

**Declassified U.S. Government
intelligence information regarding the
communist and foreign connections of
the Weather Underground.**

**Presented as evidence,
on the agreement of the prosecution
and defense counsel,
in the trial of W. Mark Felt and
Edward S. Miller**

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INTRODUCTION

The FBI (also referred to herein as "the Bureau") has the responsibility of uncovering and neutralizing intelligence activities of foreign countries in the United States. In the U.S. this function is solely the responsibility of the Bureau. (1)

Historically, the United States has been the target of subversive efforts directed by the international communist movement to foment disorder and disruption in a revolutionary vein. These efforts were channeled into this country through the activities of communist-bloc diplomatic establishments and old-line communist groups and organizations working to advance international communist objectives. These old-line communist groups included the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA), the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), and the Socialist Worker's Party (SWP).

The emergence of the New Left and black extremist movements in our society drastically altered the situation posed by old-line communist organizations. They evolved mostly out of social reform movements which were transformed into hard-core revolutionary movements dedicated to the total destruction of our democratic traditions and our society. They produced a new breed of revolutionaries whose main preoccupation with communism was that it produced men like Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevarra, whom they hoped to emulate in the overthrow of a system they deemed oppressive. (2)

The FBI reported its official judgement with respect to the New Left Movement to the White House in a detailed, Top Secret report dated June 30, 1969, reporting as follows:

"... From the inception of [this] movement, the FBI has been aware of the fact that their increasingly revolutionary communist imprint posed new and unique problems for the internal security of this nation."

As these forces of revolutionary protest hardened in their resolve to accomplish their purpose, more and more they reached out to join hands with and seek support from old-line communists not only inside our country, but also communists and anarchists abroad.

In effect the picture has changed from one in which international communist forces sought out supporters within

(9) For example, Kathy Boudin's father was a member of the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA) and a registered Cuban agent. (10) He was named in a prepared briefing on espionage and subversive activity given to President Eisenhower and others at a National Security Council meeting in 1956. (11) In 1964, Kathy Boudin was invited by the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN) to attend a Cuban July 26th celebration. (12) She spent her senior year of college at Moscow University, Moscow, U.S.S.R. (1964-65). (13) Boudin went to the U.S.S.R. on her own and not through any special student program. While in the U.S.S.R. she received 75 rubbles per month from the Russian government as a stipend. (14) Her father also sent her materials on the American Youth Festival which was to be held in Algeria while she was in Russia, and told her that while in Prague he was told that if she wanted to attend as an interpreter, it could possibly be arranged. (15) In the course of attempting to arrange a meeting in the United States with Kathy Boudin, a Soviet official contacted her father, Leonard Boudin. Thereafter, Kathy Boudin was observed entering the Soviet Embassy. (16) In 1967, she traveled back to the Soviet Union. (17) Kathy Boudin became a member of SDS and later became a Weatherman.

The April 17, 1965 demonstrations sponsored by SDS, were participated in by communist-dominated organizations including the CPUSA, the CPUSA youth group WEB Dubois Club of America (DCA), and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). (22) Lincoln Bergman, later to become a Weatherman, was one of the coordinators of this demonstration. (23) Lincoln had participated in communist organizations and activities prior to this time. (24)

Gus Hall, General Secretary for CPUSA, claimed that CPUSA officials and members had taken part in the leadership, planning and initiation of these demonstrations and he told the CPUSA Secretariat that the peace struggle was one of the main projects of the Party and would be pushed on a full-time basis. (25) Communist and other subversive organizations thereafter were extremely active in demonstrations that

a coalition of groups which would include radical SDS elements and military black radicals. Leibel did not want Lincoln or Arlene to join the RU. He believed that they could more effectively operate among New Left and "Movement" people without formal RU memberships. It was his view that Arlene and Lincoln should use their contacts with New Left people through "The Movement", which was run by them and viewed as the voice of SDS, to develop information for him on potential RU recruits. (93) Articles in "The Movement" dealt with such topics as the German students' struggle against imperialism, demonstrations against the draft, interviews with leaders of the Cuban Communist Party, and favorable reports of activity in the Cuban Government. (94) "The Movement" also distributed Cuban Communist propaganda received through the Communist news agency (Prensa Latina). (95)

6 Through his son and daughter-in-law, Leibel Bergman had the opportunity to meet SDS members and guide their activity. Based on the groups with which Leibel was in contact, including "JOIN", an SDS organization, and the fact that Lincoln and Arlene worked for "The Movement", the FBI speculated that Leibel intended to operate within the framework of already established militant leftist groups and would use Lincoln and Arlene as a means of meeting members of these organizations and guiding their activity. The FBI proceeded to conduct its investigative activity on this premise. (96) Indeed, the FBI had information that throughout 1968, Arlene was in almost daily contact with her father-in-law, obviously working with him and/or accepting his counsel. (97)

7 SDS was an important subject within the CPUSA in early 1968. The Party decided to fight for CP ideology within SDS; to include articles on SDS in its publications; and to begin to put many more CP youth (cadre) directly into SDS and into the SDS national office in order to get direct access to the SDS leadership. The need and possibility for greater communist participation in SDS, and the possibilities for CPUSA recruitment from SDS, were emphasized. (98) Rennie Davis at this time associated with Don Hamerquist of the CPUSA National Committee

who was working with the New Left to formulate a program for a communist movement in the U.S. (99)

8 The first known trip of significance to Cuba occurred in January, 1968 when Carl Davidson, Todd Gitlin, Gerry Long, Susan Sutheim and Tom Hayden traveled to Cuba to attend the International Cultural Congress. (Long and Sutheim later became Weathermen.) (100) David Dellinger of the NMC also attended this conference, (101) as did many communists and revolutionaries from around the world. (102) The announced purpose of this conference was to obtain unity of action in Cuban anti-imperialism fights (103) and to spread revolution and hatred of the U.S. (104) The theme was the "Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism." (105) At this conference delegates condemned the U.S. for what the communists alleged was U.S. aggression, and support was pledged to North Vietnam. The delegates also pledged to promote violence against the United States whenever it was deemed necessary (106) The attendees also met with representatives of Red China, North Korea and North Vietnam and visited the National Liberation Front (NLF) Mission in Havana. (107) During this three and one half week trip, Davidson finalized arrangements for a visit of twenty SDS members to travel to Cuba. (108)

7 Thereafter, in February, 1968, a group of approximately twenty-two people including future Weatherman Mark Pudd and approximately nineteen other SDS/Weatherman members, and two Cuban Government officials with diplomatic status traveled to Cuba via Mexico City at the request of the Cuban Government, which paid all of the expenses. One of the Cuban Government officials in the group was the former First Secretary at the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN) who was also a Cuban Intelligence Officer While in Mexico City, the group stayed at the Cuban Consulate. Several of the SDS members had previously traveled to other foreign countries friendly to Cuba. (109) The group was destined to the Instituto Cubano para Amistad entre los Pueblos (ICAP-Cuban Institute for Friendship between Peoples) Although the ICAP operated as a cultural exchange organization on the surface, it was in fact the

Cuban Government's School for Ideological Indoctrination and their chief instrumentality for providing training to foreign radicals in revolutionary and guerrilla tactics. Rudd and others visited the ICAP on this trip. (110) During their four-week visit, SDS members also talked with representatives of the NLF (the political arm of the Viet Cong) and with individuals from North Korea. (111)

Upon his return from Cuba, Mark Rudd was elected Chairman of the SDS Chapter at Columbia University and became a leader of violent disturbances. (It was believed by the FBI that such disturbances were planned in Cuba and that the visitors to Cuba received specific instruction from Cuban officials in regard to the demonstrations.) (112) At Columbia, Rudd led the largest student strike in the United States. Although there had been various demonstrations in prior years, the main feature of the Spring 1968 strike that distinguished it from earlier demonstrations was Rudd's brand of confrontation politics which involved physical confrontation, including the take over of buildings and the ransacking of offices. By the end of April, 1968, 700 to 1000 students had taken over five university buildings and eventually had to be removed by a force of 1000 policemen. In addition to Rudd, a number of others involved in the leadership of the Columbia strike later played prominent roles in the Weathermen. They included Ted Gold, John Jacobs, Robert Roth, Martin Kenner and Jonah Raskin. (113) Rudd was later interviewed about the Columbia riots by the Cuban publication, Prensa Latina. (114)

SDS member Carl Davidson again visited Cuba in March. He and others had a three hour discussion with Fidel Castro, and reportedly met with representatives of North Korea, North Vietnam and Communist China (115) During the militant Labor Forum, held in April, Davidson reported on his meeting with Castro, stating that Castro now believed that a socialist revolution was possible in the U.S. (116)

During April, SDS activist Steven Halliwell visited North Vietnam. (117) Ken Cloke later to become a Weatherman and RU member also met with a North Vietnamese delegation during this time in Sweden. (118)

At the 1968 June SDS National Convention meeting it was decided that SDS should align itself with students from other countries. The convention adopted resolutions of solidarity with the students of Germany and France and with the Iranian Student Association. (120) The resolution dealing with Iran stated in part:

"To be sent by telegram to the Iranian Student Association. SDS expresses its solidarity with your continuing fight against the dictatorship which oppresses your homeland. . . . Your fight against the Shah, the fight of German SDS against Kiesinger, of the French against deGaulle, of the Japanese against Sato -- these are a few of the current fronts of a single war. We are your allies and brothers." (121)

Members of the CPUSA, DCA, PLP, SWP and the SWP youth group Young Student Alliance (YSA) attended the convention. (122) Karen Wald also attended and was working at the SDS national office as of this time. (123) (She was also a member of the editorial group of "The Movement", (124) and previously associated with the YSA. (125) A year earlier, Wald had traveled to Cuba.) (126) Bernardine Dohrn was elected Interorganizational Secretary, and stated that she considered herself a revolutionary communist. (127) Mike Klonsky, elected SDS National Secretary, also publically identified himself as a revolutionary communist. (Klonsky's father was the former Organizational Secretary of the Eastern Pennsylvania-Delaware District of the CPUSA. His mother was also a former CPUSA member.) (128)

At the convention, a workshop on sabotage and explosives was held. (129) Earlier in the year, a pamphlet bearing the inscription "An Argument for Sabotage as the Next Logical Step Toward Obstruction and Disruption of the U.S. War Machine" was mailed from Toronto, Canada to over 300 antiwar groups throughout the U.S. The document urged the use of incendiary devices and included detailed instructions and diagrams. The illegal and clandestine nature of such violent activity was emphasized. (130) Also, it was during this convention that Naomi Jaffe, later to become a Weatherman, claimed to have shot down an American fighter plane with an anti-aircraft gun and to have assisted in the capture of an American pilot during her earlier trip to Hanoi. She wore a small

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Near the end of the Democratic National Convention, Hayden reportedly went around to the various leaders including Rennie Davis and Bobby Seale and asked that when they returned to their home states they continue what began in Chicago. (165)

The Bureau summarized the activity at the Democratic National Convention as follows:

"... Rarely has any city been threatened all at one time with an invasion of 100 to 200 thousand dissidents; plots to assassinate governmental dignitaries and prominent individuals; intentions to instigate major riots in varied ways; widespread sabotage of communication, transportation and electrical systems. proposals to pour hallucinogenic drugs into the water supply; clandestine shipments of arms and ammunition into the city for use in sniper activities; and myriad forms of guerrilla warfare." ... (166)

Following the Democratic National Convention, approximately twenty-eight Americans including nine individuals who had participated in the Chicago demonstrations traveled to Budapest, Hungary for a conference (Bernardine Dohrn who had departed for a month-long trip to various countries earlier also attended this conference.) They met for five days with five Vietcong and North Vietnamese representatives. The Americans and the Vietnamese discussed the Paris Peace Talks and the Americans discussed the demonstrations at the Democratic Convention as well as their plans for anti-war demonstrations in the Fall. The Vietnamese, according to one account of the meetings, discussed anti-war strategy, (167) and furthering draft unrest among American G.I's. (168) After the conference, the NLF officials, according to Dohrn, were to fly to Moscow, Peking, Hanoi and back to South Vietnam. Dohrn also indicated that two of the five NLF representatives specialized in working with American G.I's in Saigon in attempting to obtain information from them. (169) Future Weathermen members John Davis (Rennie Davis' brother), and Howard Emmer also attended the Budapest conference. (170)

(Emmer's parents were former CPUSA members. His mother later reportedly joined the Weathermen and contributed financial support. When the Weathermen went underground, the Emmer residence was used by Weathermen members for meetings and as a "message drop". The FBI

believed that the Emmer's telephone number was a nationwide check point for underground Weathermen and Weathermen fugitives. Weathermen Rudd, Handelsman, Smith and Fuerst all stayed at the Emmer residence while fugitives.) (171)

SDS members, later to become Weathermen, traveled abroad and participated in foreign demonstrations in front of American embassies to express anti-American sentiments and solidarity with the Viet Cong. Radical foreign student groups also expressed solidarity with New Left groups including SDS. (172)

During a National Council meeting of SDS in December, 1968 Bernardine Dohrn stated: "We are building a working class revolutionary movement to overthrow the capitalists, and the imperialist structure of the United States and the world". She stressed the importance of an international alliance with the "third world" in order to "smash American imperialism", and advocated the creation of an international revolutionary consciousness. (181) Dohrn also reported on the development of SDS from its former position of protest, to a position of resistance, to its present revolutionary position. (182) Rudd also spoke at this convention and advocated more organizing within the military. Following the convention, Ed Boorstein, the former economic advisor to Che Gueverra, gave a presentation on Cuba, concluding with the statement that U.S. imperialism had to be smashed throughout the world. (183) Rennie Davis also attended this SDS meeting. (184)

It was also in 1968 that the groundwork was laid for the creation of the Venceremos Brigade (VB). Carl Davidson had received the VB plan from Cuban officials during one of his trips to Cuba. (185) The plan called for 150 members of the New Left to travel to Cuba to assist in Cuba's sugar cane harvest. The arrangements for the VB were made by future Weathermen Julie Nichamin and Bernardine Dohrn who had numerous contacts with officials at the CMUN, including officials who were suspected members of the DGI. In early 1968, Nichamin had stated that her contact was first Secretary Jimenez, a DGI officer whom the State Department refused

to allow back into the United States, in effect declaring that he was persona non grata as a result of his contacts with radical American youth. (186) Jiminez was a principle link between the Cuban government and leaders of black extremist and New Left student groups in the United States. He gave advice and counsel to such leaders, furnished Cuban propaganda materials to them and arranged visits to Cuba for unknown purposes by many of them.

Alberto Boza Hedalgo Gato, another First Secretary of the CMUN also operated as a Cuban intelligence officer. He also acted as a clearing agent for American citizens who traveled to Cuba and associated with individuals in black extremist and New Left groups (187) The Bureau became aware that export of the Cuban revolution was the fundamental principle of Cuba's foreign policy (188) (The CMUN had also received a new First Secretary in September, 1968. He was an intelligence officer (DGI). He worked, at times, in conjunction with Soviet Intelligence personnel (KGB).) (190)

Future Weatherman Julie Nichamin was in Cuba from December, 1968 through April, 1969. (191) After talks with party people in Cuba about the selection procedure of Cuban Party members, she sent a letter to Bernardine Dohrn in January, 1969 setting out how people for the VB should be selected. Nichamin said it was important to select those who had a fairly high degree of commitment and involvement in the Movement, as this was especially important to the Cubans who were looking toward the future contribution these people could make to the movement. Nichamin further commented that if help was needed Jimenez of the CMUN should be contacted, and he was. (192)

International conferences were held in Tokyo in 1968 and 1969. The Communist League, a Japanese communist organization, was one of the promoters of these international conferences. One of the objectives of these conferences was to establish a worldwide vanguard party to promulgate revolution by the working classes. The SDS was invited to

In early 1969, CPUSA leaders urged Party members to give time and money to New Left demonstrations and causes. (199)

A person known by the FBI to be maintaining a covert relationship with the Soviet Intelligence Service (SIS) was active in the SDS in 1969. This person acted as a spotter for SIS. An influential figure in this person's life was a former CPUSA member who also maintained a similar covert relationship with SIS. (200)

In early 1969, Bernardine Dohrn was to be in contact with various groups on the West Coast, including the BPP. (201) Rennie Davis traveled to Paris with several other Americans to contact the North Vietnamese delegation in connection with an international conference of organizations interested in peace during this time. (202)

Leibel Bergman saw the Vietnam War and third world struggle as the primary forces behind revolution. He had widespread and extensive contacts with militant extremists. The FBI was aware that leaders of the International New Left as well as SDS had met at Bergman's San Francisco apartment in obvious strategy conferences. The conversations in Bergman's apartment (which he shared with Lincoln and Arlene) were almost exclusively devoted to tactical, ideological and organizational matters relating to the RU and its attempts to expand its influence with other revolutionary groups and individuals. The FBI believed that Bergman wanted control over SDS and radical black militants to accomplish his goal of revolution. (203) Leibel claimed at this time that he had control over his son, Lincoln. (204) (Members of the RU, founded by Bergman, were known to be engaging in firearms and guerrilla training.)

In January, 1969, Leibel Bergman met with Ken Cloke. (Cloke besides being a future Weatherman was also a leader of the RU collective in Los Angeles.) Thereafter, from late January through the first week of February, Leibel covertly traveled to Europe. He later commented that he had been in touch with the Chinese in Paris. Shortly after his return from Europe, Leibel wrote an anti-PLP paper. Bergman viewed the PLP as a competing pro-Chicom organization at the outset and he

Dohrn's trip to Paris in August, 1968, to brief Viet Cong representatives on plans for the Democratic National Convention.) Bergman was pleased with the contacts Clayton Van Lydegraf had assisted him in making. (217)

In April, Arlene Bergman sent a letter to Bernardine Dohrn and others concerning the Venceremos Brigade. She also sent Bernardine RU's Statement of Principles and indicated that her father-in-law, Leibel, as well as RU member Hamilton would be visiting her soon. (218) Leibel Bergman expected a showdown fight with the PLP at the June, 1969 SDS National Convention in Chicago. Bergman traveled to Chicago for strategy meetings with SDS leaders and to straighten out two SDS collectives there prior to the Spring SDS meeting. During this time, Bergman was also meeting with SDS National Secretary Michael Klonsky to line up BPP support to go along with RU support to prevent the PLP from gaining control at the upcoming SDS convention. (219)

In the Spring of 1969, the RU partially surfaced, having operated for over a year in an underground fashion. (220) Leibel, who demonstrated his dedication and patience when he said he would overthrow the U.S. Government if it took five (5) or fifty (50) years, chose to operate as the "covert" leader of RU avoiding active participation in daily RU activities and operating in clandestine fashion even after RU partially surfaced. (221)

The FBI commented in April, 1969 that members of the New Left were attending guerrilla training schools in Cuba, having repeated contacts with KGB officials in East Berlin, contacts with Soviet officials in other countries and that there had been continual cooperation with the NLF of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. (222)

During April a cable was received at SDS headquarters in Chicago from the NLF Mission in Prague, Czechoslovakia, requesting that Bernardine Dohrn or another representative of SDS be sent on short notice to Prague for discussions. At or about the same time, the NLF requested that Steve Halliwell, soon to become a Weatherman, attend the discussions. Michael Klonsky, National Secretary of SDS, wired a response to the

Republic of South Vietnam, Havana, Cuba; Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam and another individual in North Vietnam. (297)

On October 1, Bernardine Dohrn advised Ted Gold that she planned on meeting Jose Viera, First Secretary of the CMUN who had been identified as an officer of the Cuban Intelligence Service. (299) The CMUN served as the focal point of Cuban intelligence in this country. Many of the Cubans assigned to the Mission had intelligence assignments. Two of Cuba's intelligence objectives in this country were to support groups which foment societal disorders including racial strife, student disorders and catalytic violent acts designed to create new revolutionaries. Jesus Jimenez Escobar, CMUN First Secretary, was a known Cuban Intelligence Service (DGI) officer involved in carrying out these objectives and was not allowed to return to the United States because of these activities

Jimenez and other DGI intelligence officers at the CMUN had extensive contact with representatives of revolutionary groups in this country, including the SDS/Weathermen. Cuban Intelligence Service officers were known to support such revolutionary groups by furnishing advice, logistical and/or monetary support. The CMUN, through its intelligence officers, also provided New Left revolutionary groups opportunities for guerrilla training in addition to serving as a clandestine communications link among New Left leaders. New Left leaders (including but not limited to Michael Spiegel, Bernardine Dohrn, Martin Kenner, Mark Rudd, Julie Nichamin, Karen Koonan, Kathy Boudin, Gerry Long, Karen Ashley, Jeff Jones and Jennifer Dohrn) discussed the activities with DGI officers attached to the CMUN and received advice and in some instances instructions from them. DGI officers also collaborated with New Left revolutionary groups by arranging for and encouraging travel to Cuba by members of these groups to further the objectives set forth above. (300) According to a Cuban in the Cuban Government in 1969, SDS was the group the Cubans concentrated on. They radicalized it, gave it form and every leader came and left with new ideas. (301)

was found in the rubble. (431) After the townhouse explosion, Weatherman Ronald Fleigelman who had purchased 100 pounds of dynamite and explosive devices, a .38 caliber Colt automatic, a holster and nine boxes of shells reportedly moved his arsenal on the same day as the explosion to Philadelphia. (432)

3 A source who had furnished reliable information in the past reported that there was a strong rumor that after the townhouse explosion, Wilkerson and Boudin obtained money from the Cuban consul in Canada and left for Cuba. Additional inquiry disclosed that the families of Wilkerson and Boudin got the necessary money together to get both of them out of the country. The money was provided to the Ambassador of Kuwait and was forwarded by the Ambassador via diplomatic pouch to either a Cuban Consulate or an anti-war group in Canada and subsequently delivered to the subjects, who according to unconfirmed reports were in Canada during this time. Boudin and Wilkerson thereafter were harbored by a group in Cuba. (433)

4 Radical individuals or groups in this country received monetary and logistical support from the CMUN. The CMUN included a substantial number of Cuban Intelligence Officers (DGI). Individuals in the United States were meeting clandestinely with these DGI officers. New Left Leaders contacted the CMUN for the purpose of arranging guidance, assistance and refuge. (434)

5 Weathermen Kalom, Hathaway, Lerner and Tanner had traveled to Cuba with the second VB in February, 1970. The Cubans were aware that these four were the Weathermen leaders for this VB. These leadership arrangements had been made for the trip by Mark Rudd and John Jacobs. While in Cuba, the four were notified of the townhouse explosion killing three Weathermen. The Cubans sent these four Weatherman leaders because they feared warrants were outstanding for them to Prague, Czechoslovakia where they were met by a Cuban representative. All expenses were paid by the Cuban Government (Upon the arrival of Kalom, Hathaway, Lerner and Tanner in the United States, they established an underground foco in New York.) (435)

Dohrn, Donghi, Jaffe, Spiegel and Klafter had been in the apartment.

(440) The dynamite was identical in make and manufacture to the dynamite found earlier in Detroit. (441)

20 On March 18, 1970 the New York FBI Office was apprised that a reporter had reportedly gone to Columbia University where he had spoken to three students who said they were members of the Weathermen. These three Weathermen told the reporter that the WUO was going to kill the President, the Vice President, the Attorney General and Governor Rockefeller. (442) During this same period of time, the FBI was in receipt of information that a Weatherman member had claimed that one of the next acts of the organization would be to bomb passenger airplanes (443)

21 Also in March, the Research Center of Case Western University was firebombed. The FBI had information that Weatherman fugitive Bill Ayers made the plans for this bombing which was carried out by John Fuerst and others. (444) (Indeed, between September, 1968 and March, 1970 approximately 110 bombings and/or arsons had been reported to the Bureau which appeared to have New Left or black extremist motivation or connotations.) (445)

22 In March and April, 1970, Kathyoudin, Judith Clark, Bernardine Dohrn, Linda Evans, John Fuerst, Leonard Handelsman, Cathy Wilkerson and others became federal fugitives based on their failure to appear for trial in connection with the charges stemming from the "Days of Rage". Lawrence Weiss had earlier been declared a federal fugitive. (446)

23 The Weathermen also continued their travel to foreign countries. Weatherman Nancy Kushner, common-law wife of YIP leader Jerry Rubin and Judith Hemblen attended the Fifth Stockholm Conference held in Sweden in late March of 1970, where they were to confer with revolutionary leaders from North Viet Nam. They went as representatives of YIP, the NMC, and the Chicago Conspiracy Fight. (447) They announced their travel at a press conference called by Martin Kenner (448) (During this time, an individual resembling fugitive Larry Weiss was reportedly seen in front of the apartment building in which Martin Kenner resided.) (449) Judith

oriented toward violence, and believed that VB members would likewise be more effective activists dissidents and revolutionaries against the U.S. Government upon their return.

2 The FBI was also aware that the Cuban Government ran a guerrilla training school and based on available information they believed VB members would receive indoctrination in Cuba and might come to the attention of hostile intelligence services. (462)

3 The Bureau also observed that the commitment on the part of the VB participants to make the trip to Cuba to aid the revolutionary struggle there, by cutting cane, at least suggested sympathy to violent Marxist/Leninist revolution and a willingness to participate in that revolution. (463)

1 All Cuban officials who dealt with the VB both in Cuba and at the CMUN were members of the DGI. (464) The DGI considered recruitment from the VB as a primary means of collecting intelligence about the United States. The DGI provided training in clandestine intelligence tradecraft to a few VB members, and to very limited number, training in guerrilla warfare techniques including use of arms and explosives.

5 VB participants have also traveled covertly to hostile communist countries including the Soviet Union, China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Eastern Europe countries and reportedly received espionage training. VB participants have been known to act as couriers and accommodation addresses between persons in the United States and some of the above countries. (465) There was reason to assume that several members from each contingent had been recruited for espionage. (466)

0 The VB participants except for four Weathermen who had gone to Prague, Czechoslovakia returned from Cuba in April Upon their return, many expressed an interest in attending the demonstrations to be held in support of the Black Panther trial. (467) These demonstrations were being planned by Martin Kenner and the Committee to Defend the Panthers. (468) Many Weathermen in New York participated in earlier demonstrations in support of the Panther 21 trial along with Martin Kenner

during an attempted armed robbery of a Catholic Church. During the arrest, Riddel fired a sawed-off shotgun at the police officers. Others arrested with him were armed and all were using fake identifications. Searches of two apartments were conducted as a result of the arrests during which notes on the underground were uncovered. From this information it was determined that the underground was divided into regions, sectors and cadres (cells) in a loosely structured system throughout the U.S. and Canada. Key cities were considered bases and served as a center for the activities in the region. Both short and long range goals of the bases were outlined in the notes. The short-range goals consisted of the formation of "rap" groups and securing hideouts for those under pressure. The long-range goals consisted of acquiring supplies, printing facilities, locksmith and training, weapons and explosives. Also uncovered was a list of needed items which included a typewriter and non-traceable paper for statements, a vehicle for issuing statements, breaking and entering tools, explosives, small arms and shotguns, disguises and new identifications. In addition, written communications between members and different cities were to be coded and post office boxes used whenever possible. Public telephones were not to be used except in emergency situations with specific arrangements pre-arranged. Members were instructed to assume that all phones were bugged. (669)

The FBI knew that Cuban officials provided a communications link for the Weathermen after they went underground. The Weathermen had several Canadian telephone numbers through which they could contact one another. If contact could not be made through these numbers, the instructions were for the caller to phone the Cuban Embassy in Canada and by use of a Weatherman code, leave his name, whom he wanted to contact and where he could be reached. The Weatherman code was simply to use the true first name but always to use the alias Delgado for the last name. (670)

The FBI held a seminar in November on Urban Guerrilla Warfare during which it was stated that our country was becoming a battleground involving