

## WHAT WAS THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND?

By Herbert Romerstein

If you believe the mainstream media or the spin coming from the former leaders of the Weather Underground, you would think that the Weather Underground were just a group of young anti Viet Nam war activists who pulled some pranks where no one was hurt or killed. You would be wrong.

The Weather Underground were a group of Communists who wanted the Vietnamese Communists to defeat the United States. They also engaged in terrorist acts often including severe injury and sometimes murder.

The moderate socialist League for Industrial Democracy established its youth group Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), after World War II. One thing the Socialists demanded, however, was that the youth organization have in its constitution a phrase banning supporters of any totalitarian form of government or any advocates or apologists for that kind of system. In 1959 the Student League for Industrial Democracy had changed its name to Students for a Democratic Society. During 1965, the Students for a Democratic Society held its convention. By 1965 the anti-communist constitutional phrase was more ignored than used. A number of young Communists, of various persuasions, Stalinists, Trotskyists, Maoists, and Castroites had joined. They falsely claimed that the societies they adhered to, which maintained slave labor camps, political prisoners, etc., were not totalitarian. So the phrase did not mean them. Nevertheless they were delighted when the phrase was dropped from the SDS constitution in 1965.

A moderate socialist, Irving Howe, wrote a paper for the 1965 convention arguing against admitting Communists.<sup>1</sup> The paper was commissioned by the League for Industrial Democracy who were horrified by what was happening in SDS, although they continued to fund the youth group.

According to Howe, "the regimes established under the various forms of Communist dictatorship are hostile both to private property in its traditional capitalist forms and to genuine socialist values and relationships. Wherever the Communist movement has achieved power, it has destroyed private property in industry, and in most countries, agriculture. At the same time, it has no-where permitted a true development of authentic – or, if you wish 'participatory' – democracy among the people below."

Howe went on to say that he "focused on what seemed unprecedented in Russian and German totalitarianism: the role of terror as an integral element of this new society; ..." Howe pointed out that "we do not, as democratic socialists, believe ourselves to belong to the same moral-political community as the Communists. They are neither to the 'left' nor the 'right'. Through we defend their right to democratic expression, we do not look upon them as comrades with whom we have more or less disagreements. Wherever they have power, they create an hermetic and suffocating world, one without freedom or dissent, individual expression or democratic participation."

Howe pointed out "for example, when SDS cooperated with the May 2<sup>nd</sup> Movement or the Du Bois clubs, which are pro-Vietcong and support the extension of Communist power in various parts of the world(.) then you are not forming a 'united front' in behalf of a particular goal; you are engaging in a political alliance with a movement that supports totalitarianism; and this seems to us mistaken and insupportable."

Howe concluded "For a political organization to say that it does not wish to admit certain people, such as fascists or Communists, is in no way undemocratic, as long as it grants these people the right to form their own organizations. ... One is the right of the Communists to have their own house, and the other is their right to exist in my house. As long as one recognizes the right to a multiplicity of political houses, then we see no reason whatever why a student movement dedicated to democratic radicalism should feel that a membership restriction upon totalitarians in any way compromises its democratic outlook."

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*No. 5 IN A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL PAPERS*

# looking forward

ON THE NATURE OF  
COMMUNISM AND  
RELATIONS WITH  
COMMUNISTS

*IRVING HOWE*



**LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

Howe and the LID leadership lost the argument. On January 1, 1966, SDS left the umbrella of the League for Industrial Democracy. Within a short time, not only did the Communists come flooding in, but their viewpoints dominated the organization.

The SDS split into three factions: Weathermen, also called Revolutionary Youth Movement I (also called RYM I); Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II) and Worker Student Alliance (WSA). Soon the WSA, which was controlled by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party, was expelled by the other two. Sometimes RYM II criticized RYM I for its violence. This did not prevent close personal contacts between the two groups which continue to this day.

The most complete statement of the Weather Underground viewpoint was in their publication *Prairie Fire, The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism* published in 1974. It described itself as the "Political Statement of the Weather Underground". It was signed by Weathermen leaders Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, and Celia Sojourn. The book was dedicated to a page-long list of violent criminals including: Sirhan Sirhan, the murderer of Senator Robert Kennedy. It was also dedicated on a separate page with pictures of Diana Oughton, Teddy Gold and Terry Robbins, three Weather Underground members who died March 6, 1970 when their bomb factory in New York's Greenwich Village exploded. The book also honored the Weathermen terrorist who called himself Sam Melville and died in Attaca Prison in New York trying to murder police officers in 1971.

According to *Prairie Fire*:

"We are a guerrilla organization. We are communist women and men, underground in the United States for more than four years. We are deeply affected by the historic events of our time in the struggle against US imperialism.

"Our intention is to disrupt the empire . . . to incapacitate it, to put pressure on the cracks, to make it hard to carry out its bloody functioning against the people of the world, to join the world struggle, to attack from the inside.

"Our intention is to engage the enemy . . . to wear away at him, to harass him, to isolate him, to expose every weakness, to pounce, to reveal his vulnerability. . . .

"We made the choice to become a guerrilla organization at a time when the Vietnamese were fighting a heroic people's war, defeating half a million US troops and the most technologically advanced military power. In our own hemisphere, Che Guevara urged that we 'create two, three, many Vietnams, to destroy US imperialism by cutting it off in the Third World tentacle by tentacle, and opening another front within the US itself. At home, the struggle and insurrection of the Black liberation movement heightened our commitment to fight alongside the determined enemies of the empire.

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

"Armed struggle has come into being in the United States. It is an indication of growth that our movement has developed clandestine organizations and that we are learning how to fight.

"The development of guerrilla organization and armed activity against the state is most advanced in the Black community, where the tradition and necessity for resistance is highest. The crises of the society provide the training grounds; the Third World people the conditions of prison, the army, the streets and most oppressive jobs produce warriors, political theorists, and active strategists.

"The Black Liberation Army – fighting for three years under ruthless attack by the state – the fighters in prisons, and recently the Symbionese Liberation Army are leading forces in the development of the armed struggle and political consciousness, respected by ourselves and other revolutionaries." . . .

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# **PRAIRIE FIRE**

**THE POLITICS OF REVOLUTIONARY  
ANTI-IMPERIALISM**



**POLITICAL STATEMENT  
OF THE**

**WEATHER  
UNDERGROUND**

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consciousness develops revolutionary action. Action teaches the lessons of fighting, and demonstrates that armed struggle is possible.

We are building a foundation. In four years of armed work, we have come to appreciate the complexity of doing it right and the difficulty of sustaining it. These are contradictions we are working with:

-We live in a whirlwind; nonetheless, time is on the side of the guerrillas. Fighting the enemy is urgent, and we have a duty to do all we can. Yet it takes time to win the people's trust; it takes time to build an organization capable of surviving the hunt; it takes time to recover and learn from mistakes, to prepare, train, study and investigate. This is an observation. It is not offered as an argument for delay.

-There is constant resolution between carrying forward the struggle and the necessity of preserving valuable cadre and supporters. Sometimes this is not a matter of choice -the guerrillas are forced, because of the torture and murder committed by the repressive apparatus, to escalate and move beyond what can be immediately sustained.

-Armed struggle brings the resistance to a sharper and deeper level of development. The greater the resistance, the greater will be the force and scope of the state repression brought to bear upon the people. When resistance is at a high level, the enemy takes measures against the people. But treading lightly will not assuage the rulers. Violent repression is built into the status quo. Guerrilla strategy has to resolve the contradiction between the necessary progress of the struggle and what the people can sustain at any given time.

-Armed actions push forward people's consciousness and commitment; they are a great teacher and example. Yet they must be clearly understandable to the people, identify our enemy precisely, and overcome his massive lies and propaganda.

Attacks by the Weather Underground have been focused and specific. These actions were a catalyst for thousands of politically-directed armed actions between 1970 and 1972, almost all of which complemented mass struggles.

These bombings were carried out by the Weather Underground:

-To retaliate for the most savage criminal attacks against Black and Third World people, especially by the police apparatus:

- Haymarket police statue, Chicago, October 1969 and October 1970;
- Chicago police cars, following the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, December 1969;
- New York City Police Headquarters, June 1970;
- Marin County Courthouse, following the murder of Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain, August 1970;
- Long Island City Courthouse, in Queens, in solidarity with prison revolts taking place in New York City, October 1970;
- Department of Corrections in San Francisco and Office of California Prisons in Sacramento, for the murder of George Jackson in San Quentin, August 1971;
- Department of Corrections in Albany, N.Y., for the murder and assault against the prisoners of Attica, September 1971;
- 103rd Precinct of the New York City police, for the murder of 10-year-old Clifford Clover, May 1973 . . .

-To disrupt and agitate against US aggression and terror against Vietnam and the Third World:

- Harvard war research Center for International Affairs, Proud Eagle Tribe (women's brigade), October 1970;
- US Capitol, after the invasion of Laos, March 1971;
- MIT research center, William Bundy's office, Proud Eagle Tribe (women's brigade), October 1971;
- The Pentagon, after the bombing of Hanoi and mining of the harbors of North Vietnam, May 1972;
- Draft and recruiting centers;
- ROTC buildings;
- ITT Latin America Headquarters, following the latest counter-revolution in Chile, September 1973 . . .

-To expose and focus attention against the power and institutions which most cruelly oppress, exploit and delude the people:

- National Guard Headquarters, Washington, D.C., after the murders at Jackson State and Kent State, May 1970;
- Presidio Army Base and MP Station, San Francisco, July 26, 1970;
- Federal Offices of HEW (Health, Education and Welfare), (women's brigade), San Francisco, March 1974;
- Liberation of Timothy Leary from California Men's Colony, San Luis Obispo, September 1970 . . .

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

There are many faces to militant resistance and fighting, a continuum between guerrilla and mass work. An examination of recent history points to: acts of resistance . . . draft card burnings, sabotage in the military, on the job, in government, and attacks on the police; mass demonstrations . . . Marches on the Pentagon, Stop the Draft Week, African Liberation Day rallies, International Women's Day marches, Chicano Moratorium marches; demands for control and power through seizures of institutions . . . community control of hospitals and schools, occupations of land such as Wounded Knee, or symbols such as the Statue of Liberty, People's Park, prison rebellions and takeovers; clandestine propaganda . . . spray painting, pouring blood on draft files, the Media, Pa. FBI ripoff; popular rebellion . . . Watts, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Newark, outrage expressed violently and collectively . . . Jackson/Kent/Cambodia, bank burning at Isla Vista, TDA's, Days of Rage.

There are connecting lines between these different forms of fighting. All are forms of resistance by the people, and forms of attack against the state. Militancy and armed struggle are consistent threads in revolutionary movements - they cannot be wished or forced away. They will continue to be practiced as long as imperialism exists. Together they constitute the fullness of revolutionary war.

The Weathermen believed that their inspiration came from the Communist Party of the past. They boasted that: "Around the CP flourished a cultural upheaval: writers, painters, poets were mobilized into struggle and produced a unique people's art. The CP stressed the special importance of Black liberation. Black people were recognized as an oppressed nation in the South (then called a Negro nation) with the right of self-determination, which white revolutionaries were bound to support." However they complained that after the war "The CP had lost its capacity to fight. Tens of thousands of supporters and Party members deserted the struggle."

The Weathermen also decided to "Win a base of support for prison struggles and oppose attacks by the state on Third World revolutionaries." According to the Weathermen, "The quality of life of a Chinese peasant is better than ours. The Chinese have free and adequate health care, a meaningful political education, productive work, a place to live, something to eat and each has a sense of her or himself as part of a whole people's shared historical purpose."

The Weathermen document even suggested secession from the United States. They wrote "We support Black and Third World people's right to self-determination, including the right to secession. There is nothing sacred and certainly nothing historically just about the present fifty-state government or the present boundaries of the US." Knowing nothing about US history, the Weathermen neglected the fact that President Lincoln fought a civil war against those who felt they had a right to secede from the United States.<sup>2</sup>

Pages 4 and 5 of the *Prairie Fire* book list the bombings that the Weather Underground was willing to take responsibilities for up to May 1974. (See following two pages.) What the Weather Underground did not say was that the three Weathermen killed when their bomb factory exploded in 1970 were manufacturing anti-personnel bombs containing nails to kill and wound American soldiers and their draftees in Fort Dix, New Jersey.

The Weather Underground was deeply involved in the Venceremos Brigade. The FBI report on Weather Underground's connections with foreign governments and terrorist organizations quoted the book *SDS* by Kirkpatrick Sale a pre-SDS book, as saying:

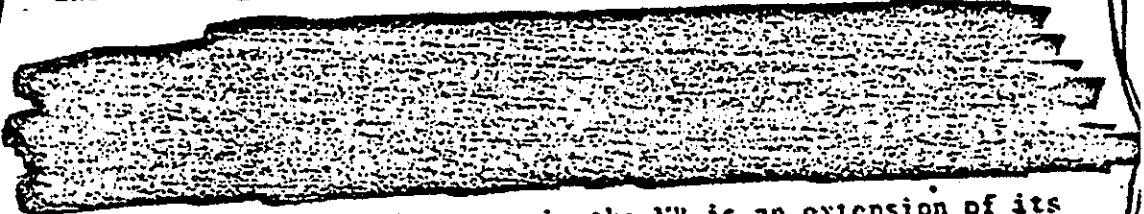
"SDS was instrumental in creating the Venceremos Brigade during these months. SDSers Julie Nichamin and Brian Murphy worked out the original arrangements with the Cuban government; Bernardine Dohrn devoted considerable time during the spring organizing it at the Chicago end; and the initial National Executive Committee of the Brigade included SDSers Karen Ashley of the New York Regional Office, Arlene Eisen Bergman of the Movement, Gerry Long of Chicago Newsreel, Connie Ullman (Long's wife) of the NO staff, and Allen Young of Liberation New Service, in addition to Nichamin. Other SDSers who played a leading role in the Brigade as it developed over the spring and summer were Amy Ansara (Cambridge), John Buttney (Denver), Howie Emmer and Rick Erickson (both from Kent State), John Fuerst (Wisconsin), Phoebe Hirsch (Chicago), Jim Jacobs (REP), Mike Klonsky, Howard Machtinger, and Diana Oughton. Ultimately SDS's own internal problems kept it from playing a major role as an organization in the final working out of the project, but SDSers were numerous among the 216 volunteers who made the first trip to Cuba in November of 1969."

The FBI report classified top secret and then redacted and released discussed the role of the Cuban government and the DGI, the Cuban Secret Police, in providing special training for some of the Venceremos Brigade members. (See pages 125 and 126 of the FBI report. On pages 9 and 10).

~~TOP SECRET~~

Cuban Intelligence  
Interest in VB

Not only could the Cuban government take considerable pride in knowing that their brand of action-oriented revolution was being espoused by a segment of the revolutionary movement but also the Cuban government had some very practical considerations in mind in cultivating such groups as the VB and allowing them to travel to Cuba. (S)



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

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

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

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~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

VB members are questioned in detail regarding their immediate families, relatives and friends. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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

(CG T-14, 4/72)

~~TOP SECRET~~

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One of the Cuban DGI officers that worked with the Venceremos Brigade was Julian Torres Rizo. He had served as a guide for the early Brigades and later as a member of the Cuban UN Mission and finally as the Cuban ambassador to Communist Grenada.

While Rizo was working with the Fourth Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, he spoke to them in favor of terrorist activity in the United States. He said, "Because the first thing that a U.S. revolutionary must be convinced of is precisely the fact that he does come from a decadent society, that he comes from a society that must be destroyed, that you're coming from a society that cannot impose laws of conduct on the people of the Third World that are struggling for liberation."

Prensa Latina, the official press agency of the Cuban government, in a release dated October 30, 1970, reported on the Venceremos Brigade in Cuba at that time. Referring to a Brigade meeting it said, "Susan wants to clear up some confused points of Maithili's 'Mini manual of urban guerrilla'; Bob would like to know how the Tupamaros function and organize themselves because 'we could do the same in many cities of the United States'; a blonde long-haired young man worries about 'What actions could we carry out to cooperate with Latin American revolutionaries in their struggle against Yankee imperialism?'" The "mini manual" was a terrorist training manual published by the Cubans in their magazine *Tri Continental* and then reprinted by leftist and terrorist groups in the United States. The Tupamaros were a terrorist group functioning in Uruguay. This was part of the terrorist training that young Americans received in Cuba.

While functioning with the Venceremos Brigade, Rizo met Gail Reed, one of the Venceremos organizers. He later married her. On the next page is reproduced a letter on the Venceremos Brigade letterhead signed by Gail Reid in October 1974. Reid also wrote articles in the January/February 1975 issue and the September/October 1979 issue of *New World Review*. In the latter issue, she is identified as "Gail Reed was a member of the National Committee of the Venceremos Brigade for many years. She now lives in Cuba, and works as a writer for the newspaper *Granma*." *New World Review*, formerly called *Soviet Russia Today* was a Communist magazine to popularize the Soviet Union. The editor for years was Jessica Smith. Her first husband was Harold Ware, who headed the Alger Hiss spy ring until Ware's accidental death. She then married another member of the spy ring, John Abt.<sup>3</sup>

When Rizo became the Cuban ambassador to Communist Grenada, Gail Reed accompanied him as the ambassador's wife. When the Grenadan Communist thugs had a falling out and Maurice Bishop was murdered by his comrades, the United States invaded Grenada to protect the American students and Grenadan people. According to *The New York Times* of November 4, 1983:

"At the Cuban Embassy atop a ridge about five miles from downtown, Ambassador Julian Torres Rizo remained secluded beyond a locked gate. The Cubans refused to leave despite orders to do so from Grenada's Governor General, Sir Paul Scoon.

"We're still in radio communication with Havana," Gail Reed, the Chicago-born wife of the Ambassador, said through the embassy fence today. She was asked about the killing of Maurice Bishop. It has been rumored here that Mr. Bishop's murder stunned Mr. Castro to the point that the Cuban military effort against the Americans was half-hearted.

"Her eyes flashed. 'The killing of Bishop is not authorized,' she said angrily. 'Not authorized.'"

# VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

## National Office

October, 1974

Dear Subscriber,

As you can see, with this issue, we're beginning a new year of Venceremos!--with a new format, and a change in coverage that we think will make the newsletter better reading, and a more useful resource for its regular readers.

We've changed the newsletter according to the many suggestions we received during its first year of publication: most people wanted to read more about the Brigade's activities; some suggested a more precise scope of the topics, allowing us to treat important developments in Cuba with the more complete coverage they require; others felt we needed to change the emphasis of shorts on the other countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, concentrating this year on specific solidarity activities in the United States.

We also thought a less bulky, more concise and readable format would encourage more people to pick up the newsletter, and read it cover to cover.

So, a new Venceremos! comes to you this month. Just as your opinions and suggestions have made the difference in the past, we encourage you to continue to send us your reviews of Venceremos!. If you find material you think is suitable for an article, or simply have a suggestion about a topic you would like to see explored in the newsletter, let us know!

Again, thank you for your support this past year. We hope you will find Venceremos! even more useful in the future.

Sincerely,

*Gail Reed*

Gail Reed  
for the National Committee

P.S. One other important change: beginning this year, Venceremos! will be available free, with only a small charge to cover postage. Please send us the names of any people you know who might like to receive the newsletter regularly on this basis. Thank you.

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Many members of the Weather Underground came from upper class or upper middle class families. One upper class Weatherman was Kathy Boudin. Kathy was the daughter of Leonard Boudin, a prominent attorney. The Federal Bureau of Investigation received information from a number of informants that Leonard Boudin was a member of the Communist Party. One such report dated April 4, 1963, stated that "(deleted) an admitted former member of the CP advised on May 1, 1953 that Leonard B. Boudin was a member of the CP (deleted) did not furnish the dates of Boudin's activity as a CP member." Another FBI report dated March 22, 1952, said "NY (deleted) on June 21, 1950 advised that Leonard B. Boudin was concealed member of the CP and actively associated with CP fronts during the early 1940s."

Leonard Boudin, the father of Weatherman Kathy Boudin, was a partner of Victor Rabinowitz. Both served as attorneys for the Castro Communist government of Cuba. Victor Rabinowitz admitted in his book *Unrepentant Leftist, A Lawyer's Memoir* that he joined the Communist Party late in 1942 (page 73). He also stated "I date the end of my membership in the Party at sometime in 1960 or 1961. There was no formal act marking the end of the relationship. I just stopped going to meetings and paying dues and considered myself a nonmember, and I suppose the Party came to the same conclusion, though I continued to meet with Party members to discuss both political and legal matters for many years after." (page 87). Rabinowitz admitted being loyal to the Soviet Union and said, "The importance of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party of the United States can hardly be overestimated. With all of its imperfections the U.S.S.R. represented, to me and all those I worked with, Socialism Triumphant. Its proclaimed goals were our goals; its hopes were our hopes." (page 85)<sup>4</sup>

In January 1963, Communist Party USA functionary Henry Winston met with leaders of the East German Socialist Unity Party, the ruling Communist Party of East Germany. Winston provided the East Germans with a list of members of the Progressive Labor Party, the Maoist Communist organization in the United States. Among those he listed were Victor Rabinowitz, New York, Lawyer, and Joni Rabinowitz, student, daughter of Victor Rabinowitz. According to the list in the East German archives it was prepared by Comrade Mille Stand.<sup>5</sup> Some years later, German born Mille Stand left the Communist Party USA and he and his son, Kurt Stand, joined the Committees of Correspondence, a Communist splinter group. Kurt Stand is presently serving a sentence in the penitentiary as a spy for East Germany.

The Communist Party USA supplied similar information to the Soviets. An FBI report dated April 18, 1962 and released under the Freedom of Information Act after redaction referred to Jack Childs as NY 694-S\*. Childs and his brother Morris Childs had been undercover for decades on behalf of the FBI. They had direct contact with the KGB and carried both KGB money and instructions to the CP USA. "on 4/11/62, NY 694-S\* advised that GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, requested that when the informant next meets his Soviet contact, he furnish the latter the following message to be transmitted to the Soviets, and from the Soviets to the CP of Cuba, and (blank) CP correspondent in Cuba: '(Blank) [Victor Rabinowitz] Attorney representing (Blank) [the Cuban government] has left the CP, USA, because of political differences. He talks 'left' and follows an opportunistic line. Also, has lost all confidence---.' [in the Soviet Union] ...It is noted that (Blank) [Childs] is cognizant of the contract between Rabinowitz and Boudin and the Cuban Government..." . The material in brackets was added by Romerstein based on his knowledge of the Childs case.

The CP USA and the Soviets were concerned about Maoist influence on the government of Cuba. What the Communist Party did support was the Weathermen's close association with Vietnam and a Vietnamese victory over the Americans.

As the FBI declassified top-secret report on foreign influence on the Weather Underground organization explained, "from Cathy Wilkerson and Jeff Jones's trip to Cambodia in November, 1967, through Mark Rudd's Cuban trip in February, 1968, which preceded the Columbia University riots; through the July, 1969, meeting between Weathermen Bernardine Dohrn, et al, where Vietnamese demands to intensify the anti-war effort led to the infamous 'National Action' in Chicago, the foreign travel shown herein reveals the growing fervor of the Weathermen to carry out their ideology in practice.

'Two, Three, Many Vietnams' in the words of Che Guevara was not mere rhetoric but the modus operandi of the Weathermen." (page 63)

The Weather Underground was not anti-war. They were, in their own words, “bringing the war home”. What they were doing was bringing the violence to the American people. Their desire was a Vietnamese victory over the United States.

A particular target of the Weather Underground was the American Jewish community. One communiqué from the Weather Underground group in California that called itself the New World Liberation Front threatened, “These Zionist ruling class pigs will not butcher poor people fighting for a just life without suffering drastic repercussions. The Jewish-American ruling class cannot protect themselves well enough for a sufficient amount of time. They should consider this carefully! We will show the Jewish-American ruling class how extremely vulnerable they are, here in the belly of the beast. Their lives will be in grave jeopardy if mad-dog Rabin imposes this massacre on the Palestinian people. ... We call on all comrades to move directly against all Jewish-American ruling class bloodsuckers if Rabin moves to massacre freedom fighters! These ruling class dogs are influential both here and in Israel and are extremely vulnerable!”<sup>6</sup>

In 1982 the Weather Underground was still writing, “Zionism is White Supremacy. Zionism is an integral part of white supremacist movement in the U.S. It is rooted in the defense of white privilege over colonized people.” (*Breakthrough, Political Journal of Prairie Fire Organizing Committee*, Spring 1982) Some Weather Underground activists were born into Jewish families, but they were as anti-Semitic as their gentile born colleagues. Judith Clark, active in the Weather Underground group called the May 19<sup>th</sup> Communist Organization, visited the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut shortly before engaging in violence in the United States. Clark’s father, Joseph Clark, had been the Communist Party foreign correspondent for many years until he quit the Party in 1957 as part of a faction fight. (*New York Times*, February 16, 1982)

On October 20, 1981, a group of Weather Underground radicals with their colleagues from the Black Liberation Army attacked an Brinks armored car in Rockland County, New York. In the course of the shoot out, one Brinks guard and two policemen were murdered. Some of the culprits were arrested when their car smashed into a concrete retaining wall in Nyack, New York. In the car were bullet proof vests, ski masks, and canvas bank money bags that had been obtained in the robbery. Among those arrested were Judy Clark, Kathy Boudin, and David Gilbert. Gilbert, who fathered Kathy Boudin’s child, was linked by fingerprint evidence to three other armored car holdups and the prison escape in 1979 of Joanne Chesimard, a leader of the Black Liberation Army. Chesimard, who was also called Assata Shakur, was serving a life term for the 1973 murder of a New Jersey State Trooper. (Chesimard escaped to Cuba and apparently is still living there in 2009.)

When Judy Clark was pulled from the wrecked car in Nyack, New York on October 20<sup>th</sup>, she was disguised with a wig and was carrying an ammunition clip in her pocketbook.

Some of the cars used in the robbery were rented with forged identification of innocent people who had shopped in a children’s store on the upper Westside of Manhattan called Broadway Baby. Coincidentally the manager of Broadway Baby was Bernadine Dohrn. (In 2009, Bernadine Dohrn and her husband William Ayers proudly explained to the press that they raised the child of Kathy Boudin.)

According to *The New York Times*, Boudin was collecting a welfare check every two weeks of \$177.75 under the name Lydia Adams. She had worked from time to time as a waitress and had an additional Social Security card in the name of Elizabeth Hartwell. (Boudin, who came from an extremely wealthy family, her father was the Communist attorney Leonard Boudin, nevertheless lived off the American taxpayer.)

Marilyn Buck was a fugitive activist in the Weather Underground when *The New York Times* article was published (February 16, 1982). According to *The Times*, “Mr. (Nathaniel) Burns, in the interview at Kings County Hospital, said he thought he had met Miss Buck in Algeria, where he fled just before being charged in 1969 with plotting to kill police officers and blow up department stores in Manhattan. In that case, known as the ‘Panther 21’ case, the defendants were acquitted. Mr. Burns, who is also known as Sekou Odinga, secretly returned to this country in the 1970’s and using various aliases, began selling African imports and jewelry. ... Mr. Burns said he had ‘often heard people say the time is not right for action - I know black people don’t like taking to the streets and getting their heads beat in. But the causes that made people take to the streets before are still with us,’ he said. ‘The struggle is necessary.’ The defendant said the

Brink's company stood for the 'very system that is fighting blacks,' and, while he regretted the fact that one of the policemen slain at the Nyack roadblock was black, 'the color of a lion that attacks me doesn't matter.' Although Mr. Burns said he played no part in the Rockland incident, law enforcement officials said he had been identified from photographs by a number of witnesses. Photographic identification and, in some instances, fingerprints in the 'safe houses' form much of the basis for the indictments of the four defendants who were not captured in Rockland. These defendants include two men - Donald Weems and Anthony Labored - whom Mr. Burns has known since high school in Queens and who have extensive criminal records. The men, like Samuel Smith, who was killed in a shootout with the police in Queens Oct. 23, are believe to have engaged in community organizing and other work in the Ocean Hills-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, in Harlem and in the South Bronx. Mr. Smith was shot after a wild car chase in which Mr. Burns was captures. Both of them were wearing bulletproof vests and, in Mr. Smith's pocket, the police found a flattened .38 caliber slug that was traced to a weapon used in Nyack by one of the slain officers. ... Mr. Weems and Mr. LaBorde are suspects in the prison escape of Miss Chesimard. ... Another defendant, Samuel Brown, has been described by Chokwe Lumumba, one of the defense lawyers in the Rockland case, as 'the kind of street brother who provides the backbone to the movement.' Mr. Brown - who like several of the other defendants has charged the police with physical brutality - was arrested last May, police said, carrying a loaded 9-millimeter pistol, in what they said was an attempt to steal a car. Mr. LaBorde, who was wanted for the ambush-slaying of Police Office John Scarangelo in Queens last April 16, was, in recent years, a paralegal aide at Bronx Legal Services, a federally financed antipoverty program. Mr. LaBorde worked on tenants' rights matters." (*New York Times*, February 16, 1982) Many of the terrorist group members had employment as community organizers, paralegal aides, and other such government funded jobs.

The terrorist description of the Brinks robbery was more poetic than *The New York Time* account. The Weather Underground in their publication *Breakthrough, Political Journal of Prairie Fire Organizing Committee*, Spring 1982 wrote:

"On October 20, 1981 New Afrikan (Black) and white anti-imperialist freedom fighters of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, acting under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army, attempted to expropriate \$1.6 million dollars from a Brink's truck in Nyack, New York. Against the barrage of state repression, and the walls of silence and denunciation thrown up by much of the left around this action, a sharp struggle is being waged. The focus of this struggle is over the significance of the New Africkan independent movement, the waging of revolutionary armed struggle in the US, and the participation of white people in this process. We believe that all anti-imperialists must unite in solidarity and defense of the BLA and RATF, the captured combatants, and most importantly of the principles that they stand for. ...

"By beginning to wage revolutionary war against imperialism, the armed clandestine movement in Puerto Rico, the FALN inside the U.S. and the BLA and RATF have rejected opportunist and reformist strategies for change. They are fighting to defeat imperialism at its very center. ...

"A brief summary of what has happened in the wake of the October 20<sup>th</sup> action exposes the seriousness of the attack on the Black moment and its allies:

- \* The capture on October 20<sup>th</sup> and the arrests in the subsequent days and months of New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Solomon Brown, Sekou Odinga, Abdul Majid and Kuwasi Balagoon. On October 20<sup>th</sup> white anti-imperialist freedom fighters Judy Clark, David Gilbert, and Kathy Boudin were captures. On March 22, 1982, Jamal (s/n Eddie Josephs) and Chui (s/n Cecil Furgeson), conscious citizens of the Republic of New Afrika and supporters of the Black liberation struggle, were arrested and charged with conspiracy in the expropriation. ...
- The creation of a special grand jury based on RICO (Racketeer Influence

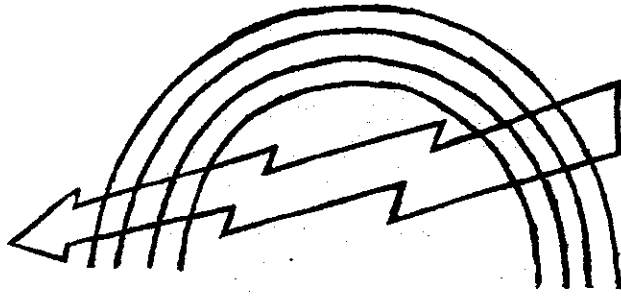
& Corrupt Organization Act), used for the first time to attack revolutionary organizations. It is an attempt to criminalize public groups such as the RNA and May 19<sup>th</sup> Communist Organization. As this writing 12 people have been subpoenaed, the majority of whom activists in the Black Liberation Movement. Three people are now in prison for refusing to collaborate: Jerry Gaines, an RNA supporter, Yaasmin Fula, a Black political activist; and Eve Rosahn, a white anti-imperialist.”

*Breakthrough, Political Journal of Prairie Fire Organizing Committee in its issue of Winter 1983, reprinted the statement of the May 19<sup>th</sup> Communist Organization. It said:*

“On November 18, 1982, a special federal RICO grand jury indicted eleven people in the most sweeping conspiracy case since the Panther 21 conspiracy case of 1969. After investigating the Black Liberation Army for over a year, the u.s. government is charging freedom fighters and public activists alike with being part of a ‘racketeering conspiracy’ which allegedly planned and committed a series of actions ranging from the liberation from prison of Assata Shakur on November 2, 1979 to numerous bank robberies. Named in the conspiracy indictment are Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Sekou Odinga, Nehanda Abiodun, Bilal Sunni-Ali, Chui Ferguson, Jamal, Iliana Robinson, Nilse Cobeo, Susan Rosenberg, Silvia Baraldini and Dr. Alan Berkman. Of these eleven people, four are free today. ...

“A total of ten people have been imprisoned for refusing to collaborate with the grand jury ‘investigation.’ This revolutionary and principled stand has been fought for by leaders in the Puerto Rican and Mexicano struggles, who are now fighting the state’s efforts to charge them with criminal contempt for resisting the fascism of the grand jury. By taking the stand of non-collaboration, the grand jury resisters are carrying on the total resistance of the freedom fighters. In the words of New Afrikan grand jury resister Shaheem Jabbar, ‘Our non-collaboration must be accompanied with a conviction that prison is not a defeat. It demonstrates that the government cannot break the will and spirit of our people.’ By refusing to talk to the grand jury, Shaheem Jabbar, Alan Berkman, Eve Rosahn, Silvia Baraldini, Bernardine Dohrn, Gerry Gaines, Asha Sundiata, Aisha, Yaasmyn Fula, Fulani Sunni-Ali and Iliana Robinson are building a wall of silence protecting the armed clandestine movement.”

Various groups of the Weather Underground engaged in violent activities in different parts of the country. One of the Weather Underground groups was the Symbionese Liberation Army. A Weather Underground communiqué dated February 20, 1974 and signed Bernardine Dohrn discussed the work of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Dohrn’s description of the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst was “the guerillas have kidnapped the daughter of a rich and powerful man in order to provide food to the poor. Their action has unleashed an astonishing p(r)actical unity among people’s organizations, and a leap in everyone’s consciousness about the fundamental reality which will not die or pass into the memoirs of a previous decade. That is, the war between the rich and the poor.” Dohrn did question, but mildly, the murder of the Black educator Marcus Foster as he was not a “recognized enemy”. But, says Dohrn, “it is wrong to allow such questions to become a grant of immunity to enemies and executioners of the oppressed.” So Dohrn wasn’t too upset about the senseless murder of an innocent man.



Weather Underground  
February 20, 1974

Sisters and Brothers,

A massive morality play of American life is occurring, 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 that the American Empire is violent, ruthless, and based on oppression.

As the Symbionese Liberation Army action has unfolded, the bare bones of this drama have emerged out of the contradictions and militaristic style: the guerillas have kidnapped 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 people's organizations, and a leap in everyone's consciousness about the fundamental reality which will not die or pass into the memoirs 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. Africans were kidnapped and brought here in chains to labor as slaves; Asians brought to build the railroads and mine the ore, kidnapped during World War II and transported to detention camps; Chicanos brought to harvest the fruit and vegetables; poor whites brought as indentured servants or desperate unemployed —and historically all of us pawns and participants in the theft of Native American land and history.

Two hundred years later, this terror is still both institutionalized and randomly encouraged:

— Last November, three white policemen murdered 14 year old Tyrone Guyton one block from his home in Emeryville. He was black, shot with a .357 magnum pistol.

— Reagan's latest assault, Welfare Regulation No. 6, became effective January 1, 1974. It eliminates people who are technically illegal aliens from the welfare roles of AFDC and medical programs threatening the survival of thousands of Chicano families who have come in search of work. Poor mothers and their children have been singled out to bear the brunt of the attack. At the same time, farm workers are being shot at and arrested for their struggle to organize.

— Ruchell Cinque Magee, a victim of official kidnap since June 1963, is being tried again in San Jose for participating in a legitimate slave rebellion, called "aggravated kidnap" by the authorities. In that rebellion, 17 year old Jonathan Jackson was brutally gunned down by San Quentin guards. His grieving mother had no riches to save her childrens' lives.

— At the present time, the government holds 22,000 people hostage in the California prisons. They are subject to an escalating "get tough" policy of lockdowns, special adjustment centers and indeterminate sentences. When they can't be contained or broken, they are executed as was George Jackson.

— Terror-bombing from the air, the random destruction of the lives of millions, has been the Asian—and now African—experience of Pax Americana.

For two generations, the Hearst newspapers themselves have wielded their power and profits by exploiting the most lurid aspects of war, irrational violence, and racist and sexist ideas. They have a lot of reckoning to account for.

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.

Hunger and the need for food are urgent. The fact that there are enough people in need in California to require \$400 million to feed them for one month reveals the dimensions of the crisis. And this is the cornucopia of the United States.

Look at Vietnam, formerly the rice bowl of Southeast Asia. Now the Saigon-controlled areas of South Vietnam are in the midst of a rice famine. This is the consequence of a US-sponsored decade of savage interference in the Vietnamese right to self-determination and independence. It remains true that in Vietnam, US priorities can be seen most clearly. Last year Nixon gave \$1.3 billion in military aid alone to Thieu.

3. There have always been attempts to disassociate extremists from moderates, to rewrite the fierce struggles of yesterday into "reasonable" unthreatening squabbles, and—above all—to incite racist fears about what might happen when "they" get out of control. It is the people who make revolution, and they must determine how and when revolutionary violence is necessary. This is fundamental: the oppressed have a common enemy. Don't do the enemy's work. The media distort and denounce 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 plans 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. Whether or not any of this is literally true, the important thing about revolutionary action is its political effect, its direction, what it teaches and changes and strengthens.

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.

It is a new experience for us to be described as a moderate alternative in the Hearst press. This has never happened before. New Left "moderation" is invented now as another racist weapon against Black revolution.

Despite the efforts by the media to sow confusion, many organizations and leaders have kept the primary issues of official violence and oppression in the forefront, affirmed the serious intentions of the SLA, and called for food for people and the safety of both Patricia Hearst and members of the SLA. This is a new and beautiful development.

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4. Revolutions are uneven. They develop from concrete 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.

For the ruling class, it's an easy thing to anonomously destroy thousands of lives. The use of violence carries different burdens for conscious revolutionaries who love the people, than for their enemies who fear and hate people.

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.

The hypocrisy of ruling class morality and justice is shown in their treatment of the SLA prisoners. Joseph Remiro and Russel Little have not been tried, but they are being held in isolation in the Adjustment Center of San Quentin. And still the three policemen from the same area who murdered a 14 year old Black manchild have not even been indicted, despite the collective outcry of the Black community.

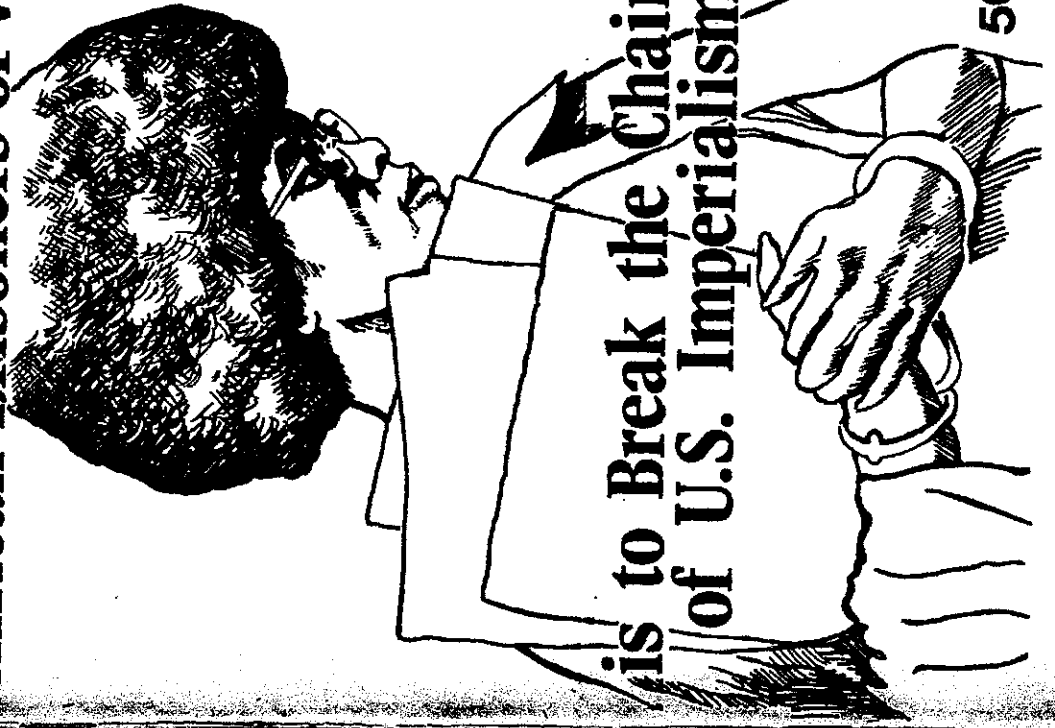
Committed political workers will be criticizing and discussing the Hearst kidnapping for a long time, but we must acknowledge that this audacious intervention has carried forward the basic public questions and starkly dramatized what many have come to understand through their own experience: It will be necessary to organize and to destroy this racist and cruel system.

for the Weather Underground,

/s/ Bernardine Dohrn

Another Weather Underground group was the May 19<sup>th</sup> Communist Organization. Named after the birthday of Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X. The previous name of the group was N.Y. Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. See next page for the cover and back page of a May 19<sup>th</sup> Communist Organization pamphlet issued while Joanne Chesimard was still in prison.

**To Free Assata Shakur  
and all  
African Prisoners of War**



May 19th Communist Organization  
(formerly the N.Y. Prairie Fire  
Organizing Committee)  
P.O. Box 613  
Van Brunt Station  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215

cover by Madame Binh Graphics Collective

# NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTER DAY

The Committee to Honor New Afrikan Freedom Fighters has called for a day of solidarity with New Afrikan Freedom Fighters on July 18th. On that day, Black people will celebrate the birthday of revolutionary freedom fighter Assata Shakur by demonstrating their support for the Black Liberation Army as fighters and leaders of their nation's struggle for land and independence. Black people will rally and march to recognize all those people within the Black Liberation struggle and the Black community at large who have defended and secured Black people's survival. The Black nation has always resisted white terrorism and genocide. Armed self-defense is the unequivocal right of a people whose very survival is under attack. Genocide is real in Amerika. In 1980 alone 40 Black and Third World youth are gunned down by killer cops in Los Angeles; a 20-year-old Black man is lynched in Mobile, Alabama; 13 Black women are shot to death by sniper attacks in Boston; 30 Black youth are strangled to death in Atlanta; and the Ku Klux Klan runs for public office in California and gets 28% of the vote. This is an unparalleled reign of terror against Black people and Black youth in particular. The demonstration on July 18 will affirm the right to rebel, to resist, to organize self-defense, and to wage armed struggle to stop genocide and fight for Black liberation.

On July 18th all anti-imperialists and progressive forces will join together to fight for self-determination for the Black nation, to free all Prisoners of War, and to support the need to build the Black Liberation Army. May 19th Communist Organization calls on white people to join the JOHN BROWN CONTINGENT of the march—which is named for John Brown because he represents the greatest example of solidarity with Black liberation. John Brown went to war against white supremacy.

Today, Black people are building an army to fight for freedom. As stated in the call for this demonstration, "Assata and the Black Liberation Army are New Afrikans' new heroes in America. These comrades have committed their lives to the success of people's war for national liberation, land and independence. These foot soldiers have been working among the masses, organizing and politicizing Black people about the need to struggle and resist police terror, white vigilantes, racism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Because of their unwavering commitment to fight, their backs were pushed up against the wall of racist American fascism. Many of these soldiers were framed and hunted down like animals. Their families were intimidated and terrorized by the FBI, police and secret service. Out of the will to survive and keep their dignity, they chose to pick up the gun. FROM THESE REALITIES WAS BORN THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY, NEW AFRIKANS' FINEST SOLDIERS INSIDE AMERICA."

The struggle to liberate New Afrika (the Black nation in the U.S.) is the strategy that can stop the reign of terror. There is a life-and-death struggle being waged against the system of u.s.-led imperialism. When prisoners rose up at Attica state prison in 1971 and said "we are men, we are not beasts," they represented all forces around the world struggling against this system. They were struggling against inhuman conditions. Those conditions have been transformed into the conditions of life for all oppressed peoples, not just those in concentration camps (prisons), but now on the streets as well. 10 years later, in 1981, war in Amerika is real, and freedom fighters are not terrorists.

In El Salvador, Namibia, Puerto Rico and within the borders of the u.s., oppressed nations are fighting to defeat a system that can only survive through the genocide and exploitation of their people. They are fighting for land and nationhood, and for socialism, a system based in equality and full human rights, where the wealth of society is used to meet the needs of the people who produce it. These struggles are leading proletarian revolution in the world today. The victories of national liberation, such as in Zimbabwe and Nicaragua, and the strengthening of anti-imperialist struggle around the world have created a crisis for imperialism that it is desperately trying to resolve through war, the mobilization of white supremacy and the building of fascism.

The rise of white supremacy and terrorism in this period is in direct relationship to the decline of imperialism. Imperialism, a system that is based on the oppression and exploitation of whole nations, has always relied on white supremacy—the economic, political, and social enforcement of the "superiority" of white people. It was the basis of African slavery, which built this country; of the "Manifest Destiny" which meant the genocide of Native American people and the annexation of Mexican land as the u.s. expanded to the Pacific; of the "white man's burden" which justified the conquest of Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines and continues to justify u.s. military intervention in every part of the Third World. Inside the borders of this country, the rule of white supremacy has meant the rule of the lynch mob and killer cops; the super-exploitation of Black labor on the land in the South and in industry North and South; and the institutionalization of genocidal conditions of life for the entire Black population. There has never been a time in the history of the u.s. when white supremacy has not dominated all aspects of life. But with the very real threat to the continued existence of u.s. imperialism, white supremacy is the u.s. imperialist state's strategy to consolidate all white people to defend Amerika. This consolidation of the white oppressor nation is being carried out in direct relation to the attack on the survival of the oppressed nations within the u.s. Black and Third World people are portrayed as the criminals of this society rather than the primary victims of it. The threat to the system of white supremacy is heightened by the struggle against white settler colonialism in Palestine, Azania/South Africa and Namibia. African liberation worldwide is destroying the system of white supremacy which is the main form of maintaining imperialist reaction.

There is a choice for white people in Amerika. It is the most serious choice we will ever make in our lives. That choice is to stand on the side of the liberation forces—for self-determination, for an end to genocide, for death to the klan, and for the destruction of white supremacy. White working class people and oppressed nations in u.s. have the same enemy—u.s. imperialism—and therefore we must take a stand and struggle against this system. In doing this we will be struggling for the end of our oppression as women, and an end to the exploitation of the working class.

In honoring and building solidarity with New Afrikan freedom fighters on July 18 we join with our Black and Third World comrades in resisting genocide, and in fighting for our freedom. The John Brown Contingent will participate with the understanding that the only basis for winning full human rights is struggling for self-determination. And to ensure and defend that goal an army is necessary. Atlanta is Amerika and there is war in Amerika. When oppressed nations rise up inside this country it will not remain standing, and u.s. imperialism will be destroyed.

John Brown said at his trial,

"Now if it is deemed necessary that I forfeit my life and mingle my blood with the blood of millions in this slave country—so let it be. Had I interfered on behalf of the rich, the powerful, the so-called great, instead of on behalf of the despised poor—every person in this country would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment."

Join us and demand:

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE BLACK NATION  
FREE ALL POW'S  
THE BLACK COMMUNITY IS AT WAR  
SUPPORT THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY  
FIGHT WHITE SUPREMACY**

# NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTER DAY

HONORING

## The Black Liberation Army

&



SIS. ASSATA SHAKUR

The COMMITTEE TO HONOR NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS calls for a demonstration at:

Harlem State Office Building • Saturday, July 18, 1981  
ASSEMBLE • 11:00 A.M. • MARCH! • RALLY • 1:00 P.M.

MAY 19th COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION calls on all anti-imperialist white people to support NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTER DAY and join the JOHN BROWN CONTINGENT to participate in the march and rally in solidarity with the demands of the COMMITTEE TO HONOR NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE BLACK NATION**  
**FREE ALL P.O.W.'s**  
**THE BLACK COMMUNITY IS AT WAR**  
**SUPPORT THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY**  
**FIGHT WHITE SUPREMACY**

"We need allies who are going to help us achieve victory, not allies who are going to tell us to be non-violent. If a white man wants to be an ally, ask him what does he think of John Brown. You know what John Brown did? He went to war."

—Malcolm X

### COME TO COMMUNITY MEETINGS

discuss the demonstration and participation in the JOHN BROWN CONTINGENT.

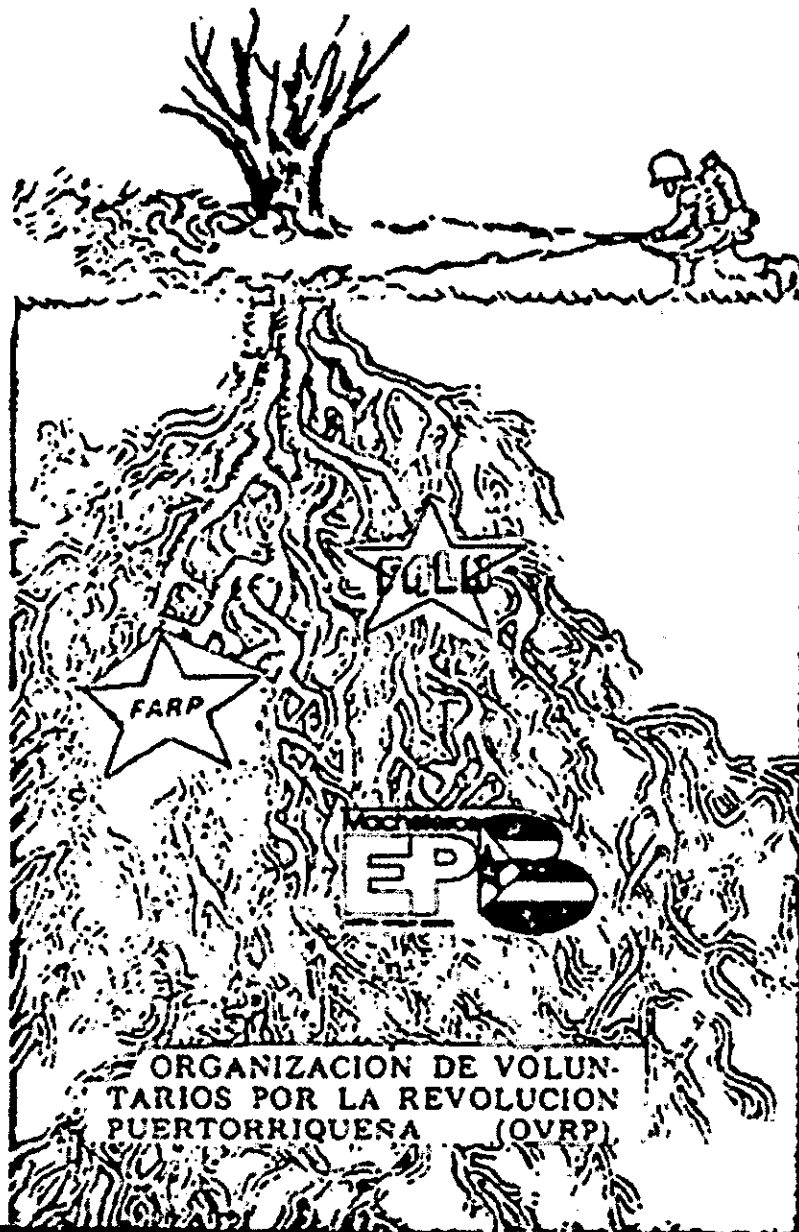
- THURSDAY, JULY 9 7:30 P.M. • Women's Program • P.S. 122 1st Ave. and 9th St.
- SUNDAY, JULY 12 7:30 P.M. • Park Slope, Brooklyn • Moncada Library, 434 5th Ave. at 9th St.
- TUESDAY, JULY 14 7:30 P.M. • Upper West Side • St. John the Divine, 100 St. and Amsterdam Ave.

For more information, call: May 19th Communist Organization—National Office • (212) 522-7294  
For local information, call: Chicago, Ill., (312) 468-8130 • Western Mass., (413) 584-1000  
• Boston, MA., (617) 825-7608 • Austin, TX., (512) 478-8226

May 19th Communist Organization • 3111 Cudman Plaza Station, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202 • (212) 522-7294

The Weather Underground section of May 19<sup>th</sup> Communist Organization also undertook to distribute materials of the Puerto Rican terrorists group FALN. (See reproductions of some of their documents and of the United Front of the FALN with other Puerto Rican terrorist groups.)

FIRST JOINT MESSAGE  
FROM THE CLANDESTINE  
ORGANIZATIONS TO  
THE PEOPLE



FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LIBERACION  
NACIONAL FALN (U.S.)

FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA  
POPULAR FARP

ORGANIZACION DE VOLUNTARIOS  
PARA LA REVOLUCION  
PUERTORRIQUENA OVRP

PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DE  
LOS TRABAJADORES  
PUERTORRIQUENOS – EJERCITO  
POPULAR BORICUA –  
MACHETEROS PRTP-EPB



ARMED PROPAGANDA AGAINST THE U.S. WAR MACHINE

Communiques From the Armed Resistance Unit  
and the United Freedom Front 1982 - 1983

Compiled with an introduction by the  
May 19th Communist Organization

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P.O. Box 3111  
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Brooklyn, New York 11202

## Introduction

Over the past year, armed revolutionary actions have begun to increase inside the u.s. These seven communiques from the Armed Resistance Unit and the United Freedom Front were received by public forces and the mass media after revolutionary actions against the u.s. war apparatus and the u.s. ruling state. Terms for this period of armed activity were defined when the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) bombed New York Police headquarters, New York FBI headquarters, and the U.S. Attorney's offices in Brooklyn and Manhattan on December 31, 1982. Followed by a flurry of repressive activity by the u.s. state, this series of bombings shattered the tranquility of the u.s. imperialists and their colonial domination of Puerto Rico.

At a time when the u.s. "Trilateralist" ruling class is preparing its military apparatus to be able to fight at once on four continents, these actions have interrupted the basic acceptance voiced by the u.s. public for these war maneuvers. Except for these actions and several mass mobilizations dominated by a distinct lack of revolutionary strategy and militancy, imperialist aggression to smash the socialist revolution in Grenada has met with acceptance inside the borders of the u.s. In a mass movement defined by opportunist leadership, these armed actions have lent the crucial revolutionary voice to solidarity with the peoples of the Caribbean, Central America and the Middle East. This practice in an embryonic form begins to attack the worldwide system of imperialism in its heart. It empowers a revolutionary direction at a time when pacifism, reformism and rabid anti-communism have rendered the movement powerless to mount an organized militant response to u.s. war. These revolutionary forces have begun to strip the democratic veil off of a system which depends upon the illusion of bourgeois liberty. They've contributed to putting the u.s. warmakers and their ruling apparatus behind protective barriers to shore up its defenses. They expose the vulnerability of a system in extreme contradiction with the people it rules -- it has to beef up its security because it doesn't know when it will be attacked. "Democratic rights" in a "free and open" system clearly become expendable, and the real nature of the system as an empire thriving on colonial oppression is revealed.

These actions have exposed that the imperialist enemy is a system, one that is expanding its wars to meet its political and economic crisis, and not just a bad administration. In this period, they define the cutting edge between a movement that petitions an empire for "better policies" and one that fights to build a serious opposing force. The imperialists are mobilized to prevent the revolutionary character of the resistance during the Vietnam war. They know that they can't afford revolution at home, so they are seriously engaged in trying to criminalize and destroy the revolutionary forces in the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.

As the u.s. counterinsurgency machine and the petit bourgeois character of the movement together encourage an overall cynicism about change, a basic immunity to imperialist atrocity and conservatism to protect the privileges of empire, these actions point to the fighting leadership of revolutionary struggles as they are being waged today; and recognize the leadership offered by the FALN and the BLA (Black Liberation Army) and the contribution of captured freedom fighters inside u.s. prisons. They call for a movement that fights imperialism, that confronts its military and actually interrupts its plans for war. They call for revolutionary resistance inside the u.s. -- to fight the world's enemy on its own turf. They argue that a new society can only be built on the ashes of the old.

These actions have begun to provide revolutionary leadership for those American people who are truly disturbed by the u.s. invasion of Grenada, and for the growing solidarity movements with the peoples of Central America. This leadership to be massified must be taken up by public revolutionary forces. For revolutionaries in the oppressor nation, solidarity with national liberation struggles provides the political basis upon which we will polarize the white proletariat to organize significant sectors of it to fight for socialist revolution. Recognizing the leadership the oppressed nations struggling for independence and socialism offer in the dismemberment of the imperialist system calls for a strategy in the oppressor nation that makes war on the

warmakers. The Armed Resistance Unit has made a particular argument in declaring its solidarity with "the peoples of Grenada, Lebanon, Palestine, El Salvador and Nicaragua -- who are confronting direct U.S. aggression and those, like the people of Chile and the Philippines, who are struggling to free their nations from U.S. puppet regimes. They are all paying a tremendous price for freedom, and we commit ourselves to fight with the same seriousness for the same goals -- self-determination for oppressed nations, the total defeat of imperialism, and the building of a socialist world." Our actions also carries a message to the anti-imperialist movement here, that we need to resist and fight as people all over the world are doing -- with principle, consistency and determination." (from the communique which accompanied the bombing of the U.S. Capitol, November 7, 1983).

The struggle to build a revolutionary force in the oppressor nation is at a turning point. It can't be an intellectual exercise, nor can it tail the protest activity led by opportunists. We agree with Judy Clark and David Gilbert, anti-imperialist freedom fighters captured in the course of struggling with the BLA for New Afrikan independence when they argue that:

"Organizations that work at the public level have to bring numbers of people into actual struggle against the enemy, toward the goal of revolution. . . While legal and illegal work must be maximized, a clandestine mentality, a conspiratorial consciousness, a willingness to seek new forms of struggle, must be embedded in all levels of revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle. Ultimately the struggle for power must be led by organizations based in clandestinity."

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FALN COMMUNIQUE - DECEMBER 31, 1982



**de LIBERACION NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA**

The Angel Rodriguez Cristobal Commando of the FALN assumes full responsibility for the coordinated armed attack against United States repressive agencies in New York City on December 31, 1982.

This is the response of the Puerto Rican people in exile to the fascist repressive actions of the FBI, U.S. courts and police against our people in Puerto Rico and the U.S.

As the contradictions between the U.S. and its capitalist partners increase as they greedily seek new markets, the value of Puerto Rico to the yankee imperialists once again becomes evident. Militarily it is a base of operations which will be used as a springboard to protect its interests in the Caribbean, Latin America, and its shipping routes which bring petroleum from the Arab countries to the industrial eastern coast of the U.S.

Economically the rich mineral deposits of copper, nickel and other valuable minerals found in the central region of Puerto Rico are necessary for the war industry of the imperialists. Already the colonial puppet government and the yankee corporations have signed contracts and excavation will begin in 1985. This will entail the physical and cultural destruction of our country and people. This genocide we will oppose until victory or death.

In order to complete their military and economic plans the imperialists must beat our people into submission. This strategy of terror and repression is responsible for the assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, Cerro Maravilla, the beatings and burning of the homes of the residents of Villa Sin Miedo and the use of the grand jury to incarcerate supporters and members of the revolutionary independence sectors.

The destruction of the Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. through gentrification and the burning of buildings is an attempt to disperse our people and destroy our identity. It is a strategy aimed at eliminating a base of support for our struggle of independence and socialism for our homeland.

Again we wish to bring to the attention of people everywhere the case of the ELEVEN PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR who are being treated inhumanely by their yankee jailers. Of particular concern is the treatment of Haydee Torres. The lack of proper medical attention for a viral infection puts her in danger of developing cancer. We will not tolerate any harm done to the ELEVEN. We demand proper and immediate medical care for Haydee and the immediate and unconditional release of the ELEVEN PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR and all our POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The FBI, courts, police are our enemy and are responsible at the present moment for implementing the strategy of repression and terror against our people. Be prepared to accept the consequences.

FALN CENTRAL COMMAND

INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO

IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF THE 11 PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR AND ALL OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS

OPPOSE THE EXPLOITATION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

# Armed Resistance Unit Bombs War College

April 26, 1981

Tonight we attacked Fort Lesley McNair Military Base in Washington, D.C. Fort McNair houses one branch of the U.S. War College, the National Defense University, and the Inter-American Defense College (IADC). This action was taken in solidarity with the growing liberation movements in El Salvador, in Guatemala, and throughout Central America, and with the socialist government of Nicaragua. This region today is the center of world revolution and the front line in the defeat of U.S. imperialism. For this reason, it is currently the target of the most vicious U.S. counterrevolutionary attacks.

At the IADC, the U.S. trains high-ranking military officers from Latin America in its program of counterinsurgency warfare. Trained in torture and terror, tied to the U.S. military and the CIA, its graduates are responsible for the overthrow of progressive and democratic governments throughout Latin America and for the establishment of fascist military regimes that oppress the masses of people. They are responsible for the murder of over 30,000 El Salvadoreans. The IADC serves to keep Latin America as the backyard of Yankee imperialism and the graveyard of millions.

The people of El Salvador, under the leadership of the FMLN/FDR, are fighting to end the oppression. Their righteous struggle for peace, self-determination, economic and social justice is a beacon for the peoples of Latin America and the world who have seen their lives, labor and resources sacrificed for the enrichment of U.S. imperialism and its multi-national corporations.

The U.S. response is to use all the techniques of counterinsurgency taught at the IADC. Green Berets fight directly in El Salvador while thousands of Salvadorean government troops train at Ft. Bragg and Ft. Benning, hundreds of millions of dollars of military aid is given to the junta, and massive "war games" are conducted by U.S. troops throughout the region. The CIA has hundreds of agents in Central America and is training and supplying thousands of mercenaries and ex-members of Somoza's National Guard who are currently invading Nicaragua. The U.S. is openly transforming Honduras into a garrison state to implement U.S. military strategy in the region. Facing military defeat in El Salvador, the U.S. is implementing "rural pacification" programs that will result in the deaths of tens of thousands, the forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of campesinos into barbed-wire enclosed strategic hamlets, and the destruction of the land. Faced with a people's war, the U.S. attempts to kill the people. This is full-scale counterinsurgency war, and we must actively oppose it.

This is not the policy of just one bad administration. It is the reality of U.S. imperialist control in the Third World. It is the result of a system based on maximizing profit for relatively few throughout the world and within its own borders. Caught in a political and economic crisis of its own making, faced with the growing struggles of people throughout the world for national liberation and socialism, the response of the U.S. is war, fascism and genocide.

The courage, sacrifice and determination of the people of El Salvador is an inspiration to oppressed people throughout the world. Our action is part of the growing worldwide solidarity with that struggle.

We inside the U.S. are in the belly of the beast. Solidarity is growing, but alongside our protest we must build an active resistance to the U.S. war machine. The growing militarization of our society means that the military is everywhere -- and vulnerable to our action. Recruiting stations dot neighborhoods, ROTC functions on campuses, factories produce the weapons, military bases train the men. Resistance is not only an act of solidarity -- it is the basis for our own revolutionary movement.

El Salvador will win, Guatemala will win, the people of Latin America and the Caribbean will be free, U.S. imperialism will be defeated.

COMMANDEANTE ANA MARIA (MELINDA ANAYA MONTES) ESTA PRESENTE!  
 VICTORY TO THE FMLN/FDR!  
 SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL AMERICA!  
 BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE MOVEMENT!  
 FIGHT U.S. IMPERIALISM!  
 DEFEND THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION!

# ARMED RESISTANCE UNIT BOMBS THE U.S. CAPITOL

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE ARMED RESISTANCE UNIT  
NOVEMBER 7, 1983

Tonight we bombed the U.S. Capitol building. We attacked the U.S. government to retaliate against imperialist aggression that has sent the marines, the CIA and the army to invade sovereign nations, to trample and lay waste to the lives and rights of the peoples of Grenada, Lebanon, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, to carry out imperialism's need to dominate, oppress, and exploit. Every act of the U.S. military -- directed by the White House and Congress -- has been nothing less than an outright attack on the fundamental right of nations to self-determination, peace and freedom. These acts have been carried out with cynical disregard for life as well as for truth. Reagan calls progress and revolution "terrorism" and tries to portray the true terrorism of imperialist invasion as "democracy" and "freedom." Only the government arrogant enough to believe that its economic and political needs should dominate the whole world can call the invasion of Grenada a "rescue operation," the invasion of Lebanon a "peace-keeping mission," the fascist rulers of El Salvador "democracy's friends," and the contra "freedom fighters." The Reagan lie that the invasion of Grenada prevented a "Cuban takeover" is nothing less than a pretext for eliminating a Black socialist nation in the Caribbean. Last year, in a dress rehearsal called "Ocean Venture," the U.S. armed forces practiced the Grenadian Invasion on the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico. The vicious attack on the socialist nation of Cuba -- which has provided a consistent, revolutionary example of proletarian internationalism -- and the attempt to discredit and destroy the People's Revolutionary Army and the New Jewel Movement of the Grenadian people, show the extent to which the U.S. will go in order to control and dominate Latin America, Central America, and the Caribbean, and to try to defeat socialism in the region. With the collusion of the press, the U.S. government is building anti-communism to justify these attacks and further military aggression to resolve its own internal economic and political problems.

We are acting in solidarity with all those leading the fight against U.S. imperialism -- the peoples of Grenada, Lebanon, Palestine, El Salvador, and Nicaragua -- who are confronting direct U.S. aggression, and those, like the people of Chile and the Philippines, who are struggling to free their nations from U.S. puppet regimes. They are all paying a tremendous price for freedom, and we commit ourselves to fight with the same seriousness for the same goals -- self-determination for oppressed nations, the total defeat of imperialism, and the building of a socialist world.

Our action also carries a message to the anti-imperialist movement here, that we need to resist and fight as people all over the world are doing -- with principle, consistency and determination. We join with all the people across the U.S., and the millions throughout the world, who condemn U.S. imperialist aggression. Our solidarity with the liberation struggles under attack by U.S. imperialism must be uncompromising, militant, and unwavering in supporting the right of those nations to self-determination. We cannot fall into the trap of debating which wing of the government has the right to declare war, or which politician might be less blatant in his racism and anti-communism, nor can we be fooled by those bourgeois politicians who claim to be sympathetic to Third World nations -- and who would more 'humanely' exploit those nations in the interest of U.S. imperialism. The enemy is the imperialist system. Electoral politics and pacifism are paths that have been tried many times, and that have failed. To follow those paths now will only weaken and undermine the movement and defeat our attempts to organize greater numbers of people to resist.

Our action carries a message to the U.S. imperialist ruling class: we purposely aimed our attack at the institutions of imperialist rule rather than at individual members of the ruling class and government. We did not choose to kill any of them at this time. But their lives are not sacred, and their hands are stained with the blood of millions. Let it be as clear to the people of this country as it is to the rest of the people of the world that the U.S. ruling class are war criminals, and they will be held accountable for their crimes.

33 years ago almost to the day, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, two Puerto Rican Nationalists fighting for Independence for Puerto Rico, attacked another part of imperialist power -- the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the U.S. Their action was one of the first in which the oppressed brought the war back to the doorsteps of the oppressor. We salute them and all those Puerto Rican, Mexican, New Afrikan, Native American and North American freedom fighters who have been killed or captured in the struggle. To them also, our action carries a message -- our commitment to carry on the struggle.

**U.S. MILITARY OUT OF GRENADA, LEBANON AND CENTRAL AMERICA!  
DEFEND THE GRENADIAN AND NICARAGUAN REVOLUTIONS!  
VICTORY TO THE FMLN/FDR!  
SUPPORT THE LEBANESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE P.L.O.!  
FIGHT U.S. IMPERIALISM! BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE MOVEMENT!**

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One of the Weather Underground sections was the New World Liberation Front in California. It established what they called a Peoples' Information Relay (PIR). According to New World Liberation Front:

## WHAT'S A PIR?

Sisters and brothers engaged in armed struggle - the peoples' forces - could not operate effectively if their identities were known. Complete security of identity is one of the underground's most important advantages in guerrilla warfare and in ideal circumstances, no one should know the identity of any member of a combat unit except other members. To communicate with the people, the underground must use an above-ground "relay" and the establishment media have proven to be treacherously unreliable. Communiques are edited down to the sensational and then sensationalized. In addition, those selected for receipt of communiques often take police with them to pick them up thus placing original copies in the hands of the enemy and necessitating extraordinary security procedures.

For these reasons, sisters and brothers of Prairie Fire Organizing Committees, the Bay Area Research Collective, New Dawn Party, Peoples' Court Comrades and others - assisted by comrades with a few dollars for photocopying who operate informally and independantly - have assumed the responsibility for reproduction and distribution of information from the underground.

The informal group known as peoples' court comrades began the publication of NWLF communiques in September of 1975 and distributing them by mail and by posting in public places. This practice was continued until the end of 1975 when the group disbanded. On January 1st., the Peoples' Information Relay came into existence to assume the responsibility for conveying information from the peoples' forces to the people.

PIR-1 is relaying information for the New World Liberation Front and this will be done primarily through TUG but reprints of all NWLF communiques since October, pamphlets (a booby-trap manual is coming), and Pop eye, Analysis of the Peoples' Court, can be obtained for a small donation.

All donations to PIR-1 should be in cash or postage stamps since we don't keep records or deal with banks or any of that shit. Since PIR-1 has and is operating with a large deficit and is supported by comrades with very little money, donations will determine the size, quality and frequency of TUG and its other publications. If our efforts are not supported by the people, we will surely go under.

PIR - Peoples' Information Relay - is a concept and, as such, is a name that may be used by any person or group that wishes to perform that function. For purposes of identification, this PIR unit will refer to itself as PIR-1.

Others wishing to use the name can use numerical designation, location designations (i.e. Oakland PIR) or designations that honor revolutionary heroines and heros (i.e. The Jonathan Jackson PIR).

All comrades are urged to reproduce and distribute information from the underground by any means available. A photocopy costs as little as 2¢ and all PIR-1 publications will be designed for clear reproduction in this manner. None of the material in TUG is under copyright and may be freely reproduced by anyone. ●

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, many of the Weather Underground members were arrested and some surfaced. A combination of liberal parole boards, Justice Department deals, and President Bill Clinton releasing Weather Underground and Puerto Rican terrorists left many of them loose on our streets.

Some of them are still active on the left. People who had been active in planting bombs have become lawyers, college professors, and "community activists".

The Weather Underground was born in the violence in Chicago. Many police officers and others were injured. See Appendix I. The hearings of the House Committee on Internal Security identified Chicago official Richard Elrod, who was permanently crippled and police officer Toby Burton, who was severely beaten by the Weathermen thugs. Burton, still a member of the Chicago police department, has risen to a high rank. Elrod has been a judge in Chicago for many years, but has not fully recovered.

The book *Weatherman*, Edited by Harold Jacobs, Ramparts Press, 1970, which contained many of the communiques and articles sympathetic to the Weathermen, published a Weatherman song celebrating the injury to Richard Elrod. The song goes as follows:

*(to the tune of "Lay, Lady, Lay")*

"Lay Elrod lay

Lay in the street for a while

Stay Elrod stay

Stay in your bed for a while

"You thought you could stop the Weatherman

But up-front people put you on your can

"Stay Elrod stay

Stay in your iron lung

Play Elrod play

Play with your toes for a while

"You thought the Weatherman was mighty green

But we were the heaviest that you'd ever seen

"Lay Elrod lay" Lay in the street for a while

Stay Elrod stay

Stay in your bed for a while"

The Weather Underground has gotten away with much of the violence. But the dead police officers are still remembered and some of those injured are still officials in the city of Chicago, including one permanently crippled.

Larry Grathwohl worked undercover for the FBI in the Weather Underground. His testimony before the Senate Committee on Internal Security identified many of the culprits and the planners of the violence. See Appendix II.

## **APPENDIX I**

INVESTIGATION OF STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Part 7-B

(SDS Activities at Fort Dix, N.J.; Washington, D.C.;  
and Chicago, Ill.)

INVESTIGATION OF STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETY

Part 7-B

(SDS Activities at Fort Dix, N.J.; Washington, D.C.; and  
Chicago, Ill.)

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

DECEMBER 17 AND 18, 1969

(INCLUDING INDEX)

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1969

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,  
Washington, D.C.  
PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10:12 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, Richard L. Roudelush of Indiana, and Albert W. Watson of South Carolina. Staff member present: Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The committee meets again this morning to continue the investigation into the activities of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Whom do you have as your first witness this morning, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Romerstein.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Romerstein, will you first be sworn, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF HERBERT ROMERSTEIN

Mr. ROMINES. Would you state your full name for the record, please.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Herbert Romerstein.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom are you employed, Mr. Romerstein?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The House Committee on Internal Security.

Mr. ROMINES. In what capacity?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Investigator.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Romerstein, in accordance with your duties as an investigator were you in Chicago, Illinois, during the interval of October 8 through 11, 1969?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, I was.

(2463)

Mr. ROMANES. For what reason were you there, Mr. Romerstein?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. To observe and investigate activities in connection with the SDS National Action which was held in Chicago on those dates.

Mr. ROMANES. Mr. Romerstein, I heard you what has been marked "Committee Exhibit No. 33" and ask if you can identify that, please.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. This was a document secured by the police in the course of the arrest of a number of people both before and during the SDS National Action. It is a copy of a document entitled "THE GI MOVEMENT: ITS IMPORTANCE IN DEFEATING IMPERIALISM MUST BE UNDERSTOOD" written by Sam Karp and Bob Tomashewsky. Both of those people are identified in the document as having worked at the Fort Dix Coffee House Project and, in connection with that, publishing the newspaper *Shakedown* which is distributed to GIs at Fort Dix.

Mr. ROMANES. Was that document in the possession of an SDS member?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir, it was in the possession of an SDS member.

One of the pertinent portions of this document is on the last page, page 23, which describes the purpose of the coffee house operation and the GI newspaper:

For a revolution to come about in this country, the army will have to be at least neutralized. However, if enough people do their work well, major sections of the army could very well take a positive stance in the battle against imperialism. Of course they always refer to the United States as imperialist, and the North Vietnamese and other armies that are engaged in aggression are referred to as liberation armies by these people.

Mr. ROMANES. Mr. Romerstein, I hand you what has been marked "Committee Exhibit No. 34" and ask if you can identify that, please.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. This is a transcript of remarks made by Andy Stapp of the American Servicemen's Union at the July 20, 1969, session of the National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism in Oakland, California, sponsored by the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMANES. What is Andy Stapp's relationship with the American Servicemen's Union?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. He is a founder and leader of the American Servicemen's Union.

Mr. ROMANES. What is the general import of this speech, Mr. Romerstein?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. In many ways it is similar to the document by Karp and Tomashewsky in that he speaks as they do of propagandizing among members of the Armed Forces for the purposes of turning them against the officers and turning them against the United States.

Let me point out that while these two operations, the American Servicemen's Union and the coffee house, run very close parallels, they are also rival groups and are critical of each other. The Karp-Tomashewsky document criticizes the staff of ASU. The coffee house and *Shakedown* are SDS projects, whereas the American Servicemen's Union is a front organization for the Workers World Party and its Youth group, Youth Against War and Fascism.

Stapp himself is married to Deirdre Griswold, a top leader of the Workers World Party and Youth Against War and Fascism who has

been extremely active in the group for a number of years. There is some rivalry between these groups, but they have very similar aims and purposes.

(At this point Mr. Watson entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ROMANES. Mr. Chairman, I would offer for the record Committee Exhibits Nos. 33 and 34.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection to the admission of Exhibits 33 and 34 into the record?

Hearing no objection, the documents will be admitted.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 33 and 34," respectively. See appendix, pages 2512-2535 and 2536-2538.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ROMANES. Mr. Romerstein, before you get into your Chicago testimony, I wonder if you would explain briefly for the committee and for the record the splits which have occurred in SDS and the factions that have resulted therefrom?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes. At the SDS national convention last summer a major split took place. The Worker-Student Alliance faction, which is the Progressive Labor Party-controlled faction of SDS, split from the rest of SDS and set up its own SDS organization. The national office remained in the hands of the opposition to Progressive Labor. They in turn were divided into two factions, Revolutionary Youth Movement I or RYM I, also known as Weatherman and sometimes referred to as the Weather Bureau, and Revolutionary Youth Movement II, RYM II.

These two factions united to drive out Progressive Labor, but once that had taken place they in turn split apart and are now functioning as separate organizations, RYM II as the Revolutionary Youth Movement and RYM I as the Weatherman. However, there are many sub-factions and additional groups that have sprung up.

There is a tremendous internecine warfare going on in SDS. There is a group in New York called the Mad Dog Commune which is sometimes referred to semiofficially as RYM 1½ because they are neither RYM I nor II. But essentially the major factions are the Weatherman and RYM II.

Mr. ROMANES. Is Progressive Labor Party synonymous with the Worker-Student Alliance?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, not exactly. It is used synonymously. When you talk about the Progressive Labor faction of SDS you are talking about the Worker-Student Alliance, but not all WSA-SDS members are Progressive Labor Party members. It is a faction controlled by the Progressive Labor Party and includes some members who are not PL members.

The CHAIRMAN. We did have a third faction working within the SDS; did we not, Mr. Romerstein?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir, but they have split off.

The CHAIRMAN. RYM I and RYM II.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Worker-Student Alliance. They have set up their own independent SDS organization and they operate out of a headquarters in Boston and publish a rival edition of *New Left Notes*, the SDS newspaper. The split between RYM I and RYM II did not take place until after they had driven out the Progressive Labor Party faction.

Mr. ROYKES. Did they exit in any one particular area or any one direction?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Well, primarily into North Wells Street, but at this point groups split up and went in different directions. The ultimate aim, which we had learned prior to that, was to invade the Drake Hotel where Judge Hoffman was staying. Now the police prevented this; none of them ever got within a block of the Drake Hotel. But while they were attempting to move in groups toward the Drake Hotel they engaged in window breaking, assaulting passersby, breaking windows in cars, and so on.

Mr. ROYKES. Did any arrests ensue after the activities that evening?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes; quite a number of arrests took place that evening of those who were engaged in such actions, and subsequent to that others were arrested on warrants, having been observed by undercover police as being engaged in those activities.

Mr. ROYKES. Mr. Romerstein, I would now direct your attention to Thursday, October 9, and ask if you observed any SDS activities on that date.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I observed a number of them on that date. The first one was announced in the wall paper as follows:

The women's militia will strike the Armed Forces Induction Center in the morning and show the strength of a woman's fighting force. Meet at the Logan Statue—land it tells where the Logan statue is!—in Grant Park, at 9:30 a.m.

Also in this document—

Mr. ROYKES. To what committee exhibit are you referring?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. This is Exhibit 87.

Also in this document there is a statement:

ON THURSDAY OCTOBER 9, THOUSANDS OF YOUNG WOMEN WILL DESTROY THE ARMED FORCES INDUCTION CENTER AT 615 W. VAN BUREN IN CHICAGO.

Now in fact when I arrived at Grant Park there were approximately 75 young women, hardly the thousands that they had anticipated. Many of them were dressed in fatigue-type uniforms, many of them too large for them, wearing helmets, carrying 2 by 2 and 2 by 4 lengths of stick. Some of them carried Viet Cong flags on fairly substantial sticks. A young lady who did not identify herself, but said that she was from the Detroit women's commune, began speaking.

I was able to identify her, having seen her at other occasions, as Dianne Donghi, also known as Dion and Dionne, who has been working in the New York regional office of SDS. Miss Donghi gave them a pep talk about how their sisters in Vietnam are shouldering guns side by side with the men and their sisters in Cuba are cutting sugar cane side by side with the men, and this is their opportunity to show that women are really liberated and they are not just followers, but that they can go out and commit an action themselves, they can go and liberate or destroy the induction center.

Mr. ROYKES. Did anyone else speak at that rally?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes. After Donghi finished another young lady got up and identified herself as Marion Delgado, which is a name that many of the SDSers, both male and female, use as sort of a nom de guerre.

Mr. ROYKES. Do you know where they obtained that name or what significance they attach to it?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. It is a semifictitious name. The story I heard from SDS members goes that a young child 3 or 4 years old during World War II in Italy derailed a train and his name was Marion Delgado, and to show their solidarity with little children who derail trains they all call themselves Marion Delgado.

Mr. ROYKES. Were you able to identify that speaker?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes. The person that was speaking was Bernadine Dohn.

Mr. ROYKES. What was the substance of her remarks?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Very simply, the same as Miss Donghi. She gave a pep talk about how they have to go out and fight and that women are no longer to be the tools of men, but are to take leadership positions and go out and do the fighting themselves.

At this point they began marching through the park and Dianne Donghi left the group and went across the street. As they marched they were surrounded by uniformed police officers, and the police officially advised them that they would not be permitted to carry weapons into the streets of Chicago. If they wanted to run around with sticks it would have to be within the park confines. At this point Miss Dohn led about a dozen of the girls in an attack on the police. They simply took their sticks and clubs and attempted to strike the police officers with them in an attempt to break through the police line. As might have been expected, they were very unsuccessful and they were loaded kicking and screaming into paddy wagons.

Mr. ROYKES. What did the remainder of the girls do?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The remainder of the girls, upon being told to drop their weapons, did so and peacefully marched out of the park. Upon arriving across the street, they were rejoined by Dianne Donghi who was apparently the second-string leadership kept in reserve while Dohn led the assault. She led them first to a subway station and then dispersed them.

Mr. ROYKES. Did they in fact ever go to the induction center?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, they came nowhere near the induction center.

Mr. ROYKES. Now these women or girls, Mr. Romerstein, did they represent any particular faction of SDS?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, they were members of the Weatherman faction.

Mr. Royner advises me that Marion Delgado was a 5-year-old boy who derailed a train in Alameda County in California in 1947. However, I have heard from SDS members who have repeated the story verbally that this was an incident in Italy. I didn't know in fact whether such an incident did take place or whether this is just one of the SDS fantasy stories that they tell. Mr. Horner indicates that the incident did in fact take place in Alameda County, California, in 1947.

Mr. ROYKES. Mr. Romerstein, did you observe any other SDS activities on Thursday, October 9?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes. Upon leaving Grant Park I proceeded to the Civic Center, where a press conference had been called by Jonathan Lerner.

Mr. ROYKES. Who is Jonathan Lerner?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. He identified himself to the press as the assistant national secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Mr. ROMINES. What faction or what group did he represent?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. He is another Weatherman representative. This was an open-air press conference, and prior to the arrival of Lerner a fairly large crowd had gathered when they saw the television cameras. When Lerner arrived he said he was going to make a statement to the press. The first thing he did was hold up what appeared to be an aluminum ring, which he said had been made from a part of an American plane shot down over North Vietnam. He stated that he was wearing this ring to express his solidarity with the North Vietnamese anti-aircraft gunners that had shot down American planes. He then proceeded to make a statement outlining the Weatherman position in the National Action. He stated that previously the SDS position had been, "Well do our things and when the Pigs attack us"—the "Pigs" being a colloquialism for police officers—"when the Pigs attack us, we used to respond. Well, we're no longer going to do this. Our slogan now is 'Bring the War Home' and we will decide when to launch the attacks and we will attack the cops." This is in fact what we observed during the various actions in Chicago, that they no longer simply attempted to provoke the police, they actually launched physical assaults upon the police. Lerner outlined this as their position.

Now as Lerner spoke to the press the passersby who had gathered, and these were just ordinary citizens off the streets of Chicago, began shouting things like "Go back to Russia!" and "Go back to China." One fellow shouted, "How about coming over here and we can fight it out now." Lerner did not appear to be too anxious to have single combat that way, and the young man that was with him who appeared to be his bodyguard turned to a fellow in the crowd and asked if he could get some help for them in getting out of the crowd, which was getting pretty rough at this point. Actually Chicago police officers in plain clothes made a path for them so that they could get away from what at this point was a hostile crowd.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the assembled press ask Lerner any questions, Mr. Romerstein?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. They attempted to, and Lerner said that he had no desire to answer questions of the press, he had only called them together to make his statement.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he have any comments about any future SDS Weatherman activities to happen on Thursday, October 9?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes. He stated that there had been some Weatherman activities planned, but that they had been canceled because the Black Panther Party had called a rally at the Federal courthouse and that the Weatherman would support the Black Panther rally.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you go to that rally at the Federal courthouse?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you describe what happened there, please?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes. At the Federal courthouse there was a large crowd milling around. Now in this case many were passersby who saw unformed members of the Black Panther Party and thought there would be a show, so they gathered at the site. It was expected that the Black Panther Party would begin holding a series of speeches. However, Michael Klonsky, who heads the RYM II faction of SDS, stood up and began talking.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that RYM I or RYM II?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No; the RYM II faction in this case.

The RYM II'ers simply took the show away from the Weatherman who hoped to move in by giving support to the Black Panther rally. They were going to utilize the Black Panthers. The RYM II'ers came in and got there first.

The speeches, as a matter of fact, were very critical of the Weatherman. Both Klonsky and Fred Hampton of the Black Panther Party criticized the Weatherman, and the theme of the criticism was rather interesting. They were not being criticized because of their violence, they were being criticized because of the timing. As Hampton expressed it, "We are involved in a civil war and we don't pick the enemy strong point to launch an attack on."

He went on to say that the Chicago Police Department had been alerted, the Chicago Police Department had massive forces in the area, and that it was a foolish move to meet them in combat under those circumstances. The combat should take place when the enemy does not expect it and when he is not prepared to meet it.

Klonsky had spoken in a very similar manner. Carl Davidson, who identified himself as a former officer of Students for a Democratic Society, also spoke and was somewhat critical of the Weatherman also for this premature and ill-timed action.

A person who identified himself as Y oruba,<sup>1</sup> a pseudonym, stated he was a member of the Puerto Rican group in New York, the Young Lords. This was originally a Chicago organization which has been recently organized in New York. It is sort of a Puerto Rican version of the Black Panther Party and works very closely with the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Romerstein, I would like to direct your attention for just a moment back to Thursday, October 9. You have described the gathering of the 75 women and what happened. One question I neglected to ask you: Were there any men present that day?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, there were. In addition to the newspapermen, and the people from various agencies that were observing this action, there was a person that we were able to identify as David Fenton, who is an employee of the Liberation News Service and was covering various activities ostensibly as a newspaperman with Liberation News Service. However, during the action both David Fenton and Allen Young, another Liberation News Service activist, were in conversation with Weatherman girls and advising them as to what actions to take.

At one point some of the girls came over and said they thought they did not have enough people to engage in the action, and they were told by Fenton and Young, "Don't worry about it, you go ahead and do it anyway." So there was male advice given to these young women, even though it was supposed to be a women's liberation project.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Romerstein, I would direct your attention to Friday, October 10, and ask you if you observed any SDS activity on that date.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes. October 10 was an extremely rainy day so there were few activities on the streets. However, the RYM II faction had called a rally at Cook County Hospital, and that rally did take place and it was in coordination with the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Why did they select the Cook County Hospital?

<sup>1</sup> He has been identified as Pablo Guzman.

Mr. ROSENBERG: They alleged that this hospital was experimenting on Negroes and was not really doing the work that it should be doing to help the community. Now that received a very interesting response from the young interns and nurses in the hospital who had come across the street to attend this rally, and they asked for an opportunity to speak, to deny the charges. Mike Klonsky, who ran the meeting, said that as soon as the regular speakers had finished—they put on skirts and they spoke on the hospital—that they would permit anybody in the audience to get up and speak.

Now the first one to take advantage of this was a young Negro girl about 18 or 19 years old. She stood up and said, "Do you people have any idea of what you are going to have if you overthrow this Government?" One of the SDS's yelled, "We are going to have socialism." She said, "Well, that is not even as attractive a slogan as 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' the slogan of the French Revolution. They ended up with a reign of terror and Napoleon. How do we know you little Napoleons are not going to run the same kind of dictatorship if you people take over?"

Well, they shouted her down and there were some menacing gestures toward her and she left the group. There were police officers spotted in the crowd and they made sure there was a path for her to get out of the group.

It was announced that Fred Hampton of the Black Panther Party had arrived. He said, "We don't have any time for any more speakers from the crowd," and they ended it. But the discussions continued when some of the young doctors and nurses pulled the SDS's on the side and began arguing with them. They frankly had no answers to the statements made by the interns who said, "We know what this hospital is doing, and this hospital has fantastic statistics on giving free medical attention to the Negro community." The SDS's, once the facts were available, took off very quickly; they did not want to continue such discussions.

Mr. ROSENBERG: Do you know of any other SDS activity which occurred on Friday, October 10, Mr. Rosenstein?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Yes. Now I was not present for that particular activity. A meeting of the SDS was being held in Evanston, Illinois, at the Garrett Theological Seminary. One of those in attendance was an undercover police officer named Toby Burton. About a week before some of the SDS's had been arrested during preliminary actions taking place as part of the National Action, and one of them had seen Burton at police headquarters. Burton was very easily identifiable because he was the only Negro in the entire room and they knew that he must be the one. They grabbed him and for 20 minutes beat him in the basement of the church. He suffered from a broken bone under the eye and a broken finger and very severe lacerations. His eyes were so swollen he could not see for 2 or 3 days and he spent about a week in the hospital.

When he was finally released by his tormentors he was able to get to a phone and call the Chicago Police Department, and the Evanston police then came in with a car and got him out.

Mr. ROSENBERG: Mr. Rosenstein, I would now direct your attention to Saturday, October 11, and ask you if you observed any SDS activities on that date.

Mr. ROSENBERG: May I make one important point? On the night of October 10, four members of the SDS, who have not yet been tried so I am not going to mention their names at this point, were arrested and charged with having in their possession Molotov cocktails. Some five bombings had taken place that night at military recruiting centers in Chicago.

The 11th was scheduled as the major march and rally. The Weatherman gathered at—

Mr. ROSENBERG: Let me ask you a question before you begin, Mr. Rosenstein. You say it was scheduled as the major demonstration and rally. Did both RYM I, or Weatherman, and RYM II have demonstrations scheduled that day?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Yes, they had demonstrations scheduled at the same time in different places.

Mr. ROSENBERG: No cooperation?

Mr. ROSENBERG: No cooperation at all.

Mr. ROSENBERG: Which demonstration and rally did you attend?

Mr. ROSENBERG: The Weatherman demonstration.

Mr. ROSENBERG: What did you observe?

Mr. ROSENBERG: The crowd had gathered at what is left of the police statue at Haymarket Square. A statue had been erected in the city of Chicago for a policeman killed by an anarchist's bomb in 1886. A few days before the rally a bomb had exploded at the statue and blew the policeman on the statue off the pedestal. This damaged statue is where the SDS Weatherman gathered.

While they were milling around waiting for the march to take place, plainclothes members of the police department arrived with warrants and proceeded to arrest Mark Rudd, Linda Evans, and two other SDS activists. Rudd was wearing a false moustache and he thought he was disguised. The police officers came right in and plucked him right out of the crowd; they had no difficulty identifying him even with his disguise.

With Evans and Rudd missing from the group, the leadership was then taken over by John G. Jacobs of Detroit. Jacobs harangued them with a speech about how they have to bring the war home and attack the pigs and fight. He really whipped them up into a frenzy and then began leading the march along La Salle Street which was scheduled to end up at the Logan statue in Grant Park.

Mr. ROSENBERG: What activities, if any, did the SDS Weatherman faction engage in as they marched along this route?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Upon reaching Madison and La Salle they suddenly began pulling out from under their clothes various weapons and missiles with which some of them attacked the police officers along the line of march, and some began throwing these missiles through store windows. Some of the things they threw were rocks and others were railroad flares which they threw to break the windows. Many, many windows were broken in this area and there was just complete chaos, with squads of Weatherman attacking the police formations. Once again, as might be expected, the Weatherman were not victorious—it was the police that took the prisoners and not the Weatherman. At this point over a hundred Weatherman found themselves arrested. However, they were somewhat successful in their attempt because they injured a number of police officers. At least 50 police

officers were injured. One of them, Lieutenant Joseph Healy, who had been a witness in connection with our Chicago Democratic riot hearings, was injured by the demonstrators and needed a number of stitches in the head. Lieutenant Healy was not severely injured; he returned to duty in a few days. However, Richard Elrod, assistant corporation counsel of the city of Chicago, was also assaulted and was paralyzed from the neck down.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any report on his condition?  
Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir, he has improved. Whereas the first few weeks after the incident he was unable to move, he is now able to move a good portion of his body. He has severe problems with one arm, but the doctors are hopeful that he will be able to regain full use of all of his limbs. At one point it was believed by the doctors that he would never be able to move again; he was completely paralyzed from the neck down.

Maybe this would be a point to call your attention to a leaflet which was distributed in New York on November 7, 1969, at John Adams High School in Queens. It was distributed by unidentified white males who were not high school students. This document describes the action in Chicago.

"On October 8-11, 600 young white people"—which incidentally is an accurate figure. They talked about thousands and thousands, tens of thousands. In fact, there were about 600 Weathermen who actually came to Chicago—"600 white people went to Chicago to bring the war home. \* \* \*"

Then they go on to say:

In Chicago, we attacked the homes and businesses of the rich bastards who profit off war and oppression. We did a million dollars worth of damage and sent 60 pigs to the hospital including Richard Elrod, Corporation Counsel for Chicago, Daley's right hand man \* \* \*.

Further:

Even more important than the actual damage we did to the pig power structure, is that we showed young people around the country that there is an alternative to the jail schools, racist army and boring jobs. We showed it was possible to fight cops and win. \* \* \*

They did not win, but they showed it was possible for hoodlums to fight cops.

As I indicated before, out of the approximately 600 that came to Chicago almost 300 were arrested at one point or another during the disturbance. So they certainly could not think that they won, but they did engage in their violent activities and they did physically attack the police.

Mr. ROMANUS. Mr. Romerstein, after this march and violence which occurred on Saturday, October 11, what, if anything, did the Weatherman faction do?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. This is an interesting aftermath. They had come into Chicago as tigers; they were going to rip up the town, they were going to burn it down, they were going to kill the cops. After the mass arrests during the march, what was left of the Weathermen gathered at the Logan statue in Grant Park and they were just milling around. There was no leadership in evidence. Most of the leadership had already been arrested, and they suddenly found themselves surrounded by uniformed police officers.

Now the Logan statue overlooks a main thoroughfare and there were many civilian passersby watching this. A police official announced over the bull horn that they still had some warrants they wanted to serve and that they were coming into the crowd to pick out the ones they had warrants for. He said, "Now you will sit down and my men will pass among you and pick out those we want and you will not stand up until I tell you that you can." All of the Weathermen sat down, and the police passed among them and they picked out the ones that they had warrants for, and the Weathermen didn't stand up until the police had left. They made it very obvious that they were not tigers now, they were pussycats. They were not prepared to fight the cops any more that day.

Mr. ROMANUS. Mr. Romerstein, you were present in Chicago over the entire interval of these demonstrations and violence. What in your opinion was the effectiveness of the Chicago Police Department to cope with the situation?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The Chicago Police Department was extremely effective, both the uniformed men and the detective division, particularly the intelligence division. At every stage in the procedure the police were able to advise us of what actions would be taken by the Weathermen, which people were going to be involved in the violent actions. The police were able to move in as quickly as possible to prevent as much injury and damage as they could.

Had the police department not been fully aware of the activities that were to be conducted, there might have been much more serious injury and property damage. The police were in complete control of the situation, and as soon as these people engaged in their violent acts the uniformed police were immediately on the scene apprehending them.

As a result of the undercover work, the undercover people were able to identify those who had engaged in violent acts. Those who were not apprehended on the scene had warrants issued for their arrest. The police did a magnificent job of controlling this situation. I think in part this is what the RYM II'ers and the Panthers were talking about—the Chicago police were just too formidable a force for these people to take on.

Mr. ROMANUS. Mr. Romerstein, there was a considerable amount of violence in Chicago in the interval October 8 to 11. Was that violence essentially spontaneous or was it planned?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No; the violence was not spontaneous at all, it was planned violence. In many cases we knew in advance through our contacts with the police department where specific violence was going to take place and, in many cases, who would engage in the violence. There is no question that it was not spontaneous; these were deliberate, planned acts of physical attack and property damage.

Mr. ROMANUS. Mr. Romerstein, did you have occasion to ascertain whether any activities or events involving SDS personnel occurred after Saturday, October 11?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes; but before I mention that, might I mention this interesting point. During some of the arrests two of the SDS members were in possession of forged United States Army identification cards. In one case, there was a United States Marine identification card indicating an active-duty marine. Another one was in possession of a United States Army Reserve card. In both cases these cards were actual Government-printed cards that had been forged.

## **APPENDIX II**

# TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY

Inside the Weatherman Movement

## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

### PART 2

OCTOBER 18, 1974

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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## TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY—INSIDE THE WEATHERMAN MOVEMENT

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1974

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:45 a.m., in room 2300, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alfonso Tarabochia, chief investigator, and Robert Short, senior investigator.

Senator THURMOND. The committee will come to order.

The evidence you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I do.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

### TESTIMONY OF LARRY GRATHWOHL

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you give the reporter your full name, please?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Larry Grathwohl.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your present address?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. 2212 Old Creek Place, Hayward, Calif.

Mr. SOURWINE. And when and where were you born?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Cincinnati, Ohio, October 13, 1947.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you married?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any children?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Two by a previous marriage.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your education?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. One year of college.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think at the outset, Mr. Chairman, we should let the record speak clearly with respect to this witness's participation in activities of the so-called New Left, and especially of the Weatherman organization.

You were a member of this organization, were you not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to join it?

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Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to join it?

(91)

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, in August and September 1969, the Weather man collective in Cincinnati was active in recruiting members for the National Action in Chicago which was to take place October 8 through October 11, 1969. I met two individuals who were recruiting for that national action. At first I took them to be a little crazy, and didn't really take them that serious, but they had given me the newspaper.

I believe at the time it was New Left Notes, in which they called for this national action and told specifically what they intended to do in Chicago. So, I, anyway, I contacted the Cincinnati Police Department and told them what had happened and I gave them the newspaper, and they asked me to attend a meeting that was taking place on Sunday night at St. John's Unitarian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio.

And from there, I went on until April 15, 1970.

Mr. SOURVINE. Now, first, who were the people, if you remember, who contacted you seeking to recruit you, as you say?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. One fellow, well, the fellow's name was Outlaw.

Mr. SOURVINE. O-r-t-l-a-w?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Yes. That's all I know.

Mr. SOURVINE. No first name?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No. He was purged out of the Collective, the Cincinnati Collective, shortly after I met him.

Mr. SOURVINE. And the other person?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Joyce Greenways.

Mr. SOURVINE. G-r-e-e-n-w-a-y-s?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURVINE. Now, you said they told you exactly what they planned to do in Chicago. What was it they told you they planned to do?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Basically, they were going to Chicago to cause extreme property damage, to have it out with the pigs, as they put it, a direct confrontation with the Chicago police department. They intended to do as much damage to property and to people as they possibly could.

Mr. SOURVINE. Did they tell you anything in connection with the recruiting efforts, about equipment or supplies, that they were gathering, or would take to Chicago?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, at the time, I mean, you know, this is where I make my first contact with them, so I am on the extreme periphery. Mr. SOURVINE. We understand. That is why it is of some importance as to how far they went at that time with an outsider.

Let me make this clear by asking a question. Had you, prior to this time, been a member of any New Left organization?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURVINE. So-called?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No, I had not.

Mr. SOURVINE. Had you been a member of any organization that had any connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURVINE. Had you been a member of any other subversive organization?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURVINE. Had you done anything to indicate that you believed in Marxism or communism or the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURVINE. All right, so they were hitting you cold?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURVINE. If they knew anything about you, they had no reason to know or suspect that you were leftist or even liberal in thought?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. They didn't know me from Adam.

Mr. SOURVINE. All right.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I had never met them and they had never met me.

Mr. SOURVINE. All right.

Now, what did they tell you about anything they planned to use in Chicago, any equipment or supplies they planned to take with them or to have in Chicago?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. To follow it from the point where the Cincinnati Police Department asked me to go to that meeting, I went to that meeting on Sunday night, and there I met Jerry Long and Karen Ashley, Rebel Flannigan and a couple of other people, Barry Stein and Bill Safer.

At that meeting, the meeting started off with that movie, Battle of Algiers, and then Karen Ashley gave a speech and called for the group of people there to go to the National Action in Chicago.

Mr. SOURVINE. How many were at the meeting?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I would estimate about 25.

Mr. SOURVINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Some of the people there obviously were there only to observe, to see what kind of nuts these people really were.

Mr. SOURVINE. What was the date of this meeting?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I couldn't tell you. It was in September, the early part of September, 1969.

Mr. SOURVINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Then, Rebel Flannigan got up in front of the group and he was going to give his talk, and he started off by saying "We are going to let the cat out of the bag." He said "a lot of you people have come here to find out what we are all about, and we are going to tell you."

"We are Communists and we dig it." And that is a quote.

At that meeting I met Jerry Long. I talked to him about Weatherman beginnings, their history, where they came from and what their ideology was. They made arrangements to have another meeting in Eden Park in Cincinnati, that following Saturday. This would be almost a week later.

So, I went to that meeting. Now, this was the training meeting that they had for the National Action in Chicago.

At this time, they did calisthenics, for what reason I don't know. You know, you can't really get in physical shape in a week to go to Chicago and fight policemen. But, they went through regular calisthenics just like in the Army. They ran around the reservoir. It's Eden Park, which is where the water supply is kept in Cincinnati, so they ran around that.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. When did you become an informant for the FBI?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Right after this meeting, understanding that the Cincinnati Police Department was not equipped to handle a group like the Weathermen, I mean, they could take care of the local situation, the Cincinnati Collective.

But, when it came to understanding and preparing for the national repercussions of this group, they were limited to the Cincinnati area and they could, of course, work with various police departments, but it was stifled after that. It couldn't go on, and consequently they didn't know exactly how to handle me. You must admit it is unusual for somebody to come walking into the office and say, I am going to help you.

At the time, right after this meeting and the National Action took place, I read in the newspaper where the Senate, this committee or some other committee was having an investigation of the Weathermen. I called the Justice Department and I told them that I didn't know much, but what I did know I would tell somebody if they wanted to hear it. They said call the FBI. I called the FBI and Special Agent Clark Mirvish talked to me and asked me to come in. And so I went in and talked to him. And he said, well, why don't you go to some more meetings, and that was how that started.

Now, Clark never wanted me to go as far as I did. He wanted me to hold back more. He wanted me to be an informant from the periphery, as opposed to actually penetrating the inner Collective. But, being the kind of person I am, I couldn't, I couldn't accept that. It was like going half way and knowing that the potential existed for me to continue the penetration. I chose to do so.

And at times, Clark vehemently opposed what I was doing. I quit my job and moved into the Collective and, of course, he wanted me to go back to work.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, that was in what, late September or October of \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. GRATZWOHL. This was December of 1969.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was after Chicago?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. It took me that long.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, two points. We will digress for a moment.

One, you spoke about the kind of person you are. Tell us what kind of a person you are. What have you done, what have you worked at?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, up until this time, I had been in the Army for 3 years and 9 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. Serving where?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, I was in Vietnam for a year; I was with the 101st Airborne Division. And then I was a drill instructor at Fort Knox when I got back from Vietnam.

Mr. SOURWINE. Rank and serial number.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Sergeant. RA15720660.

Mr. SOURWINE. Good memory, Sergeant. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. So then in 1969, I was honorably discharged from the Army and went to school for a year. I would consider myself politically a liberal, moderate and conservative in other areas—law enforcement being one of my conservative areas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you engaged in any political activities?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Prior to joining the Weathermen?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No. Politically I am independent. I belong to neither party.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was it you had in mind when you said being the kind of person you were?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, I don't like to start something and not finish it, and if you—in a case like this, you know, my opinion of the Weathermen are that they are a serious threat, they were then and they still are, and you can't approach a group like that with the idea of doing it halfway.

If you are going to get involved at all, you should go the whole route or not bother.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you recognize the Weatherman organization in 1969 as a serious threat to the United States?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why? How did you come to that conclusion?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I can't remember the chronology of the way things happened. But having read the newspapers and known how things developed in the New Left from the time it became noticeable, in other words, articles were being printed in the newspapers about their actions up until the Democratic Convention of 1968, at which time, they—the hippies—ran the streets and wreaked havoc on Chicago for the first time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you been a student of the New Left prior to that time?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Not any more than anyone else.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you read any New Left newspapers?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No. Just the newspapers like the Cincinnati Enquirer or the Cincinnati Post.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not read the underground newspapers?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No. At the time that the national convention took place in 1968—the Democratic National Convention—I was still in the Army.

But my point is this: They were the only group that I had read anything about. Well, I should say I had not read anything about the Weathermen, but the other groups that I had read about were talking about radical changes within the system.

The Weathermen approached the subject completely different. It was no longer a question of changing the system from within. It was to destroy the system, completely destroy it, and that is what they said the first time I met them, and that is what they said the last time I was with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did not have the attitude that this was kind of silly for a handful of people in Cincinnati to be thinking about destroying the Government of the United States? You took them as a serious threat from the beginning?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, like I said, the very first time I saw them on the street corner I was thrown between believing they were crazy or taking them seriously.

My feelings are these: If one person, if one person on the street is killed or maimed because of these people, then they are a serious prob-

I met Bill again in February 1970, at which time he came to Cincinnati to reorganize the Collective. At this time he sent Naomi Jaffe and Mike Spiegel to Detroit and Karen Danzer to Seattle. Those three people were primary leadership in the Cincinnati Collective.

The new primary leadership was Dionne Donghi, herself, and at that time Bill and I discussed strategy in regards to Cincinnati.

I met Bill again in Detroit in February 1970. At this time, the Weathermen had gone underground. This is the, during this period of time, that I was in Detroit, was when the plan for the bombing of the Detroit Police Officers Association Building took place, and Bill was the person who directed the "foe" that I was part of to place the bomb at the DPOA Building. He designed the bomb and told me that he would get the necessary materials, the dynamite, et cetera, and about 4 days later Bill broke that foe that I was part of up, and he sent Mark Lenzel, Windy Pankin and Linda Josephovich, and of those and myself. This is a four-man "foe" and we were directed to go to Madison, Wis.

I was in Madison, Wis, approximately two weeks, returned to Cincinnati, and then Naomi Jaffe directed me to go to Buffalo, New York, to be part of a new four-man "foe" which would include Naomi Jaffe, Robert Ward, Dionne Donghi and myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you used the phrase "foe." Does that mean the same as task force?

Mr. GRANTWORTH. Correct. Bill Ayers showed up there, at which time we had a discussion regarding Weathermen policy changes. He had been in a meeting on the West Coast, which included the higher echelon of the Weatherman leadership. Such changes were made as consolidating Weathermen forces on the east and west coast, primarily in the New York and San Francisco areas.

The hard line that the Weathermen had taken in regards to monogamy was diluted to some degree. After this meeting took place, Bill and Naomi Jaffe went to Canada to meet with people from the Quebec Liberation Front and other people that they did not tell me about.

When he returned, we had another meeting at which time—and this is the only time that any Weathermen told me about something that someone else had done—and Bill started off telling us about the need to raise the level of the struggle and for stronger leadership inside the Weatherman "foes" and inside the Weatherman organization as a whole. And he cited as one of the real problems was that someone like Bernardine Dohrn had to plan, develop and carry out the bombing of the police station in San Francisco, and he specifically named her as the person that committed that act.

At that time Bill Ayers, or shortly after that, Bill Ayers left and went to New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he indicate how he knew of Bernardine Dohrn's participation in that San Francisco bombing?

Mr. GRANTWORTH. I cannot say that he did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get the impression that he was there?

Mr. GRANTWORTH. No, I can't say that I did. It was more of a criticism of us.

Mr. SOURWINE. He didn't give any description of what took place that would indicate that he saw it?

Mr. GRANTWORTH. Yes, Well, he said that the bomb was placed on the window ledge and he described the kind of bomb that was used to the extent of saying what kind of shrapnel was used in it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say who placed the bomb on the window ledge?

Mr. GRANTWORTH. Bernardine Dohrn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say it in a way that would indicate that he was there and saw it?

Mr. GRANTWORTH. Well, if he wasn't there to see it, somebody who was there told him about it, because he stated it very emphatically.

Mr. SOURWINE. He did not tell you who told him?

Mr. GRANTWORTH. No; he did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRANTWORTH. I met Bill again in New York City. The Buffalo collective was reassigned to New York City and upon arriving in New York City, that very night I had another meeting with Bill Ayers. I should say that the foe had a meeting, all three of us were there, and we were told then that someone on the national leadership would be in contact with us, that our purpose in New York was strategic sabotage and to try to organize other foes on the pyramid theory, and that he would be in contact with us later.

That is the last time that I saw Bill Ayers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, the name of the next individual whose picture you recognize.

Mr. GRANTWORTH. I am sorry, but I do not recognize him.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you do not recognize, you do not need to say so, simply lay it aside. I want you to give us the names of those you do recognize and tell us what you know about them in each case.

Mr. GRANTWORTH. John Fuerst. I met John the first time at the national council meeting in Flint in December 1969. Conversations with him were extremely limited at that time.

I met Fuerst again in February 1970 at a meeting that took place in Cleveland, Ohio, at which time I learned Fuerst was the primary leadership of the Cleveland collective. During this meeting that took place in Cleveland—let me see, Mark Rudd and Linda Evans were there and Leonard Handlesman, Celeste McCullough, Bobby Joe Smith, Mark Real, and that's about all of the names that I can remember right off the top of my head, besides members from the Cincinnati collective.

I should identify them too. Dionne Donghi, and these are members of the Cincinnati Weathermen Collective that were at this meeting, Dionne Donghi, Robert Skardis, Robert Ward, Courtney Esposito, Carol Hoppi, and Arlow Jacobs, whose real name is Robert Burlington. And that's the Cincinnati people at this meeting that took place in Cleveland, and it is the one where the Weathermen had decided to go underground.

And Linda Evans and Mark Rudd had two meetings during that period of time, at which we were instructed that the Weathermen were going underground with the idea of setting up underground foes with strategic sabotage against the symbols of authority within the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATWONH. At this meeting, Linda Evans instructed me to go back to Cincinnati to help disband the collective. Certain people were purged, of course, and the rest of us were reassigned to other places. I was sent to Detroit, Mich.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Linda Evans well?

Mr. GRATWONH. I had seen Linda at the national council meeting, but I had not talked to her. I knew of her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss with her any of her own activities?

Mr. GRATWONH. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead. Next name.

Mr. GRATWONH. Kathy Boudin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us what you mean by strategic sabotage.

Mr. GRATWONH. Well, all symbols of authority, police departments, the military, and any of the institutions that govern the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you are not talking about a target list, are you?

Mr. GRATWONH. You see, that is something I did not say about Ayers. I can give you names of places that were discussed with some people.

Wright Patterson Air Force Base was Naomi Jaffe, Diane Oughton, and Bill Ayers.

Mr. SOURWINE. And as it was discussed as a target for sabotage?

Mr. GRATWONH. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any specific kind of sabotage?

Mr. GRATWONH. Attempt to destroy one or more, hopefully more, of the B-52 bombers that were stationed there.

Mr. SOURWINE. How were they going to accomplish that?

Mr. GRATWONH. Try to infiltrate the military installation, you know, get through the security system. If that could not be done, then it was discussed having an out and out military assault on it. Of course, that was—

Mr. SOURWINE. On Wright Patterson field?

Mr. GRATWONH. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many people did they think that would require?

Mr. GRATWONH. They figured, I think it was 25 or 30 people to go in there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they have 25 or 30 trained guerrillas?

Mr. GRATWONH. I think that was why it was—

Mr. SOURWINE. Trained commando-type fighters who could hope to accomplish that sort of an assault?

Mr. GRATWONH. No, no; they didn't, and this is, I think, one of the reasons why they decided against it. There were people in the Weathermen who told me that they had been trained in various kinds of guerrilla-type activities in other countries, but none to the extent—well, I will put it this way, as far as military knowledge and ability, I had more than any one of them, any 10 of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, who told you of having been trained in guerrilla or commando-type activity and where?

Mr. GRATWONH. Conky Benedict had told me he had received some training in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say when?

Mr. GRATWONH. Oh, his—whenever he had been in Cuba. We never got down to specific times and places.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say what kind of training?

Mr. GRATWONH. Propaganda and the use of firearms and bombs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a veteran?

Mr. GRATWONH. I don't know; I couldn't tell you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who else?

Mr. GRATWONH. The person that got most specific was Naomi Jaffe, and she said she had received training not only in Cuba but in North Vietnam as well. She had received training in the use of firearms and explosives, but that the Cubans and the North Vietnamese emphasized more than anything else the necessity for using propaganda.

And as the Weathermen evolved into the underground units, and up until the present day, you will find that their targets always have something that a lot of propaganda can be built around. Well, they blew up the Gulf Oil Corp. building in Pittsburgh a few months ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say "they"? Do you know who?

Mr. GRATWONH. The Weatherman underground. They took credit for it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any individuals?

Mr. GRATWONH. No. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All you know is there was a manifesto, or a letter or public pronouncement purporting to come from the Weathermen which claimed responsibility, is that right?

Mr. GRATWONH. It follows their M.O.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. You are competent to testify with regard to that. You know it and recognize it. I am not trying to put you down. I am just trying to let the record speak clearly what you know and how you know it.

You had no word from any person known to you to be a member of the Weatherman organization that he or she participated, did you?

Mr. GRATWONH. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATWONH. The bombing of the California Attorney General's office is another one.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know about that?

Mr. GRATWONH. The newspaper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, we started talking about people with whom you had discussed or who had discussed with you, or at least who you had heard discuss plans for strategic sabotage as you defined it. Were there any more such people?

Mr. GRATWONH. Bill Ayers. I was describing the propaganda emphasis that the North Vietnamese and the Cubans placed on their training. And the object of the Gulf Oil Corp. and the Attorney General's Office is to show how they—

Mr. SOURWINE. You were offering them as examples of the kind of propaganda?

Mr. GRATWONH. Right. Their targets always have to have propaganda benefit. It is not like they can go out and blow up a police car. There has to be impact.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see a target list of the organization, the Weatherman?

Mr. GRATWONH. No. And I would venture to say that nobody else has ever seen one either. They didn't keep them.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you correct this testimony, will you take care to list any targets that you can think of that you may not have told us about here that were discussed with you, or in your presence, and tell us what you know about what was done?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Definitely.

Mr. SOURWINE. You can do that as an addition to the record when you correct it, if you can think of any more.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Fine.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead. Have you covered now the explanation of the phrase, strategic sabotage?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. The only thing I would like to add there is that in 1970 Bill Ayers and myself and Naomi Jaffe discussed the potential of placing a bomb in the Pentagon, which they, which the Weathermen underground eventually did and took credit for.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who placed that bomb in the Pentagon?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No, I do not. Once again, I rely on newspaper reports. This is after April 1970. We also discussed placing a bomb in the Capitol.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who's we?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Naomi Jaffe, Bill Ayers, Diane Oughton and myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who did place the bomb in the Capitol?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I have no idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. You don't even know whether it was done by the Weathermen, although you do know that they claimed credit, right?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I will have to say that the plan that we discussed was followed almost to the T.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discuss where the bomb would be placed?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it was placed there?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. It sure was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who knew enough about the Capitol to make the selection of the place?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I couldn't say.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your discussions, who described the place?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Bill Ayers.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did he describe it?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, he described—OK, the bomb was placed in a women's john and he described the area surrounding, specific rest rooms that he had thought would be a good place to put the bomb.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did he say that would be a good place for the bomb?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Women are not searched as thoroughly as men are.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, the place was chosen as something easy to get into other than because of the effect it would have if exploded there?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Correct. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. And it was—and when those bombings took place, they followed the very sketchy plan that we discussed at the time. It followed it almost to a T.

Mr. SOURWINE. The bomb then was not, so far as the preliminary discussions you participated in were concerned, aimed at the barber-shop? It was not intended to extend its effects to the Old Senate Chamber, the Old Supreme Court Chamber?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. They discussed—

Mr. SOURWINE. It was not intended to catch people in a public place who would be slaughtered thereby?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No. The only time that I was ever instructed or we ever were instructed to place a bomb in a building at a time when there would be people in it was during the planning of the bombing of the Detroit Police Officers' Association building and the 13th Precinct in Detroit, Mich., at which time Bill said that we should plan our bombing to coincide with the time when there would be the most people in those buildings.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, there have been reports that the Weatherman organization always, by plan, did its bombings where nobody would be hurt. You can testify that is not so, I take it?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I would agree with you, except in those two.

Mr. SOURWINE. All I said is there have been reports. I do not attempt to say that they are true. I want you to tell me if those reports are true.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I would go along with that, yes. I think that that is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think it was part of their planning not to injure people?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Their M.O., yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Except in the case of the Detroit bombing you referred to?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Right. In that case, they wanted to, they wanted to kill some policemen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. The bombing never took place with me involved in it. The bombing did take place one day, after the day I informed the Detroit police or the FBI, who informed the Detroit police that it would take place. The bomb didn't explode because the fusing device and delay mechanism were too antiquated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who placed that bomb?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who participated in planning it?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Bill Ayers, Naomi Jaffe, Linda Josephwich, Windy Parkin, Marjorie Hall, Mark Lencz, Marsha Steinberg.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were they when this planning was done?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Where were who? Excuse me.

Mr. SOURWINE. These people who planned this bombing whose names you just gave us?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Where were we? We were in Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were with the group?

Mr. SOURWINE. It depends on whether the dynamite is old or new, does it not?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I wouldn't want to take a chance. I mean, as you get farther into the casing—

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not arguing with you. You are the demolition man here.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I don't know if I am. I know enough about it to know that you don't mess with it, you know, you just don't mess with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see dynamite out of a casing ignited?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, when I was younger I have; yes. I used to— if you worked for the railroad you know what the railroad torpedoes are that they put on the tracks. The train then runs over them and they explode. They are filled with essentially the same material. And as a kid, I cut them open and lit that powder, which flashes.

But you see, the casing around one of the railroad torpedoes is not as thick as it is on dynamite.

Mr. SOURWINE. But, you have answered yourself, haven't you? If the stuff is exposed it flashes, it doesn't detonate?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No, it doesn't explode.

Mr. SOURWINE. So, if you took the dynamite out of the casing, and you were able to mold it into a ball, which I doubt could be done, you would not have an explosion if you did not confine it, you would just have a flash, would you not?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Well, Ayers' idea was to put it, the powder, into a plastic baggie, and to start wrapping that with an M-80 firecracker right there by the powder, you know. In other words, inside the baggie or alongside the baggie, to start wrapping that with adhesive tape and just keep building it in compression until it was about this big and then start wrapping it with wire.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you showed us a width about the size of a softball or a little bigger than a softball?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are showing now a sphere of about 8 inches in diameter?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. If that's what it is. I cannot estimate that well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead. And Ayers told you to do this?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. That was his instructions and then wrap it with wire. The idea, he went to the extent to describe what he considered the three principles in any kind of a sabotage explosion.

One is the explosion or the concussion, two was the antipersonnel effect, and the shrapnel, by which wrapping this wire around it he hoped to include, and the other was fire, which he says any bomb should always have, you know, some material around it that can be used as fire, which this bomb did have, and he had cans of sterno, which is, you know, liquid gas or jellied gas, for the fire effect. So the three principles: concussion, the antipersonnel effect, and the fire.

And after this bomb was made, of course, he wanted me to tape these cans of sterno on there too, and I would have only got blown to Hell and back if I had done it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't do it?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. You're damn right I didn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who prepared the bomb?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Evidently nobody did, because when the Detroit police found it, there was 13 sticks of dynamite.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, it had a fuse on it, didn't it?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. Yeah; it had a detonator, and M-80 firecracker was what they were going to use at that time. Since then, of course, they have developed a lot more expertise.

Mr. SOURWINE. They didn't use caps?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. No; they had an M-80 firecracker as a detonator. Mr. SOURWINE. Where was it placed with respect to the dynamite or any stick of the dynamite?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I couldn't tell you. I never saw the bomb.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. I am asking you to describe something you have not seen and you cannot possibly do it.

Go ahead.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. The one he wanted me to make would have had the M-80 firecracker right down by the powder and then the wick extending around it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand that you don't know whether this firecracker had been taped to or otherwise attached to one of the sticks of dynamite or simply laid in the bundle or what?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I can't say.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Is there anything you want to add to that subject?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I think that covers the DPOA.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. Let's come back in 45 minutes if the Chair pleases.

Senator TURNER. That will be the order.

[Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 1:25 p.m. this same day.]

AFTERNOON SESSION—1:25 P.M.

Senator TURNER. We will resume the recessed session. Go ahead, Mr. SOURWINE.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you take up the next picture and continue where you recognize an individual and give us the name and what you know.

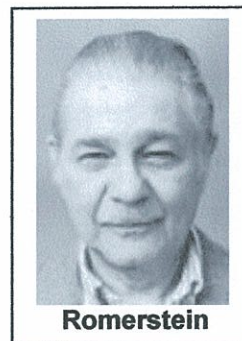
Mr. GRATZWOHL. OK. We have Kathie Boudin. I met her for the first time at the National Council meeting in Flint in December 1969. I talked to her at the National Council meeting very briefly and she attended one of the, or she was a participant in one of the group sessions at the National Council meeting where we discussed the detection of informants and infiltrators. That is the extent of my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what position she held or holds in the Weatherman organization?

Mr. GRATZWOHL. I would consider her secondary leadership on a national level. She had a lot to do with national policy, but obviously she did not have as much to do with it as Jones, Ayers and Dohrn. Those three people were the prime movers in the Weathermen.

- 1 Irving Howe, *Looking Forward, On the Nature of Communism and Relations with Communists*, published by League for Industrial Democracy, New York, 1965
- 2 *Prairie Fire, The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism, Political Statement of the Weather Underground*, publisher Communications Co., No Place, 1974, pp I-V, 1, 2, 4, 5, 73-5, 122, 142, 145.
- 3 Herbert Romerstein and Eric Breindel, *The Venona Secrets, Exposing Soviet Espionage and America's Traitors*, Regnery Publishing, Inc., Washington, DC, 2000. See especially page 186.
- 4 Victor Rabinowitz, *Unrepentant Leftist, A Lawyer's Memoir*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1996
- 5 SAPMO (East German Communist Party Archives, Berlin) DY30/IV A2/20/607.
- 6 Printed in *The Urban Guerrilla*, Number 4, published by New World Liberation Front,

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