Mayor Joseph Alioto, police launched an all-out search through the black community—stopping, questioning and sometimes searching hundreds of black men who resembled a vague description of one of the killers. There was a long-odds chance that the search might turn up the gun-

\*Police said the name had no racial connotations; it was coined because messages about the killings are being broadcast on a citywide police radio channel called the "Z-band." Since it's hard to understand the letters over the police radio, officers use their phonetic-alphabet counterparts, and Zebra is the phonetic-alphabet term for Z.

April 29, 1974

man, but it was a certainty that the tactic would infuriate at least part of the black community.

Last week there were three shootings, and one victim died: Nelson T. Shields IV, would-be news photographer and son of a Du Pont Co. executive, was helping a friend with an errand. The friend, Jonathan May, had to pick up a rug at a house on a quiet residential street. May went into the house and Shields was outside, clearing a space in their station wagon, when someone shot him three times in the back. Shields died almost instantly; a witness said she saw a black man running from the scene.

Earlier in the week, Terry White, 15, and Ward Alexander, 18, were standing at a bus stop in a black neighborhood when they were shot; both survived, but though a policeman said there were ten cars in the neighborhood looking for the

man, but it was a certainty that the tactic would infuriate at least part of the black community.

man, but it was a certainty that the tactic would infuriate at least part of the black community.



Coroner examining Shields's body (above); vague descriptions yield composite sketch of a murderer



Murder victim Shields



Zebra killer, their assailant got away. Detectives guessed that the crimes were all the work of a very small group of men—at least two, but no more than four. At least three different guns have been used in the shootings.

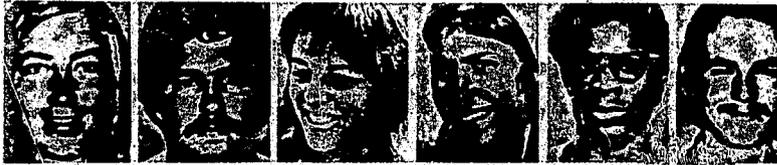
From descriptions provided by witnesses, police drew up a composite sketch of one of the killers. With that sketch and a brief description as their guide, police set to work, stopping hundreds of black motorists and pedestrians, checking their identifications and sometimes searching them. Police conceded they were on questionable ground in stopping people based on a descrip-

American Civil Liberties Union official. The Rev. Cecil Williams, a black minister, charged that police had stopped some men as many as six times; police responded by issuing 1,600 2-by-4-inch "Zebra cards" that blacks could produce in order to show they had already been searched.

And the search went on. In one movie theater, the ACLU charged, a squad of police walked in and prowled the aisle shining flashlights on the audience. They flushed out half a dozen blacks, lined them up in the lobby, searched them—and walked out.

27

## THE NATION



HUEY P. NEWTON

WILLIAM HARRIS

NANCY LING PERRY

PATRICIA SOLTYSEK

THERO WHEELER

WILLIAM WOLF

America's most serene and sophisticated cities, there has been killing enough. Last January the city heard from an apparent psychopath who called himself Zodiac. In letters to newspapers, he claimed to have murdered 37 people and threatened even violence; police assigned him six slayings in northern California, dating back to 1969. This year the city has had to contend with the "Zebra" murders, in which twelve whites have been shot and killed by one or more black assailants. The latest occurred last week (see box page 18). The murders, together with the Hearst kidnaping, have created apprehension among many residents. It is not keeping most of them at home, but they are more cautious when they go out in public.

**Altered Habits.** The Hearst tragedy has caused many upper-income Americans in particular to pay special attention to personal safety. Some have hired bodyguards; others have bought guard dogs or installed alarm systems in their homes. Still others have altered their habits to foil attackers. In Detroit, some automotive executives have begun to vary their routes to work as well as their arrival and departure times. In Atlanta, *Constitution* Editor Reg Murphy, kidnaped himself in February, has received a number of pleas from people asking that the newspaper stop identifying them as "wealthy" (the *Constitution* has refused to do so).

It is not reassuring that law enforcement agencies still know comparatively little about the S.L.A., even though five months have passed since it claimed credit for a grisly murder and became a household word in the Bay Area. The accepted theory is that the S.L.A. had its genesis roughly a year ago in the California medical facility at Vacaville, a psychiatric treatment center for criminals. Inmates were permitted to form an educational organization called the Black Cultural Association, and by late 1972, some 130 prisoners had joined. Authorities permitted about 100 outsiders, some of them middle-class white activists deeply interested in penal reform, to attend weekly association meetings. At them, several members of the band that kidnaped Patty Hearst got together for the first time.

In December 1972, DeFreeze was transferred to Soledad prison and escaped the following March 5 from the prison boiler room by simply walking

away from a work detail. Rebuffed when he sought help from several black women in the San Francisco Bay Area, he turned to the white radical friends he had met at Vacaville and was given haven by Patricia Soltysek. Joined by Black Convict Thero Wheeler, who escaped from Vacaville five months later, the group founded the S.L.A. They recruited no more than 25 known supporters, among whom were alumni of the Black Panthers and the defunct Maoist revolutionary group called the Venceremos ("We shall conquer") who were disaffiliated because those groups were too moderate for them. Some FBI and police investigators have theorized that DeFreeze is actually only a figurehead and the group is really directed by the white women, perhaps led by Nancy Ling Perry, a longtime radical feminist. But in the bank robbery and in the rambling S.L.A. communiqués, DeFreeze acted as leader.

Fashioning themselves in part after South American revolutionaries like the Tupamaros of Uruguay, the S.L.A. drew up a set of goals. Among other things, the S.L.A. promised to disappropriate the "capitalist class," disband the prison system, and destroy "all forms of racism, sexism, ageism, capitalism, fascism, individualism, possessiveness and competitiveness." The organization adopted as its emblem a seven-headed cobra, giving each head a symbolic meaning: nity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative production, purpose, creativity and faith. But at the heart of the organization was a cold determination to act violently against "enemies of the people." At first the S.L.A. reportedly offered its services to the aging New Left organizations in the Bay Area, proposing to back them up with terrorist acts. When no one accepted, the "army" went off on its own. Indeed, the group and its tactics have been disavowed by many leftists, among them Communist Angela Davis, American Indian Leader Dennis Banks and Huey Newton.

The S.L.A. struck into public consciousness last November with a claim of responsibility for the murder of Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster, who was

shot in a parking lot with cyanide-tipped bullets. Foster's deputy, Robert Blackburn, was wounded in the attack. Foster had incurred the wrath of a community group by proposing student identity cards to help combat violence in the junior and senior high schools. Why the terrorist organization became involved was a mystery until it was discovered that one of its members, Willie Wolfe, was also a member of the community group. Two months later, Oakland police arrested two white S.L.A. members, Joseph Remiro, 27, and Russell Little, 24, and charged them with Foster's murder.

**Free Food.** The army's next terrorist act was the kidnaping of Patty Hearst. On Feb. 4, two black men and a white woman dragged the screaming girl from the apartment she shared with fiancé Wood near the Berkeley campus of the University of California. They badly beat Wood on the head with a bottle, stuffed Patty into the trunk of a stolen car and drove off.

For two months Patty and her captors disappeared from sight, communicating with her parents and the public only through occasional tape recordings. Two weeks ago, however, the case seemed to be coming to a happy con-

POSTERS ON BERKELEY CAMPUS BULLETIN BOARD



## THE NATION

clusion. To comply with the instructions of the S.L.A., the Hearst family and the Hearst Foundation (which mainly backs medical charities) passed out free food worth about \$2.3 million—some \$300,000 more than had been planned—for poor people in the San Francisco area. Hearst also talked the directors of the Hearst Corp., which publishes eight newspapers and eleven magazines (including *Cosmopolitan*, *Harper's Bazaar* and *Good Housekeeping*), into putting an additional \$4 million into an escrow account in the Wells Fargo Bank. If Patty is released unharmed by May 3, the date when the offer expires, the money is to be spent on more free food and other aid to the needy. The S.L.A. even promised that it would soon name the time and place for her release.

Then came the shocking announcement that she had joined the S.L.A., followed by the bank robbery.

Of some two dozen people who are believed to belong to the S.L.A., the FBI suspects that nine—self-styled as "intelligence units"—were involved in the kidnaping. Explains one law enforcement official: "All of them were under suspicion right from the start; they vanished overnight while other members of the S.L.A. stayed around." They are an odd and unlikely assortment of characters whose private odysseys reveal much about their collective extremism. Thumbnail portraits of the nine:

**ANGELA ATWOOD.**

The "Genina" who spoke on one taped S.L.A. communiqué, she majored in education at Indiana University, where she became a close friend of Emily and William Harris. In 1970, Atwood was a student teacher in Indianapolis, and she is remembered as a rebel who opposed rules of conduct for students. After she parted from her husband in Berkeley last June, she moved in with the Harrises and disappeared with them in January.

**DONALD DAVID DEFREEZE.** A habitual runaway as a child, he dropped out of school at 14 and eventually drifted to New York, New Jersey and Los Angeles. In 1965 police arrested him on a freeway ramp for suspicion of robbery and burglary. He had in his possession a tear-gas bomb, a .22-cal. rifle, an 8-in. knife, gunpowder, blasting caps, wiring and a security officer's badge. DeFreeze told the police that he needed the weapons to protect himself from "criminals." Sent to prison, he was subsequently paroled. A prison staff report described him as "an emotionally confused and conflicted young man with deep-rooted feelings of inadequacy." It also re-

marked that "his fascination with firearms and explosives makes him dangerous." In 1969 he was jailed again on charges of possession of a homemade bomb and receiving stolen property. Paroled, he was later arrested and convicted of robbery and assault and sentenced to five years to life. He calls himself Cinque, after an African who led a successful uprising aboard a slave ship off the coast of Cuba in 1839.

**CAMILLA CHRISTINE HALL.** She is the daughter of a Lutheran minister. Her two sisters and a brother died at an early age when the family lived in St. Peter, Minn.; two of a congenital kidney disease, one of a heart ailment. At the University of Minnesota, she was active in the gay rights movement, majored in hu-

**WILLIAM TAYLOR HARRIS.** Radicalized by his experience as a Marine in Viet Nam, he earned a master's degree in urban education at Indiana University. He worked for the post office in Berkeley and became involved in the Venceremos and Viet Nam Veterans Against the War. On Jan. 10—the day Remiro and Little were arrested—the Harrises left their Oakland apartment so fast that there was still a pot of coffee on the stove waiting to be brewed.

**NANCY LING PERRY.** Once a high school cheerleader in Santa Rosa, Calif., she was a staunchly conservative supporter of Barry Goldwater for President in 1964. After a year at Whitlitt College, President Nixon's alma mater, she majored in English literature at Berkeley and graduated in 1970.

Hoping to go on to medical school, she took graduate chemistry courses and worked as a laboratory assistant to Biologist Robert Macy, who has described her as "interested in drugs and consciousness-raising-type pursuits." In February 1973, her six-year marriage to Black Pianist Gilbert Scott Perry broke up, and she began a drifting, seemingly aimless existence, working variously as a topless blackjacket dealer in a North Beach nightclub and selling soft drinks from an outdoor stand. On Jan. 10 she fled a rented house in suburban Concord used by the S.L.A. as a headquarters, after trying to set fire to the contents, which included BB guns and maps which showed abandoned mines and ranger stations.



THE HEARST'S &amp; NEPHEW RETURNING HOME

"We have hope, but it is not too bright now."

manities and graduated in 1967. After working in Duluth as a social worker and later in Minneapolis as a counselor to unwed mothers, she moved to Berkeley in 1970 and until a year ago was Patricia Soltysek's lover. Last year Hall worked as a \$4.18-an-hour park attendant, but she considered herself to be an artist and poet. A sample: "I will cradle you/ In my woman hips/ Kiss you/ with my woman lips/ Fold you to my heart/ And sing:/ Sister woman, You are a joy to me."

**EMILY SCHWARTZ HARRIS.** Remembered by her Alpha Chi Omega sorority sisters at Indiana University as a "good dresser," she taught junior high school English for a year in Bloomington. Last year she and her husband William moved to Berkeley. She worked as a clerk typist at the University of California and became deeply involved in radical activities. She headed the Oakland Chino Defense Committee, which raised funds for the legal defense of members of the Venceremos and others accused of aiding a prison escape.

**PATRICIA ("MIZMOOM") SOLTYSEK.** Raised in Goleta, a small seaside town near Santa Barbara, she moved to Berkeley in 1970. She changed her name to Mizmoon in honor of a poem written to her by Camilla Hall. After a year studying French and English at Berkeley, Mizmoon dropped out to work and threw herself into radical feminist activities. She supported herself as a part-time janitor at the Berkeley public library, where a co-worker remembers her as "a very gentle person."

**THERO WHEELER.** After spending much of his life in trouble with law enforcement authorities, he was sentenced to prison in August 1962 for second-degree robbery. Paroled in 1967, he was put into Vacaville the next year to receive psychiatric treatment. Once again paroled in January 1969, he was arrested ten months later, convicted of attacking a police officer in Los Angeles, and sentenced to six months to ten years. He was in several state penal institutions, escaping briefly from Soledad in December 1971, and then broke out for

good from Vacaville last Aug. 2. He served time with DeFreeze at Vacaville, but the two were not known to be close friends. In prison, Wheeler became active in the Venceremos.

**WILLIAM WOFFE**, Son of a Pennsylvania anesthesiologist, was attracted to the political activism at Berkeley, where he registered as a student in 1971 and 1972. His friends, who included Remiro and Little, called him "Willie the Wolf." He took black-culture courses at Berkeley and in May 1972 began regularly attending meetings of the Black Cultural Association at various California prisons. On Jan. 11, he was visiting his parents when a friend phoned to say that Remiro and Little had been arrested. That same day he disappeared.

The woman whom the members of the S.L.A. claimed as their latest convert, Tania-Patty, was surely the most unlikely terrorist recruit of all. Granddaughter of the legendary publisher William Randolph Hearst, she grew up with four sisters in a 22-room house in the suburb of Hillsborough. At Berkeley, she was partly supported with \$300 a month from a trust fund and credit cards in her father's name. Patty had never demonstrated much interest in politics. Those who know her describe her as reserved and strong-willed. Says Brother-in-Law Jay Bosworth: "I wouldn't characterize her as naive, or as exceptionally worldly. But she was very independent."

Patty left exclusive Santa Catalina, a Monterey boarding school, in 1970 because she found its atmosphere too cloistered. Despite her family's social position, she refused to come out as a debutante. Two years ago, even though her parents disapproved, she moved with Weed into the apartment in Berkeley, near the university where she was a student majoring in art history.

They planned to be married this summer, and Patty had spent much of her time selecting china and silver patterns at Tiffany's and buying dresses. Their life together was tranquil. Says her sister, Virginia Bosworth: "They didn't party a lot. Steve played the guitar and liked to work on his stereo equipment. Patty liked to cook. They both took pride in fixing up the apartment."

Her parents, Randolph Apperson and Catherine Hearst, are notably apolitical and in general stayed aloof from the Burlingame Country Club set around Hillsborough. Since her kidnapping, Randolph, chairman of the Hearst Corp. and editor of the San Francisco *Examiner*, has devoted himself almost entirely to getting Patty released. Before he paid out \$500,000 for food as part of the effort to satisfy the S.L.A.'s demands, he estimated his net worth at \$2 million. He earns about \$100,000 a year from the Hearst Corp. Wife Catherine, a Southern belle from Atlanta, is a staunch Roman Catholic and a conservative member of the University of California board of regents.

Some of the more conspiratorial am-

ateur speculation about the kidnaping has turned on Steve Weed and is based on rumored and exaggerated reports about his own radical connections. They are more modish than real. The son of a stockbroker in nearby Palo Alto, Weed was graduated from Princeton with a degree in philosophy and physics in 1959; he was captain of the track team and was mildly active in the antiwar movement. True, he was friendly with several members of the university's loosely structured chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. But on only two occasions did he become publicly involved in their activities. The first was when he was enlisted as a ringer to quarterback the chapter's touch-football team to victory over an ROTC squad. The second was when he was accused by a student-faculty discipline committee—and later exonerated—of participating in a sit-in that obstructed a Marine Corps recruiter visiting the campus. Weed was found to be nothing more than a bystander. He was teaching at the Crystal Springs school for girls in Hillsborough when he first met Patty. By last December, the two were engaged, and he had enrolled at Berkeley. Since Patty's kidnaping, Weed has deeply involved himself in the attempt to free her. On April 7, reported *New Times*, he secretly flew to Mexico City to visit French Marxist Régis Debray, who was one of the original Tania's closest friends. At Weed's behest, Debray wrote Patty a letter that said in part: "I ask you only to assure me that you have consciously and freely chosen to take the name and follow the example of Tania."

The Hearst case's resistant mysteries have spawned a host of speculative theories about what has really happened to Patty. Among them:

► Patty has been killed, and the bank robber was an impostor. There is



STEVE WEED TALKING TO REPORTERS

#### THE NATION

no evidence to support this dire supposition. It arose apparently because the bank photographs released by the FBI and published in the press are slightly out of focus, making it hard to identify her positively. But the FBI had access to all the bank photographs, and it is certain that the woman was Patty—a conclusion accepted by her parents.

► She was an S.L.A. member all along and helped set up her own abduction. A variation of this theory has Patty helping to plan a kidnaping, not knowing that she was to be the victim (thus her screams as she was carried off: "Please, not me, please!"). Both unlikely conjectures were based on the suspicion—since disproved—that Weed had kept up his leftist contacts and in-

PATTY MAKING FIRST COMMUNION



POISING ON A TENNIS COURT LAST YEAR



#### THE NATION

ated Patty into radicalism. There is nothing in her background or in the circumstances of the kidnaping that would support either version. She had no known radical friends or sympathies, and the man she loved was severely beaten by her abductor. Finally, a piece of evidence was made public last week by the San Francisco *Chronicle* that undermined the theory. The newspaper reported that three weeks before the kidnaping, local police found a green notebook in which an unidentified S.L.A. member had jotted down these cryptic references to Patty: "At U.C. . . . daughter of Hearst"; "Junior—art student"; "Patricia Campbell Hearst . . . the night of the full moon of Jan. 7." Randolph Hearst called the notebook "unquestionable proof" that his daughter had "in no way" arranged her own kidnaping.

► Patty, fearing that she might be killed, has pretended to convert to the S.L.A., and was coerced into helping rob the bank. Much of her background, as well as the time she devoted to preparing for her wedding, seems to fit this the-

ory. After her alleged conversion, one student friend said: "It just doesn't sound like her. She's too levelheaded, she's got too much of a sense of humor about things to get involved with something as fanatical as the S.L.A." Further, one of the bank photographs shows DeFreeze and Hall aiming their rifles in Patty's direction, perhaps to make certain that she played her assigned role.

► After two months of intense psychological pressure, Patty was brainwashed into joining her captors and willingly participated in the robbery. To FBI investigators last week, this seemed the most likely theory. Experts on terrorism say that women victims can fall under the spell of their captors, sometimes to the point of forming quasi-love relationships. And some psychiatrists believe that Patty's taped messages indicate that she is not a strong personality and might have been swayed under the strain and terror she has had to endure. Support for that conjecture came last week from Bank Guard Shea, who said: "If she was being coerced, she was doing a damn good job of acting." At one point, ac-

(p. 18)

ording to Shea, Patty cried, "Lie down or I'll shoot your mother—heads off!" He has no doubt that she meant it. "She had the authoritative voice, the stance and the will to do it," he says. Moreover, bank photographs not released by the FBI show Patty moving about the bank lobby, actively pointing her gun at people, and giving orders. But it is so far simply unknowable whether Patty's rifle was operable (even though it had a clip of cartridges in firing position) or whether she had been threatened with death if she did not act like a willing participant. Another, even darker variant of this theory is that Patty was enslaved by addicting her to heroin, though the S.L.A. abjured any use of hard drugs in its "code of war."

► No Structure. The long weeks with no break in the case have led to friction between the law enforcement agencies involved in it. State investigators privately criticize the FBI for adopting "a timid approach" to the kidnaping. The bureau admittedly has followed its established practice of moving cautiously in kidnappings so as not to jeopardize the

victim, and it continues to regard Patty as a victim, not a member of the S.L.A. But FBI officials challenged the charge that they were overly cautious. "We've practically turned Berkeley over," said John Kelley, assistant special agent in charge of the investigation. Yet he frankly admits: "We don't know where Patty Hearst is."

Agents have found information about the S.L.A. tough to come by. It took 150 of them more than two months, piecing together bits of information mined from the diverse Berkeley radical elements, to uncover the shape of the S.L.A. and the identities of the nine suspects. The reason for the difficulty is the Symbionese Liberation Army's small and communal organization. Explains one federal law enforcement official: "It has no visible national structure to attack. Against a commune, conventional informants are totally ineffective."

After the robbery, teams of agents made a door-to-door search of San Francisco's Sunset district and continued to comb through the entire Bay Area. Their working assumption was that the S.L.A. had several "safe houses" in the area where members could hide out, meet, plan and disband, once again melting into the radical scene. Agents also assumed that the group was so anonymous that lesser-known members, such as Camilla Hall and Angela Wood, can be sent out to cash bad checks, buy or steal food and carry messages.

**No Deals.** In the Hearst home, the mood at week's end was grimmer than ever. There is no more talk of possible deals to free Patty. Weed was a frequent visitor and often stayed at the Hearst home until he and his prospective father-in-law had a mild run-in over Weed's public statements about the case. Now he lives with friends, visiting the family only occasionally.

Once relatively calm and collected, Patty's parents are showing signs of strain. Catherine Hearst seems despondent; her reaction to the bank-robbery pictures reportedly was, "Doesn't my Patty look thin and tired?" Even Randolph Hearst has been seen to despair. "We have hope," he says, "but it is not too bright now." He is seen to clutch at any straw and search here for an intermediary who can put him in touch with the S.L.A. He recently visited Clifford Jefferson, a black lifer at Vacaville known as "Death Row Jeff" who knew Cinque very well. Hearst has even talked with a number of psychics in a vain effort to turn up clues.

No one has offered the Hearsts any information that would help answer the agonizing question of whether their daughter was a victim of a nightmarish crime or has become a bank-robbing political terrorist. "How do I know?" Hearst asked rhetorically last week. "There isn't any proof until you get hold of Patricia and ask her what happened, and get hold of the others and find out what happened."

TIME, APRIL 29, 1974

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Wed., MARCH 27, 1974, pp. 1 and 28.

## Peaceful Beginnings

# The Origins of the SLA

*The Symbionese Liberation Army with its frightening claims of terror—the assassination of Oakland schools Superintendent Marcus Foster and the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst—seems to have come out of nowhere.*

*This is the story of how a terrorist organization grew out of an officially sanctioned black cultural group at Vacaville prison.*

\* \* \*

By Tim Findley and Paul Avery

Spawned of frustration in the California Medical Facility at Vacaville, nurtured on romantic fantasies in Berkeley and hiding now in perhaps more than one location, the Symbionese Liberation Army left a wide destructive trail.

Through its own investigation, The Chronicle has learned the names of ten suspected members of the SLA and the fateful circumstances of their origin in terror.

It began peacefully at Vacaville prison, where in 1968 a group of black convicts suggested the formation of an or-

ganization that could work on the special problems of black prisoners.

What resulted was the Black Cultural Association, a convict organization that eventually would include about 130 members.

Prison authorities accepted the premise that the association was a self-help group and officially recognized the organization in 1969.

As members of the group became better organized and reached out of prison for help from their communities, the organization found a sponsor and a teacher in Colston Westbrook, a rotund and gregarious instructor in black lexicon at the University of California at Berkeley.

Westbrook is a willing and able man in a sincere effort to assure a sense of pride in black America and in black culture.

If, as the outside sponsor of the association, his efforts were abused by some, it is not because he was too casual or indifferent in his efforts.

Westbrook gave generously of his own time and worked hard. The group met twice a week—at a two-hour tutoring session on Wednesdays and at a combined social and business session for two hours on Fridays.

\* \* \*

## Mrs. Hearst Says She's Beginning to Lose Hope

New York

Mrs. Randolph Hearst said yesterday she is "beginning to lose hope" that her kidnapped daughter will be returned safely.

"I feel very discouraged about the whole thing. It's been such a long time," Mrs. Hearst was quoted as saying in a telephone interview by the New York Post.

"You try to keep your spirits up, but now I'm finally beginning to lose hope..."

I can't think of any way out of it for Patty now."

Mrs. Hearst, who arrived here with her husband Monday night, went into seclusion at the Essex House while Hearst attended a regular board meeting of the Hearst Corp.

Speaking in somber tones, she said, "There doesn't seem to be anything more we can do right now. I don't know how you can deal with

Back Page Col. 1

As part of the goal to give prisoners a better chance in the free world and to give free persons a better understanding of convicts, Westbrook encouraged outsiders to visit the prison and participate in the association's activities.

One of those persons was an energetic 22-year-old white man named Willie Wolfe, who was taking one of Westbrook's classes at Berkeley.

Wolfe, the son of a doctor in Pennsylvania had not yet decided on his own goals in life, but he had chosen to attend classes at UC Berkeley as much because of its progressive spirit as for its recognized quality of education.

He first attended meetings of the association in May of 1972.

A week after Wolfe began what was to become a relationship of nearly two years with the group, another white

Back Page Col. 1

## THE ORIGINS OF THE SLA

From Page 1

man, Dave Gunnell, followed up on Westbrook's encouragement to become involved in assisting black prisoners.

Gunnell is a jazz musician. He is important to this story because of the house at 5939 Chabot road in Berkeley that he first acquired in 1970 as a place to be used and lived in by his band.

Like many other such efforts, the band was not as successful as had been hoped, and by 1972, Gunnell's house had become something of a cross between a collective of progressive-thinking people and a boarding house.

Gunnell calls himself a socialist, but his politics are not fiercely militant. In his late 30s, he runs the Chabot road house (that some people call 'Peking House') rather like a father figure.

Wolfe had been living in a dingier row apartment in Berkeley. He met Gunnell in 1971 and later visited the Chabot road house, finding its residents and its communal style to his liking.

With the very next opening, Wolfe moved into Peking House.

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Calling it Peking House is perhaps a political distortion. The name actually relates to the sidewalk stand set up by Gunnell and his girlfriend, Jean Chan, in Berkeley. They sold Chinese food from it, and called the stand "Peking Man."

The stand moved about as do such sidewalk operations, but on more than one occasion it was situated next to a sidewalk juice bar known as "Fruity Rudy's."

Gunnell insists he doesn't remember ever meeting her, but it is known that Nancy Ling Perry, admitted member of the Symbionese Liberation Army, formerly worked at Fruity Rudy's.

For a petite former junior high school cheerleader in Santa Rosa, Nancy Ling Perry had come a long way. She started out supporting Barry Goldwater in high school and even enrolled at Whittier College, Richard Nixon's alma mater.

But by last summer, she had gone through an unsuccessful marriage to a black musician, worked topless in North Beach and had a working relationship with a wide variety of mind-reeling drugs before becoming, as she called it, "political."

That meant a number of things — becoming conscious of herself and her feeling of oppression as a woman was one. Becoming aware of prisoners was another.

Occasionally, she dated another sidewalk vendor, a young freewheeling black man named Chris Thompson who sold soul food through his "Black Market" and his stand called "Harlem On My Mind."

★ ★ ★

The outside interest in the Black Cultural Association was at its peak in the fall of 1972. Frequent visitors to Vacaville included Wolfe, Gunnell, Jean Chan and a young couple from Florida who had also recently moved into Peking House.

Robyn Steiner and Russell Little had been traveling about the country together since leaving the University of Florida. In July of 1972, they decided to settle for a while in Berkeley.

Two others should be mentioned as being on the approved visitors roster of the association at Vacaville, although it appears they never actually visited the group (at least under their own names) eventually were dropped for non-attendance.

The couple, Bill and Emily Harris, had simply appeared in Berkeley in late 1972. Both said they had been attending and teaching at Indiana University.

Like Robyn Steiner and Russ Little, the Harrises were well-educated. Bill Harris at 29, had completed his work and was awarded a master's degree in urban education last May. Mrs. Harris, at 27, had an AB degree in English, and had taught a junior high school class for a year in Bloomington, Ind., before coming to the Bay Area.

Bill was supposedly a disabled Vietnam veteran, although this was doubted by some of his acquaintances. He worked in Berkeley as a post office employee.

In any case, everyone who knew them recognized that Emily was the real strength of the family. Cool, intelligent and forgetful, she had a touch for leadership.

In Berkeley, she worked as a clerk-typist for the Survey Research Center, an opinion-polling firm under contract to UC Berkeley.

She also involved herself in Venceremos activities and headed the Oakland Chino Defense Committee, which offered support for Venceremos members and others accused of aiding a prison escape. She was not, however, a member of Venceremos — a Peninsula-based Marxist organization.

Harris had an association with, though was not an active member of, the radical Vietnam Veterans Against the War — Winter Soldier Organization. One of the people he knew was a founder of the Oakland VVAW chapter who had become an inactive member — Joseph Michael Remiro.

Even if they were not in regular attendance at the Black Cultural Association, the Harrises were nevertheless active on behalf of numerous prisoners, writing letters to the parole board and making visits to inmates. To the left, prisoners were, after all, the leading social cause of the time.

One person who did not win approval to visit the Black Cultural Association, although she applied twice, was Nancy Ling Perry. The authorities said she was already visiting another prisoner at Vacaville and was applying to visit prisoners elsewhere.

The Harrises, like Miss Perry, Wolfe and some other key people, have vanished from their Oakland residence.

By late 1972, the Black Cultural Association had added more than 100 names to its list of approved visitors to vacaville. The group appeared highly successful in its organization and its support.

There had, in fact, been only one incident that briefly threatened the future of the organization.

An inmate member named Donald D. Defreeze had campaigned to become chairman of the organization. The members rejected his candidacy, however, for a variety of reasons, among them that Defreeze had a whipping style of rhetoric that might cause prison officials to clamp down on the group.

Defreeze did not take defeat easily. He went as far as to file a protest with the prison authorities claiming that the association was undemocratic and illegally constituted.

He lost on his protest, but he did win approval for another proposal. He suggested the group establish a committee he called "Unisight," which would focus on the relationships of the black family and particularly of that between men and women in the family.

With approval of prison authorities, Defreeze was made the chairman of that new committee. One of the first outside people he chose to participate on it was not a black woman at all — it was Russell Little.

Nearly all the inmate members, and many of the outside visitors of the association had chosen "reborn" names for themselves, often using Swahili titles.

At first, Defreeze called himself "Mtume," but soon changed that to "Cinque" or just "Cin" after the name of an African Mendi chief who seized control of a slave ship in the 1830s and became a celebrity in Abolitionist America. It is perhaps part of Defreeze's own ironic tragedy that the original Cinque later disappointed abolitionists who supported him by himself becoming a slave trader.

The reborn names and the Swahili lessons and the elaborate rituals opened each Black Cultural Association meeting at the prison. Wolfe, in particular, seemed impressed with the ceremony and the fist-slapping handshake rituals.

Some observers remember that another inmate named Thero Wheeler often spoke in terms of the Swahili language supplying a black identity, perhaps even a unified black movement.

At least one member of the association was a former follower of Ron Karenga's Black Nationalist United Slaves organization in Los Angeles.

The "Kawaida" religion formed by Karenga includes seven principles of conduct identical to those since displayed by the underground Symbionese Liberation Army.

There is no evidence that during his Los Angeles days Defreeze was ever involved with Karenga's group. The charge that eventually brought him to prison — the theft of more than 200 guns from a surplus store — raised some questions about whether he had some connection with militants, but authorities later became convinced the theft had been only a plan to steal the guns for resale.

Even after that arrest in 1967, however, Defreeze did not return immediately to prison. For two years, he ducked court appearances. He was even arrested three times before being sent to prison in December, 1969, after an exchange of gunfire with police who spotted him trying to cash a stolen check.

Defreeze was wounded slightly in that action and still carries a scar.

Eventually, he was sent from Los Angeles to Vacaville where he did undergo group psychoanalysis, an activity at most routine at that prison. He had a good prison record, and in December, 1972, he was transferred to the prison at Soledad.

By the beginning of last year, hard line policies of the state Adult Authority had pushed the prison population higher and higher. They simply granted very few paroles. Defreeze felt this attitude when he was turned down for parole despite letters in his behalf from such people as Russell Little, Robyn Steiner and Little's sister, JoAnn.

The Adult Authority's attitude also forced the Department of Corrections to re-open prison facilities it had closed down. At Soledad, the department was slowly re-opening the old minimum "south" facility. In the early spring of 1973, Soledad-south was being used as a training center for new correctional officers.

It had been out of use so long, however, that even the boiler for heating the facility was inoperative.

According to his prison record, Defreeze was experienced in working on boilers. On March 5, 1973, he was escorted out of the medium security "central" facility at Soledad and taken to "south" to work on the boiler.

According to what Defreeze has told people, the guard who escorted him had other duties and left him alone to work on the boiler. He used the opportunity to vault the single fence surrounding the then-unused minimum security prison facility.

Reportedly, he talked a change of clothes out of a family near Soledad and then hitchhiked to the Bay Area. Free now, he headed for Berkeley, to find a focus on some personal problems and some political attitudes. That focus would become a major factor in the merging frustrations that would form the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Tomorrow: Birth of the SLA

## From Dreams to Reality

## The SLA 'Fantasy'

Last month, a man calling himself Cinque, General Field Marshal of the Symbionese Liberation Army said that he was one of the persons holding Patricia Hearst as a "prisoner of war."

Cinque is Donald Defreeze, an escaped convict. This is the story of how Defreeze and his associates formed the SLA.

By Tim Findley and Paul Acery

For an escaped convict, freedom can be a trap of its own creation, and for Donald David Defreeze—Cinque—flight from Soledad prison March 5, 1973, held its own special problems.

Where could he go? Back to Los Angeles, perhaps, where his crime troubles began in 1967 or maybe to Cleveland, his hometown where his mother and his wife lived.

Both were part of his past, now, though, and Defreeze was thinking of his future. He had wife problems while he was in prison. The record of his behavior shows that in apparent reaction to that, he became involved with a woman visitor to the Black Cultural Association, which met in the California Medical Facility at Vacaville.

That organization at Vacaville was virtually under the wing of a sizable group of committed people from the campus community around Berkeley.

They included Defreeze's outside co-workers on the association's "Unlight" committee, Russell Little, as well as Little's girlfriend, Robyn Steiner; Little's sister, JoAnn; young Willie Wolfe; David Gunnell, and Jean Chan, all of whom lived in "Peking House" at 5839 Chabot road in Berkeley.

Whether Cinque knew it or not is questionable, but others who had at least tried to visit the Black Cultural Association were Bill and Emily Harris, Nancy Ling Perry and a curious young black man named Chris Thompson.

Thompson once came all the way to the door of the prison library where the association met before deciding that prison bothered him too much. He did not participate in the meeting.

Not a great deal is known about Chris Thompson. He, too, lived at the Chabot road house for a time, but seemed always to be too preoccupied elsewhere to spend much time in the communal atmosphere of Peking House.

People do remember that he used to be seen frequently in the company of a woman whom everyone knew as "Mizmoon."

Mizmoon was in fact Patricia Soltysik's first name. She had it legally changed to Mizmoon after becoming entranced with the name given her in a love poem from a female friend.

Mizmoon, like Nancy Ling Perry, was a militant feminist and a person openly and deeply committed to aiding the effort for prisoner rights in California. She visited prisoners and wrote letters on their behalf, although she is never known to have visited the Black Cultural Association at Vacaville—at least not under her own name.

Exactly where Cinque went first on that March day after his escape is not certain, but reliable sources have told The Chronicle that he first called friends in Berkeley who arranged for him to stay in Mizmoon's apartment at 2135 Parker street.

In prison, a personal fantasy can be as important to a man as a long overdue visit from home. Some men dream of the biggest robbery of all time, some of building their lives into greatness at a legal profession and some, like Cinque, had superstitious dreams that translated themselves into revolutionary drama.

Most fantasies never come true, but Cinque arrived in

Back Page Col. 5

## From Page 1

Berkeley, at what for him was the perfect moment. His young white radical friends in Berkeley were nearly as romantically adventurist as he was.

They had indulged in fantasies of their own since the frustrating times of the 1960s and the recent crumbling of the organized New Left.

Mizmoon, 24, is a native of Goleta in Santa Barbara county. Between the autumn of 1968 and the summer of 1971, she was a student at UC Berkeley. She was intelligent and a quick learner, but vaguely directionless in her studies in letters and science.

Similarly, her personal life rocked in the uncertain directions encouraged by a youth shelta like Berkeley. She was not a particularly attractive man and was nagged by a mild weight problem. She wavered between the strongest postures of militant feminism and positions that made her seem in need of masculine support.

She worked as a part-time janitor at the Berkeley Public Library, a position that would prove critical in the formation of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

According to information gathered by The Chronicle, it was Mizmoon and Cinque, working together, who wrote the founding documents of the Symbionese Federation. They were filled with romantic visions of "sovereign states" trained and "educated by the 'army'" and then sweeping gradually across the country.

It was, perhaps, Marxist in intent and light on hard politics, but long on rhetoric and guerrilla drama.

There is an unconfirmed story that Cinque himself copied the seven-headed cobra symbol on the Berkeley library's photo-copying machine (perhaps from the Egyptian Book of the Dead) and then absent-mindedly left the original on the machine.

Even though Cinque (Cin as his friends called him) was out of prison, the work on behalf of inmates continued with more vigor than ever. By that early summer of last year the principals had all met one another through that work.

The Harrises from Indiana, Russ Little and Robyn Steiner from Florida, Willie Wolfe from Pennsylvania, Nancy Ling Perry from Santa Rosa and Joe Ramiro from San Francisco were all at least acquainted. All—with the possible exception of Ramiro—were dedicated to the cause of prisoner support.

Both Harrises were graduates of Indiana University. Bill Harris was a Marine Vietnam veteran. They lived in an apartment on 41st street in Oakland. They were friends of Russ Little and Robyn Steiner and, for a time, Robyn even lived with the Harrises.

The Harrises' closest friends were perhaps their old schoolmates at Indiana—Gary and Angela Atwood, another young couple who had migrated west. The Atwoods' marriage broke up last year and Gary returned to Indiana. Angela, sources said, moved in with the Harrises—and into a house where revolutionary fantasy was slowly becoming real.

For a time at the end of the '60s, the Maoist Venceremos organization, founded in Palo Alto, appeared to offer the most hope in the progression of radical organization in the previous ten years. Yet by late spring of 1973, Venceremos was hanging up on the usage of personal differences, police infiltration, and problems of reaching a unified strategy.

The breakup of Venceremos as an organization in the summer of last year left a momentary vacuum that was later filled by the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Yet, even then, it did not begin as a terrorist group. Sources have told The Chronicle that the operation formed by the Harrises, Little, Nancy Perry and to some extent Cinque and Mizmoon was designed to be a communications network for prisoners in California—a way to send information speedily from one prisoner to outside support groups and to other institutions.

Cinque and Mizmoon reportedly were moving around as summer went on, changing addresses in the Berkeley-Oakland area to avoid possible exposure.

Cinque was restless. The first tentative efforts to bring other groups in on the Symbionese Federation had been met with gentle skepticism. What was needed was something spectacular to gain support.

State authorities have let it be known that they believe the escape of Vacaville convict Thero Wheeler in August of last year was engineered by Venceremos. But Venceremos had already broken up by that time. Chronicle sources believe Wheeler's escape was actually aided by part of a prison group formed around Wheeler's former friend at Vacaville, Donald Defreeze—Cinque.

Wheeler's escape was a heady success for the forming band of guerrillas. By now they had even adopted code names—Nancy Perry was Fahizah, Mizmoon was Zoya, Russ Little was Orceola, Joe Ramiro was Bo, and Emily Harris was Yolanda, and it was possible that Angela Atwood was Gelina.

Expanding with the speed of their own romantic vision, the Symbionese Liberation Army met at "safe" locations they needed for mail drops.

One of these was the apartment at 1621 Seventh avenue in Oakland. Police have identified it as the possible planning site and later a hideout for those who killed Oakland Schools Superintendent Marcus Foster.

Sources have told The Chronicle, however, that the Seventh avenue apartment was not necessarily directly related to Foster's murder. It was probably rented by Emily Harris, who used the name Lynn Ledworth.

Those in the left whose sympathies might lean toward guerrilla actions such as kidnaping prominent citizens still face a major unresolved question: "Why kill Foster?"

The only answer they find is that Foster's plan for police on the Oakland school campuses was the only major "local cause" in the East Bay in the late summer and early fall of last year.

Vera Silverman, a strong-minded Oakland mother who was in the forefront of the opposition to Foster's plan, had spoken to the Black Cultural Association in Vacaville. But she certainly knew nothing of the deadly focus Cinque put on her school protest.

Who actually carried out the assassination is a matter before the courts, but it is unquestioned that the Symbionese Liberation Army as a group takes responsibility for Foster's murder.

As a means of attracting the left to their support, the SLA assassination of Foster was an utter failure. Several people very close to the SLA were appalled by it and severed their connections with the Symbionese Federation.

By October of last year, Willie Wolfe had moved out of his room at Peking House on Chabot road in Berkeley and was living with Joe Ramiro in a house at 4614 Bond street, in Oakland. Russ Little stayed there frequently.

That fall was a period in which all of the principals in the case began cutting ties with their less committed friends. In essence, they were forming a brand new underground of their own. They used code names and "safe" addresses, had clandestine communications, and held secret meetings.

One story is that after Foster's assassination, the houses of two groups of people associated with the left were burglarized of guns and ammunition, but, interestingly, not of television sets or other valuable items.

Officially, the burglaries are unsolved, but sources have told The Chronicle that the weapons were actually "appropriated" by SLA members who thought their former friends too "petit bourgeois" to ever use them.

Foster's assassination was an event designed to "awaken" the masses—but it failed to rally support to the SLA.

It is clear now that by early last fall the SLA was using the Concord house rented by Nancy Perry (and possibly as well by Russ Little) and Emily Harris' Seventh avenue apartment. Members discussed vague plans for political kidnappings in the style of the Uruguayan Tupamaro terrorists and the Palestinian guerrillas.

The SLA members also tried to encourage others in the movement for racial change to abandon slow tactics of organizing and pressure, and take more direct and irreversible actions.

People in the left who were approached with such arguments suspected even then that those promoting guerrilla type attacks were provocateurs—the same type who had tried in the past to push protest movements over a violent edge that would discredit and eventually destroy them.

Even if they were not proven provocateurs, the representatives from the SLA who called for immediate "war" on what they saw as a system of oppression were at the very least viewed by many in the left as dangerous romantics.

There is nothing to indicate that the SLA came from a well-organized or even well-versed leftist political body.

It was, in fact, the lack of any general organization or clear leadership in the left, Marxist or otherwise, that allowed and even encouraged the isolated and even desperate acts of the Symbionese Liberation Army—like the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst.

Tomorrow: SLA Members Vanish

## A Twist Of Fate For the SLA

Early in January, a strange set of circumstances led police into the headquarters of the Symbionese Liberation Army. This is the story of that day and how other SLA people subsequently went underground.

By Tim Findley and Paul Avery

The morning of Jan. 10, 1974, was less than two hours old, and in the sleepy unincorporated area between Concord and Clayton, police Sergeant David Duge cruised in his unmarked patrol car, alert for signs of burglars.

At the intersection of Ayers road and Sutherland drive, Duge came upon a red van driving very slowly, as if the occupants were looking for an address. Suspicious of an unfamiliar car in that neighborhood in the pre-dawn hours, Duge made a U-turn and switched off his lights, then slowly began following the van.

It turned left, then left again and left still a third time in a slow maneuver that brought it back in a full circle. Duge switched on his red spotlight and pulled the van over.

Almost accidentally, he had stumbled onto the first and most decisive break in the case of the mysterious Symbionese Liberation Army.

The driver of the van produced a license identifying him as Robert James Scallise. In fact, it is now known that the driver was actually Russell Little, and that Robert Scallise is the name of a six-year-old child who died of leukemia in Oakland in 1953.

Little, in the anxiety of the moment, also provided Duge with a critical piece of information that police waited too long to believe. In a soft voice, Little told the officer he was looking for the "Devoto" residence.

Sergeant Duge went back to his patrol car and radioed for information about anyone living on Sutherland court with the name Devoto. The dispatcher said there was no one by that name on that street.

The fact was that the police department's cross directory was not up to date. There was indeed a Devoto family on Sutherland court, but they had not lived there long enough to be in the cross directory.

Yet that seemingly minor fact was probably the fateful key to all that has followed. Based on the dispatcher's report that there was no Devoto, Sergeant Duge decided the two men were suspicious enough to be searched.

According to his report, Sergeant Duge spotted a bulge on Joseph Remiro's right hip just after Remiro stepped out of the van. Before the officer could act, Remiro allegedly

Back Page Col. 1

### From Page 1

whipped out his Walther PP pistol and began firing. Duge ducked behind his patrol car and fired back. Little was nicked in the shoulder, but neither Sergeant Duge nor Remiro was hit.

As suddenly as it had begun, it was over. Remiro sprinted away on foot. He would not be captured for another 4½ hours. Little sped away in the van, only to be stopped a short distance away by other officers responding to Sergeant Duge's radio calls for help.

Two blocks away, there were still lights burning in the little frame house at 1530 Sutherland court. The bungalow had been rented in October by a quiet couple who called themselves George and Nancy Devoto and who have been identified from photographs as Nancy Perry and Russell Little.

They did not, as neighbors assumed, however, live there entirely alone. Grooming aids for a natural hair style of the type worn by black people were among the items found in the house later.

Judging from the bottles also found there, whoever lived there enjoyed plum wine.

Police did not know it, but in their search for Remiro that night, they passed very near him — and according to Chronicle sources, police also were close to escaped convict Donald (Cinque) Defreeze. Both men sat discussing their situation in the now-darkened rooms of the Sutherland court house as police looked through the neighborhood.

(Through an error, a photograph of Thera Wheeler was incorrectly identified in yesterday's Chronicle as a photo of Donald Defreeze, the man who calls himself Cinque, general field marshal of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Wheeler, who is also an escaped convict, was an associate of Defreeze's in prison.)

Among the other items police found in the house later were a library card for Gary Dean Atwood of Berkeley and a pair of Postal Service pith helmets, the kind letter carriers wear in the summer — small things; perhaps. But it was the small things that tangled up the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Gary Atwood had broken up with his wife, Angela, in the summer of 1973 and returned to Indiana, his home state. Angela wrote him later and seemed to say they were through for good. She had moved in to the Oakland apartment of their old friends from Indiana University, Bill and Emily Harris.

You might say Bill was underemployed for his education. He held a master's degree in urban education, but he worked as a post office employee in Berkeley.

When Angela moved out of the apartment she and Gary had on Delaware street in Berkeley, she turned it over to another friend, Willie Wolfe.

Wolfe was not there on January 10, though. He had decided at Christmas to pay a visit to his family in Pennsylvania. Wolfe's father, an anesthesiologist, had visited Willie in Oakland the previous summer and bought his son an aging but roadworthy Oldsmobile. Still, Willie left the car behind when he went home for the holidays. He hitchhiked instead.

Dawn was approaching, and the police patrols were going over and over the same Concord streets in search of Remiro. He seemed simply to have vanished.

Inside the Sutherland court house, there must have been a growing mood of despair. Little had mentioned the "Devotos" and surely it would be only a matter of time before police found the place.

It was too bad, really, because the fledgling SLA had taken a liking to this house they called a "liberated zone."

In it, they studied the books on guerrilla war and some smattering of Marxism; they learned of first aid and piled up their collection of maps of park and wilderness areas. All abandoned mine shafts and ranger huts were carefully circled.

In the house they practiced hand-to-hand combat and even played at being guerrillas, using BB guns to simulate the real thing. The walls were peppered with dents from the mock battles practiced by these BB-gun revolutionaries of the SLA.

There could be no more of that now, but there was some hope in the possibility that Remiro might be able to lead police away from the house instead of to it. According to Chronicle sources, the "army" made a decision that one of their members would have to be sacrificed.

At approximately 5:32 a.m., January 10, Officer Jim Alcorn saw someone dart across the intersection of Sutherland and Manchester drives in Concord and hide behind a car in a driveway. Officer Alcorn was approaching on foot when the man shouted:

"I've had it, I give up. I'm coming out." It was Joseph Remiro.

Most amazingly, Remiro was still carrying his Walther PP — a weapon police ballistics experts later said they were "convinced" was the same one used to murder Oakland Schools Superintendent Marcus Foster on Nov. 6, 1973.

In the van seized hours earlier, police had found a stack of freshly printed literature giving seven principles of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

To all who worked with her, Emily Harris seemed to be a woman who enjoyed her job as a clerk-typist at the Survey Research Center in Berkeley. She rarely missed a day of work in the more than a year she was there.

But on January 10, a Thursday, Emily did not come to work. She called in sick. Several days later, she called in again and said she was resigning "for personal reasons."

Since coming to California, she and her husband — like many other well-meaning young people — had become engrossed in work on behalf of prisoners. Emily in particular was a frequent visitor to prisons. Records show her most repeated visits were to two black convicts — "Doc" Holiday and Barron Broadnax.

Prison authorities believe Holiday to be the leader of the so-called Black Guerrilla Family, a militant black prisoner group. Broadnax is reputed to have been Holiday's bodyguard while both were incarcerated at California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo.

Holiday, however, subsequently was transferred to San Quentin. Emily continued to visit Broadnax. The records show that she last visited him on Jan. 10, 1974. She didn't stay long.

Bill Harris failed to show up for work as a mail carrier that morning. He sent in a letter of resignation a couple of days later, citing "personal problems" as the reason for quitting.

Angela Atwood also did not report for work at her job as a waitress in Berkeley that day.

On that same January 10 at San Quentin, Doc Holiday received a visit from a woman who gave her name as Ann Lindberg.

The neighbors in the apartment house on 41st street where Bill and Emily Harris lived remember them as a pleasant enough young couple. They remember Emily as clearly the stronger of the two. The only complaint from neighbors was the frequent Sunday night "meetings" held in the Harris apartment, meetings occasionally punctuated by thudding sounds as if someone were practicing tumbling or karate.

The neighbors recall a woman, Angela Atwood, was supposed to be living with the Harrises — but no one ever saw her.

After January 10, mail began piling up at the Harris address. Bill and Emily Harris were never seen there again.

On January 25, the landlord received a call from Emily Harris. Bill's father had died, she said (actually his father had died a few years before), and they had been required to return to Indiana.

She asked the landlord to sell the possessions they had left in the apartment, and mail the money, minus his costs, to Emily's mother.

But Emily was not in Indiana. She was somewhere in the Bay Area, for the landlord heard the telephone operator ask Emily to deposit 50 cents for the first three minutes.

The landlord was actually sorry to see them go. They had been "excellent, outstanding" tenants. Still, he was astonished at what he found in the apartment. They had left everything behind — right down to toothbrushes and underwear. A pot of drip-through coffee was still on the unlighted stove, ready to be brewed.

The landlord was in the process of following Emily's instructions when — five days later — Oakland police, seven carloads of them, arrived to search the apartment.

It was quite a find: more than 150 pages of papers and photographs, live .38 and .380 caliber bullets here and there, one fully loaded 12-gauge shotgun, a box with papers for a Mauser pistol, and even Bill's receipt for his membership in the Chabot Gun Club, in the hills south of Oakland.

Dr. L. F. Wolfe had planned to have a special dinner with his son Willie on the night of January 11. They were getting along fine, and the young man seemed happy to be home in Pennsylvania.

But in the morning of the 11th, Willie Wolfe received an unexpected long-distance call from the Bay Area. He didn't speak to his father but told his mother he was boarding a bus for New York. They have not heard from his son since.

In Coleta, near Santa Barbara, the Soltysik family had not heard from their daughter Mizmoon (nee Patricia), in some months. Since going to Berkeley she had written and visited them less and less frequently. She too was interested in prison work, but what she was doing was rather unclear to her family. She had one friend they knew, a female artist named Camilla Hall.

Mizmoon had quit her job as a part-time janitor at the Berkeley library. She had moved out of the cozy bungalow where she lived on Parker street in Berkeley. By January, as far as her friends and family could make out, she had simply vanished.

On February 19, Camilla Hall suddenly moved out of her small house on Francisco street in Berkeley. Too late, the FBI went there to see her on February 25.

Miss Hall, 29, is another among the cast of characters with a Midwestern background. She earned an A.B. in humanities at the University of Minnesota in 1967, then worked for nearly three years as a social worker in Minneapolis.

Then she moved to the Bay Area.

In 1972, Miss Hall moved into an apartment house at 2021 Channing way in Berkeley. One of her neighbors was Mizmoon Soltysik.

A fellow tenant at the time recalls the two women were "good friends" and that "I heard they were very active in the Gay Liberation movement."

Miss Hall moved out of her Francisco street duplex in such a hurry she left behind pieces of furniture she was known to treasure. She did, however, take her beloved Siamese cat.

Chris Thompson was what you might call a camp follower of many causes in the Berkeley area. He was always around, but not quite in many activist groups and projects.

By January of this year, he had moved out of "Peking House" on Chabot road and had taken over an apartment at 2609 Hillegass street in Berkeley. Thompson dated both Mizmoon and Nancy Perry, but, as with his political commitments, Thompson's love life was an off-and-on thing.

The new apartment Thompson took over on Hillegass was in a big, old house on a pleasant street shaded by mature trees.

You could, if you wanted to, walk from it through a sort of alley way and find yourself on Benvenue avenue, directly facing 2603 Benvenue — the apartment rented by Steven Weed — the fiancé of Patricia Hearst.

Chris Thompson is still around and still lives on Hillegass. He is, however, a hard man to find and so far has not talked about his missing former friends.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Friday, March 29, 1974, p. 28 (continued)

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The evening of January 10 settled quietly over Concord. Police believed they had done a good day's work. The first two suspected members of the SLA had been captured and the rest would probably soon be tracked down. Sergeant Duge had finished typing up his report. The name "Devoto" mentioned by Little was just one of the elements in the report. In the confusion, no one had thought to check it further.

Just before 6:30 p.m., the dispatcher at the Pleasant Hill fire alarm center received a call saying there was a fire at 1560 Sutherland court.

Neighbors had seen "Mrs. Devoto" and a man screeching out the driveway in a white sedan shortly before the blaze broke out — Willie Wolfe's car, probably, though almost certainly the man was not Willie Wolfe, who was then in Pennsylvania.

Wolfe's car was found by police January 23 abandoned on a street at the north edge of Berkeley.

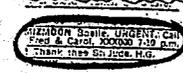
The car, like most of their books and maps and bottles of plum wine, like even their BB guns, was left behind on the jagged trail of the SLA.

Third of Three Articles

## Ad in the Paper Sought Mizmoon

A curious sidelight to the disappearance of suspected Symbionese Liberation Army members was this ad that ran in the Personals section of The Chronicle last week.

The ad was apparently placed by relatives of Mizmoon Soltysik. The relatives were trying to contact her by using the name "Mizmoon Boelle" in their ad. Boelle is the maiden name of Mizmoon's mother. The



Ad in The Chronicle

"XXXXXX" symbol in the ad is apparently nothing more sinister than the old sign for "love and kisses."

Mizmoon Soltysik has not been seen since January.

## APPENDIX C

### GUERRILLA WARFARE, TERRORISM AND MARXISM-LENINISM

One of the most comprehensive and detailed studies by an admitted communist of the Marxist-Leninist position on the use of terror tactics and guerrilla warfare is William J. Pomeroy's lengthy introduction to "Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism, A Collection of Writings from Karl Marx to the Present on Armed Struggles for Liberation and for Socialism," published in 1968 by International Publishers, the official publishing house of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and the medium through which considerable Soviet propaganda is distributed in the United States.

The following analysis of the conditions under which communists believe that terrorism and guerrilla warfare is justified is excerpted from Pomeroy's introduction to that volume

"History, it needs to be mentioned at the outset, shows that guerrilla warfare in itself is not necessarily a revolutionary form of struggle. It has occurred in all periods of history as the classic way for less well armed people to fight the organized power of a strong opponent, has often served as an adjunct of regular warfare in the purely military sense, and has at times been employed by reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces as well as by revolutionary movements. \*\*\*

\* \* \* \* \*

"In all countries\*\*\* there are apt to be, at any given time, some people who can be inspired to take to arms, even when a revolutionary situation does not obtain \*\*\*. Such acts, whether spontaneous or conspiratorially planned, are viewed by Marxist-Leninists as isolated cases of desperation or adventurism and as symptoms, not as solutions, of social problems. Of course, situations do arise where armed defense against punitive violence by a reactionary state or by fascist-type civilian gangs becomes a necessity. This right of armed defense is fully supported by Marxists, who would simultaneously bring into play the widest possible range of legal and civilian mass forces against the reactionary violence. However, a few people taking to arms do not equal a revolution, unless decisive masses of people are already in the motion of struggle toward revolutionary objectives, and the armed action is related to it, as a feature of it.\*\*\*

" \*\*\* Armed means to gain revolutionary ends are employable when masses of people are presented with no other alternative, only in specific, clearly-defined situations where necessary conditions for them exist. This is the basic premise in the Marxist-Leninist attitude toward revolutionary armed struggle \*\*\*.

\* \* \* \* \*

" From the outset Marx and Engels were positive that the working class must be prepared to employ armed struggle tactics to help realize

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## 2 OF 3

its historic aims. In the Communist Manifesto in 1847 they had declared that the ends of Communists 'can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions.' Force, however, in their view - as in the view of outstanding Marxists who have followed them - encompassed the great variety of forms that working class struggles take: mass demonstrations, general strikes, and even the relatively passive boycott, as well as armed uprisings (and in particular, combinations of all of these).

\* \* \* \* \*

"While Marx and Engels tried to avoid premature, ill-prepared revolution or inopportune adoption of armed struggle tactics, their support of all genuine revolutionary action, once undertaken by the working class, contrasted sharply with the attitude of the right-wing socialists who deplored all use of violent means by the workers. The Marxist position was developed out of struggle against the terrorist use of violence by the anarchists on the one hand, and against the class-collaborationist denial of all violence by right-wing theorists on the other.

\* \* \* \* \*

"In the preceding period Lenin had successfully fought against the use of terrorism by small groups of conspiratorial intellectuals who disregarded mass organization. Now, however, in 1905-1906, Lenin wholeheartedly supported the use of guerrilla warfare in the cities by small groups of workers, which took place as part of the mass struggle, and the Bolsheviks themselves organized 'fighting squads' everywhere.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Lenin said 'Fear like the plague the unruly guerrilla spirit, the arbitrary actions of isolated detachments and disobedience to the central authority, for it spells doom\*\*\*' It was not against guerrilla warfare as such that Lenin was warning but against its use not led or guided centrally by the party \*\*\*.

\* \* \* \* \*

/ Lenin stressed: / "The fundamental law of revolution,\*\*\* is as follows: for a revolution to take place it is not enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realize the impossibility of living in the old way, and demand changes; for a revolution to take place it is essential that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way.\*\*\* This truth can be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without a nation-wide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters). It follows that, for a revolution to take place, it is essential first, that a majority\*\*\* of the class-conscious, thinking and politically active workers should fully realize that revolution is necessary, and that they should be prepared to die for it; second, that the ruling classes should be going through a governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics.'

\* \* \* \* \*

\*\*\*Marxists will acknowledge that the experiences of popular struggle \*\*\* particularly of armed struggle, have taught many lessons, including the lesson that a revolutionary party must be able to shift with flexibility from one form of struggle to another as warranted by the behavior of reactionary class forces. Events have sometimes indicated that long years of experience in non-violent activities can make it difficult to break a pattern of work and to adopt new and perhaps necessarily violent forms of struggle.\*\*\*

\* \* \* \* \*

\*\*\* one thing is certain: whatever the tactics to which imperialism is driven in the vain hope of survival, these will have been forced upon it to a large extent by revolutionary armed struggles, which will continue to be, whenever conditions make them necessary or feasible, an important means by which the working class and its allies will gain their objectives of national freedom and socialism.

#### FOUNDERS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Buttressing their statement in the Communist Manifesto that the ends of Communists "can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions," Marx and Engels produced a statement on the "art of insurrection" which draws basic guidelines followed by all successful guerrilla organizations.

#### The Art of Insurrection

Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them.\*\*\*Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization, discipline, and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising;\*\*\* Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given to you; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!

—Frederick Engels, Germany, Revolution and Counter-Revolution, International Publishers, 1933, p. 100. First published under Marx's name in the New York Tribune, September 18, 1852.

The following excerpts from Lenin's writings on guerrilla war and terrorism made clear the Marxist-Leninist attitude toward the permissibility of these tactics.

The revolutionary army is needed because great historical issues can be resolved only by force, and, in modern struggle, the organization of force means military organization.

—V.I. Lenin, The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government, Collected Works, Vol. 8, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1962, pp. 560-64. First published in Proletary (The Proletarian, underground Bolshevik weekly, edited by Lenin, and at the time published in Geneva), July 10, 1905.

## The Moscow Uprising

\*\*\*long ago the Social-Democratic press (the old Iskra) pointed out that ruthless extermination of civil and military chiefs was our duty during an uprising.\*\*\*

\* \* \* \* \*

\*\*\*It is not enough to take sides on the question of political slogans; it is also necessary to take sides on the question of an armed uprising. Those who are opposed to it, those who do not prepare for it, must be ruthlessly dismissed from the ranks of the supporters of the revolution, sent packing to its enemies, to the traitors or cowards; for the day is approaching when the force of events and the conditions of the struggle will compel us to distinguish between enemies and friends according to this principle.\*\*\*

\* \* \* \* \*

\*\*\*the guerrilla warfare and mass terror that have been taking place throughout Russia practically without a break since December, will undoubtedly help the masses to learn the correct tactics of an uprising. Social-Democracy must recognize this mass terror and incorporate it into its tactics, organizing and controlling it of course, subordinating it to the interests and conditions of the working-class movement and the general revolutionary struggle.\*\*\*

\* \* \* \* \*

Let us remember that a great mass struggle is approaching. It will be an armed uprising. It must, as far as possible, be simultaneous. The masses must know that they are entering upon an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory. The onslaught on the enemy must be pressed with the greatest vigor; attack, not defense, must be the slogan of the masses; the ruthless extermination of the enemy will be their task; the organization of the struggle will become mobile and flexible;\*\*\*And in this momentous struggle, the party of the class-conscious proletariat must discharge its duty to the full.

—V. I. Lenin, Selected Works (3 vols.), International Publishers, 1967, Vol. 1, pp. 577-83. First published in Proletary August 29, 1906.

## Guerrilla Warfare

\*\*\*In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognizes the most varied forms of struggle;\*\*\*Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the massstruggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defense and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle.\*\*\*

\*\*\*To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given state of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position.\*\*\* European Social-Democracy at the present time regards parliamentarism and the trade union movement as the principal forms of struggle; it recognized insurrection in the past, and is quite prepared to recognize it, should conditions change, in the future—despite the opinion of bourgeois liberals\*\*\*.

\* \* \* \* \*

The phenomenon in which we are interested is the armed struggle. It is conducted by individuals and by small groups.\*\*\*Armed struggle pursues two different aims, which must be strictly distinguished: in the first place, this struggle aims at assassinating individuals, chiefs and subordinates in the army and police; in the second place, it aims at the confiscation of monetary funds both from the government and from private persons. The confiscated funds go partly into the treasury of the party, partly for the special purpose of arming and preparing for an uprising, and partly for the maintenance of persons engaged in the struggle we are describing. The big expropriations go mostly, and sometimes entirely, to the maintenance of the 'expropriators.'\*\*\*

\* \* \* \* \*

What we have said about disorganization also applies to demoralization. It is not guerrilla warfare which demoralizes, but unorganized irregular, non-party guerrilla acts. We shall not rid ourselves one least bit of this most unquestionable demoralization by condemning and cursing guerrilla actions.\*\*\* It may be objected that if we are incapable of putting a stop to an abnormal and demoralizing phenomenon, this is no reason why the party should adopt abnormal and demoralizing methods of struggle. But such an objection would be a purely bourgeois-liberal and not a Marxist objection, because a Marxist cannot regard civil war, or guerrilla warfare, which is one of its

forms, as abnormal and demoralizing in general. A Marxist bases himself on the class struggle, and not social peace. \*\*\*

\*\*\*Any moral condemnation of civil war would be absolutely impermissible from the standpoint of Marxism.

In a period of civil war the ideal party of the proletariat is a fighting party. \*\*\* We full admit criticism of diverse forms of civil war from the standpoint of military expediency\*\*\*. But we absolutely demand in the name of the principles of Marxism that an analysis of the conditions of civil war should not be evaded by hackneyed and stereotyped talk about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, and that senseless methods of guerrilla activity adopted by some organization or other of the Polish Socialist Party at some moment or other should not be used as a bogey when discussing the question of the participation of the Social-Democratic Party as such in guerrilla warfare in general.

The argument that guerrilla warfare disorganizes the movement must be regarded critically. Every new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices, inevitably "disorganizes" organizations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle. Our old propagandist circles were disorganized by recourse to methods of agitation. Our committees were subsequently disorganized by recourse to demonstrations. Every military action in any war to a certain extent disorganizes the ranks of the fighters. But this does not mean that one must not fight. It means that one must learn to fight. That is all.

When I see Social-Democrats proudly and smugly declaring, 'we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this, we reject guerrilla warfare'— I ask myself: Do these people realize what they are saying? \*\*\*

\* \* \* \* \*

\*\*\*Social-Democrats must absolutely make it their duty to create organizations best adapted to lead the masses in these big engagements and, as far as possible, in these small encounters as well.\*\*\*The Social-Democrats must train and prepare their organizations to be really able to act as a belligerent side which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy's forces.

—V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 11, 1962, pp. 213-23. First published in Proletary, September 30, 1906.

## APPENDIX D

### FBI MONOGRAPHS ON TERRORISM

New tactics and techniques have been developed in the United States by a small number of criminals who style themselves urban guerrillas. "... we have to try something new, like armed revolutionary violence ... (Urban Guerrilla Units). Ripping off money from banks and being Revolutionary Executioners of the gestapo pigs [police] mainly to capture weapons from the enemy ...," announced the newspaper of the Eldridge Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party.<sup>1</sup>

Here the Panthers were echoing Pan-Africanism advocate Stokely Carmichael ("... when the guerrilla kills a member of the occupying army, he not only takes the gun that's around his waist, he opens up the door and he takes a 12-gauge shotgun."<sup>2</sup>) and the Brazilian theoretician of urban guerrilla warfare, Carlos Marighella ("The principal object of the ambush tactic is to capture enemy arms and punish him with death."<sup>3</sup>). But recently developed information indicates a change in this tactic.

#### Evidentiary Link

A new writer on urban guerrilla warfare realized that weapons taken from murdered police officers—and a number of police killings have been marked by the theft of the victims' weapons—become an evidentiary link tying the guerrilla to a police killing in the event of capture while armed with a stolen gun. A notebook of guerrilla techniques, found in the possession of persons involved in purchasing a considerable arsenal, advised the would-be guerrilla: "We do not need to take weapons from iced [killed] pigs, especially those that have been righteously baconized. There are better places to rip-off weapons—not where they can be linked to butchered hogs."

Attacks on police are still the main

"Many of the techniques used by extremists of all types in this country can be found in a number of books and pamphlets on urban guerrilla warfare. The volume of this material circulating today amounts to a lexicon of violence."

tactic of these "revolutionary executioners." In 1972, 11 police officers were killed and 43 were wounded in attacks where responsibility was claimed by revolutionary or urban guerrilla-type groups or individuals, or where there were strong indications members of these types of groups were involved. In 1971, 19 officers died and 48 were wounded in similar attacks.

The 9 mm. pistol ("I recommend the Browning 9 mm. automatic. It comes with a 13 shot magazine," notes the writer of a booklet on guerrilla tactics,<sup>4</sup>) and the 9 mm. submachine-gun are becoming favorite guerrilla weapons in this country, along with the AR-15 and AR-180, civilian coun-

terparts of the M-16 military assault rifle. Other weapons, including foreign military weapons stolen in this country, have also been used, however.

Revolutionary-inspired attacks on police in this country have included ambushes, snipings, and apparently spontaneous shooting confrontations. Perpetrators have made false requests for police assistance to lure officers into ambushes and have committed deliberate traffic violations to cause patrolmen to leave their police cars and expose themselves to a fusillade. Cold weather has been suggested as the best time of the year for these attacks as the wearing of heavy clothing permits better concealment of weapons.



(Reprinted from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, July, 1973)

### Expropriations

"The police have the guns and the banks have the money. So this brings us to the act of expropriation. . . . the rip-off of arms, goods or money for revolutionary purposes . . ." according to the Black Liberation Army.<sup>2</sup> Robberies to gain funds for the "revolution" have been claimed by this group. Communiqué No. 1 from the Atti<sup>a</sup> Brigade of the Afro-American Liberation Army (the name Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver gave his urban guerrilla followers—it is synonymous with Black Liberation Army) claimed those who threw a hand grenade under a New York City police car on December 20, 1971, were on a mission to "rip off funds for the Afro-American liberation struggle."<sup>6</sup>

This boasting about expropriations was later criticized by other advocates of urban guerrilla activity who subscribe to the advice of "giving expropriations the appearance of bandit attacks" in order to gain time to build a revolutionary movement. Also criticized were Black Liberation Army robberies of "after hours" clubs as not being worth the risk. "If U.G.'s [urban guerrillas] are going to risk life and freedom doing armed expros [expropriations]—go for the big money," advises the writer who warned against taking slain police officers' weapons. Recommended targets for expropriations, by this writer and others, include banks, check-cashing establishments, and large chain stores, especially the last two categories on the 1st and 16th of the month when assistance checks are to be cashed.

Recent urban guerrilla writings have also detailed techniques and equipment useful in expropriations. Reconnaissance of the target (determining the amount of police patrol traffic and whether a bank guard is armed) is stressed, along with planning the getaway. Hand grenades are described as having been effective in

the past in deterring pursuers. Panel trucks are a favorite guerrilla vehicle because a large amount of equipment can be carried in a concealed manner. The use of rented panel trucks (rented with false identification) as homemade armored cars in escapes has been suggested. The armor would consist of sandbags or sheets of steel or bulletproof plastic.

The lack of a police radio prevented a guerrilla unit watching a bank from knowing police were checking the license number of the guerrilla vehicle, according to an article on techniques by the Black Liberation Army.<sup>8</sup> (The use of stolen cars is suggested if the car is repainted or the license plates are switched.) Guerrillas have also been advised to attack any police coming on the scene of an operation before the officers can radio for assistance. Suggestions for bank robbery techniques have included warnings about "bait" money, use of disguises, wigs, hoods, and ski masks, plus the destruction or removal of bank robbery cameras.

Followers of the Cleaver Panther faction in Louisville, Ky., described the Black Liberation Army as "a small urban guerrilla unit waging armed struggle against . . . the United States government. . . ." The "army" is "entirely autonomous and decentralized. . ."; its leadership is a collective. Thus, according to this version, there is no dependence on orders from a "high command" to collect "a compulsory revolutionary tax" from a bank [a thought adopted from Carlos Marighella]. . . . "or to carry out other guerrilla operations, such as 'punishing a pig by death. . . .'"<sup>9</sup>

*"Guerrillas have . . . been advised to attack any police coming on the scene of an operation before the officers can radio for assistance."*

2

Expropriations by various types of revolutionaries are not always violent. Fraudulent use of traveler's checks has been reported. Followers of the Weatherman (the extremist group later renamed the Weather Underground to avoid implications of "male chauvinism") philosophy have doubled their funds by buying these checks and falsely reporting them lost or stolen, thus receiving a second set of checks to cash. False or stolen identification is usually used in this and other fund-raising schemes, often consisting of credit cards and identification stolen on campuses from college students. Reports have also been received of revolutionaries obtaining birth certificates of persons who died in infancy. The name of a deceased infant can be obtained by reviewing death notices for the appropriate year of birth. This procedure is a well-known espionage technique.

### Terrorism and Urban Guerrilla Warfare

Expropriations by urban guerrillas to support the "revolution" are seldom needed by today's political terrorist. This is one of several important differences between the terrorist and the guerrilla in today's world. Urban guerrilla warfare can be defined as criminal conduct for revolutionary purposes. Terrorism, on the other hand, is violent criminal activity designed to intimidate for political purposes. The distinction is in goals sought and sometimes in methods used. The guerrilla is working toward revolution. The terrorist acts to focus attention on a particular grievance.

"The terrorist has a political tool; the urban guerrilla has a strategy for revolution. . . ."<sup>10</sup> Today, the usually indigenous urban guerrilla relies on expropriation to finance his activities, while the political terrorist often operates in countries foreign to him and is many times financed by countries

*"Urban guerrillas can, and do, use indiscriminate terror as a tactic at times. Bombings are the most common instrument, as the unsuspected bomb, used against civilians, is well calculated to instill fear."*

sympathetic to his aims. Thus, the fanatical terrorist can create the hostage-type situation (which exposes the terrorist to capture) in order to gain the maximum publicity, but the urban guerrilla must "never expose himself unnecessarily. All possible precautions ought to be taken to avoid a defeat or annihilation."<sup>11</sup>

Urban guerrillas can, and do, use indiscriminate terror as a tactic at times. Bombings are the most common instrument, as the unsuspected bomb, used against civilians, is well calculated to instill fear. This tactic, for example, might be similar to the worldwide letter bomb campaign against Israeli officials and sympathiz-

ers that followed the Arab terrorist attack at the XX Olympiad. Letter bombs can weigh less than an ounce and be only an eighth of an inch thick. Most have been hand addressed and have been sent from overseas addresses by airmail. Plastic explosive in thin strips and TNT in a powdered form have been utilized; detonators have included tiny springs and percussion caps.

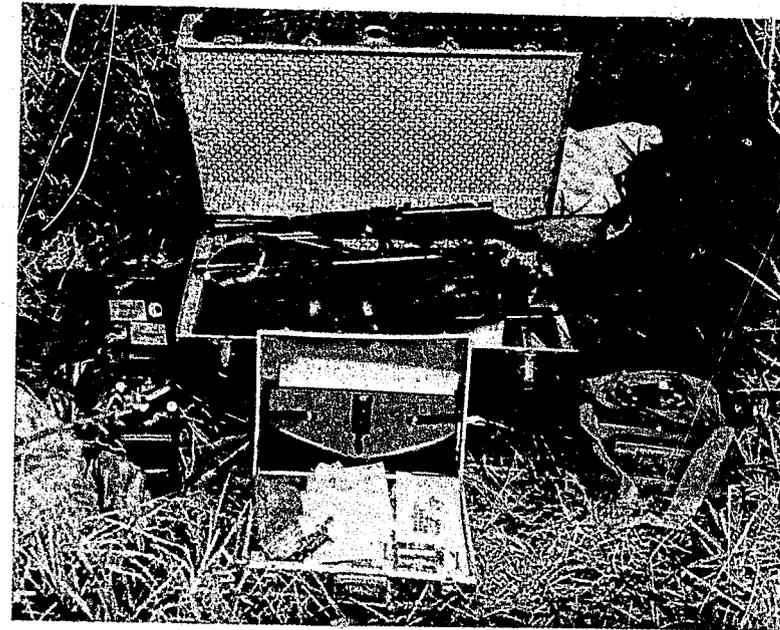
### Bombings and the Weatherman

In this country, the bomb has been the primary weapon of the Weatherman group. "Tonight [June 9, 1970], at 7 p.m., we blew up the N.Y.C. po-

lice headquarters," boasted the Weatherman.<sup>12</sup> The March 1, 1971, bombing of the Capitol building in Washington, D.C., was claimed by the Weather Underground in Communiqué No. 8. In 1972, the Weather Underground took credit for the May 19 bombing of the Pentagon. Other bombings directed against the "establishment" have been claimed by urban guerrilla revolutionary groups with such exotic names as the Smiling Fox Tribe, the Proud Eagle Tribe, and The Perfect Park Home Grown Society.

Often these bombings were preceded by warning calls, though this did not prevent loss of life in at least one case. The nature of the target—

A trunk of weapons and an attache case of urban guerrilla literature recovered by the FBI.



military, government, or other "establishment" symbol—and the warning call claiming the bombing have become the trademarks of Weatherman and other revolutionary-type groups.

The Weatherman was among the first revolutionary organizations in the United States to adopt Fidel Castro's "foco" theory—that it is not necessary to organize the population as a whole to accomplish armed revolution—". . . a small group of armed insurgents . . . can act as a focus for the various discontented elements . . . [to] channel all the latent energy available into action for the defeat of the government."<sup>28</sup>

Bombings by revolutionary groups inspired a Ku Klux Klan group to publish "Revolutionary Notes" late in 1972 "to provide the patriot with the same information which is already in the hands of our leftist enemies."<sup>29</sup> Instructions for making time bombs from dynamite, capable of being concealed in a thermos bottle or attache case, are set out, complete with diagrams. According to the Klan, this type of bomb can wreck an elevator, rupture a gas or water main, disable a power transformer, damage the service core of a skyscraper, or, if left in a subway car over an axle, derail the train. Two months after the Klan claimed in this article that "a well-planned campaign of bombing can wreak utter havoc," a member of the group was arrested and found to have dynamite, blasting caps, a clock, a battery, and other necessary equipment for a time bomb as described in the Klan publication.

While linked most often to ambushes and other shooting confrontations with police, the Afro-American

Liberation Army has also used explosives, especially on the west coast. Early this year, components for making time bombs were seized by police from members of this group. In May 1972, a bomb was discovered at the Portuguese Consulate in San Francisco. The Afro-American Liberation Army claimed credit for placing the bomb in a letter directed to the news media. The device in this case consisted of 14 sticks of dynamite, a blasting cap, and a fuse, all contained in a brown paper sack. A dirt-filled cloth sack was placed over the bomb to direct the force of the blast, but the bomb failed to detonate when the fuse went out.

After a police car was bombed in Los Angeles on October 7, 1972, an anonymous caller claimed credit for the bombing in the name of the Afro-American Liberation Army. Although this group has used explosives more on the west coast, a house used as a training base in the South was booby-trapped with a heavy explosive charge when the guerrillas moved out. The "army" has also considered the use of light bulbs filled with explosives and straight pins as antipersonnel booby traps.

#### Lexicon of Violence

Many of the techniques used by extremists of all types in this country can be found in a number of books and pamphlets on urban guerrilla warfare. The volume of this material circulating today amounts to a lexicon of violence. The paramilitary, "anticommunist" Minuteman organization, for example, reprinted two booklets in this category last year: "We Shall Fight

in the Streets"<sup>30</sup> and "Special Forces Demolition Techniques." The first title has also been found in the possession of Black Liberation Army members; it was prepared to educate England on guerrilla warfare in the event of a Nazi invasion during World War II. The pamphlet on demolition techniques includes recipes for various explosives, instructions for delayed detonation, and methods of placing charges.

Some books and pamphlets of this genre seen in the hands of extremists in the United States include the well-known "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" by Carlos Marighella and "Underground Manual Number 3" by "Nick Paradoss." The "minimanual" is one of the most complete expositions of urban guerrilla tactics, while the latter booklet is a "how to" manual on explosives and incendiaries. One of the earliest guerrilla manuals circulated in this country, and one used by both Panthers and Weatherman-type revolutionaries, "Underground Manual Number 3" includes materials on homemade and improvised explosives and detonators.

A commercial venture aimed at the would-be guerrilla is "The Anarchist Cookbook" by William Powell (New York, 1971). The "cookbook" part of the title is based on the chapter of recipes for foods incorporating marihuana or hashish. Sabotage, weaponry, guerrilla organization, and explosives are all covered in detail in this book. Another copyrighted volume with both tactics and techniques is General Alberto Bayo's "150 Questions for a Guerrilla" (Havana, 1959; translated edition, 1963). The editor's notes for the translated edition

**"Expropriations . . . are not always violent. . . . Followers of the Weatherman . . . philosophy have doubled their funds by buying . . . [traveler's] checks and falsely reporting them lost or stolen, thus receiving a second set of checks to cash."**

The covers of several urban guerrilla manuals being circulated in the United States.



caution the reader against experiments with some of the author's explosive formulas; indeed, the explosives and incendiaries described in all of these books can be extremely dangerous. Many of the instructions lack even elementary safety precautions.

Another instance of publication of material on urban guerrilla warfare by a group at the opposite end of the extremist spectrum from the Weatherman or the Panthers is the series of "Revolutionary Notes" printed by the National Youth Alliance. To overcome a claimed Marxist "monopoly" in this area, the Alliance published detailed instructions for guerrilla activity. In July 1972, for example, an article on sniping was printed which included instructions on telescopic sights and night firing.

This small organization, which opposes "Zionism" and "race-defiling

. . . through school integration," accurately sums up the aim of urban guerrilla warfare in this series: "to undermine the confidence of the masses in the existing regime . . . when the authorities lack either sufficient will or strength to restore order—the public will begin withdrawing its support of those authorities."<sup>31</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Right On! (Vol. 1, No. 12, Feb. 15, 1972), p. 10.  
<sup>2</sup> Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks* (New York, 1971), p. 218.  
<sup>3</sup> Carlos Marighella, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* (New World Liberation Front, 1970), p. 26.  
<sup>4</sup> *On Organizing Urban Guerrilla Units* (Afro-American Liberation Army, 1970), p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> "Message from the Black Liberation Army," *Right On!* (Vol. 2, No. 2, Apr. 5, 1972), p. C.  
<sup>6</sup> *Right On!* (Vol. 1, No. 10, Dec. 19-31, 1971), p. 17.  
<sup>7</sup> Carlos Marighella, *Guerrilla Tactics and Operations* (n. d.), p. 10.  
<sup>8</sup> "Message from the Black Liberation Army," *Right On!* (Vol. 2, No. 2, Apr. 5, 1972), p. C.  
<sup>9</sup> *Voices of the People* (Vol. 1, No. 1, February 1972), p. 9.  
<sup>10</sup> Robert Moss, *Urban Guerrilla Warfare* (The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1971), p. 8.  
<sup>11</sup> Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York, 1969), p. 35.  
<sup>12</sup> *Outlaws of America, Communiques from the Weather Underground* (New York, 1971), p. 7.  
<sup>13</sup> Frank Brown, *Low Intensity Operations* (London, 1971), p. 33.  
<sup>14</sup> *The Fiery Cross* (Vol. 7, Edition 10, Tuscaloosa, Ala.), p. 1.  
<sup>15</sup> Captain S. J. Calhoun, *Scout Guards* (First U.S. edition, 1965, Boulder, Colo.).  
<sup>16</sup> *Attack!* (Washington, D.C. 1972).

## The Police Officer: Primary Target of the Urban Guerrilla

**F**BI Director J. Edgar Hoover has warned: "The urban guerrilla is a clear and present danger—not to law enforcement alone, which must directly face his bitter and diabolic violence, but to the entire Nation."

The credo of the urban guerrilla—that revolution be accomplished by violent and destructive acts of terrorism—was developed by Carlos Mari-

ghella, a former official of the Brazilian Communist Party who broke with the Communists over his insistence that revolution should take place immediately and authored the "Manual of the Urban Guerrilla." "Every urban guerrilla can only maintain his existence if he is disposed to kill the police," instructs Marighella.

This exhortation has traveled from Brazil to this country and appeared

in "The Black Panther" newspaper in California, when Panther artist Emory Douglas wrote, "We have to draw pictures that will make people kill pigs." The urban guerrilla in the United States has turned rhetoric to action: The revolutionary New Left Weatherman group claimed credit for the bombing of New York City police headquarters on June 9, 1970.

(Reprinted from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, February, 1972)

Terrorist acts by revolutionaries remain a serious problem. On November 29 and 30, 1971, the FBI conducted a seminar on this subject in Washington, D.C. Fifty-one State and local police officials, either department heads or ranking officers of intelligence units or units responsible for emergency police actions, met with representatives of the FBI to discuss the tactics and goals of the urban guerrilla.

### Prime Tactic

The officers at the conference corroborated what has been clear for some time—that a prime tactic of these revolutionaries is the ambush or sniping at police officers. The logic of the urban guerrilla is simple, but alarming: If police officers cannot protect themselves from ambushes, snipings, and bombings, then what chance has the private citizen against the revolutionary's rifles, explosives, and Molotov cocktails? While urban guerrilla warfare is actually only a new wrinkle on the ancient visage of war, a new way for an extremist minority to impose its twisted rationale on the majority, this seminar recognized that law enforcement in the United States today must be able to define, recognize, and defeat the urban guerrilla.

Urban guerrilla warfare can be defined as secret and planned activity designed to disrupt and/or terrorize the "establishment" or Government. It includes the expropriation of money, guns, and explosives to further revolutionary goals. The goals of the urban guerrilla are threefold:

1. To show the "masses" that police and military authorities are impotent to protect themselves against urban terrorism and, thus, powerless to protect society as a whole.
2. To provoke, by acts of outrageous terror, an overreac-

tion on the part of police and the government in order to "radicalize" those who may sympathize with revolutionary aims, but, without the provocation of overreaction, would not engage in acts of violence.

3. Combining the first two goals, ultimately to overthrow the established government.

Acts of urban guerrilla warfare are often basically local crimes. Murder of police officers, theft of money, weapons, and explosives, and many terrorist bombings are primarily the investigative responsibility of local and State police. The FBI has limited jurisdiction over some of these crimes, such as certain types of bombings, theft of Government weapons, and crimes committed on Government reservations; but the FBI, with the help of local and State police, also has the responsibility of determining the overall urban guerrilla situation and informing our Nation's leaders.

### Furthering the "Revolution"

One group which opted for terrorism as a "political" weapon was the Weatherman organization, which split from its parent group, the Students for a Democratic Society. The Weatherman group decided to build a small, terrorist organization to carry out urban guerrilla warfare to further the "revolution." In early 1970, the Weatherman organization went underground and claimed the group would engage in strategic sabotage directed against military and police installations involving the use of bombs, assassinations, and direct confrontations with police.

Weatherman leaders claimed there would be bombings, and there were. Although warnings of bombs placed

by the Weatherman were often given shortly before detonation, there were still tragedies involving innocent victims. Nor were the bombers themselves immune. A series of explosions demolished a townhouse, a Weatherman bomb factory, in New York City on March 6, 1970, and three died in the blast. As the Weatherman said in May 1970, "We are adapting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Vietcong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros to our own situation. . . ."

Recently after an attempted robbery, police confiscated numerous birth certificates (used for false identification), drawings for detonation devices, and a month-by-month plan for trial explosions at unguarded facilities. In another location authorities found electronic equipment, high-powered rifles and shotguns (some of which had been stolen), blank selective service forms, and documents on operating an underground revolutionary apparatus.

### Black Panther Party

The Eldridge Cleaver Panther Faction (the Black Panther Party split into two factions in early 1971) newspaper, "Right On!" September 15-31, 1971, boasted openly of two acts of "armed propaganda and armed expropriation." One was a holdup that ended in a gun battle with police, and the other was an armed robbery.

Since the Black Panther Party was formed in 1969, deaths of 12 officers and the wounding of another 71 policemen have been linked to the group. After the recent critical wounding of an officer, the assailants' car was found, loaded with shotguns, carbines, ammunition, and texts on guerrilla warfare—one indicating it came from the Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party. In a nearby town police found more shotguns, pistols, and ammunition, plus money in wrappers of a recently robbed bank. Mili-

tary field telephones and a sketch on how to rob a bank were also recovered.

One Black Panther Party leader has prepared a detailed manual on terrorist tactics, apparently in line with Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver's threat to clandestinely return to the United States to lead guerrilla warfare. The manual includes instructions on making pipe bombs, time bombs, and self-igniting Molotov cocktails. This type of inflammatory instruction for would-be terrorists is widely circulated in the United States, as officers at the seminar confirmed.

Weatherman and the Panthers are only two of the groups advocating urban guerrilla warfare today. Members of the separatist Republic of New Africa, which seeks to form a new, all-black nation on the territory of five southern States, have also allegedly been involved in revolutionary-type activity. The revolutionary Venceremos organization, distinct from the group which recruits cancutters for Castro's Cuba, urges urban guerrilla warfare and reportedly is collecting arms and explosives.

#### Arms and the Enemy

Other terrorists in this country have followed Pan-Africanism advocate Stokely Carmichael's advice: "The guerrilla's main supplier of arms is the enemy. That means when the guerrilla kills a member of the occupying army, he not only takes the gun that's around his waist, he opens up the door and he takes a 12-gauge shotgun."

The FBI seminar participants recognized that terrorists in this country are developing a sophisticated paramilitary capability and that they have the will to put their schemes into effect. Those attending this conference recommended further efforts be made to gain intelligence about urban guerrilla groups and that this intelligence be widely exchanged among law enforcement agencies.

The need for training in responding to guerrilla activity on two levels was also stressed:

1. The patrol officer needs to know all indicators of possible urban guerrilla action that he might better protect himself.
2. The investigator needs to recognize possible extremist activity in gathering evi-

dence of criminal activity.

The threat to America's law enforcement officers was bluntly stated by expatriate Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver, when he asserted, in November 1971, the "absolute right of the Afro-American people to take up arms and wage war . . . by taking the initiative and actually attacking the pigs (police) with guns, and killing them."

#### A STUDY OF NEW LEFT EXTREMISM

## A Morality For Violence

J. EDGAR HOOVER

If you asked the man on the street to evaluate student militancy on campuses today, he would be likely to reply, "Oh, that's gone. We haven't had any student uprisings for a long time." Then he would probably add, "And I'm glad that problem is over."

Yes, student extremism, much of it attributable to New Leftist-type persons and organizations, especially the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), has changed considerably. Since the 1969-70 academic year, campus violence has appreciably declined. Very seldom does the press report an incident reminiscent of the militancy of a scant twenty-four months ago. The era of campus revolution seems to have ended.

But we must not allow first impressions to be all controlling. There is indeed a quieting of campus militancy. Universities are no longer suffering mass demonstrations, bombings, building seizures. But this does not mean that youthful extremism, hatred of democratic institutions, and the belief that violence is the best way to bring about societal change have suddenly disappeared. Many New Leftists still spell America with a "k"—Amerika—meaning that they still see this country as a totalitarian fascist enemy that must be destroyed.

The militancy has not evaporated; rather, it has changed in form, tactics, and direction. Beginning in 1970, New Left extremism started leaving the campuses and streets and dropping underground, there to continue its assault on the system by means of guerrilla warfare.

Today, the violent New Left, spearheaded by the Weatherman (extremist wing of the former SDS), is operating largely underground, where adherents are using aliases, disguises, and false identities (obtained from false birth certificates, car registrations, passports, Social Security cards), moving clandestinely from one location to another, maintaining hide-outs and "safe-houses." In this underground, which stretches from coast to coast, local and federal criminal fugitives are given sanctuary and underground "railways" provide

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escape routes. Bomb factories have been set up in which homemade bombs are put together (often according to instructions in widely circulated how-to-do-it manuals on explosives), stored, and on occasion deployed in guerrilla attacks against selected Establishment targets, such as military installations, government buildings, banks, and police stations. Except for these occasional acts of terrorism, the underground structure is largely invisible to the ordinary citizen.

Then there are a large number of aboveground sympathizers, many of them respected in their communities, who provide services to the underground. These sympathizers may be lawyers, doctors, parents, students, teachers; they provide, among other things, funds, medical and legal aid, and overall guidance. They serve as mail drops, provide hide-outs, furnish equipment (such as cars), and secure aboveground documents (such as birth certificates and car registrations) for use underground. By refusing to cooperate with the FBI and local authorities, these sympathizers give valuable protection to the underground.

What this adds up to is a sizable core in the nation today of the New Left-type extremists and their supporters, determined to use violence if necessary to destroy our basic institutions.

What motivates these extremist young people, many of whom come from affluent homes and are well educated? What has brought about their hatred of this nation? their desire to destroy its institutions? their belief that violence is justified? their alienation from democratic values? Why have many of them categorically rejected their families and the institutions—school, home, church—of their early years? Many of them have shut themselves off completely from contact with their parents, relatives, and former friends, and live almost completely in the radical youth culture.

These are difficult questions to answer. Yet if we look closely, we will find, at least in general outline, an inner motivating principle, what might be called a "morality of revolutionary radicalism," a code of "ethics" that not only sanctions and justifies violent actions against society but also may on occasion, by creating personal feelings of "guilt," encourage or trigger unlawful acts.

Not long ago, for example, a New Left extremist explained why he was involved in the bombing of a campus ROTC building. "I hate this nation," he said. "I hate this government. I consider the ROTC building a symbol of the system. Therefore, I felt deep down inside me a moral obligation to destroy what I hated. Otherwise, I would have felt guilty."

If we are to understand this dangerous—and contagious—phenomenon of New Left extremism and its appeal to certain segments of today's young people, we must know more about the strange "morality" that pro-

vides a false spiritual underpinning and motivation for violence. What are some aspects of the New Leftist "morality of revolutionary radicalism"?

1. *First of all, there is a deeply held belief that this nation is a modern-day "Babylon" (a word used in New Left literature), characterized by slavery, fear, exploitation, and repression.* In the eyes of these extremists, there is no freedom of any kind in this country. Its institutions—economic, political, social, religious—are permeated with evil. Democratic government and Judeo-Christian values are here mere delusions.

2. *The way to meet this evil ("Babylon") is not simply reform or change but total destruction of existing institutions and values.* "In death-directed Amerika," reads a message written by a group of radical bombers, "there is only one way to a life of love and freedom: to attack and destroy the forces of death and exploitation and to build a just society—revolution."

Central to New Leftist ethics is a firm belief in violent destruction as the way to meet societal problems. "We have to start tearing down this country," said a Weatherman leader. "We have to have a revolution in this country that's going to overthrow—like bombs, like guns, like firebombs, by anything and everything."

3. *Although the New Left extremist occasionally speaks of "hope," "freedom," a "better world," these words refer to a time so distant, so far away, so generalized, that they have no immediate meaning or relevance.* It almost seems as if the extremist is not interested in the future, or in what kind of society should replace the one he seeks to destroy, for the New Left has produced no blue print for a society of the future.

4. *In their destructive zeal, these extremists seem either not to realize or not to care that through the violence they advocate, people might be injured, the rights of others violated, injustice committed.* Their fanatic devotion to their cause overrides reason, compassion, and common sense. A leaflet circulated at an SDS meeting put it this way: "Until the student is willing to destroy TOTALLY and JOYFULLY those repressive structures—to attack and destroy the bourgeois social order—his student movement will always be just that—never truly revolutionary. . . . The buildings are yours for the burning, for until they are destroyed, along with civilization and its DEATH, YOU will not live."

5. *For the extremist, the rationale or justification for violence is that it is defensive, selective, and demanded in the name of justice.* A "moral obligation" drove a New Leftist to participate in a campus bombing without any sense of guilt. This young man—typical of many in the movement—felt what he calls a "moral" compunction to obliterate through violence what he regarded as evil. How did he justify his position? To his mind, this violence was defensive ("Wasn't the government as an evil and demonic institution already perpetrating vio-

lence?"), selective ("I could have done all kinds of other damage, but I selected this ROTC building as a symbol of the evil society I hated"), and demanded in the name of justice ("Just to hate the government is simply not enough; I must take some action to carry out my ideas in the interests of revolutionary justice, for otherwise, I would be a traitor to the cause").

By this reasoning, violence comes to be seen as constructive, creative, the agent of freedom and justice. The extremist finds sanction for acts of violence (that he is serving a good and noble cause—a sanction that conveniently allows him to forget about possible consequences). He also finds encouragement—almost a "moral" imperative—to carry out a violent revolutionary act if he feels hesitant or reluctant. In other words, here is an inverse morality that justifies crime!

6. *The New Left morality is highly elitist, discriminatory, and one-dimensional.* "Justice" becomes what the New Leftist says it is. It is not universal, common to all, to be dispensed under uniform rules and regulations. Rather, the New Left selectively and arbitrarily creates its own martyrs or "victims" of injustice (usually selected from the ideological spectrum of the New Left, the Black Panther party, or similar groups), yet at the same time seems indifferent to the injustice suffered by other members of society. The extremist's "causes" are carefully chosen. His sympathies (and hates) are programmed; they can be turned off and on at will. We must never be hasty in criticizing a person's concern for justice; but when this "concern" is selectively applied only to certain groups or individuals chosen on ideological grounds, and never to the causes of people with different convictions, the professed concern becomes suspect.

7. *The New Left morality is expressed in bitter, polemical terms that choke off reason, respect for the other person, and rational dialogue.* All too often these young people feel they are the sole custodians of virtue, knowledge, and truth. They pour out a continuous stream of vituperation—often laced with obscenity—against the "enemy." What chance is there for honest debate, the identification of error, and a meeting of minds?

8. *The New Left morality seeks and depends on a scapegoat.* This scapegoat is "Amerika," "the imperialistic United States," "bourgeois values." All the weaknesses of society, imaginary or real (and we must admit that our nation does have weaknesses; but they are weaknesses we are trying through democratic processes to overcome), are attributed to this scapegoat, with no attempt to apportion blame or understand historical or other reasons. In this way, the extremists relieve themselves of the responsibility of working out possible alternatives and honestly seeking solutions to the problems they rail against. The simplistic technique of creating a scapegoat blocks them from considering what is good

about our society and propagates a pessimistic, defeatist attitude toward life.

9. *The morality of the New Left espouses a freedom from personal responsibility that in essence means anarchy.* Here lies one of the most potent dangers in this "morality of revolutionary radicalism." "We are outlaws, we are free!" proclaimed Bernardine Dohrn, a key Weatherman's leader, in a communiqué from the underground. In this "ethical code," individual freedom means everyone does just what he wants, making his own judgments (regardless of the rights of others) the exclusive standard for his actions. If he feels an ROTC building or police station should be bombed, he bombs it! He rejects any concept of law unless he makes or interprets the law. In his eyes, his violence is not a crime—though a violent act by a person he doesn't like is a "crime" without question!

10. *In the morality of the New Left, the inherent dignity of man, who is God's creation, is mocked and despised.* These revolutionaries do not trust man to exercise his abilities—his judgment, his understanding of the past, his vision of the future. They look upon him as a piece of matter to be manipulated.

Persons caught up today in New Left extremism—either in the underground or among its aboveground supporters—reflect, in varying degrees, this cruel philosophy we have called the "morality of revolutionary radicalism." Here arises the impetus for the actions of this small terrorist minority.

What of the future? Bernardine Dohrn, speaking for the hard-core Weatherman, asserts: "We will never go back." Some of these extremists have been in the underground now for over two years. They have abandoned their families, friends, and former way of life. They have opted for alternative values and standards. Must they be written off as irretrievably lost to our society?

We cannot know, of course. However, we should be optimistic, hoping that many of these young people sooner or later will reconsider and return to assume constructive roles within society.

What can we, as citizens and Christians, do to meet this challenge?

First, we need to know the facts on the dangers in-

olved. To dismiss the extremist as a "romantic," "a kid gone wrong who'll soon straighten out," is to miss the dimensions of the problem.

Many of these New Leftists come from affluent homes and have been favored with the best in our educational system. We need to ask what has gone wrong. Why have they scornfully rejected their democratic heritage? Why do they seek to destroy the society that gave them birth? What is the responsibility of the home? Why this failure of communication? What message is here for all of us? These young people frequently point to what we must agree are failures in our society, such as poverty, discrimination and other forms of injustice, malnutrition, inadequate housing. Their tragedy is that their idealism has soured into a program of vigilante violence. All of us should work to eliminate these ills and create a better society.

Let's never stop having faith in our young people. We can be proud of the vast majority of them. We must invest time, resources, and above all personal attention in them. They are our most precious asset.

Most important, we must appreciate what Christ can do to change lives—what he has already done in changing the lives of some SDSers, Black Panthers, Weathermen, anarchists, and other extremists. Both clergymen and lay people have been doing tremendous work in bringing the Word of God to these misguided and spiritually hungry young men and women. I have read the testimonies of some whose lives have been turned completely around, who have put aside bombs and taken up Bibles.

Undoubtedly, the current decline of militancy on campuses is due in part to the efforts of dedicated Christians working among the extremists. The excitement of knowing Christ has given many former militants a new adventure of the spirit. They have been transformed from extremist revolutionaries to Christian revolutionaries.

What is a key role of the Church in meeting revolutionary violence? Personal evangelism, carried out with understanding, compassion, and love. Lives changed for Christ lead to a changed society and a changed world. □

## The Revolutionary-Guerrilla Attacks Law Enforcement and Democratic Society: An Analysis of the Destructive Power of the Fanatical Few

John Edgar Hoover \*

One of the paradoxes of our modern-day twentieth century society is the "power of the fanatical few"—that is, as our society becomes more urban, industrial, complex, and interrelated, the greater becomes the power of a fanatical minority, sometimes only one or two individuals or a small handful, if it so desires, to disrupt, inconvenience, destroy, and endanger the rights, lives, and property of others.

This is a key dilemma of our society which, as time moves on, is not likely to disappear. If anything, as we as a Nation grow in population, and society becomes still more urbanized, computerized, and mechanized, the ability of the unprincipled zealot and criminal to disrupt will increase in even greater proportions.

News dispatches of recent months tell this story in tragic terms.

Not long ago, for example, a news headline read: "Bomb Threats Rout Masses in Eastern U.S."<sup>1</sup>

The story told of the evacuation of hospitals in Massachusetts and airports in New York and St. Louis. Why? Because of anonymous telephonic bomb threats. In one instance, an airport was closed for 85

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<sup>1</sup> Washington Post, October 16, 1970.

(Reprinted with permission from the "Albany Law Review," 1971, Vol. 35, No. 4)

minutes after an airline received what was called a "nasty" call from a man who said a bomb would explode in 40 minutes. The same story told of the evacuation of a subway station in a metropolitan area after a bomb threat, delaying transit service for 25 minutes.

The destructive power which a fanatical few can wield in today's society is almost terrifying.

Just how many bombings and threats of bombings have occurred is difficult to actually determine. Since the beginning of 1970, according to one estimate, there have been nearly 3,000 bombings and more than 50,000 threats of planted bombs.<sup>2</sup> Think of the number of ROTC installations, government and university buildings, banks, and private offices which have become targets of destructive action. Damage has run into millions of dollars. There have been injuries and deaths. There has been inconvenience to innocent citizens.

Governmental authorities have been forced, as a matter of safety, to close buildings to ready access by the public. Employees are often required to identify themselves. Packages are searched. This has meant increased cost, inconvenience, and nuisance—but it has been necessary.

Perhaps the most sensational aspect of this "power of the fanatical few" has been reflected in aircraft hijackings. Here just one person (or a small group) can take "total power" (that is, temporarily gain command of the aircraft). In this aerial piracy, they jeopardize the lives of passengers and crew members—not counting the concern and inconvenience they cause hundreds on the ground, such as airline employees, relatives and friends of those aboard, other passengers whose travel schedules are disrupted because of the plane's unavailability for normally scheduled service, and government officials who are deeply concerned with this violation of the law.

The recent rash of hijackings by Arab commandos gives an international aspect to the "power of the fanatical few." The problem is not exclusively American. It is a dilemma of the international community.

For American law enforcement, the recent crescendo of bombings, hijackings, sabotage, and attacks on police has posed serious and continuing problems.

<sup>2</sup> The exact number of bombings, attempted bombings (along with arsons and vandalism) and especially anonymous telephone bomb or other types of threats is virtually impossible to determine. The key point, however, is that they are extremely numerous and in recent months have been increasing substantially. It should be remembered, however, that a high percentage of the anonymous telephone bomb threats (which can cause much inconvenience, confusion, and cost) are the work of mentally and emotionally unbalanced individuals operating on their own and in no way connected with an ideological or other type of group. Law enforcement experience over the years reflects that there is always a fringe element of individuals who for various reasons of their own like to play jokes or deliberately create confusion by making anonymous phone calls.

Law enforcement is the first line of defense of our democratic society. The police officer, on guard 24 hours a day, is the protector of the rights, lives, and property of our citizens. If there is an emergency of any type, the officer is one of the first to arrive on the scene. He does what he can to help. If there is evidence that illegality has occurred, he has the task of making the investigation and locating the guilty.

But, we may ask, hasn't law enforcement always faced the "destructive and criminal few?" What's so different about these bombings and threats of bombings?

That's exactly the point. Yes, law enforcement has always faced the hoodlum-type criminal—the bank robber, the kidnapper, the thief. And he still remains.

But today there is a *new type of criminal*, what we might call *the revolutionary-guerrilla*, who is considerably different in *aim, tactics, and motivation* from the old-line hoodlum. The revolutionary-guerrilla in large part has been responsible for the recent rash of bombings of ROTC facilities, military installations, and public buildings.<sup>3</sup> Law enforcement (and the public) needs to know much more about him.

The hoodlum-type criminal, let's make no mistake, remains a ruthless and deadly breed. Criminals such as "Baby Face" Nelson and "Pretty

<sup>3</sup> Title XI of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 amended Title 18, United States Code, by adding chapter 40, dealing with the importation, manufacture, distribution, and storage of explosive devices. Pub L. No. 91-452 (Oct. 15, 1970). Section 844(f) of this Act prohibits the malicious damage or destruction, by means of an explosive, of any building, vehicle or other personal or real property, owned, possessed, or used by, or leased to, the United States or any institution or organization receiving federal financial assistance. The language of this section seems broad enough to include a substantial number of the educational institutions in the United States. It should be noted, however, that this statute establishes federal jurisdiction in such matters only where the damage or destruction is accomplished through the use of explosive or incendiary devices. Other pertinent sections of this law prohibit the following activities: (a) interstate transportation of explosives to kill, injure, or intimidate any person or damage any real or personal property; (b) possession of any explosive device in any building owned, possessed, used by, or leased to the United States; (c) use of any explosives to commit a felony prosecutable in a court of the United States; and (d) malicious damage by an explosive device of any real or personal property used in interstate commerce or in any activity affecting interstate commerce.

Extremist activity may also come in conflict with a variety of other federal laws. Among these are (1) traveling in interstate or foreign commerce to incite a riot, participate in, or commit any act of violence in furtherance of a riot, 18 U.S.C. § 210(a)(1) (Supp. V, 1969); (2) counseling evasion of the Selective Service Act, or interfering, by force or violence or otherwise, with the administration of the provision of the Act, 50 U.S.C. App. § 462 (1964); (3) destruction of national defense materials, premises or utilities, 18 U.S.C. §§ 2155-56 (1964); (4) counseling insubordination or disloyalty of troops, 18 U.S.C. § 2387(a)(1) (1964); (5) harboring deserters from the Armed Forces, 18 U.S.C. § 1381 (1964); (6) interference with the exercise of federally protected activities, 18 U.S.C. § 245(b) (Supp. V, 1969); and (7) desecration of the flag of the United States, 18 U.S.C. § 700 (Supp. V, 1969).

Boy" Floyd in the 1930's and thousands of others since then have bitterly detested society and law enforcement. These men (and a few women) have absolutely no regard for human life. They would kill at a moment's notice if an officer or private citizen in any way interfered with their illegal activities. Hundreds of police officers over the years have given their lives in combat with hardened criminals.<sup>4</sup> The latest crime statistics<sup>5</sup> reflect the continuing destructive power of this criminal minority.

The old-line hoodlum criminal's hatred of society, however, usually stems from personal and selfish reasons. His actions are motivated by what he feels are his own best interests. He couldn't care less about society as a whole, any "cause" he might be helping, any "moral" impulse which would justify his criminal acts. If he needs money or an automobile, he steals. If he hates an "enemy," he "liquidates" this person. If he plans to hijack a truck and meets resistance, he commits murder or assault.

Actually, nothing pleases the old-line criminal more than anonymity and non-interference. His hope is to rob a bank and meet no police officer; to kidnap a victim and leave no clues; to rob a filling station without being identified. He does not, as a normal rule, deliberately seek out the police officer for the purpose of inflicting injury.

The revolutionary-guerrilla criminal, on the other hand, deliberately attacks law enforcement, assaulting officers, bombing precinct stations, taunting, and harassing. His violence is an offensive violence designed to tear down society as a whole.

As we move into the 1970's, with our society becoming more urbanized, industrialized, and complex, there is every indication that the destructive impact of the revolutionary-guerrilla type of criminal will increase and cause an even greater strain on the institutions of constitutional government.

#### *Who is the Revolutionary-Guerrilla?*

The revolutionary-guerrilla that law enforcement faces today has arisen primarily from extremist New Left and black nationalist movements of the last decade. To a large extent, he centers around (and draws his inspiration from) two major sources: the former extremist wing of the militant

<sup>4</sup> Over the past decade, 561 law enforcement officers were killed by criminals. A sharp increase in these murders was registered in 1969 when 86 officers were slain in the line of duty as compared to 64 killed in 1968. It should be noted that the majority of these killings have been perpetrated at the hands of old-line criminals.

<sup>5</sup> According to the UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, compiled by the FBI from nationwide police reports, in calendar year 1969, serious crime (murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny \$50 and over, and auto theft) increased twelve per cent over 1968. During the decade of the 1960's, the increase in these crimes was 148 per cent.

New Leftist Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), now known as the *Weatherman*,<sup>6</sup> and the *Black Panther Party*.<sup>7</sup>

Major ideological and tactical differences separate these groups. However, in the threat of violence they pose to society, they show a marked and tragic similarity. Moreover, other groups and individuals, motivated by the same mentality,<sup>8</sup> have arisen, giving added potency to the so-called revolutionary-guerrilla.

Perhaps the revolutionary-guerrilla can best be understood by identifying some of his basic characteristics:

(1) *First of all, the revolutionary-guerrilla believes he is living in a society which is "repressive," "corrupt," "decadent," "rotten," and "dying," and therefore he owes it absolutely no allegiance.* This is the fundamental factor underlying his thinking and action.

SDS's Revolutionary Youth Movement II's (RYM II)<sup>9</sup> platform, drawn up for SDS's 1969 convention, comments most categorically:

Our society is dying out. Not only here but on a world scale, in a historic sense. Imperialism, the monopoly phase of capitalism, is nearing its closing hours. Our epoch is the epoch of the final collapse of imperialism and the final worldwide victory of socialism. Imperialism, fully moribund, manifests its decay everywhere. It pollutes all that is fresh, alive, vital, and growing. The young in general, but particularly among the oppressed classes and strata, are among the hardest hit by decaying imperialism. Hardest hit and most willing to fight back—that is the youth movement.

"Recognizing that U. S. imperialism is the most voracious beast that ever stalked the earth," reads another SDS document, a proposed set of

<sup>6</sup> The National Convention of the SDS held in Chicago in June, 1969, resulted in a three-way split. The components were: the Weatherman (so-called after the title of its position paper, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows"), the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II), and the Worker Student Alliance (WSA). The WSA, dominated by the pro-Red Chinese Progressive Labor Party, today calls itself the true SDS, and has its headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts. The Weatherman, most militant and extremist of the segments, has since completely broken its ties with SDS.

<sup>7</sup> The Black Panther Party was founded in 1966 in Oakland, California, and has received extensive publicity. It is the predominant black extremist group in the nation and bitterly hates law enforcement.

<sup>8</sup> Among other extremist groups which have sprung up in the recent past are the Republic of New Africa, established for the purpose of forming a black nation inside the United States; the Student National (formerly Nonviolent) Coordinating Committee which has developed into an anti-Negro revolutionary group; the Revolutionary Union, a Maoist group which operates in the San Francisco area and has been engaging in guerrilla warfare training. There are also a number of right-wing extremist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan; the National Socialist White People's Party (formerly known as the American Nazi Party); and the Minutemen which desires to overthrow the government when and if it is taken over by communists.

<sup>9</sup> RYM II is now virtually defunct with only a few scattered chapters remaining. (For text of platform see New Left Notes, July 8, 1969, at 5).

"Unity Principles,"<sup>10</sup> "we affirm the right and duty of all revolutionary peoples and classes to wage armed struggles for liberation, we commit ourselves to give concrete aid to these struggles wherever they rise, and we undertake to educate the U.S. people and prepare them and ourselves to wage a determined struggle with arms in hand to destroy U.S. imperialism in its lair."

In other words, the United States is a "capitalist," "imperialist," "voracious beast" which the revolutionary-guerrilla (under the influence of Marxist ideas and verbiage) feels should be destroyed.

(2) *The revolutionary-guerrilla is motivated by a revolutionary kinship (often vague but always present) to what he calls the "struggle of liberation" in the so-called "third world." This means that he believes himself not alone but part of a world-wide revolutionary movement aimed at the destruction of the "imperialist," "voracious beast."*

The "Unity Principles"<sup>11</sup> for SDS said:

The principal contradiction in the world today is that between U.S. imperialism and the nations it oppresses. The sharpest blows against U.S. imperialism are being dealt by the nationally oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and within the U.S. We recognize and support the struggle of the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the NLF (National Liberation Front), as the spearhead of all the anti-imperialist struggles in the world today, and support the just struggles of the Palestinian, Congolese, Columbian, and all other peoples fighting for national liberation.

Hence, the heroes of the revolutionary-guerrilla are Fidel Castro, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevara. In the eyes of the revolutionary-guerrilla, these national leaders battled against the "Establishment" of their countries for revolutionary "liberation."

Very interestingly, there is an intense fascination for North Korea and its leader, Kim Il Sung. For example, Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panthers' Minister of Information, visited North Korea, and the Panthers' paper<sup>12</sup> carried this account:

Recently Eldridge spent a month in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. He found there a nation of Newtons (reference to Huey Newton, Panther leader), tough brothers off the block who once built a mountainous barbecue which imperialism called Heartbreak Ridge.

Of course, any action by these "heroes," such as the capture of the

<sup>10</sup> Proposed SDS Unity Principles, quoted in New Left Notes, July 8, 1969, at 2, 4. These Principles were not passed by the June, 1969, SDS Convention, but the Convention instructed New Left Notes to print them, with proposed amendments. (New Left Notes was the organ of the original SDS published in Chicago. It is now the title of the publication issued by the WSA in Boston, Massachusetts. See note 6 supra.)

<sup>11</sup> Proposed SDS Unity Principles, quoted in New Left Notes, July 8, 1969, at 2.

<sup>12</sup> Eldridge on Weatherman, The Black Panther, Nov. 22, 1969, at 5.

USS Pueblo, which harasses, embarrasses, or injures the United States, fascinates and overjoys the revolutionary-guerrilla.

(3) *The revolutionary-guerrilla believes that since he physically resides in the United States, in the very heart of the most vicious "imperialist beast" of international capitalism, his role as a revolutionary is highly unique and important.*

Therefore, in his eyes, he feels he has a "moral obligation" to do as much damage as possible here at home. Any blow, insult, and wound he can inflict on this "most voracious beast that ever stalked the earth" will not only weaken this "monster" but aid "liberation" everywhere. This makes his bitterness and hatred particularly obsessive and fanatical.

In May, 1970, Weatherman sent a "communication" from its underground.<sup>13</sup> It was headed "A DECLARATION OF A STATE OF WAR." This communication's very first words were:

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.<sup>14</sup>

The revolutionary-guerrilla looks upon himself as being in a highly "strategic position behind enemy lines." He wants to make the best of that position!

(4) *The revolutionary-guerrilla conceives of himself as an armed guerrilla inside our society and, since he feels part of an international guerrilla viewpoint, he seeks the guidance, inspiration, and assistance of foreign guerrilla movements.*

SDSers, Black Panthers, and other extremists have frequently visited in Cuba.<sup>15</sup> Eldridge Cleaver has opened an International Section of the Black Panther Party in Algiers, Algeria. This Section occupies the physical space recently vacated by the Vietcong-delegation to Algeria.

Cleaver's headquarters serves as a rallying center for New Leftists, Panthers, and associated types of individuals. In addition, the headquarters makes possible close and continuous contact with groups and individuals hostile to the United States, such as the delegation of Red China. The Black Panthers are known to have established close ties with Al Fatah and other Arab guerrilla groups. These guerrillas have

<sup>13</sup> The three-page document, said to be a transcript of a tape recording by Weatherman leader Bernardine Dohrn, was sent airmail special delivery to a newspaper office in May, 1970. Several other communications of a similar nature have since been received from the Weatherman underground.

<sup>14</sup> The use of the "k" in spelling America is indicative of Weatherman's scorn for our nation and for the group's attempt to equate it with a fascist regime.

<sup>15</sup> In June, 1969, a number of New Left groups, with support from the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance and the Black Panthers, organized the Venceremos Brigade. The Brigade's purpose is to promote the Cuban revolution by helping harvest Cuba's sugar cane crop. As of fall, 1970, some 1300 individuals had traveled to Castro's Cuba under this program.

rather lamely denied that they are willing to give military training to Panthers who come to the Mediterranean area.

The Weatherman's "declaration of war" makes clear its guerrilla role—remembering that the revolutionary-guerrilla has extensively read guerrilla literature (such as the works of Che Guevara, South American guerrilla) and viewed films showing how guerrilla warfare is conducted:

Now we are adapting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Vietcong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros [South American guerrillas] to our own situation here in the most technically advanced country in the world.

Che [Che Guevara] taught us that 'revolutionaries move like fish in the sea.'

(5) *The revolutionary-guerrilla believes in violence directed against the society he so bitterly detests. This violence is not to be postponed in the hope of some type of revolution in the distant future but should come now. By taking this position, he rejects all types of reform within the structure of democratic society.*

"We call for a Second Boston Tea Party in the streets of Babylon," says Eldridge Cleaver. "We call for the violent overthrow of the fascist imperialist United States government, ringleaders of oppression and international aggression."<sup>16</sup>

The New Leftist revolutionary-guerrillas take the same position. "We have to start tearing down this country," Mark Rudd told the National "War Council" meeting of the Weatherman in Flint, Michigan, in December, 1969. "We have to have a revolution in this country that's going to overthrow—like bombs, like guns, like firebombs, by anything and everything."<sup>17</sup>

The Weatherman's position is crystal clear. In its "declaration of war" appears this succinct comment:

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 protests and marches don't do it. Revolutionary violence is the only way.

Here is a composite portrait of the revolutionary-guerrilla, both male and female.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The Black Panther, November 22, 1969, at 5.

<sup>17</sup> During sessions of this council, members engaged in karate training.

<sup>18</sup> Women play a significant role in the revolutionary strategy of both the Weatherman and Black Panthers. For example, Bernardine Dohrn is one of the most aggressive leaders of the Weatherman. Other female activists in the Weatherman include Diana Oughton (killed in March, 1970, in an explosion of an alleged bomb factory in New York City), Cathlyn Wilkerson, and Kathie Boudin. Among women in the Black Panthers who have played significant roles is Kathleen Cleaver, wife of Eldridge Cleaver.

Other characteristics can be identified. He is as a general rule rather youthful (usually under 30), more of an activist than a thinker, highly arrogant in his opinions. Almost invariably he has been influenced, at least in part, by some aspects of Marxism. Actually, his Marxist ideology is all too often a hodgepodge of generalizations, rhetoric, and plagiarized and secondhand ideas. Seldom does a Marxist scholar emerge from the revolutionary-guerrilla type.

In actuality, the revolutionary-guerrilla is a strange combination of Marxist ideas and rhetoric and Bakuninist<sup>19</sup> tactics. He talks about the "class war," "imperialism," "proletariat," "proletarian internationalism," but Bakunin's famous dictum—"the urge to destroy is also a creative urge"—is the basis of his actions. He believes in direct action *now* against the hated Establishment. He cares little for abstract theory or erudite discussions about "revolution." The business of a revolutionary, he says, is to make revolution, not to sit and wait for the womb of history to release these anticipated forces. He depends more on emotion, passion, and instinct than on logic, analysis, and common sense. Though a high percentage of these individuals are well educated in terms of academic degrees (especially the New Leftists), they have a deep distrust of knowledge, reason, and history.

A terrifying aspect of the revolutionary-guerrilla is often his belief that he is acting because of "moral" reasons—that he has a "moral duty" to bomb an ROTC building or a government research facility. Not that he deliberately seeks to kill or injure innocent people.<sup>20</sup> But, to his mind, the destruction of this facility is his way of showing where he stands on the issues of the day. If he doesn't take this action, he feels he has "reneged," that he has not done his duty, that he is a "coward."

In many respects, the revolutionary-guerrillas are the Attilas or Luddites<sup>21</sup> of contemporary society. They seem for a variety of reasons to fear the complexity, growth, and problems of modern-day urban, industrial society—and in their fear and seeming inability or unwillingness to comprehend society and its problems, they seek to totally destroy it—as if they want to return to some uncomplicated, simplistic society of a previous cen-

<sup>19</sup> Mikhail Bakunin, 1814–1876; was a Russian anarchist and one of the most important figures in the 19th century revolutionary movement in Europe.

<sup>20</sup> Frequently, a bomb explosion will be preceded by an anonymous phone call to the police or other authorities warning of an imminent explosion. Sometimes the call is made just three, four, or ten minutes before the actual detonation. In some instances, this is sufficient time to evacuate personnel from the threatened area; other times, not. Like the anarchists of previous years, the perpetrators seem to be emphasizing the "propaganda of the deed," that the bomb explosion is symbolic of their hatred for the "system." Through these explosions, in their eyes, they will awaken the "consciousness" of the masses. In any explosion, of course, injury to innocent people is always a possibility; however, these extremists seem to shrink from any mass killings (which they could easily accomplish). Their hatred is of the Establishment, not the individuals composing the Establishment.

<sup>21</sup> The name Luddites refers to groups of workers in England in the early 19th century who destroyed industrial machinery by means of riots and violence.

ture. Their Weltanschauung is one primarily of destruction (they do not possess any type of plan for the future, what is to take the place of what is being destroyed).

The revolutionary-guerrilla, moreover, generally believes in doing "his own thing"—that is, making himself the final determiner of whatever action he plans to take against society. The Black Panthers have a small, hard-core organization based on discipline. New Left extremists, however, detest both discipline and organization.

Hence, for law enforcement this poses a serious problem of identification and investigation. Just a few extremists, acting on their own, can strike without warning. They neither ask for nor receive authorization from any other individual. No other person may even know that the revolutionary-guerrilla responsible carried out the act.

Here arises one of the major differences between the new-type revolutionary-guerrilla and the Old Left Communist Party, USA.

The Communist Party, USA, does not disavow violence as a tactic of attack against capitalist society. "Force," said Karl Marx, "is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."<sup>22</sup> However, in the Party's views, random acts of violence and guerrilla warfare are self-defeating for the revolutionary cause. They can trigger prosecutive action by the government, legislative counteraction, and the alienation of public opinion. To the Party, violence must be used only when the time is "ripe"—and that decision will be made by Party officials and not by individual "adventurists."<sup>23</sup>

#### A KEY TARGET OF THE REVOLUTIONARY-GUERRILLA IS LAW ENFORCEMENT

On the front line of the revolutionary-guerrilla's attack is law enforcement.

The attack comes in multiple ways—all of deep concern to the police officer.

<sup>22</sup> KARL MARX, CAPITAL, Vol. I, at 776 (1939).

<sup>23</sup> Even though the Weatherman and similar type New Left extremist groups are heavily influenced by Marxist ideology and theory, there is little open support for the Communist Party, USA, or the Soviet Union. To these extremists, the Communist Party, USA, and the Soviet Union are "old hat," "bureaucratic," and "out-of-date." They are looked upon as institutional manifestations of communism which have "gone to seed" and are out of touch with modern-day reality. A key fact here, of course, is New Left hostility to Party discipline and organization which are the personification of the Communist Party, USA, and its mentor, the Soviet Union. Weatherman's ideological allegiance goes primarily to the Castro and Third World types of Marxism. There is strong support for North Korea, though this support appears to be much less for the institutions of communism in North Korea than an opportunity to raise up a "hero" hostile to the presence of American troops in South Korea. The Black Panthers, on the other hand, claim to be adherents of Mao Tse-tung's ideology. They believe in discipline and organizational control.

In our discussion, however, we must not discount the role of the Communist Party, USA, and its youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, in youthful extremism, as well as the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance which has been extremely active on college campuses.

(1) *Inasmuch as the revolutionary-guerrilla denies the validity of America's democratic society, he denies also the legitimacy of its chief agency of internal protection, law enforcement. To the revolutionary-guerrilla, the police officer is a "class enemy" with whom there can never be any fraternization, compromise, or understanding. Never can there be any "improvements" or "reforms" by the police to bring a rapprochement. The cleavage is totally unbridgeable. Hence, there must be continuous war until the police and the capitalist system are destroyed.*

"No amount of education, or liberalism, or good intentions, can change the nature of a cop," says an SDS brochure. "Because of the function of police in our society, because they are absolutely necessary for the ruling class to stay in power, no reform of the police can change their role in doing the dirty work of the rulers."<sup>24</sup>

The brochure continues:

Whether police departments are centralized or decentralized, whether cops are white, black, brown or any other color, the pigs will be pigs. If a Police Officer quotes Shakespeare, the Bible, or JFK while he is arresting you, he still is a pig. Knowing the fine points of the law, or being trained in community awareness won't help either. When ordered to shoot (legally or not), the order will have to be carried out. The only good pig is an ex-pig.

Hence, the revolutionary-guerrilla will not in any way be satisfied or mollified by the reform of police departments: "A consequence of that conclusion is the absurdity of asking for various reforms of the police force. *As long as the class structure of America remains what it is now, those reforms will mean nothing.* Building our movement on such demands will lead it into a blind alley."<sup>25</sup>

The revolutionary-guerrilla comes to this tragic conclusion:

In the light of this, the term pig becomes a very appropriate name for the gangs of law and order. What this term points out is that the concept of a 'good cop' is absurd, meaningless. The question is not whether any particular policeman is a sensitive human being, but rather that his function requires him to behave like a pig—to repress people fighting for better lives.

(2) *In the eyes of the revolutionary-guerrilla, the law enforcement officer not only has no legitimacy because he is a "class enemy," but possesses*

<sup>24</sup> ABOLISH POLICE SCIENCE, published in late summer of 1969 by WSA, the SDS group under control of the pro-Maoist Progressive Labor Party. WSA, following Marxist principles, seeks to develop a revolutionary movement in the United States based on close cooperation between students and workers.

Generally speaking, WSA's leadership has been in favor of peaceful protest (such as demonstrations) and against violence. However, in 1970, increasing numbers of WSA leaders and members have advocated the use of violence. WSA violence would be directed primarily against the military (especially the ROTC) and the police.

<sup>25</sup> *Id.* (emphasis added).

*no dignity as a human being.* "Nearly 5,000 cheering persons, mostly young and mostly black, were exhorted by a Black Panther leader today to get guns and kill authorities (which would include police officers) because they have 'forfeited all claims' on humanity." The Panther spokesman, according to this news dispatch, insisted "that the Panthers and their allies will 'conduct the revolution anyway we want.' Its opponents, he said, 'are not human beings, they are not people, they have forfeited all claims to being a member of the human race. . . .'"<sup>26</sup>

From this attitude, some terrifying conclusions are being drawn. To the revolutionary-guerrilla, the officer is reduced to the level of animals and swine—hence, the New Left-Panther epithet of "pig." What has this meant in actual practice? A bitter hatred, disdain, and contempt for the officer. He is cursed, harassed, and slurred in every possible way, both verbally and physically. His life—and the law he symbolizes—means absolutely nothing. "The only good pig," said this Panther leader, "is a dead pig."<sup>27</sup>

(3) *To the revolutionary-guerrilla, the concept of "police" refers not only to regular law enforcement officers (local, state, and federal) but also to individuals and groups performing industrial security and other types of protective functions.* Hence, officers employed by private industrial firms (for internal investigative or guard functions), colleges and universities, and retail stores are included in the revolutionary-guerrilla's repertoire of enemies. Military police and members of the armed forces are bitterly opposed as representatives of the "ruling class." The revolutionary-guerrilla's hatred is widespread and unceasing.

(4) *Inasmuch as the revolutionary-guerrilla's hostility to law enforcement is adamant and irreversible (that is, any reforms of the police are unacceptable in advance), every available opportunity must be aggressively seized to weaken, harass, and undermine law enforcement and, if possible, to injure, maim, and kill the police officer.*

Some of the revolutionary-guerrilla's rhetoric and exhortations are almost terrifying. We may ask, with justification, what effect do these admonitions to violate and degrade the law have on the minds and personalities of those, especially the young, who hear and read them?

"I prefer a paralyzed pig to a well-criticized pig," said Eldridge Cleaver. "A dead pig is desirable, but a paralyzed pig is preferable to a mobile pig."<sup>28</sup>

His tirade continues: "In order to stop the slaughter of the people we must accelerate the slaughter of the pigs. Those who can't stand the sight of blood, especially their own, should stay home and pray for those who

<sup>26</sup> Panther Parley Cheers Call to Kill Authorities, Washington Post, September 6, 1970.

<sup>27</sup> *Id.*

<sup>28</sup> The Black Panther, November 22, 1969.

come outside to move, to do it, and pray for victory and not for an end to the slaughter. Pray for us to win, because if we win you will be safe. If we lose, then kiss the baby goodbye."

The Weatherman, with great bravado, talked about the "Days of Rage" in October, 1969, when its members rampaged in the streets of Chicago, breaking windows, overturning cars, seeking confrontations with the police. "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*. . . . It was war—we knew it and the pigs knew it."<sup>20</sup>

(5) *The attack against law enforcement must not only be IMMEDIATE (that is, physical and verbal violence and harassment on the streets now) but also LONG-RANGE, that is, directed against efforts by law enforcement to improve its efficiency, both through acquiring modernized equipment and improving professional training.*

To a large extent, this attack arises from the New Left and is directed against colleges and universities which provide courses in police training.

In 1969, for example, the Worker Student Alliance wing of SDS issued a booklet entitled "Abolish Police Science," which bitterly attacks police training by universities. "The best way," it says, "is to fight the police departments through demanding an end to Police Science, which is more and more important in the staffing of the Pig departments."<sup>30</sup> In another SDS pamphlet this statement is made: "We in SDS think that the existence of the police and police science are incompatible with the interests of students and workers."<sup>31</sup> In an SDS resolution on police passed in 1969 it was demanded "that pig institutes in colleges and community colleges be shut down."<sup>32</sup>

The revolutionary-guerrilla and his ideological allies seek to depict police training as society's and law enforcement's eagerness to become even more "oppressive":

"American universities have traditionally," says a release by Liberation News Service (LNS), "acknowledged their 'obligation to society' by training military officers in time of war: now, as the homefront war begins to monopolize the attention of the government authorities, universities are being encouraged to provide training for police officers. Over 750 colleges currently offer courses in 'police science'—a fivefold increase since 1960."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Chicago 69*, New Left Notes, October 21, 1969, at 2, 3 (emphasis added).

<sup>30</sup> ABOLISH POLICE SCIENCE, note 24 *supra*.

<sup>31</sup> DO WE NEED COPS? (brochure circulated by WSA).

<sup>32</sup> *SDS resolution on community control of police*, Guardian, Aug. 16, 1969, at 5, 14. The resolution was passed by the SDS national interim committee following a conference in which it participated in Oakland, California, July 21, 1969. The Guardian identifies itself as an "independent radical newsweekly."

<sup>33</sup> *Repression: Role of Universities in Police Training*, Daily World, September 23, 1970, at 6 (publication of the Communist Party, USA).

This LNS release, for example, denounced the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 which authorized financial assistance to law enforcement through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration: "These police training programs are mirror images of the Pentagon's ROTC programs. Both police and military officials believe that the sophisticated systems and weapons being introduced require manpower with more than a high school education."

These training programs, claims the article, will make the police more "repressive" than ever before.

The attack is not only against specialized police training (on or off the university campus) but also college classes in criminology: "Therefore we call for students and workers to demand that the administration (of the university) abolish criminology and keep pigs off campus."<sup>34</sup>

SDS sees the Criminology Department and its training of police cadets as opposed to the interests of Black, Brown, Yellow, and white working people. Come to SDS meeting on Tuesday and Thursday at 11:00 . . . and participate in developing an analysis of the police program. . . .<sup>35</sup>

Hence, the revolutionary-guerrilla and his allies seek not only to weaken law enforcement now, but to jeopardize its future through denying it funds to modernize its equipment and facilities, cutting back its training programs and, perhaps most important from a long-range view, discouraging new recruits from entering such an "evil" profession!

(6) *The revolutionary-guerrilla's assault against law enforcement is aimed in essence at our entire legal and constitutional system. This viewpoint runs through the literature of SDS, Weatherman, Black Panther, and similar groups.*

A major factor here is the attempt by the revolutionary-guerrilla and his supporters to undermine public confidence in our judicial system. Vehement rhetoric, sweeping derogatory charges without proof (such as "police brutality"), demeaning criticism—all these are weapons utilized to convince the citizen that his police are corrupt, brutal, and not worthy of support. These are weapons difficult to judge—just how effective are they in undermining public confidence? The evidence would indicate, however, that they are playing key roles in the forming of value judgments, especially among young people.

#### THE TACTICS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY-GUERRILLA DIRECTED AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT

No weapon or tactic is barred if it will harass, injure, defame, or undermine the effectiveness of the police.

<sup>34</sup> DO WE NEED COPS?, note 31 *supra*.

<sup>35</sup> THE REAL CRIMINALS RUN THE POLICE (brochure circulated by WSA).

Among tactics employed are the following:

- (1) bomb attacks against police stations;
- (2) the bombing of police vehicles;
- (3) the setting of ambushes, that is, purposive efforts to lure officers (through calls for assistance) into areas and situations where their physical danger is greatly increased;
- (4) deliberate sniper attacks;
- (5) "expropriations," that is, where extremists commit a robbery, burglary, or other crime for the purpose of obtaining funds for revolutionary purposes;
- (6) theft of weapons from government arsenals or private gun shops which can later be used against the police;
- (7) revolutionary kidnaping of court personnel;
- (8) on-the-street physical confrontations with the police such as the Weatherman's "Days of Rage" in Chicago, in October, 1969 (these on-the-street confrontations often result in serious injuries to police personnel, reducing manpower available for protection of the community);<sup>86</sup>
- (9) the threat of assassination of police and others in authority. "Therefore," says an SDS-circulated document, "the editors of this journal have compiled a list of persons most likely to be assassinated and harassed (if you can't kill 'em harass 'em);"<sup>87</sup>
- (10) harassment of police officers and members of their families; for example, making anonymous and threatening phone calls to their homes; publication in the radical press of the names, home addresses, and telephone numbers of officers; making false charges against officers; chalking obscene graffiti on the property or in the neighborhood of the officer's home; uncomplimentary cartoons of officers in underground papers. Just a few weeks ago a nail-filled time bomb exploded outside a San Francisco church as mourners gathered for the funeral of a police officer killed during a robbery. Fortunately, no one was hurt, though some 100 persons were in the church and some 200 officers were outside awaiting arrival of the funeral cortege.<sup>88</sup> In another instance, a tear gas grenade was thrown through a window of a policeman's home, landing on the bed in which his four-year-old daughter was sleeping. The bed burst into flames but no one was injured;<sup>89</sup>
- (11) circulation in New Left and Black Panther circles of manuals showing how homemade bombs and Molotov cocktails can be assembled and detonated. These manuals show just where a bomb can be placed in a police station, ROTC building, or Selective Service

<sup>86</sup> In October, 1969, at the time of the Weatherman "Days of Rage" demonstration in Chicago, a statue of a policeman in Haymarket Square was destroyed. In October, 1970, a letter from the Weatherman underground claimed credit for the October, 1969, bombing, and also another bombing of the same statue in October, 1970. "A year ago we blew away the Haymarket pig statue at the start of a youth riot in Chicago. Last night we destroyed the pig again." *Bombing Claimed by Radicals*, Washington Post, Oct. 8, 1970.

<sup>87</sup> YOUR MANUAL, published in San Francisco by an underground news service and distributed by SDS members and others in 1969.

<sup>88</sup> *Bomb Jolts Rites for Slain Officer*, Washington Post, October 23, 1970.

<sup>89</sup> *Gas Grenade Tossed Into Policeman's Home*, Washington Post, November 6, 1970.

headquarters to achieve maximum destruction. A manual circulated in the New Left, for example, told how to prepare for "battles with the pigs." Be certain to be dressed, it said, in crash helmets, safety glasses, and heavy clothing for physical protection. Descriptions were set forth on how weapons such as ice picks, sling shots, darts, red pepper, and bombs could be used against police personnel.<sup>40</sup>

- (12) receipt of guerrilla-type training, involving the handling of weapons, especially by the Black Panthers. Weatherman members have engaged in karate training.

To illustrate the tactics of the revolutionary-guerrilla, for example, FBI investigation revealed the following instructions, discussions, and decisions just prior to and during a Weatherman on-the-street confrontation with police:

- police cars were to be "trashed," meaning windows should be broken, radio antennas torn off, sugar placed in gas tanks and, if possible, the vehicles turned over;
- participating Weatherman members should bring to the demonstration a change of clothes. If the Weatherman felt he was recognized by the "pigs," he could quickly change clothes, cut (or dye) his hair and mustache;
- "affinity groups" should be utilized. An "affinity group," in Weatherman's definition, consists of four or five young people. These Weathermen would walk down the street as a unit, then suddenly—often with a wild yell—individually disperse at high speed in various directions, breaking windows, attacking police, hurling rocks. They would be armed with tire chains, pipes, and rocks. An excellent place to obtain rocks, bricks, and other offensive weapons, a leader counseled, would be nearby construction sites;
- specific "targets" should be selected by the individual "affinity group" on a "political basis," that is, the target should be something or someone bitterly hated by the revolutionary-guerrilla, such as a police officer, a government building, the offices of a private company having defense contracts;
- members should not overlook "nonpolitical" targets, such as restaurants. They too should be "hit." The restaurant, in Weatherman eyes, was a symbol of the hated Establishment—it feeds and keeps people happy in society! Innocent citizens might be injured in an attack on a restaurant but it will let people know that the Weatherman had been there!

Some of the comments and proposals made at this Weatherman planning session would seem childish, laughable, and contradictory (for example, there was considerable discussion whether it would be more "politically correct" to break the windows of only the more "expensive" cars), but the fury of these young fanatics in physical confrontations with the police should not be taken lightly.

<sup>40</sup> YOUR MANUAL, note 37 *supra*.

A high percentage of the revolutionary-guerrillas of the New Leftist vintage (that is, the Weatherman and their allies) are now underground. By underground we mean they have changed their names, are utilizing aliases, moving clandestinely from one location to another and living in hippy-type communes.

"Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks," said Weatherman's first underground communication. "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."

The very fact that the New Left-type extremist does not belong to a disciplined organization, detests discipline, and wants to act on his own makes law enforcement's task of identifying and apprehending violators most difficult. Extremist-type fugitives can quickly disappear into the amorphous, rapidly shifting, jelly-like structure of the youth underworld—there to remain for long periods almost immune from law enforcement identification.

These types of fugitives, moreover, feel that concealing themselves from justice—in causing the FBI and local authorities to expend much effort to locate them—is still another way they can strike at the hated Establishment. Some years ago to become a "martyr" for the cause by going to jail was "the thing to do." Now that is no longer true. The aim now is to evade—and thereby harass—law enforcement.

The revolutionary-guerrilla is assisted in maintaining his fugitive status by sympathizers. Our investigations reveal a growing number of individuals who, though they will not personally become involved in violence, will harbor these types of fugitives, for example, by providing food, clothing, and shelter.

To the sympathizers, these revolutionary-guerrilla fugitives (even though they are being sought for extremely serious crimes) are "political fugitives" who are not dangerous to society. They are viewed as "romantic rebels," "Robin Hoods," "courageous men and women," who had the "conviction" to stand up for what they felt was right!

Frequently, these sympathizers are individuals of respectability in the community who base their actions and decisions toward these so-called "political fugitives" on humanitarian, moral, and even religious reasons.

Hence, revolutionary-guerrilla fugitives are sheltered in the "underworld," shuttled from location to location by efficiently operated "underground railroads," and given material assistance. These sympathizers often refuse to talk to the FBI and deny they possess information about the criminal when our investigations prove to the contrary.

Their whole concept of contempt for the law (or arrogantly defining the law in their own terms) is a dangerous precedent. To consider serious crimes such as Selective Service violations, sabotage, and the destruction of

draft board records as something "minor" and "political," and the deeds of "revolutionary heroes" to be admired, emulated, and protected, means undermining the integrity of free government.

#### THE TASK OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The escalation during the last decade of what we have called the revolutionary-guerrilla mentality poses serious problems for law enforcement and free society. What can be done?

(1) *This problem must be frankly and honestly faced—and called by its right name.* Any individual or group which resorts to violence, whether it be from the right or left, black or white, young or old, is in violation of the law. Violence is not to be condoned. It is not a lubricant of change or the "necessary fallout of progress." The revolutionary-guerrillas are not "political lawbreakers" or "romantic rebels" or "Robin Hoods" or "martyrs to a great cause." They must be held accountable for their acts outside the law as much as any other person.

(2) *We must realize that when legitimate authority is undermined, bleak, cold, raw, barbarous power moves in to fill the void.* If violence is condoned on the part of one person or individual, why not for another? Who is to draw the line and say "this violence is justified as a good cause" and "this violence" is not? The whole social fabric of society is ripped apart and the ugly emotions of hatred, brutality, and discord appear.

(3) *Remember that the revolutionary-guerrilla and his sympathizers—dangerous as they are—still represent only a small minority of the people of this nation.* In analyzing their behavior, we must not forget that the vast majority of Americans disapprove of their tactics—the bombings, the desire to kill the police, the effort to fracture and destroy our society. We in law enforcement know that we must rely—if we are to be effective—on the cooperation of the patriotic citizens of the land. Just as law enforcement met the challenges of the hard-core criminal gangs of the 1930's, it can meet the challenge of this type of mentality of the 1970's.

(4) *To meet this challenge, law enforcement must scrupulously and honestly maintain at all times its highest standards of professional demeanor and conduct.* As officers of the law, we can never allow emotion, personal prejudice, or spite to govern our actions. The officer must never be guilty of any type of unprofessional conduct arising from the tensions and strains of confrontation with the revolutionary-guerrilla.

Part of the guerrilla's strategy is to provoke and incite the police, hoping to cause them to overreact and commit illegal acts. Nothing would please the extremists more. In their eyes, this might "radicalize" others, especially young people, causing them to join the revolutionary cause in revulsion

against the Establishment. We in law enforcement are proud of our professional standards, the high quality of our personnel, and our commitment to do the very best. Yes, we have weaknesses. Yes, we make mistakes. Yes, we have areas where improvements can and should be made. The whole point is that law enforcement is a profession today on the "move"—moving upward to still higher standards of performance. Higher salaries are attracting well-educated recruits. Training programs of many types are being instituted. Professionalization will enable the police to be even more effective in the years ahead.

(5) *You, as law students and alumni, as readers of the ALBANY LAW REVIEW, must take an abiding interest in this entire problem.* The critical attack is not only against law enforcement but against our entire judicial system. History has all too often recorded what happens when chaos and anarchy explode in a society, when the processes of legitimate authority are spurned and power falls into the hands of those who advocate violence in the streets.

The problem becomes particularly critical in our society of today when only a small minority, the "power of the desperate few," can become so decisive.

**Question:** *What do eggs, water guns, tomatoes, spray paint, dynamite, cherry bombs, ink bottles, and red pepper have in common?*

**Answer:** *They are all weapons to be used against police officers!*

So runs the advice of a manual circulated by members of the militant New Left student organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), telling extremist young people how to engage in campus violence with the police.

For "battles with the pigs" (New Left term for law enforcement officers), advises this manual, come supplied with crash helmets, safety glasses, heavy duty construction boots, tightly fitting gloves. If possible, bring gas and ski masks, a disguise kit, a schoolbag, and brass knuckles.

Not only be dressed for "combat," but bring along weapons to be used against the police.

"Before rallies, rocks or bottles should be brought on campus by as many people as possible. Students should fill purses, lunch bags, book bags, pockets and attaché cases full of rocks and while strolling around the campus grounds he/she can casually drop the rocks or bottles in strategic locations."

Here is how the weapons are to be used:

An empty bottle or rock can disable a pig for the whole campaign. When throwing at the pigs aim at their mid-section or necks. They all wear helmets.

Red pepper: can be very effective against

mounted pigs. Always try to position yourself so you can throw the (pepper) downwind into the horses' faces.

Darts: should be thrown at the horse's body, not the pig because the horse is the easier target.

Water guns: fill guns with regular household ammonia. Cherry bombs: to be effective they must have bb's and tacks glued onto the cherry bomb's surface.

Ice picks, leather punches, can openers: used to best advantage on car tires of scab "teachers," "students," and "administrators." Scratches paint jobs. Very good on plain clothes pigs, too.

Sling shots: buy a "Wham O" sling shot at your sports store or department and a package of marbles.

## Law Enforcement Faces the Revolutionary-Guerrilla Criminal



By  
**J. EDGAR HOOVER**  
Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Also there are instructions about the use of oven cleaner ("in aerosol can be used as a weapon doing severe damage to any exposed skin area of the enemy"), eggs, tomatoes, and ink bottles ("use fruit against enemy and ink against property"), cigarette lighters, sugar, lighter fluid. A whole section is devoted to the construction of bombs: cherry bombs, stink bombs, Molotov cocktails, pipe bombs.

In this bitter hostility, law enforcement is today facing a new type of danger, what might be called ideological or revolutionary violence. It stems largely from militant and rad-

(Reprinted from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, December, 1970)

ical New Left groups, such as components of the SDS (especially its extremist wing, the Weatherman) and also from black extremist groups, such as the Black Panther Party.

Perhaps never before in the history of American law enforcement has our profession faced such inflamed bitterness and hostility and such purposive intentions to wreak havoc against police officers through injuring, maiming, and outright murder. "Many progressive thinkers of revolutionary theory believe assassination of pig leaders is one of the necessary vehicles for winning our struggle," declared this New Left manual.

#### Revolt Against the Government

This hatred is directed ultimately against not only law enforcement but all the institutions of our society. These extremist young people passionately hate our democratic system of government and seek its destruction through violence and revolution.

Here arises a challenge of tremendous magnitude not only for law enforcement but for the entire Nation.

Ideological and revolutionary violence in the Nation is on the increase. Much of this violence has occurred on college and university campuses, though it also has been found in many other areas of society.

The last academic year (1969-70) was a highly destructive year in terms of student violence. A total of 1,785 demonstrations occurred on campuses. There were 313 sit-ins and building seizures, while ROTC installations were subjected to 281 attacks. There were 246 cases of arson or attempted arson and 14 bombings. Injuries totaled 462, nearly two-thirds of which were sustained by police and college officials. Eight students were killed and nearly 7,200 arrests made. Damages reached almost \$10 million.

Extremist elements also caused

great damage in off-campus demonstrations. In May 1970, for example, a massive anti-Vietnam demonstration was sponsored in Washington, D.C., by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. A total of 365 individuals were arrested following violent attacks on both Government and private property. Damages to buildings amounted to roughly \$125,000, including some \$50,000 in damages as a result of the bombing of the National Guard Association building. Other property damage and the expenses of police and military forces brought the total cost of this demonstration to well over \$1 million.

Bomb attacks have been directed not only against ROTC and other military installations, but also against private buildings, police departments, stores, industrial firms, and municipal facilities. Homemade bombs, riots, and assaults against the police have brought blazing headlines in our newspapers and death and injury to many officers of the law.

The police officer is bearing a heavy burden of this hostility to the law.

In 1969, for example, a record high of 86 law enforcement officers were murdered, a 34 percent increase over 1968, when 64 officers were slain.

The rate of assaults on police in 1969 rose 7 percent over the 1968 figure. And since 1962, assaults on police officers have increased 144 percent.

#### Guerrilla Warfare

Of course, the ordinary criminal—the bank robber, thief, and gunman—is responsible for the vast majority of these incidents. But the rise of revolutionary-ideological violence in the past several years has contributed to the jump in assault and fatality figures. Any officer who has met the frenzied SDSer, armed with knives and rocks, or the fanatical Black Panther,

equipped with the latest deadly weapons, knows that the risk of physical injury and death has been greatly increased.

New Left revolutionary violence is linked to the concept of *guerrilla warfare*.

Such a concept may sound bizarre, strange, unbelievable! That young Americans, many of whom come from homes of economic affluence and are well educated in terms of academic degrees, would consider themselves as guerrilla warriors against our society!

#### "Strategic Sabotage"

Yet that is what, for example, the Weatherman thinks. The Weatherman (the name comes from a song which contains the words "You Don't Need a Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows") was formed out of a split at SDS's national convention in Chicago in June 1969.

This extremist group openly proclaimed the need for street violence. In October 1969, Weatherman members staged a "Days of Rage" demonstration in Chicago (along the lines suggested by the manual mentioned previously). They brought rocks, pipes, and tire chains and for several days battled the police in the streets. They attempted to overturn cars, break windows, disrupt traffic.

A short time later, the Weatherman shifted tactics and decided to go "underground," that is, to leave their normal places of residence, change their names, utilize aliases, and live in hippie communes. They adopted a policy of "strategic sabotage," that is, publicly declaring their aim to wage guerrilla war against our society.

Revolutionary violence is the only way," warned a Weatherman underground document. "Now we are adapting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Vietcong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros (South

American guerrillas) to our own situation here in the most technically advanced country in the world."

This Weatherman declaration is not an idle boast.

Weatherman members have attempted to bomb police facilities. They are known to have operated bomb factories. Their heroes are Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Ho Chi Minh.

A Panther slogan says:

The only good pig is a dead pig.

3. The revolutionary-type guerrilla draws knowledge and inspiration from guerrilla movements outside the United States. The Weatherman, for example, idolizes Che Guevara and the Tupamaros. New Leftists of various types have frequently visited in Castro's Cuba. The New Left manual

*"The best way is to fight the police departments," says one SDS brochure, "through demanding an end to Police Science, which is more and more important in the staffing of the pig departments."*

This New Left-Black Panther (the Panthers are admirers of Mao Tse-tung and Red China) concept of guerrilla warfare holds many dire consequences for law enforcement.

1. First of all, the police officer (who is regarded by the New Left as the front line of defense for the hated "Establishment," that is, our society) becomes Target Number One. If the "revolution" is ever to be brought about, you, as officers of the law who protect democratic rights, must be destroyed—by ridicule, harassment, physical injury, death.

2. This hatred of law enforcement is becoming almost fiendish and obsessively personal in nature. This lends an extra dimension of bitterness and sadism to the attack on law enforcement. The guerrilla trains himself to hate and kill. He rejoices when the enemy is injured. Not long ago when four police officers were murdered by a criminal, an article in the Panthers' newspaper stated:

Pigs are only flesh and bone, and they will bleed; they will die. When the hour of reckoning comes, as you move into the streets to fight for your survival, remember the lesson taught by this one simple sentence . . . FOUR PIGS DEAD!

of violence, mentioned previously, making mention of a certain offensive weapon to be used against police, comments: "This weapon has been used by the 'VC' (Vietcong) very effectively." The Panthers are known to have established close ties with Al Fatah and other Arab guerrilla organizations. There is almost a frenzied fascination of foreign guerrilla tactics and aims.

4. In the revolutionary-guerrilla type of violence, no weapon or tactic is barred. In regard to tactics, we find sniper attacks, ambushes (where officers are deliberately led into situations where their physical danger becomes far greater), attacks on isolated police outposts, "expropriations" (the robbing of a bank or commercial establishment to obtain funds for use in revolutionary activities), the theft of weapons from Government arsenals, the booby trapping of law enforcement vehicles, the smuggling of bombs into police stations.

The New Leftists, for example, talk about "The Death List"—meaning a list of people to be assassinated. "Therefore, the editors of this journal have compiled a list of persons most

likely to be assassinated and harassed (if you can't kill 'em harass 'em)." In this connection, the radical press sometimes publishes the names, home addresses, and telephone numbers of police officers.

5. For the revolutionary-guerrilla, the emphasis is increasingly being placed on *offensive acts of violence* directed against the Establishment and law enforcement. Seldom does the ordinary-type criminal, such as the bank robber, deliberately go out looking for police to kill. He may shoot if trapped while committing a crime or to avoid being captured subsequently. The revolutionary type, however, often feels it is his "moral duty" to strike on his own volition at the police. Hence, one individual (or a group of individuals), operating alone, suddenly decides to bomb a police station or an ROTC building. The crime is justified in his mind as a step "necessary" to overthrow the hated Establishment. This revolutionary-guerrilla mood makes for a trigger-happy, violence-prone mentality of offensive violence which increases the danger to the officer.

#### Be Cool, But Don't Talk

6. The disdain of the revolutionary-guerrilla extends not only to the police officer but to our entire court system. New Left booklets advise that if a revolutionary extremist is arrested, he should "be cool, don't get hassled, but don't talk."

There is no such thing as "friendly conversation" with the enemy.

When you are captured by the enemy, the object is to get away.

If brought to trial, the extremist uses the court as a revolutionary platform. "Turn the court," says an SDS article, "into a political forum." An SDS leader "urged people to support us by hissing, clapping and shouting." Revolutionary kidnapping of court

personnel has already taken place.

7. This militant attack consists not only of immediate, on-the-street physical violence, but of long-range propaganda designed to undermine public confidence in law enforcement. Here, the extremists, under strong Marxist influence, have adopted classic communist principles. New Left and black extremist publications keep up a steady tattoo of denunciation and vilification. The most bitter obscenities (also used by extremists during street confrontations) are hurled against the officer. This verbal violence is designed to make citizens (especially young people) think that the police are corrupt, brutal, highly inefficient, and not to be trusted.

The long-range aspect of the attack is shown, for example, by the effort (especially by SDS) to denounce police training, especially police science courses and departments on college campuses. "The best way is to fight the police departments," says one SDS brochure, "through demanding an end to Police Science, which is more and more important in the staffing of the pig departments."

#### Challenges of the Future

The magnitude of the challenge of the revolutionary-guerrilla in our society becomes more apparent every day. As never before, law enforcement must be prepared to meet this deadly threat.

We in the FBI appreciate the splendid cooperation of the members of law enforcement throughout the country. We stand ready in every possible way to be of help to you.

In this cooperation, we can meet the rugged challenge ahead and ever more effectively do our duty of protecting the rights, lives, and property of our citizens.

## APPENDIX E

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<sup>41</sup> World Marxist Review, November 1973, p. 81 and February 1974, p. 113; also Guardian, Jan. 31, 1973, p. 13 for examples.  
<sup>42</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 57.  
<sup>43</sup> World Marxist Review, Nov. 1973, p. 81.  
<sup>44</sup> FBIS, Sept. 28, 1973.  
<sup>45</sup> Washington Afro-American, Dec. 29, 1973, p. 20.  
<sup>46</sup> The Grove Street Grapevine (Merritt College newspaper), Feb. 5, 1973, pp. 4 and 5.  
<sup>47</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 56.  
<sup>48</sup> Tricontinental, No. 84, 1973, pp. 41-49.  
<sup>49</sup> Tricontinental, No. 86, 1973, pp. 41-50.  
<sup>50</sup> Venceremos, mimeographed monthly newsletter of the Venceremos Brigade, No. 1, January 1974, p. 2.  
<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 7.  
<sup>52</sup> Gibson, op. cit., pp. 261-263.  
<sup>53</sup> Southern Africa, May 1973, p. 20.  
<sup>54</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 57.  
<sup>55</sup> Southern Africa, May 1973, p. 20.  
<sup>56</sup> Washington Post, Feb. 18, 1974, p. A-14.  
<sup>57</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 57.  
<sup>58</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>59</sup> Guardian, Jan. 9, 1974, p. 12.  
<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 13.  
<sup>61</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 12.  
<sup>62</sup> Washington Afro-American, May 30, 1972.  
<sup>63</sup> Fischer, Abram, "What I Did Was Right . . ." pamphlet, Mayibuye Publications, London, 1966, p. 23.  
<sup>64</sup> The African Communist, April-June 1963, p. 3.  
<sup>65</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>66</sup> The African Communist, July-Sept. 1964, pp. 4, 6, 9-11.  
<sup>67</sup> See chapter VI.  
<sup>68</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 59.  
<sup>69</sup> The African Communist, April-June 1963, p. 3.  
<sup>70</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 59.  
<sup>71</sup> Hoover, J. Edgar, FBI Director, statement before subcommittee of House Appropriations Committee, Mar. 3, 1965.  
<sup>72</sup> Muhammad Speaks, Nov. 30, 1973, p. 21.  
<sup>73</sup> Southern Africa, January 1974.  
<sup>74</sup> Inkululeko, July 1973.  
<sup>75</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 61.  
<sup>76</sup> Gibson, op. cit., p. 134.  
<sup>77</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 168.  
<sup>78</sup> Gibson, op. cit., p. 130.  
<sup>79</sup> World Magazine, Dec. 1, 1973, p. M-5.  
<sup>80</sup> Gibson, op. cit., p. 124.  
<sup>81</sup> Colwell, op. cit.  
<sup>82</sup> Various issues of Southern Africa in the period 1973-74.  
<sup>83</sup> Gibson, op. cit., pp. 124, 131.  
<sup>84</sup> Gerassi, op. cit., p. 57n.  
<sup>85</sup> W.I.N., Workers International Newsletter, January 1974, pp. 63-65.  
<sup>86</sup> Washington Post, Mar. 31, 1974, p. A-20.

## CHAPTER IV

- <sup>1</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 9, 1974, p. A-5.  
<sup>2</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 14.  
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 14 and 15.  
<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-17.  
<sup>5</sup> Washington Post, Feb. 4, 1974, p. A-10.  
<sup>6</sup> "Terrorism—Its Tactics and Techniques," special study, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Jan. 12, 1973, pp. 7 and 8.  
<sup>7</sup> Crozier, op. cit., pp. 18 and 19.  
<sup>8</sup> "Ulster: Politics and Terrorism," a study, Institute for the Study of Conflict, London, June 1973, p. 14.  
<sup>9</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>10</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 19.  
<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 13.  
<sup>13</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 17, 1974, p. A-4.  
<sup>14</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 9, 1974, p. A-5.  
<sup>15</sup> Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1972, p. H-8.  
<sup>16</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>17</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>18</sup> Baltimore Sun, Jan. 4, 1974, p. A-2.  
<sup>19</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 4, 1974, p. A-22.  
<sup>20</sup> Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1972, p. H-8.  
<sup>21</sup> "Ulster: Politics and Terrorism," pp. 18 and 19.  
<sup>22</sup> Washington Post, Mar. 12, 1973, p. A-6.  
<sup>23</sup> Baltimore Sun, Jan. 4, 1974, p. A-2.  
<sup>24</sup> Crozier, op. cit., pp. 23-25.  
<sup>25</sup> Crozier, op. cit., pp. 23-24; Liberation News Service, Dec. 22, 1973, p. 1 and Jan. 5, 1974, p. 5.  
<sup>26</sup> Guardian, Jan. 9, 1974, p. 10; SR/World, March 9, 1974, p. 16.  
<sup>27</sup> New York Times, Dec. 23, 1973, p. 5.  
<sup>28</sup> Workers World, Jan. 11, 1974, p. 12.  
<sup>29</sup> New York Times, Dec. 23, 1973, p. 5, and Dec. 28, 1973.  
<sup>30</sup> Daily World, Dec. 21, 1973, p. 1.  
<sup>31</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>32</sup> Workers World, Jan. 11, 1974, p. 12.

## CHAPTER V

- <sup>1</sup> Crozier, op. cit., pp. 75-77, 80-81.  
<sup>2</sup> "Burma and the Insurrections," Government of the Union of Burma Publication, September 1949, pp. 4-6.  
<sup>3</sup> U.S. State Department, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, "World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations," 24th annual report, 1972, pp. 70 and 71. A smaller underground Communist Party of Burma is known as the Red Flag Communists.  
<sup>4</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>5</sup> "Burma During the Japanese Occupation," Burma Intelligence Bureau, October, 1943, p. 37.  
<sup>6</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, "Area Handbook for Burma," June 1968, pp. 186 and 195.  
<sup>7</sup> HCIS, hearings on "The Theory and Practice of Communism in 1972 (South-east Asia) Part 1," May 25 and July 20, 1972, p. 7817.  
<sup>8</sup> New York Times, Feb. 1, 1974, p. 3.  
<sup>9</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 79.  
<sup>10</sup> Washington Post, June 1, 1972, p. A-11.  
<sup>11</sup> A confidential HCIS source.  
<sup>12</sup> HCIS, staff study on "The Black Panther Party, its Origin and Development as Reflected in its Official Weekly Newspaper, The Black Panther," Black Community News Service, printed Oct. 6, 1970, pp. 65 and 66.  
<sup>13</sup> Washington Post, Feb. 1, 1974, p. A-18.  
<sup>14</sup> New York Times, Feb. 1, 1974, p. 3.  
<sup>15</sup> New York Times, Feb. 9, 1974, p. 8.  
<sup>16</sup> Crozier, op. cit., pp. 84 and 85.  
<sup>17</sup> New York Times, Jan. 13, 1974, p. 18.

## CHAPTER VI

- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>19</sup> Crozier, op. cit., pp. 85 and 86.  
<sup>20</sup> New York Times, Feb. 18, 1974, p. 10.  
<sup>21</sup> New York Times, Oct. 18, 1973, p. 3.  
<sup>22</sup> Daily World, Mar. 5, 1974, p. 10.  
<sup>23</sup> Win, Mar. 7, 1974, p. 14.  
<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 15 and 16.
- <sup>1</sup> Green, Gil, "Terrorism—Is It Revolutionary?" (New York: New Outlook Publishers, July 1970), pp. 25-37.  
<sup>2</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>3</sup> World Magazine, Dec. 8, 1973, pp. M-4 and M-10.  
<sup>4</sup> Daily World, Jan. 5, 1974, pp. 3 and 9.  
<sup>5</sup> The Young Worker, September-October 1973, p. 6.  
<sup>6</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>7</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 5.  
<sup>9</sup> The Information Bulletin of World Marxist Review Publishers, No. 16-17, 1972, p. 71, noted that Franklin Alexander, National Council member of the Communist Party, USA, was visiting the Soviet Union.  
<sup>10</sup> Carl Bloice was described as a member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA and editor of People's World (the party's West Coast publication) in Daily World, official CPUSA newspaper, Feb. 9, 1973, p. 2 and Feb. 20, 1973, p. 2. Angela Davis was referred to as a Central Committee member in Daily World, May 10, 1974, p. 3.  
Charlene Mitchell was identified as a member of the CPUSA's Political Commission in Daily World, Apr. 3, 1974, p. 10.  
William L. Patterson is currently a member of the party's National Council and co-chairman of the party's Black Liberation Commission, according to the World Magazine, Feb. 7, 1974, p. M-11 and Daily World, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 2.  
John Pittman was co-editor of the Daily World until April 1974 when the Communist Party announced his appointment as its representative to the editorial board of World Marxist Review (People's World, Apr. 6, 1974, p. 2.) As a member of the CPUSA's Political Commission, Pittman had represented the party at a World Marxist Review conference in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Jan. 7-9, 1974 (Daily World, Jan. 11, 1974, p. 10.)  
Jose Stevens was identified as a member of the party's Central Committee in Daily World, Dec. 5, 1972, p. 9.  
Jarvis Tyner, according to World Magazine, Feb. 1, 1973, p. M-3, is a member of the Political Commission of the party and national chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League. In 1971, he was the party's candidate for Vice President of the United States (Daily World, Oct. 26, 1971, p. 9.)  
Henry Winston has been national chairman of the CPUSA since 1966 (Statement by J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director, to Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Judiciary Committee, concerning 18th national convention, CPUSA, 1966 (p. 2); Daily World, May 12, 1974, p. 2.)  
Jesse Gray was identified as regional organizer of the Communist Party in Harlem by former party member Albert Gaillard, testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, hearings, "Communist Training Operations, Part 2," Feb. 3, 1960, p. 1370.  
Esther Jackson was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Paul Crouch, testifying before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, hearings, "Subversive Control of Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America," Aug. 26, 1951, p. 103.  
Victoria Stevens was identified as a member of the Communist Party by former undercover informant within the party, Charles Fitzpatrick, testifying before the House Committee on Internal Security, hearings, "The Theory and Practice of Communism in 1971," pt. 2, p. 4543.  
Carlos Russell was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Gerald Wayne Kirk, former undercover informant within the party, testifying before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, hearings, "Testimony of Gerald Wayne Kirk," pt. 1, March 9, 1970, p. 19.  
<sup>11</sup> Daily World, Sept. 29, 1973, p. 3.  
<sup>12</sup> Daily World, Oct. 20, 1973, p. 1; Oct. 23, 1973, p. 2.

- <sup>13</sup> Daily World, Oct. 24, 1973, p. 3.  
<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 11.  
<sup>15</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>16</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>17</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>18</sup> Daily World, Oct. 30, 1973, p. 2.  
<sup>19</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>20</sup> People's World, Dec. 15, 1973, p. 9.  
<sup>21</sup> Daily World, Feb. 14, 1974, p. 3; Daily World, Mar. 6, 1974, p. 2.  
<sup>22</sup> Daily World, Jan. 26, 1974, p. 5.  
<sup>23</sup> See Daily World, Jan. 11, 1974, p. 9; Jan. 26, 1974, p. 5; Feb. 1, 1974, p. 9; Feb. 13, 1974, p. 9, for example.  
<sup>24</sup> Daily World, Mar. 6, 1974, p. 2.  
<sup>25</sup> Guardian, Jan. 9, 1974, pp. 12 and 13.  
<sup>26</sup> Daily World, Feb. 16, 1974, p. 5.  
<sup>27</sup> House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, hearings, Nov. 4, 1939, pp. 2098-2101.  
<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 2111-2113.  
<sup>29</sup> HCIS report, "America's Maoists, the Revolutionary Union, the Venceremos Organization," H. Rept. 92-1166, June 22, 1972, p. 25.  
<sup>30</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 34.  
<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 1.  
<sup>33</sup> HCIS hearings on "Progressive Labor Party," April 13 and 14 and November 18, 1971, p. 4045.  
<sup>34</sup> W.I.N., Workers International Newsletter, January 1974, p. 2.  
<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 48.  
<sup>36</sup> HCIS report, "Revolutionary Target: The American Penal System," H. Rept. 93-738, Dec. 18, 1973, p. 84.  
<sup>37</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, March 27, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>38</sup> See Chapter VII for details.  
<sup>39</sup> HCIS report, "Revolutionary Target \* \* \*," op. cit., p. 3.  
<sup>40</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 15, 1974, p. 1; Oakland Tribune, Feb. 16, 1974.  
<sup>41</sup> HCIS report, "America's Maoists \* \* \*," op. cit., p. 105.  
<sup>42</sup> For a description of the three centers—the United Secretariat, the International Committee, and the Latin American Bureau of the Fourth International—see HCIS hearings on "National Peace Action Coalition and Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice," pt. 4, July 20-22 and June 17, 1971, pp. 3541-3544.  
<sup>43</sup> Staar, Richard F., ed., "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1971," (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press), pp. 353 and 355.  
<sup>44</sup> For a brief survey of Trotskyism and terrorism, see HCIS staff study, "Political Kidnappings 1968-73," op. cit., app. B.  
<sup>45</sup> International Socialist Review, November-December 1969, p. 49.  
<sup>46</sup> "Resolution on Latin America," Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International, Intercontinental Press, July 14, 1969, pp. 720 and 721.  
<sup>47</sup> Internal Information Bulletin, No. 10, December 1973, p. 29.  
<sup>48</sup> Militant, June 16, 1972, p. 4.  
<sup>49</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>50</sup> Militant, Nov. 3, 1972, p. 28.  
<sup>51</sup> Militant, Nov. 10, 1972, p. 10.  
<sup>52</sup> Militant, Nov. 24, 1972, p. 24, and Intercontinental Press, issues November 1972-April 1973 inclusive.  
<sup>53</sup> Militant, Nov. 24, 1972, p. 24.  
<sup>54</sup> Militant, Feb. 16, 1973, p. 2.  
<sup>55</sup> SWP Discussion Bulletin, May 1973, p. 5.  
<sup>56</sup> USLA Reporter, vol. 2, No. 2, April 1968.  
<sup>57</sup> The Militant, Oct. 17, 1966, p. 8.  
<sup>58</sup> Workers Vanguard, Mar. 29, 1974, p. 5. The Workers Vanguard is the publication of the Spartacist League, which "originated in 1960 as a small group of dissident members of the Socialist Workers Party" (HCUA, hearings on "Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting and Burning," pt. 1, Oct. 25, 26, 31, and Nov. 28, 1967, p. 907).  
<sup>59</sup> USLA letter dated May 1967, enclosing a list of USLA sponsors and their affiliations as of January 1967.

- <sup>60</sup> Statement of Aims, published in "From Radical Left to Extreme Right," vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Campus Publishers, 1970), pp. 201 and 202.  
<sup>61</sup> Guardian, Nov. 30, 1968, p. 8.  
<sup>62</sup> Treason, Summer 1967, p. 18. Treason was the quarterly journal published by the Free University (later called Free School) of New York.  
<sup>63</sup> For example, see the Militant, Oct. 19, 1973, p. 5, and Mar. 9, 1973, p. 4; and Guardian, Feb. 1, 1969, p. 21.  
<sup>64</sup> Guardian, Feb. 1, 1969, p. 21.  
<sup>65</sup> Militant, Jan. 14, 1972, p. 12.  
<sup>66</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>67</sup> Young Socialist Organizer, Mar. 13, 1972, p. 6.  
<sup>68</sup> Militant, Jan. 13, 1974, p. 6.  
<sup>69</sup> Militant, Jan. 26, 1973, p. 2.  
<sup>70</sup> Washington Post, May 6, 1973, p. A-3.  
<sup>71</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>72</sup> Militant, Oct. 26, 1973, p. 15.  
<sup>73</sup> Militant, Oct. 5, 1973, p. 5.  
<sup>74</sup> Militant, Nov. 9, 1973, p. 19.  
<sup>75</sup> Militant, Nov. 16, 1973, p. 14.  
<sup>76</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>77</sup> Brochure accompanying record album, distributed in 1971.  
<sup>78</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>79</sup> Guardian, Dec. 12, 1973, p. 2.  
<sup>80</sup> Militant, June 16, 1972, p. 9; Daily World, Dec. 5, 1973, p. 1.  
<sup>81</sup> Militant, Mar. 23, 1973, p. 3. Frank Grinnon was described in the Militant in 1969 as a member from Berkeley, Calif., of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the official youth group of the SWP. [Militant, July 25, 1969, p. 2]. In 1971, Grinnon was the SWP candidate for the 5th Congressional District seat in Georgia. [Militant, Oct. 1, 1971, p. 11].  
<sup>82</sup> Militant, Mar. 23, 1973, p. 3. The Militant of Apr. 5, 1974, p. 22, described Selva Nebbia as a YSA member who was scheduled to speak at a Militant Forum meeting in Brooklyn.  
<sup>83</sup> Militant, Oct. 26, 1973, p. 15. In 1969, Walter Brod was listed as a Young Socialist Alliance contact in Newark, N.J. [Militant, Mar. 14, 1969, p. 2].  
<sup>84</sup> Militant, Sept. 28, 1973, p. 3. Lew Pepper, when a member of the Madison, Wis. YSA, was convicted of disorderly conduct during a February 1969 strike at the University of Wisconsin and was fined \$62. [Militant, May 9, 1969, p. 6.]  
<sup>85</sup> Newsday, Sept. 17, 1966, interview and photo of Judith White.  
<sup>86</sup> Militant, Nov. 16, 1973, p. 2. The first editor of the USLA Reporter was Hedda Garza, wife of Richard Garza. At the time of the formation of USLA in 1966, she was the SWP candidate for the 17th Congressional District seat in New York. [Militant, Oct. 31, 1966, p. 6.]  
<sup>87</sup> Militant, Dec. 7, 1973, p. 13.  
<sup>88</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>89</sup> "A Brief Resume of the Ideology of Workers World Party," reproduced in HCIS, study by minority staff, "The Workers World Party and Its Front Organizations," April, 1974, app., p. 27ff. The mimeographed Resume was written by Deirdre Griswold, editor of the party's official newspaper, Workers World.  
<sup>90</sup> Workers World, March 1959, p. 6.  
<sup>91</sup> HCUA, hearings on "Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting and Burning," op. cit., p. 906.  
<sup>92</sup> "A Brief Resume of the Ideology of Workers World Party," op. cit.  
<sup>93</sup> Workers World, April 27, 1973, p. 10.  
<sup>94</sup> Workers World, Sept. 22, 1972, p. 6.  
<sup>95</sup> Workers World, June 8, 1973, p. 12.  
<sup>96</sup> Workers World, Jan. 25, 1974, p. 13.  
<sup>97</sup> Workers World, Feb. 8, 1974, p. 16.

## CHAPTER VII

- <sup>1</sup> Washington Star-News, Aug. 30, 1972, p. 3.  
<sup>2</sup> New York Times, Oct. 8, 1973, pp. 1 and 54.  
<sup>3</sup> Washington Post, Mar. 4, 1972, p. A-3.  
<sup>4</sup> FBI "1973 Annual Report," released Dec. 14, 1973, p. 35.  
<sup>5</sup> Washington Post, Apr. 17, 1973, pp. C-1 and C-2.

- <sup>6</sup> Washington Post, June 14, 1973, p. A-18.  
<sup>7</sup> Washington Post, July 4, 1973, p. A-1; Washington Post, July 10, 1973, p. A-3;  
 New York Times, July 3, 1973, p. 4.  
<sup>8</sup> Washington Star-News, Aug. 29, 1973, p. A-8.  
<sup>9</sup> Washington Post, Aug. 30, 1973, p. A-2; New York Times, Aug. 30, 1973, pp. 21 and 22.  
<sup>10</sup> Washington Star-News, Dec. 11, 1973, p. A-1.  
<sup>11</sup> Washington Post, Dec. 28, 1973.  
<sup>12</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 8, 1974.  
<sup>13</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 23, 1973.  
<sup>14</sup> New York Times, Apr. 13, 1971, p. 44.  
<sup>15</sup> Washington Post, Sept. 21, 1971, p. A-4.  
<sup>16</sup> Win magazine, February 1973, p. 28.  
<sup>17</sup> Guardian, Jan. 23, 1971, p. 2.  
<sup>18</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 10, 1970.  
<sup>19</sup> New York Times, Oct. 15, 1970; Quicksilver Times, Oct. 29-Nov. 11, 1971.  
<sup>20</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 10, 1970.  
<sup>21</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>22</sup> Liberated Guardian, September 1971, p. 3.  
<sup>23</sup> Liberated Guardian, November 1971, p. 6.  
<sup>24</sup> Washington Post, Aug. 31, 1970, p. A-1; New York Times, Aug. 31, 1970, p. 54.  
<sup>25</sup> Berkeley Gazette, Apr. 18, 1970.  
<sup>26</sup> Hoover, J. Edgar, FBI Director, statement before subcommittee of House Appropriations Committee, Mar. 2, 1972, p. 68.  
<sup>27</sup> Los Angeles Times, Oct. 9, 1969; Philadelphia Bulletin, Oct. 14, 1969.  
<sup>28</sup> Workers World, Mar. 30, 1973; Workers World, Oct. 20, 1972, p. 12.  
<sup>29</sup> Workers World, Mar. 30, 1973; Workers World, Oct. 20, 1972, p. 43.  
<sup>30</sup> New York Times, Mar. 29, 1973, p. 43.  
<sup>31</sup> HCIS hearings, "Investigation of Attempts to Subvert the United States Armed Services," pt. 1, Oct. 20-22, 27 and 28, 1971, committee exhibit No. 1, p. 6541.  
<sup>32</sup> Hoover, J. Edgar, FBI Director, statement before subcommittee of House Appropriations Committee, Nov. 19, 1970, p. 21.  
<sup>33</sup> Washington Post, Feb. 21, 1970, p. B-2.  
<sup>34</sup> Washington Post, Feb. 23, 1972, p. 3; Washington Star, March 16, 1972, p. 7;  
 U.S. Department of Justice news release, Sept. 5, 1972; New York Times, June 28, 1973, p. 6.  
<sup>35</sup> Win magazine, February 1973, p. 28.  
<sup>36</sup> FBI "1973 Annual Report," op. cit., pp. 36 and 37.  
<sup>37</sup> Washington Star, Feb. 16, 1972, p. 11.  
<sup>38</sup> Human Events, Nov. 24, 1973, p. 12.  
<sup>39</sup> New York Times, Sept. 4, 1970, p. 12.  
<sup>40</sup> Reprint of Madison Kaleidoscope article by Liberated Guardian, Mar. 31, 1971, p. 16.  
<sup>41</sup> The Progressive, January 1974.  
<sup>42</sup> New York Times, Oct. 29, 1973, p. 9.  
<sup>43</sup> Human Events, Nov. 24, 1973, p. 22.  
<sup>44</sup> The Progressive, January 1974.  
<sup>45</sup> Human Events, Nov. 24, 1973, p. 22.  
<sup>46</sup> Washington Post, Apr. 19, 1974, p. A-7.  
<sup>47</sup> For a detailed analysis of the formation of the SDS and SLID, see HCIS, report, "Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement: Students for a Democratic Society," H. Rept. 91-1565, Oct. 6, 1970. This brief summary of SDS' development is based extensively on that report.  
<sup>48</sup> FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, September 1969, p. 1.  
<sup>49</sup> HCUA, report, "The National Lawyers Guild: Legal Bulwark of the Communist Party," Sept. 17, 1950.  
<sup>50</sup> "A Historical Sketch of the National Lawyers Guild in American Politics, 1936-68," pamphlet, National Lawyers Guild, 1973, p. 18.  
<sup>51</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>52</sup> HCIS, report, "Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement \* \* \*," op. cit., p. 51.  
<sup>53</sup> New Left Notes, Feb. 3, 1967.  
<sup>54</sup> National Guardian, Mar. 25, 1967, pp. 3 and 4.  
<sup>55</sup> Hoover, J. Edgar, FBI Director, statement, Sept. 18, 1968, before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

<sup>56</sup> The title of the position paper, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," is a line from a song by Bob Dylan, "Subterranean Homesick Blues."

<sup>57</sup> From the SDS position paper, "You don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," printed in Jacobs, Harold, ed., "Weatherman," (Berkeley, Calif.: Ramparts Press, 1970), pp. 51-96.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> The biographical note to Jerry Rubin's book, "Do it!," states that "With Abbie Hoffman, Jerry created the Yippies as a fusion between the hippies and the New Left, and helped mobilize the demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968." ["Do it!: Scenarios of the Revolution," by Jerry Rubin, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1970.] David Lewis Stein, a Canadian journalist who lived with the Yippie leaders during the planning of the Convention demonstrations and who participated in the street disturbances, reported that the idea for the creation of the Youth International Party (YIP) developed from the march on the Pentagon in October of 1967 which all the founding members of YIP had attended, including Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Stew Albert, Keith Lampe, Paul Krassner, and others.

At the Pentagon the future founders of YIP had seen "the long-haired hippies turning out in large numbers at a political demonstration for the first time." Stein reported that the idea was to offer the hippies and drop-outs, who had by their use of psychedelic drugs, exotic clothing, promiscuous behavior, and communal living totally rejected normal society, "a chance to take political action that was consistent with everything else they believed in." ["Living the Revolution: The Yippies in Chicago," by David Lewis Stein, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis and New York, 1969, pp. 5 & 6.]

Jerry Rubin defined the three main types of people who made up Yippies as "14-year-old freeks \* \* \* dropping acid, growing their hair long and deserting their homes and their schools;" second, the "Marxist acidhead, the psychedelic Bolshevik \* \* \* A hybrid mixture of New Left and hippie coming out something different;" and third, the "streetfighting freek, a dropout, \* \* \* so ugly that middle-class society is frightened by how he looks." ["Do it!," p. 82.]

The White Panther Party (WPP) was formed in 1968 by John Sinclair. In the Kaleidoscope edition dated December 6-19, 1968, Sinclair described the WPP's 10-point program and aims in these terms:

"Rock and roll music is the spearhead of our attack because it is so effective and so much fun. We have developed organic high-energy guerrilla bands who are infiltrating the popular culture and destroying millions of minds in the process. \* \* \*

"\* \* \* we plunder the unsuspecting straight world for money and the means to carry out our program, and revolutionize its children at the same time.

"We don't have guns yet—not all of us anyway—because we have more powerful weapons—direct action to millions of teenagers is one of our most potent, and their belief in us is another. But we will use guns if we have to—we will do anything—if we have to."

Sinclair listed the two main points of the 10-point WPP program as "Full endorsement and support of the Black Panther Party's 10-point program," and "Total assault on the culture by any means necessary, including rock and roll, dope, and f\*\*\*ing in the streets."

The closeness between the White Panther Party, YIP and the supporters of the Chicago Conspiracy defendants in 1970 is shown by an article in the Berkeley Tribe issue dated March 13-20, 1970. This article discusses the T.D.A. riot in Berkeley, February 16, 1970, one of several riots which erupted from demonstrations called by the Conspiracy, a group organized to support the Chicago 8 Conspiracy defendants, on "the day after" the initial verdict was handed down. Signed by the Berkeley chapter of the WPP and YIP, the article concludes:

"The White Panther Tribe, International Liberation School, the Berkeley Tribe Editorial Collective, and other revolutionary communes, and individuals are adopting the tools of world wide Liberation struggles. What we know—we must teach. Classes in self-defense, firearms handling, and medical care are now forming. What we don't know we must learn. \* \* \* Collective self defense, the people's militia, can't be one day late any more. \* \* \*

"Seize the Time Outlaws!"

The International Liberation School was an offshoot of SDS formed by Tom Hayden and Stew Albert on the suggestion of Eldridge Cleaver who saw the need for a "righteous revolutionary institute," a "revolutionary school that teaches people how to think and fight." [Article by Stew Albert, "Piece Now," Berkeley Tribe, Jan. 24-30, 1970, p. 6; and Hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, "Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders," pt. 19, 1969, p. 3862].

The Berkeley Tribe was an underground newspaper formed in 1969 by a group of people who had formerly worked for the Berkeley Barb newspaper. Stew Albert was a member of the Tribe's editorial collective during 1969 and 1970. During his campaign for sheriff of Alameda County in 1970, Albert termed the Tribe his "main organ of propaganda." [Interview with Stew Albert, Sun/Dance, newspaper of the White Panther Party, October 1970, p. 18].

<sup>60</sup> From the Berkeley Tribe, July 31, 1970, reprinted in "Weatherman," op. cit., pp. 509 and 510.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Washington Star, Oct. 8, 1970, p. A-1.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Liberated Guardian, Oct. 19, 1970, p. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Hoover, J. Edgar, FBI Director, statement before a subcommittee of House Appropriations Committee, Mar. 2, 1972, p. 60.

<sup>66</sup> Liberated Guardian, September 1971, pp. 3 and 4.

<sup>67</sup> Gray, L. Patrick, III, acting FBI director, statement before subcommittee of House Appropriations Committee, Mar. 29, 1973, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> FBI, "1973 Annual Report," op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>69</sup> New York Times, Sept. 29, 1973, pp. 1 and 16.

<sup>70</sup> Liberation News Service, Mar. 16, 1974, p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 7, 1974, p. A-3.

<sup>72</sup> Guild Notes, January 1974, p. 22.

<sup>73</sup> Guild Notes, November 1973, pp. 6 and 28.

<sup>74</sup> National Observer, Jan. 5, 1974, p. 4; Washington Post, Jan. 7, 1974, p. A-3; and New York Times, Oct. 16, 1973, p. 7.

<sup>75</sup> Guild Notes, November 1973, p. 6.

<sup>76</sup> See fn. 73.

<sup>77</sup> HCIS, report, "Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement \* \* \*," op. cit., p. 99.

Stewart E. Albert has been associated with militant demonstrations since 1966 when he was arrested with Mario Savio, leader of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, Jerry Rubin and others on the University of California at Berkeley campus, convicted of creating a public nuisance, and sentenced to 60 days in jail. ["Do it!," by Jerry Rubin, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1970, pp. 29-31.] In 1968, Albert was one of the organizers of the demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. ["Living the Revolution: The Yuppies in Chicago," by David Lewis Stein, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., Indianapolis and New York, 1969, pp. 11 and 12.] A former staff member of the National Mobilization Committee, Albert was an unindicted co-conspirator in the Chicago 8 Conspiracy trial. [Washington Star, Mar. 21, 1969.] In HCUA hearings in 1968, Albert was described in sworn testimony as "one of the most active, if not the most vicious, of the rock throwers." ["Subversive Involvement in Disruption of 1968 Democratic Party National Convention, Part 1," p. 2403.]

In 1969 and 1970, Albert was termed by the mass media the number three man in the Youth International Party after Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman. [Chicago Tribune, Feb. 13, 1969; Chicago Tribune, Oct. 22, 1970.] Canadian journalist David Lewis Stein, who lived with the YIP leaders during the planning of the 1968 Chicago demonstrations, characterized Albert as a "Berkeley radical, acid head, Marxist-Leninist and impressive street fighter." ["Living the Revolution," p. 12.]

Albert has had a long and close relationship with Eldridge Cleaver. In his introduction to Jerry Rubin's book, "Do it!," Cleaver writes that this association with Albert dates back to December 1966, before Cleaver became involved with the Black Panther Party, a time when "the black movement and the white movement were not speaking to each other." In his introduction, Cleaver noted that at the time he was writing the introduction, Albert and "his rib Gumbo" [Judy Clavir, also known as Judy Gumbo] were guests in Cleaver's Algiers apartment. ["Do it!," pp. 10 and 11]. Albert was a founder of the International Liberation School which taught courses in "armed self-defense," first aid for riot injuries and other skills. [Berkeley Tribe, Jan. 24-30, 1970, p. 6].

In the YIP newsletter, Dope Sheet, in October 1970, Albert wrote of his meeting with Timothy Leary in Algiers whose jailbreak had been engineered by Bernardine Dohrn and other members of the Weather Underground. Albert reported that he had gone to Algiers "to get political advice from Eldridge Cleaver" and met with Leary in the Black Panther Party's International Section headquarters. The same issue of the Dope Sheet contained Weatherman communiqués and a letter from Timothy Leary.

Albert's own views of revolution were expressed in statements he wrote with Eldridge Cleaver and Jerry Rubin, "We will not dissent from the American government. We will overthrow it." ["Do it!," p. 198] and in a series of suggestions for actions on Election Day, 1968, which Albert wrote with Rubin, "Force the National Guard to protect every polling place in the country. Join the rifle club of your choice. \* \* \* Release a Black Panther in the Justice Department. \* \* \* ["Do it!," p. 199].

In May 1970, Stew Albert and Judy Gumbo (Clavir) held a press conference on the Capitol steps to announce they were suspects in the Weatherman bombing and denounce government "harassment." [Washington Star, May 25, 1970, p. B-1]. That month, the two received subpoenas to appear before a New York City grand jury in connection with a Manhattan bank bombing plot involving the "Orazies." [Guardian, June 30, 1971, p. 2].

In a review of books on the New Left, writing as a member of the editorial collective of University Review, Albert wrote, "I find myself getting much more concerned about honest history being written about the life and times of our revolution. When the struggle was happening all over the place, most of us figured we would leave the book writing to the library freaks and we would just get on with spreading chaos in Babylon. \* \* \* ["University Review, #23, undated but received July 1972, p. 31].

<sup>78</sup> Liberation News Service, Mar. 16, 1974, p. 2.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> HCIS, report, "Gun-Barrel Politics: The Black Panther Party, 1966-1971," H. Rept. 92-470, Aug. 18, 1971, p. 135.

<sup>81</sup> 92-470, Aug. 18, 1971, p. 135.

<sup>82</sup> The Black Panther, Jan. 23, 1971.

<sup>83</sup> East Village Other, Jan. 14, 1971; The Black Panther, Feb. 13, 1971.

<sup>84</sup> The Black Panther, Mar. 20, 1971.

<sup>85</sup> Babylon, semi-monthly published in New York City by the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network, Jan. 15, 1972.

<sup>86</sup> Babylon, Dec. 15, 1971, p. 19.

<sup>87</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 20, 1972, p. A-22.

<sup>88</sup> New York Times, Dec. 27, 1973, p. 7.

<sup>89</sup> New York Times, Sept. 9, 1972, p. 28.

<sup>90</sup> "Humanity, Freedom, Peace," pamphlet published by the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network, by context dated 1972.

<sup>91</sup> Daily Californian, Oct. 22, 1971.

<sup>92</sup> Babylon, Dec. 15, 1971, p. 2; Southern Patriot, newspaper of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, January 1972.

<sup>93</sup> New York Times, June 5, 1972, p. 54.

<sup>94</sup> New York Times, Feb. 18, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>95</sup> New York (magazine), February 1973, p. 35.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> New York Times, May 22, 1973, pp. 1 and 22.

<sup>99</sup> Washington Evening Star and Daily News, Aug. 1, 1972, pp. A-1 and A-8.

<sup>100</sup> FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, July 1973, p. 3.

<sup>101</sup> New York Times, Feb. 16, 1973, p. 43.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> New York Post, Jan. 31, 1974; Human Events, Mar. 9, 1974, p. 8.

<sup>104</sup> See HCIS report, "Revolutionary Target: The American Penal System," H. Rept. 93-738, Dec. 18, 1973.

<sup>105</sup> New York Times, Dec. 28, 1973, p. 3.

<sup>106</sup> New York Times, Mar. 23, 1974, p. 35.

<sup>107</sup> New York Times, Dec. 28, 1973, p. 3.

<sup>108</sup> "Break de Chains," pamphlet published by the National Committee for the Defense of Joanne Chesimard & Clark Squire, New York, N.Y., 1973, p. 14.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 11 and 12.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 5 and 6.

<sup>111</sup> Human Events, Mar. 9, 1974, p. 13.

- <sup>111</sup> Berkeley Barb, Mar. 1-7, 1974, p. 2.  
<sup>112</sup> Berkeley Barb, Feb. 22-28, 1974, p. 7.  
<sup>113</sup> San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 10, 1974, p. 1; Oakland Tribune, Jan. 10, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>114</sup> Contra Costa Times, Jan. 13, 1974, p. 1; Oakland Tribune, Jan. 14, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>115</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 12, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>116</sup> New York Times, Jan. 25, 1974, p. 21.  
<sup>117</sup> San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 11, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>118</sup> Oakland Tribune, Jan. 11, 1974, p. 1; Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, Jan. 13, 1974, p. A-4.  
<sup>119</sup> Berkeley Independent Gazette, Feb. 8, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>120</sup> San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 15, 1974, p. 1; Oakland Tribune, Jan. 15, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>121</sup> San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 13, 1974, p. 4.  
<sup>122</sup> Oakland Tribune, Jan. 15, 1974, p. 1.  
<sup>123</sup> Washington Post, Feb. 6, 1974, p. A-3; San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 6, 1974; Oakland Tribune, Feb. 6, 1974.  
<sup>124</sup> Strategy of the administrators of the food program, as described by the Washington Post, Mar. 25, 1974, p. A-4.  
<sup>125</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>126</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>127</sup> Newsweek, Apr. 29, 1974, pp. 20 and 21; Berkeley Barb, Apr. 19-25, 1974, p. 3.  
<sup>128</sup> San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle, Feb. 10, 1974, p. 4, Section A.  
<sup>129</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>130</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>131</sup> Workers Vanguard, Mar. 1, 1974, p. 8.  
<sup>132</sup> Guardian, Mar. 20, 1974, p. 11.  
<sup>133</sup> Winter Soldier, March 1974, p. 13.  
<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 2.  
<sup>135</sup> Berkeley Barb, Mar. 1-7, 1974, p. 2.  
<sup>136</sup> New York Times, May 23, 1974, p. 27; May 24, 1974, pp. 1 and 10; Washington Post, May 28, 1974, pp. A-1, A-20 and A-21, and June 7, 1974, p. A-14.  
<sup>137</sup> FBI "1973 Annual Report," op. cit., p. 36.  
<sup>138</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>139</sup> New York Post, Mar. 19, 1971, pp. 1 and 3; New York Times, Mar. 20, 1971.  
<sup>140</sup> "Carlos Feliciano, History and Repression," pamphlet, published by Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, New York, 1972.  
<sup>141</sup> San Juan Star, Oct. 14, 1970.  
<sup>142</sup> Washington Post, May 6, 1971, p. F-2.  
<sup>143</sup> Staar, Richard F., ed., "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1973," (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press), p. 353. The Yearbook quotes from Tricontinental Bulletin, September 1972.  
<sup>144</sup> New York Times Magazine, May 21, 1972, p. 34.  
<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 36; Staar, op. cit., pp. 383-385.  
<sup>146</sup> Hoover, J. Edgar, FBI Director, statement before subcommittee of House Appropriations Committee, Mar. 17, 1971.  
<sup>147</sup> FBI Annual Report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954; Hoyer, J. Edgar, statement before subcommittee of House Appropriations Committee, Feb. 16, 1967.  
<sup>148</sup> San Juan Star, Nov. 12, 1973.

## INDEX

## INDIVIDUALS

	A	Page
Abele, Lester.....		85
Abernathy, Ralph.....		80
Abou Daoud (real name: Mohammed Daud Odeh).....		35, 41, 45
Abou Iyad. (See Khalaf, Salah.).....		
Abu Abbas.....		44
Abu al-Majd. (See Abu Sharar, Majid.).....		
Abu Amar. (See Arafat, Yasser.).....		
Abu Lutf, Abas. (See Khadoumi, Farouk.).....		
Abu Sharar, Majid (pseudonym: Abu al-Majd).....		30
Abu Yussef. (See Najjar, Mohammed Youssef.).....		
Abubakari, Dara. (See Collins, Virginia.).....		
Acoli, Sundiata Hashashim Zayd. (See Squire, Clark Edward.).....		
Adams, Forest.....		80
Adley, Sue.....		92
Africanus, Terence. (See Harmel, Michael.).....		
Agnew, Susan.....		99
Al-Jawary, Khalid. (See Jawary, Khalid Al-).....		
Aibert, Stewart E. "Stew".....	116, 243-245	
Alcorn, Jim.....		189
Aleman, Francisco Agustin.....		12
Alexander, Franklin Delano.....	79, 82, 83,	239
Alexander, Ward.....		175
Alioto, Joseph.....		175
Allende, Salvador.....	10, 18-20, 26,	92, 95
Alon, Yosef.....		99
Alston, Michael Maurice.....		131
Altamirano, Carlos.....		19
Amaru, Tupac.....		26
Anderson, Enrique Nyborb.....		16
Aponte, Ali.....		132
Arafat, Yasser <sup>1</sup> (pseudonym: Abu Amar).....	29-31, 33-37, 39,	47, 77
Aranguren Castiello, Fernando.....		25
Arid, Shafik A1- (also referred to as Shafik Hussein el-Arida) (pseudonym: Jihad Mohammed).....		38, 39
Arida, Shafik Hussein el-. (See Arid, Shafik A1-).....		
Armstrong, Dwight A.....		104
Armstrong, Karleton Lewis.....		103-106
Ashhab, Naim.....		31, 32
Ashley, Karen.....		109, 113
Atwood, Angela (Mrs. Gary Atwood; also known as Angel and Gelina <sup>2</sup> ).....	136,	156, 157, 172, 177, 179, 182, 187-189
Atwood, Gary Dean.....	157, 158,	187, 188
Augustin, Kirk.....		113
Augustin, Paul.....		113
Ayers, William "Bill".....	109, 111-113	
B		
Baader, Andreas.....		7, 65
Bakunin, Mikhail.....		218
Banks, Dennis.....		178

<sup>1</sup> Also transliterated Yasir and Yassir.<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly appears as "Genina" in one reference.

	Page
Barber, Lawrence	113
Barca, Charles	175
Barnett, Don	54
Bates, Charles	173
Bayo, Alberto	108, 202
Beaty, Ronald Wayne	88, 177
Ben Bella [Ahmed]	132
Ben Guvival, Theo	82
Bennett, Lerone	80
Berrigan, Philip	105
Bianco, Carlos A	13
Bisaysu, Atef	41
Bissell, Judith	113
Bissell, Silas	113
Blackburn, Robert	135, 136, 144, 178
Blanco, Damian	91
Bloice, Carl	79, 80, 239
Boags, Walter	80
Boorstein, Edward	92
Borawies, John	85
Borlaug, Norman	25
Bosch, Juan	21
Bosworth, Jay	180
Bosworth, Virginia	180
Bouabid, Abderrahime	41
Boudin, Kathie	110, 112, 113, 217
Bragg, Edward	80
Brennan, Eugene	170, 177
Brezhnev, [Leonid]	116
Brimicombe, Francis	12
Broadnax, Barron	158, 189
Brod, Walter	93, 241
Bron, Lolita Le	160
Brown, Elaine	160
Brown, H. Rap	111
Brown, Henry "Sha Sha Malik"	131
Brown, John	115
Browning, James	170
Brutus, Dennis	80
Bunch, George	80
Bundas, George	85
Burgess, Larry	125
Burlingham, Mrs. Robert. (See Meisel, Lisa.)	
Burlingham, Robert G. "Bo"	113, 114
Burns, Haywood	80
Burroughs, Margaret	80
Burt, Leo F.	104
Buscayno, Bernabe (also known as Commander Dante)	73

## C

Cabral, Amilcar	52, 56, 57, 94
Cabral, Luis	57
Cabral, Vasco	56
Cahill, Joe	67
Calvert, Greg	108
Camacho Abad, Marcelino	70
Campora (Hector J.)	12
Carmichael, Stokely	199, 203, 206
Carrero Blanco, Luis	69, 70
Carter, Alprentice "Bunchy"	123
Carter, Ronald	127
Castells, Oscar	12
Castro, Fidel	72, 92, 108, 202, 203, 206, 215, 216, 219, 231
Chan, Jean Wah. (See Wah Chan, Jean.)	
Chandra, Ramesh	63

	Page
Chapman, Robert	80
Chavis, Ben	80
Chesimard, Joanne Deborah (also known as Assata Shakur)	131, 133, 134, 160
Chipemba, Daniel	53
Chissano, Joaquim	55
Choque, Salustio	17
Chou En-lai	132
Christensen, Ward L.	23
Christmas, William	134
Cinque. (See DeFreeze, Donald David.)	
Clapp, Peter	113, 114
Clark, Judy	112
Clark, Ramsey	69
Clavir, Judy (also known as Judy Gumbo)	244, 245
Clay, Robert	80
Cleaver, Eldridge	8, 72, 118-122, 124, 128, 159, 206, 215-217, 221, 244, 245
Cleaver, Kathleen Neale (Mrs. Eldridge Cleaver)	120, 217
Collins, Joe	92
Collins, Virginia (also known as Dara Abubakari)	120
Colwell, Carolyn K.	236, 237
Cooper, Mark	92
Corvalan, Luis	20
Costan, James. (See Shakur, Zayd Malik.)	
Cox, Don	118, 123
Crawford, Matt	80
Crespo, Florencio E.	14
Crouch, Paul	239
Crozier, Brian	9, 12, 43, 52, 69, 233-239
Cuthbert, S. J.	203
Cyril, Janet	120

## D

Dabney, McKinley	80
da Cruz, Anthony	12
Dane, Barbara	93
Dante. (See Buscayno, Bernabe.)	
Daoud, Abou. (See Abou Daoud.)	
Darrow, Clarence	106
Dashiell, Heather	92
Dashiell-Ben, Margot	80
Davidson, Basil	58
Davidson, Carl	91, 108
Davis, Angela	77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 134, 178, 239
Davis, Ossie	82
Davis, Rennie	108
Davis, Sallye	80
Debray, Regis	159, 175, 180
DeFreeze, Donald David (also known as Cinque, Cin and Mtume)	137, 142-147, 151, 152, 156, 157, 160-162, 169-174, 176-181, 186-188
Delgado, Marion	104
DeVilliers, H. H. W.	61
Devoto, George. (See Little, Russell.)	
Devoto, Nancy. (See Perry, Nancy Ling.)	
Dharuba, Anaye. (See Moore, Richard.)	
Dohrn, Bernardine	107, 109-116, 209, 216, 217, 245
Dohrn, Jennifer	112
Dolly, Jean Tarshis. (nee Bonner)	160
Dolpher, Albert	93
Dominguez Lopez, Jose	20
Donghi, Dianne	113, 114
Dortch, Al	80
Dortzbach, Deborah	64

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly spelled JoAnn Chisamard in this reference:

	Page
Datson, Willis.....	20, 21
Douglas, Emory.....	204
DuBois, David.....	155
Duge, David.....	135, 188, 190
Dunigan, L. A.....	80
Duran, Bellarmino J.....	236
Duvalier (Jean-Claude).....	23
Dylan, Bob.....	243

## E

Ebeid, Ibrahim.....	82
Egleson, Nicholas.....	108
Eid, Guy.....	36
Ellis, Curtis.....	80
Ellsberg, Daniel.....	105
Engels, Friedrich.....	89, 93, 109, 137, 157, 192, 193, 195
Equihua Palomares, Rafael.....	23
Ertl, Monica "Imilla".....	17
Estremera, Alberto.....	126
Estremera, Raul.....	126
Evans, Linda.....	108, 112, 113

## F

Fahizah. (See Perry, Nancy Ling.)	
Farmer, James.....	106
Farris, Carl.....	80
Fasnacht, Robert.....	103, 104
Faulkner, Stanley.....	69
Feliciano, Carlos.....	246
Fine, David S.....	104, 106
Fischer, Abram.....	61, 237
Fitzpatrick, Charles.....	239
Flatley, David.....	113
Flatley, Judith Ann Cohen.....	113, 114
Fliegelman, Ronald.....	113
Floyd, [Charles Arthur] "Pretty Boy".....	212, 213
Fonda, Jane.....	155
Foner, Henry.....	69
Foster, Gregory.....	131, 132
Foster, Marcus.....	88,
	115, 116, 135, 136, 144, 145, 159, 171, 172, 174, 178, 183, 187, 189
Franco [Francisco].....	69
Franklin, J.....	120
Franklin, O'Dell.....	80
Frappier, Jon.....	92
Freeman, Roland.....	123
Freeman, Ronald.....	123
Frelwirth, Jerry.....	92
Fruchter, Norman.....	108
Frye, Paulette.....	120
Fuente, Migual.....	90
Fuerst, John.....	113, 114
Fuller, Hoyt.....	80

## G

Gaillard, Albert.....	239
Galvez, Roberto.....	22
Garcia Salve, Francisco.....	70
Garner, Washington.....	175
Garza, Hedda.....	241
Garza, Richard.....	91, 241
Gebhardt, Robert E.....	173
Gebhart, Hans Kurt.....	13
Gelina. (See Atwood, Angela.)	
Gerassi, John.....	92, 235, 237

	Page
Ghanen, Ruvashi.....	72
Gibson, Emily.....	80
Gibson, Richard.....	237
Gilbert, David Joseph.....	113, 114
Giller, Henry.....	69
Gillis, Lester (also known as "Baby Face" Nelson.).....	212
Giovanelli, Luis.....	12
Goff, Fred P.....	18, 92
Gold, Ted.....	110, 113
Goldwater, Barry.....	171, 172, 179
Goulding, Cathal.....	66
Graham, Louis.....	127
Grathwohl, Larry.....	113
Gray, Jesse.....	79, 80, 239
Gray, L. Patrick, III.....	173, 244
Green, Gil.....	76, 239
Gregory, Dick.....	80
Griffin, Odela.....	80
Grinnon, Frank.....	80
Griswold, Deirdre (Mrs. Andrew Stapp).....	93, 241
Grubert, Arthur C.....	102, 241
Guevara, Ernesto "Che".....	124, 127
	7,
	11, 14, 16, 17, 72, 76, 92, 95, 100, 101, 108, 111, 137, 159, 175, 176,
	203, 215, 217, 231
Gumbo, Judy. (See Clavir, Judy.)	
Gunnell, Dave.....	162, 186

## H

Habash, George.....	37, 40, 42, 43, 72
Hacker, Frederick.....	173
Haddad, Wadi.....	43
Hall, Camilla Christine.....	137, 156, 157, 161, 170-172, 177, 179, 181, 182, 189
Hall, Gus.....	84, 85
Hallinan, Vincent.....	161
Halliwell, Steve.....	108
Halvonik, Paul.....	175
Hamer, Irving.....	80, 82
Handelsman, Leonard.....	113, 114
Hannay, William A.....	5
Hansen, Joseph.....	69
Harding, Mary Elizabeth.....	17, 92
Harmel, Michael (also known as Umlweli, Titshale, Terence Africanus, and A. Lerumo).....	61
Harris, Emily (Mrs. William Taylor Harris; nee Schwartz; also known as Yolanda).....	156-159, 172, 177-179, 186-189
Harris, Jodi Jeane.....	128
Harris, William Taylor.....	156-159, 172, 177-179, 186-189
Hart, Jack.....	80
Hassan II.....	39, 41
Hassan, Khaled el.....	38
Hassan, Muhammad.....	121
Hawatimah, Nayef. (See Hawatmeh, Nayef.)	
Hawatmeh, Nayef (also transliterated Naif Hawatimah).....	33, 34, 42-44
Hawkins, Lewis L.....	46, 94
Hayden, Tom.....	106, 244
Hayes, Charles Robert.....	15
Hearst, Catherine (Mrs. Randolph A. Hearst).....	173, 174, 180, 182, 183,
Hearst, Patricia Campbell (also known as Tania).....	86,
	90, 96, 98, 115, 116, 134, 136, 137, 156, 157, 160, 161, 169-183,
	186, 187, 189
Hearst, Randolph Apperson.....	86,
	88, 90, 96, 136, 137, 155, 161, 170, 171, 173-176, 179-183
Hearst, William Randolph.....	174, 180
Herzog, Edward J.....	84

	Page
Hill, Freddie	80
Hirschfeld Almada, Julio	132, 215, 231
Ho Chi Minh	243, 244
Hoffman, Abbie	125
Hogan, Frank	124
Holder, William	157, 158, 189
Holiday, James "Doc"	34
Honor, Phil	160
Hood, Bob	102, 106, 173, 204, 207, 210, 229, 237, 239, 242, 244, 246
Hoover, J. Edgar	155
Horowitz, David	120
Horowitz, Mrs. Gus. (See White, Judith.)	120
Houston, Isiah	32, 35, 37, 41
Hussein	30
Hut, Shafik el-	6
Hutchinson, Martha Crenshaw	6
I	
Iribarren, Hector A	12
J	
Jabril, Ahmed	79, 80, 239
Jackson, Esther	101, 112, 116, 123, 127, 128, 133, 134
Jackson, George	99
Jackson, Henry M.	112, 134
Jackson, Jonathan	110, 111, 243
Jacobs, Harold	109, 112, 114
Jacobs, John "J. J."	113
Jaffe, Naomi	23
Jagger, Mick	64
James, Clifford M.	80
James, Hulbert	80
Jangdarrie, Wycliffe	98, 99
Jawary, Khalid Al-	80
Jebreel, Ahmed. (See Jabril, Ahmed.)	80
Jefferson, Clifford "Death Row Jeff"	158, 159, 162, 172, 174, 182
Jenness, Linda	91
Jibril, Ahmed. (See Jabril, Ahmed.)	80
Jihad Mohammed. (See Arid, Shafik Al.)	80
Johnican, Minerva	120
Johnson, Jackie	80
Johnson, Leon	121, 131
Jones, Bernice (Mrs. Twymon Meyers; also known as Aiyada Katara)	108, 109, 111, 112
Jones, Jeffrey "Jeff"	121
Jones, Nathaniel	124, 132
Jones, Waverly	113
Josefowicz, Linda	125
Joseph, Eddie	80
Junior, Charles	113, 114
Justesen, Michael Thomas	113, 114
K	
Kaddourah, Tallal Khaled (also referred to as Khantouran Palaal; pseudonym: Talat Hussein)	38, 39
Kalliat, Nabil	30
Karenga, Ron	135
Kast, Rene F.	20, 21
Katara, Aiyada. (See Jones, Bernice.)	121
Katara, Obayana	64
Kayce, Powers W., Jr.	177
Kelley, Clarence M.	182
Kelley, John	174
Kellogg, Mary Alice	36, 99
Kennedy, Robert F.	68
Kenny, Sean	68

	Page
Kerkow, Linda	124
Khadoumi, Farouk. (See Abu Lutf, Abas.)	124
Khalaf, Salah (pseudonym: Abou Iyad)	30, 35, 37, 99
Kim Il Sung	215
King, Martin Luther	171
Kinoy, Arthur	107
Kirk, Gerald Wayne	239
Kissinger, Henry	40, 44, 99, 102
Kitson, Frank	203
Kleber, Roberto F.	16
Klonsky, Mike	109
Knox, Clinton E.	22, 23
Kotane, Moses	60
Krassner, Paul	243
Kunstler, William	107

## L

Lain, Domingo	21
Lampe, Keith	243
Lanusse, Alejandro	91
Lara, Lucio	52
Laun, Alfred A., III	16
Laurie, Rocco	131, 132
Laventer, Mark	113
Leary, Timothy	111, 245
Le Bron, Lolita. (See Bron, Lolita Le.)	111, 245
Leballo, Potlako	62
Ledbetter, Les	127
Ledworth, Lynn <sup>1</sup>	133
Lencl, Mark	113
Lenin [V. I.]	63, 76, 89, 93, 100, 157, 159, 194-196, 198
Leonhardy, Terrence G.	24
Lerumo, A. (See Harmel, Michael.)	128
Luce, Jomo Donreed	189
Lindberg, Ann	106
Lippmann, Walter	186
Little, JoAnn	186
Little, Russell (also known as George Devoto and Osceola)	135, 136, 145, 157-160, 162, 172, 174, 178-180, 186-188, 190
Locker, Mike	92
Lockwood, Charles A.	13
London, Jack	106
Long, Gerry	109
Louis, Victor	68
Lubenow, Gerald C.	175
Lucy, William	80
Ludvik, Jose	15
Lumer, Hyman	77
Lumumba, Patrice	132
Lyttle, Bradford	74, 75
Lutuli [Albert John]	62

## M

Mac Giolla, Thomas	66
Machel, Samora	55
Machtiger, Howard "Howie"	109, 112-114
MacStiofain, Sean	67
Macy, Robert	179
Magee, Ruchell	128
Magsaysay, Ramon	74
Magubane, Bernard	80
Mahler, Horst	65
Makarios	38
Makiwane, Tennyson	62

<sup>1</sup> Sources state this name used by Emily Harris and also Nancy Ling Perry.

	Page
Malcolm X	123, 125, 132, 159, 171
Malik, Sha Sha. (See Brown, Henry "Sha Sha".)	60-62
Mandela, Nelson	74
Manglapus, Raul S.	110
Manson [Charles]	19, 49, 59, 87, 107, 109, 132, 159, 215, 219, 231
Mao Tse-tung	74
Marcos [Ferdinand E.]	163
Mari Bras, Juan	132, 159, 191, 202-204
Marighella, Carlos	30, 34, 234, 235
Mark, Clyde R.	170, 177
Markoff, Peter	60
Marks, J. B.	13
Martin, Ian	89, 93, 109, 137, 157, 159, 192, 193, 195, 219
Marx, Karl	125
Mason, Irving "Butch"	82
Matteos, Sulahudin	175
May, Jonathan	80
McCantz, Ronald	114
McCullough, Celeste	80
McKinney, Vermont	125
McNair, Jean	125
McNair, Melvin	98
McNamara, Robert	22
Mein, John G.	7, 65
Meinhof, Ulrike	99
Meir [Golda]	114
Meisel, Lisa (Mrs. Rober, Burlingham)	109
Mellen, Jim	123
Melville, Sam	80
Mercodel, Kavin	131
Meyers, Twymon	82, 83
Meyers, Mrs. Twymon. (See Jones, Bernice.)	73
Mhlanibiso, Thami	79, 80, 239
Misuari, Nur	26
Mitchell, Charlene	53
Mitrione, Daniel	55
Mizmoon. (See Soltysik, Patricia.)	52, 53
Mobutu, Joseph	78
Mondlane, Eduardo	36
Monimambo, Spartacus	117, 125, 128, 130
Monteiro, Anthony	203
Moore, George Curtis	46
Moore, Richard (also known as Anaye Dharuba)	80
Moss, Robert	120
Mossadeq [Mohammed]	93
Mtume. (See De Freeze, Donald David.)	81
Mudzi, Mukudzei	127
Mullings, Leith	178
Mumia	99
Murdock, Caleb	27
Murphy, George	38
Murphy, Patrick V.	81
Murphy, Reg	23
Murray, Nora	59, 82
	93, 241
	41
	81
	23
	59, 82
	93, 241
	41
	81
	41
	81

## N

Nagel, Kurt	27
Najar, Mohammed Youssef (also known as Abu Yussef)	38
Najiola, Melika A.	81
Napolean, Raymond	23
Ndlovu, Edward	59, 82
Nebbia, Selva	93, 241
Nelson, "Baby Face". (See Gillis, Lester.)	41
Nelson, Clifford R.	81
Nesbitt, Lendor C.	81

## N

	Page
Nesbitt, Prexy	81
Nesbitt, Rozell Rufus	81
Neto, Agostinho	51-53, 56
Neufeld, Peter	113
Neufeld, Russell	113, 114
Newton, Huey P.	73, 117, 118, 120-122, 134, 177, 178, 215
Nimeiry [Gaafar al.]	36
Nixon, [Richard M.]	44, 172, 179
Nkomo, Joshua	59
Nkomo, Juana	81
Noel, Cleo A., Jr.	36
Nujoma, Sam	63
Nzula, Albert	60

## O

O'Brady, Rory	67
Odeh, Mohammed Daud. (See Abou Daoud.)	163
Ojeda Rios, Filiberto	120
Oliver, Denise	119
O'Neal, Felix "Pete"	24
Ortiz Vides, Ignacio	81
Osceola. (See Little, Russell.)	57
Osei, Nareshiamh.	110, 113, 217
Osman, Mahgoug	170, 177
Oughton, Diana	170, 177
Outlander, Ken	170, 177

## P

Pahlavi, Mohammed Reza	94
Paige, Frank	81
Palaal, Khantouran. (See Kaddourah, Tallal Khaled.)	81
Palmer, Lu	113
Panken, Wendy	202
Parados, Nick	25, 26
Patterson, John	25
Patterson, John [Mrs.]	79, 81, 82, 239
Patterson, William L.	81
Patton-Woods, Gwen	64
Paulea, Motta	81
Payne, Janis	93, 241
Pepper, Lew	75
Perlo, Victor	10, 14, 19, 95
Peron, Juan D.	179
Perry, Gilbert Scott	133,
Perry, Nancy Ling (also known as Nancy Devoto and Fahizah)	135, 136, 144, 156, 158, 159, 162, 169-172, 176-179, 186-189
Piagentini, Joseph	124, 132
Pittman, John	79, 81, 239
Podgorny, Nikolai	57
Pomeroy, Celia (Mrs. William Pomeroy; nee Mariano)	74
Pomeroy, William J.	74, 191
Posadas, Juan	19
Powell, Jeffrey	114
Powell, William	202
Pratt, Elmer Gerard "Geronimo"	117, 120-123, 128, 130
Procurier, Raymond	177

## Q

Qaddafi, <sup>2</sup> Muammar el-	36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 67
Qualls, Augustus	125
Quijada, Hermes	12

<sup>1</sup> Appears as Agostino in this reference.

<sup>2</sup> Also transliterated 'Qadhañ, Khaddafl, el-Qaddafi, Kadafl, Quaddafi, Quaddafl, Quadafl, etc.

	Page
R	
Rabell Martinez, Narciso	164
Rabouine, Leo	81
Ray, Scottie	113
Real, Mark	16
Reducto, Mario	135,
Remiro, Joseph Michael (also known as "Bo")	156, 158-160, 162, 172, 174, 178-180, 187-189
	46
Reza, Reza	12
Rin, Naemi Baruj de la	109-113
Robbins, Terry	51, 53
Roberto, Holden	15
Roberts, Douglas G.	91
Rodriguez, Elena	81
Rogers, Harold	99
Rogers, William P.	20
Romero, Alejandro	233
Romerstein, Herbert	113, 114
Roth, Robert	76
Rothstein, Andrew	105
Rowen, Jim	243-245
Rubin, Jerry	108, 109, 112-114, 217
Rudd, Mark	26
Rueda Saucedo, Vincente	79, 81, 239
Russell, Carlos	105
Russo, Jr., Anthony J.	
S	
Sabah, Sabah el-	39
Sadat, Anwar	44
Sallustro, Oberdan	91
Samuelson, Victor	15
Santucho, Maria Roberto (also known as Roberto Santucho)	10, 15
	54
Savimbi, Jonas	244
Savio, Mario	169, 170, 176
Saxbe, William	188
Scalise, Robert James	11
Scalmazzi, Gerardo	14
Schmid, Kurt	69
Schmidt, Eric	71
Schmitz, John George	113
Schneller, Deborah Stern	18, 20
Schouwen, Bautista von	84, 85
Scott, Arthur "Art"	81
Scott, Bill	160
Seale, Bobby	127
Seedman, Albert A.	5, 6
Seligman, Edwin R. A.	18
Sepulveda, Enrique	128
Shabazz, Asia	81
Shabazz, K.	120
Shakur, Afeni	
Shakur, Assata. (See Chesimard, Joanne Deborah.)	131-134
Shakur, Zayd Malik (also known as James Costan)	170, 177, 181
Shea, Edward E.	175
Shields, Nelson T.	160
Siem, Mary Alice Landles	93
Silber, Irwin	82
Silver, John	92
Silver, Lynn	187
Silverman, Vera	131
Simmons, Harold	81
Simmons, Judi	173
Simon, Paul	243
Sinclair, John	106
Sinclair, Upton	125
Singleton, Harry	

	Page
Sirhan, Sharif Bishara	99
Sirhan, Sirhan B.	36
Sison, Jose Maria	73, 75
Sithole, N.	59
Skardis, John	114
Small, Pat	113
Smith, Benjamin E.	107
Smith, James D.	170
Smith, Mary	81
Smith, Ray	81
Smith, Roberta	113, 114
Soberanis Otero, Raymundo	25
Sobukwe, Mangaliso	62
Sofovich, Bernardo F.	14
Soltysik, Mizmoon (also known as Patricia and Zoya)	137,
	156, 157, 161, 169-172, 176-179, 186, 187, 189, 190
Soto, Tom. (See Soto, Tomas Acosta.)	
Soto, Tomas Acosta (also known as Tom Soto)	11
Sparks, Raymond	159
Spiegel, Michael "Mike"	112-114
Spielman, Jane	113
Squire, Clark Edward (also known as Sundiata Hashashim Zayd Acoli)	131,
	132, 134, 160
Staar, Richard F.	46, 73, 235, 240, 246
Stafford, Willie	120
Stalin [Joseph]	109, 132
Stapp, Andrew	95, 96, 102
Stapp, Deirdre. (See Griswold, Deirdre.)	
Starke, Virginia	128
Stein, Barry	114
Stein, David Lewis	243, 244
Steinberg, Marsha	113
Steiner, Robyn	157, 162, 177, 186, 187
Stevens, Jose	79, 81, 239
Stevens, Victoria	79, 81, 239
Stirner, Maxwell	155
Swarthout, Robert	113
Swift, Janet Landles	160, 161
Swift, Sam	160, 161
Swint, John A.	14
T	
Tabor, Michael "Cetewayo"	117
Taheri [Saeed]	46
Tal, Wasfi	35, 38
Talat Hussein. (See Kaddourah, Tallal Khaled.)	
Tambo, Oliver	62, 82, 83
Tania. (See Hearst, Patricia.)	
Tappis, Steve	109
Tate, Sharon	110
Taylor, Albert	159
Taylor, Lola	81
Thakin Ba Thien Tin. (See Thakin Than Tun.)	
Thakin Than Tun (also known as Thakin Ba Thien Tin)	71
Thompson, Chris	177, 186, 189
Thompson, John R.	13
Thompson, Neil O.	131
Tillerson, Joyce	125
Tillman, Johnnie	81
Titshale. (See Harniel, Michael.)	
Todd, Edward	81
Torre, Edicio de la	73
Torres, Edwin	126

\* In this reference appears incorrectly as Mark Squire.

	Page
Torres, Elvin.....	126
Toussaint L'Ouverture, Pierre Dominique.....	123
Trotsky, Leon.....	18, 66, 89
Truman (Harry S).....	163
Turner, Nat.....	115, 123
Twomey, Seamus.....	67
Tyner, Jarvis.....	79, 81, 239

## U

Umlweli. (See Harmel, Michael.)

## V

Valdez, Jose.....	18
Valenzuela, Humberto.....	18
Vann, David R.....	126
Vasquez Castano, Antonio.....	21
Vasquez Castano, Fabio.....	21
Vasquez Castano, Manuel.....	21
Vasquez Rojas, Genaro.....	23
Vesey, Denmark.....	123
Vitale, Luis.....	20

## W

Wah Chan, Jean.....	162, 186
Waiss, Oscar.....	18
Wallace, Lawrence.....	121
Walser, Martin.....	121
Washington, Oscar.....	126
Wederfort, Don.....	64
Weed, Steven Andrew.....	136, 173-176, 178, 180, 182, 189
Weiss, Lawrence "Larry".....	112, 114
Westbrook, Colston.....	162, 177, 183
Wheeler, Thero M.....	88, 160, 161, 177-179, 187, 188
White, Judith (Mrs. Gus Horowitz).....	93
White, Terry.....	175
Wilkerson, Cathlyn P.....	108, 110, 113, 114, 217
Wilkie, David B.....	14
Williams, Anthony Duncan.....	24, 25
Williams, Cecil.....	81, 175
Williams, Hosea.....	81
Willis, Agnes.....	81
Willis, Clarence.....	81
Willis, Stan.....	81
Winston, Henry.....	79, 81-83, 239
Wolfe, L. F.....	189
Wolfe, William Layton "Willie" (also known as Cujo).....	135, 156, 157, 159-162, 172, 177, 178, 180, 183-190
Woodford, John.....	81
Wright, Candice.....	236
Wright, Morris J.....	236

## Y

Yeamans, Robin M.....	135
Younger, Evelle.....	173

## Z

Zadunaisky, Daniel.....	91
Zhuwvra, Essiah.....	60
Zilsel, Joanna.....	113, 114

## ORGANIZATIONS

## A

AAIA. (See Afro-American Liberation Army.)
ACNR. (See Asociacion Civica Nacional Revolucionaria.)
ALN. (See Acao Libertadora Nacional.)
ANC. (See African National Congress.)

	Page
Acao Libertadora Nacional (ALN) (National Liberation Action) (Brazil).....	17
Africa Information Service (New York, N. Y.).....	65, 81 <sup>1</sup>
Africa Research Group.....	56
African American Solidarity Committee (Chicago, Ill.).....	81
African Liberation Committee (ALC). (See entry under Organization of African Unity.)	
African National Congress (ANC) (South Africa).....	50, 59-62, 77, 78, 82-84
African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. (See Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine Portuguesa e das Ilhas de Cabo Verde.)	
Afro-American Exhibits (Memphis, Tenn.).....	81
Afro-American History and Cultural Society, Inc.....	80
Afro-American Liberation Army (see also Black Liberation Army, Black Panther Party (faction headed by Eldridge Cleaver).)	
Attica Brigade.....	120-124, 202
Toure Cadre.....	200
Afro-American Solidarity Committee (Chicago, Ill.).....	120
Al Fatah. (See Fatah, Al.)	
Al Iqab. (See Iqab, Al.)	
Al Sa'iq. (See Sa'iq, Al.)	
Algeria, Government of.....	119, 120, 124, 125
Alpha Cell of 23d of September Communist League. (See entry under Twenty-third of September Communist League.)	
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).....	175
New York.....	128
American Committee on Africa.....	83
American Documentary Films.....	56
American Evangelical Church.....	64
American Friends of Brazil.....	18
American Friends of Guatemala.....	22
American Friends of the Filipino People.....	75
American Indian Movement.....	131, 155
American Machine and Foundry.....	100, 102
American Nazi Party.....	214
American Servicemen's Union.....	102
American University (Beirut, Lebanon).....	42, 43
Americans for Justice.....	8, 100
Amoco Argentina Oil Co.....	14
Angola Political Council.....	53
Anti-Imperialist Committee (Chicago, Ill.).....	83
Anti-Imperialist Journalism Project.....	56
Anti-Japanese People's Army. (See Huks (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon).)	
Arab League.....	30
Arab Liberation Front.....	29, 33
Arab National Movement.....	42, 43
Argentina, Government of.....	9, 10, 14
Argentine Liberation Forces. (See Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberacion.)	
Argentine Liberation Forces, August 22 faction. (See Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberacion (August 22).)	
Argentine Liberation Forces, May 29 faction. (See Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberacion (May 29).)	
Argentine Socialist Party. (See Partido Socialista Argentino.)	
Armed Forces of National Liberation. (See Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional.)	
Armed Liberation Commandos. (See Comandos Armadas de Liberacion.)	
Armed Rebel Independence Movement. (See Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado.)	
Armed Revolutionary Forces of the People. (See Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas del Pueblo.)	
Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement. (See Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado.)	
Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC). (See University of Wisconsin.)	
Army of National Liberation. (See Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional.)	

<sup>1</sup> In this reference appears as African Information Service.

Asociacion Civica Nacional Revolucionaria (ACNR) (National Civic Revolutionary Association) (Mexico)-----	Page 7, 23
Associated Press-----	100
Association of Afro-American Studies (Harvard-Radcliffe)-----	80
August Seventh Guerrilla Movement (ASGM)-----	136
August 22 faction of Armed Liberation Forces. (See Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (August 22).)	
August 22 faction of People's Revolutionary Army (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo.) (See Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (August 22).)	45
Austria, Government of-----	81
Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union, United, Local 664 (Tarrytown, N. Y.)-----	

## B

BAMM. (See Black Afro Militant Movement.)	
BLA. (See Black Liberation Army.)	
BPP. (See Black Panther Party.)	
BSO. (See Black September Organization.)	
Baader-Meinhof Gang. (See Rote Armee Fraktion.)	46
Baluchi Liberation Movement (Iran)-----	100, 111
Bank of America-----	45
Beirut, Lebanon-----	14
Buenos Aires, Argentina-----	16
Bank of London and South America-----	
Basque Nation and Freedom. (See Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna.)	68
Basque Nationalist Party-----	43
Ba'th Party (Syria)-----	80
Berkeley Black Caucus-----	244
Berkeley Free Speech Movement-----	243, 244
Berkeley Tribe Editorial Collective-----	8, 101
Black Afro Militant Movement (BAMM)-----	80
Black American Law Students Association, DePauw University chapter-----	88
Black Cultural Association (BCA) (California Medical Facility, Vacaville)-----	157, 160, 162, 178, 180, 183-187
Black Guerrilla Family-----	128, 133, 134, 155, 157, 158, 189
Black Labor Leaders (Chicago, Ill.)-----	80, 81
Black Liberation Army (see also Afro-American Liberation Army and Black Panther Party (faction headed by Eldridge Cleaver).)	26,
Black Panther Party (faction headed by Eldridge Cleaver)-----	97, 121-134, 155, 158, 160, 200, 202, 203
Black Panther Party (nationally without regard to factions)-----	42,
Black Panther Party (nationally without regard to factions)-----	72, 104, 117, 118, 121-125, 155, 178, 202, 203, 208, 209, 214-217,
Black Panther Party (nationally without regard to factions)-----	219, 221, 223-225, 230, 231, 243-245
International Section (Algiers) (also referred to as Intercommunal Section)-----	118, 245
Kansas City, Mo., branch-----	119
Memphis, Tenn-----	81
Black Panther Party (faction headed by Eldridge Cleaver)-----	8,
Black Panther Party (faction headed by Eldridge Cleaver)-----	72, 117-122, 124, 125, 128, 131, 199, 205, 206
International Section (Algiers)-----	117, 119, 216
See also:	
Afro-American Liberation Army.	
Black Liberation Army.	
Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network.	
Black Panther Party (faction headed by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale)-----	72,
Black Panther Party (faction headed by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale)-----	85, 117, 118, 120, 121, 155, 160, 177
Black Revolutionary Assault Team-----	8, 100
Black September Organization (BSO)-----	7,
Black September Organization (BSO)-----	31, 32, 34-38, 40-42, 66, 98, 99, 130, 158
Black Social Workers, National Association of, Los Angeles chapter-----	80
Black Students Organization, Northwestern University. (See For Members Only.)	
Black Students Union, University of Kentucky-----	81
Black Teachers' Caucus-----	155

1 Also transliterated Baath Party

Black (Weusi) News Service-----	Page 128
Black Women and Men (Los Angeles, Calif.)-----	80
Bolivia, Government of-----	10, 17
Bolshevik Party. (See Russian Social-Democrat Labor Party.)	
Brewery Workers, Citywide (New York, N. Y.)-----	81
Brigada Campesina de Ajusticiamiento (Peasant Brigade for Justice or Peasant Brigade of Justice) (Mexico)-----	24
British and American Tobacco Co.-----	12
Brooklyn College-----	81
Brothers United-----	102
Burma Communist Party (BCP) (also known as White Flag Communists) (see also Communist Party of Burma)-----	71
Burma, Government of-----	71

## C

CAL. (See Comandos Armados de Liberacion.)	
CCP/ML. (See Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.)	
California, Government of:	
Attorney General's office, Bomb Data Analysis Center-----	103
Department of Corrections-----	112, 177
California Institution for Men (Chino)-----	88
California Medical Facility (Vacaville)-----	89,
California Medical Facility (Vacaville)-----	157, 159, 161, 162, 171, 172, 174, 178, 179, 182-187
California Men's Colony (San Luis Obispo)-----	111, 158, 189
Correctional Training Facility (Soledad)-----	116,
Correctional Training Facility (Soledad)-----	161, 162, 171, 178, 179, 185, 186
Folsom Prison (Represa)-----	151, 152, 159
San Quentin Prison-----	128, 133, 157, 174, 189
Los Angeles Police Department:	
Special weapons and tactics units (SWAT)-----	129, 156
Caltex-Mobil refinery (Zahrani, Lebanon)-----	45
Catalan Liberation Front. (See Front d'Alliberament Catala.)	
Center for Cuban Studies-----	56
Chabot Gun Club-----	189
Charles Manson family-----	110
Chile, Government of-----	19-21, 87, 92, 93
Chile Solidarity Committee (United States)-----	19
China, People's Republic of, Government of-----	50, 51, 71, 84, 216
Chino Defense Committee-----	158, 179, 184
Christians for National Liberation (Philippines)-----	73
Church Project on U.S. Investments in Southern Africa-----	83
Citizens Committee To Demilitarize Industry-----	8, 100
Coalition of National Liberation Brigades-----	23
Coca-Cola Bottling Co-----	12, 14
Coca-Cola Export Co-----	13
Columbia University-----	108
Comandos Armados de Liberacion (CAL) (Armed Liberation Commandos) (Puerto Rico)-----	163
Comite Revolucionario de Mocambique (Coremo) (Mozambique Revolutionary Committee)-----	50, 55
Commission of Racial Justice, United Church of Christ. (See United Church of Christ, Commission of Racial Justice.)	
Committee for a Free Mozambique-----	56
Committee for Legal Assistance in the South (CLAS)-----	107
Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV)-----	56
Committee To Defend Carlos Feliciano-----	246
Committee To Support Middle East Liberation-----	47, 93
Communist Party:	
Bolivia. (See Partido Comunista de Bolivia.)	
Brazil. (See Communist Party of Brazil and Revolutionary Communist Party, Brazil.)	
Burma (See Burma Communist Party and Communist Party of Burma.)	

Communist Party—Continued		Page
Chile ( <i>see also</i> Left Communist Party, Chile; and Partido Comunista de Chile)	-----	18
China, People's Republic of	-----	69
Cuba	-----	17
France	-----	53
India. ( <i>See</i> Communist Party of India.)	-----	
Iran. ( <i>See</i> Tudeh Party and Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party.)	-----	
Ireland. ( <i>See</i> Communist Party of Ireland.)	-----	
Italy	-----	30
Jordan	-----	31
Korea. ( <i>See</i> Korean Workers Party.)	-----	
Malaya	-----	77
Philippines. ( <i>See</i> Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.)	-----	
South Africa. ( <i>See</i> South African Communist Party.)	-----	
Soviet Union	-----	69
Spain	-----	68, 70
Sudan. ( <i>See</i> Sudanese Communist Party.)	-----	
Sweden. ( <i>See</i> Left Party-Communists.)	-----	
Communist Party of Brazil	-----	204
Communist Party of Burma (also known as Red Flag Communists) ( <i>see also</i> Burma Communist Party)	-----	238
Communist Party of India (CPI)	-----	63
Communist Party of Ireland	-----	66, 67
Communist Party of the Philippines. ( <i>See</i> Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas) (PKP).	-----	
Communist Party of the Philippines (Marxist-Leninist). ( <i>See</i> Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.)	-----	
Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA)	-----	7,
20, 34, 46, 47, 50, 55, 69, 74-79, 81-85, 87, 93, 95, 96, 107, 154,	-----	173, 191, 219, 222, 236
Black Liberation Commission	-----	239
Central Committee	-----	77, 79
Jewish Affairs Commission	-----	77
National Committee	-----	76
National Council	-----	79
Political Commission	-----	79
Conference Board, The	-----	98
Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, First Conference	-----	63
Congo, Democratic Republic of, Government of. ( <i>See</i> Zaire, Government of.)	-----	
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)	-----	106, 107
Conspiracy, The	-----	243
Continuations Committee of National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation ( <i>see also</i> National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation)	-----	83
Continuations Committee of the Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students ( <i>see also</i> entry under World Youth Festival)	-----	80
Coremo. ( <i>See</i> Comitê Revolucionario de Mocambique.)	-----	
Corn Products	-----	22
Crazies, The	-----	245
Cuba, Government of	-----	17, 24, 116, 163
Mission to United Nations	-----	163

## D

Daimler-Benz A. G.	-----	14
Delta Air Lines, Inc.	-----	125
Democratic Coalition (Memphis, Tenn.)	-----	80
Democratic Party, National Convention	-----	108, 243, 244
DePauw University, Black American Law Students Association. ( <i>See</i> Black American Law Students Association, DePauw University chapter.)	-----	
Dev Gen (Revolutionary Youth) (popular name for the Turkish Revolutionary Youth Federation)	-----	47
Dominican People's Movement. ( <i>See</i> Movimiento Popular Dominicano.)	-----	
Dominican Revolutionary Party. ( <i>See</i> Partido Revolucionario Dominicano.)	-----	

	Page	
Dominican Revolutionary Student Union	-----	22
DuSable Museum (Chicago, Ill.)	-----	80

## E

ELN (Bolivia). ( <i>See</i> Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (Bolivia).)	-----	
ELN (Colombia). ( <i>See</i> Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (Colombia).)	-----	
ELN (Peru). ( <i>See</i> Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (Peru).)	-----	
EPICA. ( <i>See</i> entry under National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.)	-----	
EPL. ( <i>See</i> Ejercito Popular de Liberacion.)	-----	
ERP. ( <i>See</i> Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo.)	-----	
ERP (August 22 faction). ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (August 22 faction).)	-----	
ETA. ( <i>See</i> Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna.)	-----	
ETA(V). ( <i>See</i> Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (V).)	-----	
ETA(VI). ( <i>See</i> Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI).)	-----	
Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution Movement	-----	45
East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives	-----	8, 101, 102
Eastman Kodak Co.	-----	9, 12
Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA). ( <i>See</i> entry under National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.)	-----	
Egypt, Arab Republic of, Government of	-----	30
Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN) (National Liberation Army) (Bolivia)	-----	7, 11, 15-17, 19, 26, 92
Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN) (National Liberation Army) (Colombia)	-----	20, 21
Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN) (National Liberation Army) (Peru)	-----	26
Ejercito Popular de Liberacion (EPL) (People's Liberation Army) (Colombia)	-----	20
Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) (People's Revolutionary Army) (Argentina)	-----	7-17, 19, 26, 90, 91, 95, 136
Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (August 22 faction). ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (August 22 faction).)	-----	
El Al	-----	37, 38, 44
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, United	-----	80
Ellis' Book Stores	-----	80
Embata (France)	-----	65
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee	-----	91
Eritrean Liberation Committee	-----	64
Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) (Ethiopia)	-----	42, 64, 72, 88
Eritreans for Liberation (New York, N.Y.)	-----	64
Eso Argentina	-----	15
Ethiopia, Government of	-----	64
Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA) (Basque Nation and Freedom)	-----	65, 67-69
Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (V) (Basque Nation and Freedom, Five faction)	-----	69
Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI) (Basque Nation and Freedom, Six faction)	-----	69
Exxon Corp.	-----	15

## F

FAC. ( <i>See</i> Front d'Alliberament Catala.)	-----	
FAL. ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion.)	-----	
FAL August 22. ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (August 22).)	-----	
FAL May 29. ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (May 29).)	-----	
FALN. ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional.)	-----	
FAP. ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas.)	-----	
FAR (Argentina). ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias, Argentina.)	-----	
FAR (Guatemala). ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes, Guatemala.)	-----	
FARC. ( <i>See</i> Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia.)	-----	
FED. ( <i>See</i> Federacion de Estudiantes Dominicanos.)	-----	
FLB. ( <i>See</i> Front de Liberation de la Bretagne.)	-----	
FNLA. ( <i>See</i> Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola.)	-----	
FRA. ( <i>See</i> Frente Revolucionaria Anti-imperialista.)	-----	

	Page
FRAP. (See Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas del Pueblo.)	
FUZ. (See Frente Urbano Zapatista.)	
Farm Workers National Union, United, AFL-CIO	160
Fatah, Al (Movement for the Liberation of Palestine)	29,
30, 32-39, 47, 77, 93, 99, 119, 216,	231
Jihaz al-Rasd	35
Federacion de Estudiantes Dominicanos (FED) (Federation of Dominican Students)	21
Federation of Dominican Students. (See Federacion de Estudiantes Dominicanos.)	
Fiat-Concord	16
Fiat S.P.A.	91
Firestone Tire and Rubber Co.	13, 14
First National Bank of Boston (Rosario, Argentina)	11
Fling. (See Frente para a Libertacao e Independencia da Guine Portuguesa.)	
For Members Only (Black Students Organization, Northwestern University)	80
Ford Motor Co.	12, 14, 15
Fourth International. (See International, IV.)	
Free Ireland. (See Saor Eire.)	
Free School (see also Free University)	241
Free Speech Movement (University of California, Berkeley)	
Free University (see also Free School)	
Free Wales Army	
Frelimo. (See Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique.)	
Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique (Frelimo) (Mozambique Front)	50, 54, 55, 59, 61, 67
Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (FNJ) (National Liberation of Angola)	
Frente para a Libertacao e Independencia de Guinea Portuguesa (Front for the Liberation and Independence of Portuguese Guinea)	
Frente Revolucionaria Anti-imperialista (FRA) (Revolutionary Anti-imperialist Front)	
Frente Urbano Zapatista (FUZ) (Zapata Urban Front) (Mexico)	
Friends of Haiti	
Friends of the Filipino People	
Frolizi. (See Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe.)	
Front d'Alliberament Catala (FAC) (Catalan Liberation Front) (Spain)	8
Front de Liberation de la Bretagne (FLB) (Front for the Liberation of Brittany) (France)	65, 67
Front for the Liberation and Independence of Portuguese Guinea. (See Frente para a Libertacao e Independencia de Guine Portuguesa.)	
Front for the Liberation of Brittany. (See Front de Liberation de la Bretagne.)	
Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi)	60
Frontino Gold Mines	20, 21
Fruity Rudy's	172, 184
Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberacion (FAL) (Argentine Liberation Forces). (See Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion.)	
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (FAL) (Armed Liberation Forces) (Argentina) (also referred to as Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberacion (Argentine Liberation Forces))	9, 12
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (August 22) (FAL August 22) (Armed Liberation Forces, August 22 faction)	9, 13, 14
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (May 29) (FAL May 29) (Armed Liberation Forces, May 29 faction)	9
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) (Armed Forces of National Liberation) (Venezuela)	27
Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas (FAP) (Peronist Armed Forces) (Argentina)	9,
10, 14, 16	
Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (FAR) (Rebel Armed Forces) (Guatemala)	22, 24
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (FAR) (Revolutionary Armed Forces) (Argentina)	9
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)	20

<sup>1</sup> Appears as Finla in one reference.

Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas del Pueblo (FRAP) (Armed Revolutionary Forces of the People or People's Revolutionary Armed Forces) (Mexico)	Page 24
Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union. (See entry under Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated (AFL-CIO).)	
G	
GIS. (See Illinois, Government of, Chicago Police Department, Gang Intelligence Section.)	
GRAE. (See Governo Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio.)	
General Electric Co.	
General Motors Corp.	102
General Tire and Rubber	13
Glide Memorial Church (San Francisco, Calif.)	135
Goodyear Rubber Co.	81, 155
Governo Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio (GRAE) (Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile) (see also Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola)	12
Great Britain, Government of. (See United Kingdom, Government of.)	50-52, 54
Greece, Government of	
Grupo Trotskista Venezolano (Venezuelan Trotskyist Group)	38
Gulf Oil Corp.	90
	53, 58
H	
Haiti, Government of	
Harlem Street Academy	23
Harrisburg Anti-Imperialist Committee in Solidarity with African Liberation	80, 82
Harvard University, Center for International Affairs	83
Hearst Corp.	100
Hearst Foundation	136, 174, 179, 180
Heroes of the Return	179
Hizb-eTudeh Iran. (See Tudeh Party.)	42
Hoover Vacuum Conspiracy	
Hukbalahap. (See Huks.)	
Huks (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon or Hukbalahap) (Anti-Japanese People's Army) (Philippines)	8, 100
Huks (Hukbo ng Mapagpalaya ng Bayan) (People's Liberation Army) (Philippines)	73, 74
	73, 74
I	
IRA. (See Irish Republican Army.)	
Illinois, Government of, Chicago Police Department, Gang Intelligence Section (GIS)	
Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement. (See Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario.)	129
Institute for Policy Studies	
Institute for the Study of Conflict	92
Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS)	9, 66, 67
International, IV (Fourth International)	106
International Committee	7, 10, 11, 18, 68, 69, 89, 90
International Secretariat (Posadists)	240
Latin America Bureau	19
Ninth World Congress, 1969	240
Tenth World Congress, February 1974, Sweden	89
United Secretariat	10, 69
International Labor Organization	18-20, 69, 89, 90, 240
International Liberation School (Berkeley, Calif.)	79
International Marxist Group (IMG) (Great Britain)	116, 243, 244
International Mining Co.	68
International Publishers	21
International Telephone and Telegraph Corp.	191, 195, 196
Internationalist Communist Organization. (See Organization Communiste Internationaliste.)	112, 114
Iqab, Al (the "Punishment" group)	40, 41, 45

	Page
Iran, Government of.....	46
Iranian Students Association in the United States of America (ISAUSA).....	46, 47
Iraq, Government of.....	29
Irish Congress of Trade Unions.....	67
Irish Northern Aid Committee (United States).....	66, 67
Irish Republic Army (IRA).....	7, 41, 42, 65, 66, 72, 99
Irish Republican Army (Provisionals or Provos).....	66-68
Irish Republican Army (Officials or Regulars).....	66-68
Irish Republican Clubs (IRC) (United States).....	66, 67
Irish Solidarity Campaign (ISC).....	68
Irish Volunteers.....	66
Islamic Libyan Revolutionary Command Council. (See entry under Libya, Government of.)	
Israel, Government of:.....	35, 38
Embassy, Bangkok, Thailand.....	99
Embassy, Washington, D.C.....	
Italian Red Brigade. (See Red Brigade.)	
Italo-Argentine Electric Co.....	12
J	
Japan, Government of.....	72
Embassy, Kuwait.....	73
Embassy, Washington, D.C.....	71
Japanese Socialist Student League.....	
Japanese United Red Army. (See Rengo Sekigun.)	
Jihaz al-Rasd. (See entry under Fatah, Al.)	
Joint Military Command (of ZANU and ZAPU).....	60
Jordan, Government of.....	32, 35, 37, 99
K	
KDP. (See Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino.)	
KLM Royal Dutch Airlines.....	40, 41
KPFA-FM.....	135
Kabataang Makabayan (KM) (Nationalist Youth) (Philippines).....	73
Kaiser Industries.....	135
Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) (Union of Democratic Filipinos) (United States).....	75 <sup>2</sup>
Kent State University.....	113, 114
Kentucky Political Prisoners Committee.....	80
Khmer Rouge (Cambodia).....	71
Korean Workers Party.....	102
Ku Klux Klan (KKK).....	202, 214
L	
LCA. (See Liga de Comunistas Armados.)	
LCR. (See Liga Comunista Revolucionaria.)	
LCR-ETA (VI). (See Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI).)	
Lambertists. (See Organization Communiste Internationaliste.)	
Lao People's Liberation Army (Pathet Lao).....	71
Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO or OLAS).....	92, 108
League for Industrial Democracy (LID) (see also Student League for Industrial Democracy).....	106, 107
League of Armed Communists. (See Liga de Comunistas Armados.)	
Lebanese Revolutionary Guard.....	45
Lebanese Socialist Revolutionary Movement.....	45
Lebanon, Government of.....	34, 44
Left Communist Party (Chile).....	18
Left Party—Communists (VKP) (Sweden).....	55
Liberation News Service.....	110, 222, 223
Liberation Support Movement (Canada and California).....	53, 54, 56

<sup>1</sup> Referred to as Irish Northern Aid and Northern Irish Aid.  
<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly spelled Katipunan NEMGA Demokratikong Pilipino in the publication quoted.  
<sup>3</sup> Referred to as Organization of Latin American Solidarity.

	Page
Libya, Government of.....	36, 37, 41, 43
Embassy, Washington, D.C.....	40
Revolutionary Command Council.....	37
Libyan Black September. (See National Youth for the Liberation of Palestine.)	
Liegib's Meat Co.....	13
Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR) (Revolutionary Communist League) (Spain).....	69
Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI) (LCR-ETA (VI)) (Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom, Six faction) (Spain).....	69
Liga de Comunistas Armados (LCA) (League of Armed Communists) (Mexico).....	24
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International, Local 10.....	80
Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation.....	74
Lufthansa German Airlines.....	39
M	
M-19 (Colombia).....	21
MAR. (See Movimiento de Accion Revolucionaria.)	
MIR (Chile). (See Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, Chile.)	
MIR (Peru). (See Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, Peru.)	
MIRA. (See Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado.)	
MLN. (See Tupamaros.)	
MOIR. (See Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario.)	
MPD. (See Movimiento Popular Dominicano.)	
MPI. (See Movimiento Pro Independencia.)	
MPLA. (See Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola.)	
MR-13. (See Movimiento Revolucionario de 13 Noviembre.)	
Malawi, Government of, Mission to United Nations.....	100
Malcolm X Liberation University (Durham, N.C.).....	52, 54
Malcolm X Student Government (Chicago, Ill.).....	80
Malcolm X United Liberation Front.....	120
Manson family. (See Charles Manson family.)	
Marion Delgado Collective. (See New Year's Gang.)	
Martyr Abu Yussef Group. (See Seventh Suicide Squad.)	
Marxist-Leninist Turkish Communist Party.....	47
Marxist-Leninist Union of Youth (Turkey).....	47
Massachusetts Institute of Technology.....	100
May 2d Movement (M2M).....	107, 109
May 29 faction of Armed Liberation Forces. (See Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (May 29).)	
May 29 faction of People's Revolutionary Army (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo). (See Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion (May 29).)	
McGraw-Hill, Inc.....	127
McKee Tesca Construction Co. (Independence, Ohio).....	15
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated (AFL-CIO):	
Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Union.....	69
Memphis Committee to End Repression and Free All Political Prisoners.....	81
Mercedes Benz. (See Daimler-Benz A. G.)	
Mexico, Government of.....	25, 26
Michigan, Government of, Detroit Police Department, Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets squad (STRESS).....	129
Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP).....	47, 56
Midwest Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.....	80
Minutemen.....	202, 214
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).....	106, 107
Molpo. (See Movimiento Libertador Popular.)	
Montoneros (Argentina).....	9
Moslem International Guerrillas.....	38
Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MPD) (the Philippines).....	74
Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP).....	74

Movement for Independence (MPI) (Puerto Rico). (See Movimiento Pro-Independencia.)	
Movement for the Liberation of Palestine. (See Fatah, Al.)	
Movement of the Revolutionary Left (Chile). (See Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria.)	
Movimento Libertador Popular (Molipo) (People's Liberation Movement) (Brazil)	Page 17
Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola <sup>1</sup> (MPLA) (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)	50-54, 56, 59, 61, 78, 82, 84, 119, 160
Movimiento de Accion Revolucionaria (MAR) (Revolutionary Action Movement) (Mexico)	7, 24, 93
Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) (Chile)	10, 11, 15, 17-20, 26, 95
Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) (Peru)	26
Movimiento Independencia Rebelde Armada. (See Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado.)	
Movimiento Independiente Revolucionario Armado. (See Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado.)	
Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional. (See Tupamaros.)	
Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado (MIRA) (Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement) (Puerto Rico)	163
Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario (MOIR) (Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement) (Colombia)	20
Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD) (Dominican People's Movement)	22
Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI) (Movement for Independence) (Puerto Rico)	163
Movimiento Revolucionario de 13 Noviembre (MR-13) (Revolutionary Movement of November 13) (Guatemala)	22
Mozambique Liberation Front. (See Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique.)	
Mozambique Revolutionary Committee. (See Comitê Revolucionario de Mocambique.)	30, 34
Muslim Brotherhood	73
Muslim Independence Movement (Philippines)	

## N

NAAIC. (See North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition.)	
NACLA. (See North American Congress on Latin America.)	
NAICSAL. (See National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation.)	
NICRA. (See Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.)	155
Nairobi College (East Palo Alto, Calif.)	62
Nation of Islam (NOI) (Black Muslims)	174
Philadelphia chapter	81
National Afro-American Labor Council (New York, N.Y.)	80
National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression	83
National Anti-Imperialist Committee in Solidarity with African Liberation	
National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation (Oct. 19-21, 1973, Chicago, Ill.) (see also Continuations Committee of NAICSAL)	78-84
National Association for Irish Freedom (United States)	67
National Association of Black Social Workers, Los Angeles chapter. (See Black Social Workers, National Association of, Los Angeles chapter.)	81
National Association of Black Students	
National Civic Revolutionary Association. (See Asociacion Civica Nacional Revolucionaria.)	
National Committee for the Defense of Joanne Chesimard and Clark Squire	131
National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines (NCRCLP)	74
National Conference of Black Lawyers	80
National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.	80
Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA)	22
National Democratic Party (Rhodesia)	59

<sup>1</sup> Also appears as Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola and People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

National Front for the Liberation of Angola. (See Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola.)	
National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV) (also known as National Liberation Front and Viet Cong)	Page 110, 116, 119, 131, 205, 217, 230
National Geographic Society	64
National Guard Association	230
National Lawyers Guild	69, 91, 107, 113
National Liberation Action. (See Acao Libertadora Nacional.)	
National Liberation Army (Bolivia). (See Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional, Bolivia.)	
National Liberation Army (Colombia). (See Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional, Colombia.)	
National Liberation Army (Peru). (See Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional, Peru.)	
National Liberation Movement (Iran)	46
National Liberation Movement, Uruguay. (See Tupamaros.)	
National Mobilization Committee To End The War in Vietnam	244
National Socialist White People's Party	214
National Tenants Organization	80
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. (See Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola.)	
National Union of Popular Forces (Morocco)	41
National Urban League	80
New York	82
National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO)	81, 155
National Youth Alliance	203
National Youth for the Liberation of Palestine (also known as Libyan Black September)	36-41, 43, 99
Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. (See Partido Nacionalista.)	
Nationalist Party, Puerto Rico. (See Partido Nacionalista.)	
New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam	230
New Outlook Publishers	76
New People's Army (NPA) (Philippines)	73-75
New Popular Resistance (France)	65
New University Conference	105
New Year's Gang (also known as Marion Delgado Collective and Vanguard of the Revolution)	8, 103-106
New York Black Trade Unionists	80
New York Civil Liberties Union. (See entry under American Civil Liberties Union.)	
New York State, Government of:	
Department of Correctional Services:	
Attica Correctional Facility	128
New York City, Government of:	
Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs)	131
Police Department	111, 112, 124, 126, 127, 204
New York Tactical Patrol Force (NYTPF)	129
New York Urban League. (See entry under National Urban League.)	
North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition (NAAIC)	47, 56
North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA)	18, 26, 56, 75, 91, 92, 107
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	55, 58, 78
Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA)	66, 67
Northwest Liberation Front	103
Northwestern University	55, 80
Northwestern University Black Students Organization, For Members Only. (See For Members Only.)	
November 13 Revolutionary Movement. (See Movimiento Revolucionario de 13 Noviembre.)	

## O

OCL. (See Organization Communiste Internationaliste.)	
October League (Marxist-Leninist)	75
Official Irish Republican Army. (See Irish Republican Army (Officials or Regulars).)	
Official Sinn Fein (see also Provisional Sinn Fein)	66
Oglala Sioux	131 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Misspelled Ogalala in this referenc.

	Page
Organizacion Marxista Revolucionaria (Chile).....	19
Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) (Internationalist Communist Organization, also known as Lambertists) (France).....	19
Organization of African Unity (OAU).....	49, 53, 55, 60, 82
African Liberation Committee.....	53
Organization of Arab Students (United States).....	47
Organization of Black Students, University of Chicago.....	81
Organization of Latin American Solidarity. (See Latin American Solidarity Organization.)	
Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.....	17, 84
Organization of Sons of Occupied Territory. (See entry under Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.)	
Otis Elevator Co.....	12, 13

## P

PAC, South Africa. (See Pan-Africanist Congress.)	
PAIGC (See Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine Portuguesa e das Ilhas de Cabo Verde)	
PDFLP (See Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.)	
PFLP. (See Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.)	
PFLP-GC. (See Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.)	
PKP. (See Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.)	
PLA. (See Palestine Liberation Army.)	
PLO. (See Palestine Liberation Organization.)	
POMR. (See Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario.)	
POR (Bolivia). (See Partido Obrero Revolucionario, Bolivia.)	
POR (Chile). (See Partido Obrero Revolucionario, Chile.)	
POR (Posadista). (See Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Posadista).)	
PRD. (See Partido Revolucionario Dominicano.)	
PRT. (See Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores.)	
PRT (Red Faction). (See Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Fraccion Roja).)	
PSP, Dominican Republic. (See Partido Socialista Popular.)	
PSR. (See Partido Socialista Revolucionario.)	
PSRPR. (See Partido Socialista Revolucionario de Puerto Rico.)	
Pacific Gas & Electric Co.....	100
Pacific [Foundation].....	135
Palestine Liberation Army (PLA).....	29
Palestine Liberation Front.....	42
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).....	6, 7, 29-34, 36-39, 43, 44, 47, 77, 82, 93
Palestine National Council.....	29, 32
Palestine National Front.....	31, 32
Palestine National Liberation Movement. (See Fatah, A1.)	
Palestinian Liberation Front.....	99
Pan-African Skills Program (New York).....	80
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) (South Africa).....	50, 61-63
Pan American World Airways.....	36, 39
Pardon Records.....	92
Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine Portuguesa e das Ilhas de Cabo Verde (PAIGC) (African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands).....	50, 56-58, 78, 82, 84, 94, 119
Partido Comunista de Bolivia (PCB) (Communist Party of Bolivia).....	19
Partido Comunista de Chile (PCCh) (Communist Party of Chile).....	18, 20
Partido de los Pobres (Party of the Poor or Poor People's Party) (Mexico).....	24
Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) (Communist Party of the Philippines).....	73, 74
Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) (Communist Party of the Philippines; also referred to as CCP/ML and Communist Party of the Philippines (Marxist-Leninist)).....	73-75
Partido Nacionalista (Nationalist Party) (Puerto Rico).....	163

	Page
Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR) (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) (Chile).....	19
Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) (Revolutionary Workers Party) (Bolivia).....	19
Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) (Revolutionary Workers Party) (Chile).....	18
Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Posadista) (Revolutionary Workers Party (Posadist) (Chile).....	19
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) (Revolutionary Workers Party) (Argentina).....	10, 90, 92, 95
Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Fraccion Roja) (Revolutionary Workers Party, Red Faction) (Argentina).....	10
Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD) (Dominican Revolutionary Party).....	21
Partido Socialista Argentino (Argentine Socialist Party).....	91
Partido Socialista de Chile (PSCh) (Socialist Party of Chile).....	18, 19 <sup>1</sup>
Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) (Socialist Workers Party) (Argentina).....	90
Partido Socialista Popular (PSP) (Popular Socialist Party) (Dominican Republic).....	22
Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno (PSP) (Puerto Rican Socialist Party).....	22, 163
Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR) (Revolutionary Socialist Party) (Chile).....	19
Partido Socialista Revolucionario de Puerto Rico (PSRPR) (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Socialist Party).....	164
Party of the Masses of Iran. (See Tudeh Party.)	
Party of the Poor. (See Partido de los Pobres.)	
Pathet Lao <sup>2</sup> (See Lao People's Liberation Army.)	
Peasant Brigade for Justice. (See Brigada Campesina de Ajusticiamiento.)	
Peasant Brigade of Justice. (See Brigada Campesina de Ajusticiamiento.)	
Peking House.....	159, 162, 184, 186, 189
Peoples Action Union (Los Angeles, Calif.).....	81
People's Liberation Army (Colombia). (See Ejercito Popular de Liberacion, Colombia.)	
People's Liberation Army (Philippines). (See Huks (Hukbo ng Mapagpalaya ng Bayan).)	
People's Liberation Army (Turkey). (See Turkish People's Liberation Army.)	
People's Liberation Army (United States).....	103
People's Liberation Army of Mexico.....	25
People's Liberation Front [Turkey]. (See Turkish People's Liberation Front.)	
People's Liberation Movement (Brazil). (See Movimento Libertador Popular.)	
People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola. (See Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola.)	
People's Revolutionary Armed Forces. (See Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas del Pueblo.)	
People's Revolutionary Army. (See Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo.)	
Peoples Voters League (Shreveport, La.).....	81
Pepsi-Cola Co.....	15
Perfect Park Home Grown Garden Society.....	100, 201
Peronist Armed Forces. (See Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas.)	
Peru, Government of.....	19
Philippine Christian Social Movement.....	74
Philippines, Government of.....	41, 73, 74
Point Zero. (See Punto Cero.)	
Polar Bear Party.....	88
Polish Socialist Party.....	198
Poor People's Party. (See Partido de los Pobres.)	
Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP).....	29, 33-35, 42, 43, 47, 87, 93, 94
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).....	7, 29, 33, 35, 37, 40, 42, 43, 47, 67, 68, 87, 88
Organization of Sons of Occupied Territory.....	42

<sup>1</sup> Appears as Socialist Party.<sup>2</sup> Popular name for the Lao People's Liberation Army.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)-----	Page 29, 33, 34, 44, 72, 73
Popular Liberation War Vanguard (see also Sa'iqa, Al)-----	43
Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. (See Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola.)	
Popular Revolutionary Vanguard. (See Vanguarda Popular Revolucionaria.)	
Popular Socialist Party. (See Partido Socialista Popular.)	
Poqo guerrillas (South Africa)-----	61, 62
Portugal, Government of-----	49, 51
Embassy, Washington, D.C.-----	101
Progressive Black Youth (Memphis, Tenn.)-----	81
Progressive Labor Party-----	54, 64, 87, 88, 107, 109, 154, 214, 220
Convention, Third National, July 1973, New York City-----	87
Proletarian Action Group (Chile)-----	19, 20
Proud Eagle Tribe-----	8, 100, 201
Provisional Irish Republican Army. (See Irish Republican Army (Provisionals or Provos).)	
Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam-----	58
Provisional Sinn Fein (see also Official Sinn Fein)-----	67
Puerto Rican Nationalist Party. (See Partido Nacionalista.)	
Puerto Rican Revolutionary Socialist Party. (See Partido Socialista Revolucionario de Puerto Rico.)	
Puerto Rican Socialist Party. (See Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno.)	
Punishment Group. (See Iqab, Al.)	
Punto Cero (Point Zerc) (Venezuela)-----	27
Purple Sunshine Clan-----	101
Q	
Quarter Moon Tribe-----	101
R	
RPCN. (See Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network.)	
Rand Corp-----	105
Rebel Armed Forces, Guatemala. (See Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes.)	
Red Army Faction. (See Rote Armes Fraktion.)	
Red Brigade (Italy)-----	42
Red Faction of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Argentina). (See Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Fraccion Roja).)	
Red Flag (Venezuela)-----	27
Red Flag Communists. (See Communist Party of Burma.)	
Red Willow Family-----	101
Renault Automobile (Regionale Nacional)-----	65
Rengo Sekigun (United Red Army) (Japan)-----	7, 42, 67, 71, 72
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute-----	80
Republic of New Africa (RNA)-----	120, 125, 206, 214
Republic Steel Corp-----	84, 85
Republican Clubs (Northern Ireland)-----	66
Revolutionary Action Movement. (See Movimiento de Accion Revolucionaria.)	
Revolutionary Action Party-----	101
Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front. (See Frente Revolucionaria Anti-imperialista.)	
Revolutionary Armed Forces (Argentina). (See Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias.)	
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. (See Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia.)	
Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People. (See Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas del Pueblo.)	
Revolutionary Communist League. (See Liga Comunista Revolucionaria.)	
Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom, Six faction. (See Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta A.katasuna (VI).)	
Revolutionary Communist Party (Brazil)-----	17
Revolutionary Coordination Board-----	15

Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile. (See Governo Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio.)	
Revolutionary Left Movement. (See Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria.)	
Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (Chile). (See Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario.)	
Revolutionary Movement of November 13. (See Movimiento Revolucionario de 13 Noviembre.)	
Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party-----	Page 46
Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network <sup>1</sup> (RPCN) (see also Black Panther Party (faction headed by Eldridge Cleaver).)-----	118-121, 123
Revolutionary Socialist Party (Chile). (See Partido Socialista Revolucionario.)	
Revolutionary Union (RU)-----	85, 86, 88, 137, 154, 214
Revolutionary Workers Party (Argentina). (See Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores.)	
Revolutionary Workers Party (Bolivia). (See Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Bolivia).)	
Revolutionary Workers Party (Chile). (See Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Chile).)	
Revolutionary Workers Party (Posadist) (Chile). (See Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Posadista).)	
Revolutionary Workers Party (Red Faction) (Argentina). (See Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Fraccion Roja).)	
Revolutionary Youth (Turkey). (See Dev Genç.)	
Rhodesia, Government of-----	49, 59
Rhodesian Information Office-----	101
Roberts Finance Co.-----	13
Rote Arme Fraktion <sup>2</sup> (also known as Baader-Meinhof gang) (West Germany)-----	7, 35, 36, 42, 65, 66
Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks)-----	102, 193, 195, 198
S	
SCLC. (See Southern Christian Leadership Conference.)	
SDS. (See Students for a Democratic Society.)	
SLID. (See Student League for Industrial Democracy.)	
SS Hope-----	99
STRESS. (See Michigan, Government of, Detroit Police Department, Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets squad.)	
SWANU. (See South-West Africa National Union.)	
SWAPO. (See South-West Africa People's Organization.)	
SWAT. (See California, Government of, Los Angeles Police Department, Special weapons and tactics units.)	
St. Paul A.M.E. Church (Chicago, Ill.)-----	80
Sa'iqa, Al (the Thunderbolt) (See also Popular Liberation War Vanguard)	29, 43
Sam Melville Squadron, Revolutionary Army-----	33, 39, 43
Saor Eire (Free Ireland)-----	101
Saudi Arabia, Government of:-----	68
Embassy, Khartoum, Sudan-----	36
Embassy, Paris, France-----	40, 41, 45
Seafarers' International Union of North America (AFL-CIO), Local 777 (Chicago, Ill.)-----	80
Second International Seminar on Palestine, February 13-17, 1971, Kuwait-----	118
Senegal, Government of-----	58
Service Employees' International Union (AFL-CIO) (Chicago, Ill.)-----	81
Seventh Suicide Squad (also known as Martyr Abu Yusef Group)-----	38
Shell Eastern Petroleum-----	72
Shell Oil Co.-----	100
Sheraton Hotel (Buenos Aires, Argentina)-----	14
Shi'ite Sect of Islam-----	46

<sup>1</sup> Variations of the name appearing in its own publications include Revolutionary Peoples Communication Network and Revolutionary People's Communications Network.

<sup>2</sup> Red Army Faction.

	Page
Siakhel (Iran)-----	46
Sinn Fein. (See Official Sinn Fein and Provisional Sinn Fein.)	
Smiling Fox Tribe-----	201
Socialist Party of Chile. (See Partido Socialista de Chile.)	
Socialist Workers Party (Argentina). (See Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores.)	
Socialist Workers Party (United States)-----	7,
18, 20, 22, 23, 46, 47, 69, 87, 89-93, 95, 96, 154, 240	
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)-----	22, 47, 89, 92, 107, 216, 219, 241
Lower Manhattan-----	92
Society of the Divine Word-----	73
South Africa, Republic of, Government of-----	49
South African Communist Party (SACP)-----	60-63
South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee-----	80
South-West Africa National Union (SWANU)-----	50, 63
South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)-----	50, 63, 82, 84
Southeastern Peoples Revolutionary Conference, Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 26-28, 1971-----	120
Southern Africa Committee-----	56, 59
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)-----	80
Atlanta, Ga. chapter-----	81
Los Angeles, Calif. chapter-----	80
Southern Committee to Free All Political Prisoners-----	80
Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)-----	81, 120
Spain, Government of-----	68-70
Spartacist League-----	18-20, 91, 155, 240
Spear of the Nation. (See Umkonto We Sizwe.)	
Standard Oil Co. of Indiana-----	14
State, County, and Municipal Workers, American Federation of (AFL-CIO)-----	80
Steel Workers Organizing Committee-----	84
Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID)-----	106, 242
Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)-----	214
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)-----	106, 107, 214
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)-----	8,
91, 104-110, 205, 207, 209, 214, 215, 216, 220, 222-224, 229-232, 242, 244	
Columbia University chapter-----	108
Madison, Wis. chapter-----	105
National Convention, Chicago, Ill., June 1969-----	109
Princeton University-----	174, 180
Radical Education Project (REP)-----	18, 107
Revolutionary Youth Movement I (RYM I)-----	109
Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II)-----	109, 214
University of Michigan chapter-----	106
Women's Brigade-----	117
Students for a Democratic Society, Weatherman faction (also referred to as Weathermen and Weather Underground)-----	5,
7, 8, 26, 101, 104, 106, 107, 109-117, 155, 200-209, 214, 216, 217, 219, 222-226, 230, 231	
Students for a Democratic Society, Worker-Student Alliance faction-----	109,
214, 215, 220, 222, 223	
Sudanese Communist Party-----	57
Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola (SCLA)-----	52, 53
Svedish Communist Party. (See Left Party—Communists.)	
Swissair-----	14, 44
Symbionese Federation-----	137-139, 141, 143, 145, 161, 187
Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA)-----	3,
8, 26, 85, 86, 88-90, 95, 96, 98, 115, 116, 133-162, 169-190	
War Council-----	137, 140, 142, 145, 147, 153
Western Regional Youth Unit-----	135
Syria, Government of-----	29
Army-----	43, 44

## T

	Page
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America; International Brotherhood of, Local 208 (Los Angeles, Calif.)-----	81
Tenneco Oil Co-----	64
Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students for Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship. (See entry under World Youth Festival.)	
Texaco, Inc.-----	53
Textile Workers Union of America (AFL-CIO)-----	80, 81
Third World Students Union, University of Kentucky-----	80
Trans World Airlines Inc-----	38
Transax-----	14
Trenton State College-----	80
Tricontinental Conference, January 13-15, 1966, Havana, Cuba. (See America, First Conference.)	
Tricontinental Film Center-----	56
Tucker Baptist Church (Syracuse, N.Y.)-----	80
Tudeh Party (popular name for the Communist Party of Iran; actual name: Hizb-e Tudeh Iran or Party of the Masses of Iran)-----	46
Tudeh Party, Revolutionary Organization of. (See Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party.)	
Tupamaros (also known as Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) (National Liberation Movement)) (Uruguay)-----	7,
8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21, 26, 42, 46, 68, 104, 110, 130, 131, 136, 178, 187, 205, 217, 230, 231	
Turkish Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist. (See Marxist-Leninist Turkish Communist Party.)	
Turkish Marxist-Leninist Union of Youth. (See Marxist-Leninist Union of Youth.)	
Turkish People's Liberation Army-----	46
Turkish People's Liberation Front-----	42, 46, 47
Turkish Popular Liberation Front. (See Turkish People's Liberation Front.)	
Turkish Revolutionary Youth Federation. (See Dev Genç.)	
Turkish Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Party-----	47
Twenty-third of September Communist League-----	24
Alpha cell-----	25

## U

UNITA. (See Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola.)	
US-----	185
U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners-----	17,
19-21, 23, 24, 90-93	
U.S. Committee for the Carabanchel 10-----	69
U.S. Preparatory Committee (for the 10th World Festival of Youth and Students) (see also entry under World Youth Festival)-----	77
Umkonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) (South Africa)-----	59-62 <sup>2</sup>
Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)-----	54, 88
Unified Military Command (of FNLA and GRAE)-----	52, 53
Union del Pueblo-----	24
Union for Radical Political Economics-----	56
Union for the Freedoms and the Rights of the People (Brazil)-----	17
Union of Democratic Filipinos. (See Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino.)	
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Government of-----	84
Secret Police: KGB-----	24, 68
Supreme Soviet-----	57
Union of the People. (See Union del Pueblo.)	
Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee-----	92
United Church of Christ, Commission of Racial Justice-----	80
United Defense Against Repression (Los Angeles, Calif.)-----	81
United Kingdom, Government of, Embassy, Washington, D.C.-----	7, 99

<sup>1</sup> Also referred to as Turkish Popular Liberation Front and Popular Liberation Front of Turkey.

<sup>2</sup> Appears as Umkhonto we Sizwe.

	Page
United Nations.....	31, 34, 55, 59, 63, 64, 82, 83, 127, 163
Commission on the Middle East.....	77
Congo Mission. (See entry under Zaire, Government of.)	
Cuban Mission. (See entry under Cuba, Government of.)	
Malawi Mission. (See entry under Malawi, Government of.)	
Security Council.....	45
United Press International.....	100
United Prisoners Union (UPU).....	88, 128, 155
United Red Army. (See Rengo Sekigun.)	
United States, Government of:	
Central Intelligence Agency.....	16, 116, 145
Defense, Department of:	
Air Force, Department of:	
Wheelus Air Force Base (Libya).....	41
Army, Department of the.....	14, 102-104, 118
Badger Army Ammunition Plant (Baraboo, Wis.).....	103, 104
Camp McCoy (Wis.).....	8, 102
Marine Corps.....	180
National Guard (Santa Barbara, Calif.).....	112
Navy, Department of the.....	103
Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC).....	101,
103-105, 112, 163, 207-209, 211, 212, 218, 220, 223, 224, 230, 231	
Federal Aviation Administration (FAA).....	97
Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of.....	112, 117
Justice, Department of.....	97, 113, 210
Bureau of Prisons:	
U.S. Penitentiary Reservation (Leavenworth, Kans.).....	156
Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	98,
102-104, 120, 123, 125, 127, 133, 135, 137, 160, 162, 169-174, 176-	
182, 189, 199, 201, 204-207, 210, 213, 226, 229, 238	
Immigration and Naturalization Service.....	91
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.....	223
Selective Service System.....	8, 100, 103, 224, 226
State, Department of.....	71
Agency for International Development.....	26
Embassy, Dublin, Ireland.....	67
Embassy, Port au Prince, Haiti.....	22
Embassy, Santiago, Chile.....	18
Embassy, Tehran, Iran.....	94
Supreme Court.....	113
Transportation, Department of:	
Federal Aviation Administration.....	105-167
U.S. Information Agency:	
U.S. Information Service.....	16
University of Cali (Colombia).....	21
University of California:	
Berkeley.....	183
Lawrence Radiation Laboratory.....	101
Center for the Study of Law and Society.....	101
Santa Barbara.....	100
University of Chicago, Organization of Black Students. (See Organization of Black Students.)	
University of Connecticut.....	80
University of Florida.....	159
University of Kentucky Black Students Union. (See Black Students Union.)	
University of Kentucky, Third World Students Union. (See Third World Students Union.)	
University of Puerto Rico.....	163
University of the Philippines.....	73
University of Washington.....	101, 112
University of Wisconsin.....	104
Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC).....	103-105
Land Tenure Center.....	105
University of Wisconsin Moratorium Committee.....	105
Urban League. (See National Urban League.)	
Uruguay, Government of.....	26

## V

VPR. (See Vanguarda Popular Revolucionaria.)	
Vanguard of the Revolution. (See New Year's Gang.)	
Vanguarda Popular Revolucionaria (VPR) (Popular Revolutionary Vanguard) (Brazil).....	Page
Venceremos Brigade.....	18
Fifth Contingent.....	58, 216
Venceremos Organization.....	58
89, 128, 137, 158, 160, 161, 172, 178-180, 184, 187, 206	
Venezuelan Trotskyist Group. (See Grupo Trotskista Venezolano.)	
Vengeance.....	88,
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.....	96
Viet Cong. (See National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.)	
Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO).....	69
East Bay Chapter.....	156, 158, 179, 184
Voice of Palestine.....	156, 160
Volunteers of America.....	30, 32, 35, 44
	101

## W

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.....	Page
W.E.B. DuBois Community Center (New York, N.Y.).....	107
W.E.B. DuBois Community League (Memphis, Tenn.).....	81
Weathermen. (See Students for a Democratic Society, Weatherman faction.)	
White Flag Communists. (See Burma Communist Party.)	
White Panther Party.....	81
Workers' Commissions (Spain).....	110, 243, 244
Workers World Party.....	68, 70
Youth Against War and Fascism.....	7, 8, 11, 20, 46, 47, 53, 55, 70, 93-96, 102
World Congress of Peace Forces for International Security and Disarmament (1973). (See entry under World Peace Council.)	
World Federation of Democratic Youth.....	47, 93, 94, 107
World Festival of Youth and Students. (See World Youth Festival.)	
World Peace Congress. (See entry under World Peace Council.)	
World Peace Council.....	77
World Congress of Peace Forces for International Security and Disarmament, Oct. 25-31, 1973, Moscow.....	6'
World Peace Congress, 1950, Warsaw, Poland.....	31, 63, 77, 79, 83
World Youth Festival:	
Tenth Youth Festival, July 28-Aug. 5, 1973, East Berlin (see also Continuations Committee and U.S. Preparatory Committee for the 10th World Festival of Youth and Students).....	50
30, 31, 49, 57, 77, 78	

## Y

Yale University.....	Page
Yippies. (See Youth International Party.)	
Young Peronist Workers (Argentina).....	80
Young Socialist Alliance. (See entry under Socialist Workers Party.)	
Young Workers Liberation League.....	9
Martin Luther King branch.....	47, 78, 79, 81, 219, 239
Youth Against War and Fascism. (See entry under Workers World Party.)	
Youth International Party (also known as Yippies).....	81
110, 111, 116, 243-245	

## Z

ZANLA. (See Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army.)	
ZANU. (See Zimbabwe African National Union.)	
ZAPU. (See Zimbabwe African People's Union.)	
Zaire, Government of:	
Mission to United Nations.....	51
Zambia, Government of, Zambian Information Bureau for Western Europe.....	100
Zapata Urban Front. (See Frente Urbano Zapatista.)	
Zelena cult.....	54
Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA).....	175, 178
Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).....	60
Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).....	6, 50, 59, 60, 82, 84, 94
50, 59-61, 82, 84, 119	

## PUBLICATIONS

	Page
Abolish Police Science (booklet).....	220, 222
African Agenda.....	78, 81, 84
African Communist, The (quarterly).....	59-61
Afro-American Affairs.....	78
Albany Law Review.....	210
Anarchist Cookbook, The.....	202
Annual of Power and Conflict, 1973-74.....	9, 12
Apartheid Axis: United States and South Africa.....	74
Arab Guerrillas and the World Red Army (pamphlet).....	72
Atlanta Constitution.....	178
Babylon (newspaper).....	119-121
Berkeley Barb.....	115,
116, 133, 138-143, 145, 156, 244	
Berkeley Tribe.....	111, 243, 244
Black Panther, The (newspaper).....	155, 204
Black World.....	80
Black X-Press.....	81
Blood in My Eye.....	116, 127
Call.....	75
Cancion Protesta: Protest Song of Latin America.....	92
Case Against the Army Math Research Center, The.....	105
Challenge.....	88
Chicago Sun Times.....	81
Christianity Today.....	207
Clarín.....	14
Collected Works (Lenin).....	195, 198
Daily Cardinal.....	105
Daily World.....	53, 61, 69, 74, 77, 78, 81-85, 222, 239
Do We Need Cops? (brochure).....	222, 223
Dope Sheet.....	245
Ebony.....	80
Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.....	5, 6
FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin.....	199-206, 229-232
Falastin Al-Thawra (newspaper).....	30
Freedomways.....	78, 80
Guardian.....	9, 54-56, 59, 60, 74, 75, 84, 93, 96, 155, 222, 236
Guerrilla Tactics and Operations.....	203
Guerrilla Warfare.....	108
Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism, a Collection of Writings From Karl Marx to the Present Armed Struggles for Liberation and for Socialism.....	191
Guild Notes.....	113
Hissad El-Asifa (newspaper).....	35
Humanite, L'.....	53
Humanity, Freedom, Peace (pamphlet).....	121, 123
Inkululeko (magazine).....	63
Intercontinental Press.....	69
Internal Information Bulletin (Socialist Workers Party).....	90
International Internal Discussion Bulletin.....	10, 11, 69
International Lawyer.....	5
International Socialist Journal.....	56
Iskra.....	196
Journal of Conflict Resolution, The.....	6
Kaleidoscope. (See Madison Kaleidoscope.)	
Labour Monthly.....	76
Liberated Guardian.....	103
Los Angeles Sentinel.....	80
Lost Cities of Africa, The.....	58
Luta/Struggle, Voices of African Liberation (pamphlet).....	56
Madison Kaleidoscope (newspaper).....	103, 104
Manifesto of the Communist Party.....	193, 195
Mexico 1968: A Study of Domination and Repression (pamphlet).....	92
Midnight Special, The.....	113
Militant, The.....	22, 23, 90, 92, 93, 157
Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla.....	202-204
Muhammad Speaks.....	62

National Guardian.....	
National Liberation Movements (pamphlet).....	
New Left Notes.....	
New York Times.....	
Oakland Tribune.....	108, 21,
On Organizing Urban Guerilla Units (pamphlet).....	124
150 Questions for a Guerrilla.....	135
Party Affairs.....	118, 123
People's World.....	108, 202, 203
Philippines Information Bulletin (Cambridge, Mass.).....	76, 80, 83, 239
Political Affairs.....	75
Ramparts.....	50
Real Criminals Run the Police, The (brochure).....	113, 155
Red Papers, No. 1.....	223
Revolution.....	85
Revolution and Counter-Revolution.....	86
Revolutionary Notes.....	195
Right On! (newspaper).....	202, 203
Rivonia, Operation Mayibuye (pamphlet).....	119-122, 203, 205
Sabotage.....	61
San Francisco Chronicle.....	108
San Francisco Examiner.....	135, 170, 183-190
Sechaba.....	136, 144, 174, 180
Selected Works (Lenin).....	61
Sing Out!.....	196
Southern Africa (magazine).....	93
State of Seige (film).....	54
Struggle in Guinea, The.....	26
Sun/Dance (newspaper).....	56
Takeover (newspaper).....	244
Treason.....	105
Tricontinental (magazine) (Cuba).....	18, 241
Tupamaros, The (film).....	17, 58
USLA Reporter.....	26
Ulster: Politics and Terrorism.....	91, 93, 241
Underground Manual No. 3.....	67
Unita, L'.....	202
University Review.....	30
Voice of the Lumpen (Frankfurt, Germany).....	245
W.I.N., Workers International Newsletter.....	119, 121, 125
Washington Afro-American.....	64, 87
Washington Post.....	81
We Charge Genocide.....	54
We Shall Fight in the Streets (pamphlet).....	81
Weatherman (book).....	203
Win (magazine).....	110, 111
Winter Soldier.....	66, 67, 74, 75
Workers International Newsletter. (See W.I.N.).....	156
Workers Vanguard.....	
Workers World.....	18, 20, 155, 240
World Marxist Review.....	11, 94, 95, 241
World Outlook.....	31, 49, 52, 55-57, 61, 67, 239
World Youth.....	18
Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1971.....	77
Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1973.....	89
Young Socialist Organizer.....	46
Young Worker, The.....	92
Your Manual.....	78, 83
Zimbabwe Review.....	224, 225
	61

**END**