

~~TOP SECRET~~

CATHERINE FRANCES MELVILLE
Aka. Catherine Frances Sagan

CATHERINE MELVILLE is a white female who was born on October 9, 1936 in Girard, Ohio. Long active in radical activities, evidence exists that she and/or her husband, ARTHUR MELVILLE, have been in contact with the WUO.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On June 26, 1974, ARTHUR MELVILLE was arrested on a charge of possession of marijuana. During a search of MELVILLE's residence, the Los Angeles Police Department found SLA literature, revolutionary information from Latin America, a xeroxed copy of a manuscript entitled, "Manzanita IV," a WUO communique similar to the one received by news media in Los Angeles following the bombing of the California State Attorney's office in Los Angeles on May 31, 1974, and publications from North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA). NACLA is a research organization initiated by SDS.

The manuscript, "Manzanita IV" is the rough draft form of the publication by the WUO entitled, "Prairie Fire," which was released in September 1974.



Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

CATHERINE MELVILLE and her husband, ARTHUR MELVILLE were expelled from Guatemala in 1969 for preaching revolution. In 1969, both were arrested for ransacking offices of Dow Chemical Company, Washington, D. C. This action was done in connection with a protest against the war in Vietnam.

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NANCY LEE MEYER

NANCY MEYER is a white female who was born on July 23, 1947 in New York, New York. She was highly active in SDS affairs in the Washington, D. C. - Baltimore, Maryland area in 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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"The Hatchet" GWU newspaper contained an article in its March 17, 1969 issue entitled "SDS Discusses HumRO Tactics." NANCY MEYER was identified as an SDS member and it was related that she had presented a summary of activities of GWU Human Resources Research Office which presentation was described as a first step in the SDS campaign to destroy that office.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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MEYER was reportedly residing in an SDS Commune House in Baltimore, Maryland. This house located at 227 South Fulton Street is that of the SDS Weatherman Faction. MEYER had resided there for several months.

[REDACTED]

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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MEYER went to Cuba in February, 1970, as a member of the Venceremos Brigade.

[REDACTED]

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PAUL JOSEPH MILLER

PAUL MILLER is a white male who was born on June 16, 1951, in the Bronx, New York. He has been identified as being an associate of former WUO members in Vermont and resides at the Vermont PFOC address.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

PAUL JOSEPH MILLER was identified as traveling to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade on February 12, 1970, returning to the U.S. on April 28, 1970. He has been identified as residing at Post Office Box 121, Marshfield, Vermont, with several persons known to be sympathizers and supporters of the Weatherman, among them MARC LEE FLIEGEMAN, brother of the WUO underground member RONALD DAVID FLIEGELMAN. Post Office Box 121, Marshfield, Vermont, is also the current mailing address for the Vermont PFOC.



Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the PASSPORT Office, USDS, Washington, D.C. made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which according to the USDS, departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. PAUL JOSEPH MILLER's name appears on this list. MILLER is further described by the Passport Office as being born June 16, 1951, at Bronx, New York, and is the holder of U.S. Passport #A-106158.

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DAVID HIRAM MILLSTONE

DAVID MILLSTONE is a white male who was born on October 7, 1946, in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. MILLSTONE, who was a former editor of the SDS newspaper "New Left Notes," was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. Although MILLSTONE did not actually submerge into the underground with the WUO, he did act to assist them in their efforts to avoid detection.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

[REDACTED]

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

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An article appearing in the September 29, 1969, issue of the "Clarion," a tri-weekly publication of the University of Denver, pertaining to the September 27-28, 1969, convention of SDS, reported that DAVID MILLSTONE, former editor of "New Left Notes," spoke on the "NLF: Victory for the Vietnamese" at a session held on September 28, 1969.

During the convention on September 27, 1969, MILLSTONE, who was identified as being the leader of the SDS Regional Office in Denver, Colorado, talked of his visit to Cuba and of his contacts with the North Vietnamese representatives there. He commented that BERNARDINE DOHRN was also present in Cuba with him. MILLSTONE stated the representatives of the National Liberation Front were pleased with SDS' attempt to form a Marxist-Leninist Party. He ended his comments with the statement that the Vietcong are winning their revolution and that SDS must be like them.

JUDITH ANN MIRKINSON,
Aka. "Merc"

JUDY MIRKINSON is a white female who was born on March 6, 1950, in Brooklyn, New York. She has been active with SDS, the Youth International Party, the National Lawyers Guild, and more recently the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

A girl called "Merc" attended a meeting of the New York SDS on December 5, 1969, and is a member of that group.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JUDITH MIRKINSON was reported as a new member of the personnel at the Peoples House in Okinawa, Japan, replacing a recently departed activist. Peoples House serves as the headquarters for the National Lawyers Guild Military Law Office, Pacific Counseling Service, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Koza City, Okinawa, Prefecture, Japan. (C)

(CG T-169. 6/19/73)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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RAYMOND LEE MOSER

RAY MOSER is a white male who was born on April 3, 1948, in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. MOSER was active in the WUO in Ohio in 1969 and early 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MOSER was a member of the WUO collective in Cincinnati, Ohio, as of December 27, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during that month. Upon his return MOSER assumed a minor leadership role in the WUO collective at the University of Cincinnati.



Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On April 28, 1970, MOSER re-entered the U.S. at Calais, Maine, following his return to Canada from Cuba. He was a part of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. (C)

(CG T-88, 4/70)

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JANE ANN NAGLER, Aka.
Jane Ann White, "Leslie"

JANE NAGLER is a white female who was born on October 5, 1949 in Toledo, Ohio. NAGLER was active in the WUO in Ohio and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in October, 1969. She attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. NAGLER is married to LARRY NAGLER who has also been active in the WUO.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NAGLER was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who returned to the U.S. from Cuba via Canada across the border at Calais, Maine on April 28, 1970. She traveled under U.S. passport number AO 94675. (e)

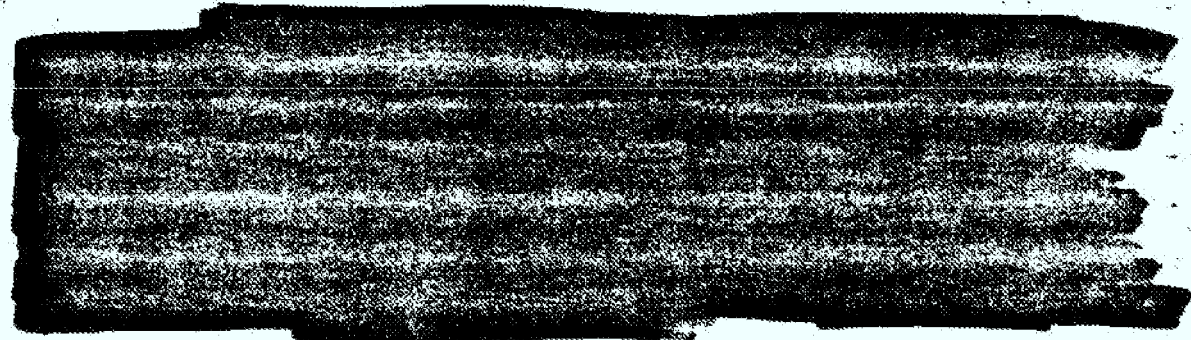
(CG T- 88, 5/2/70)

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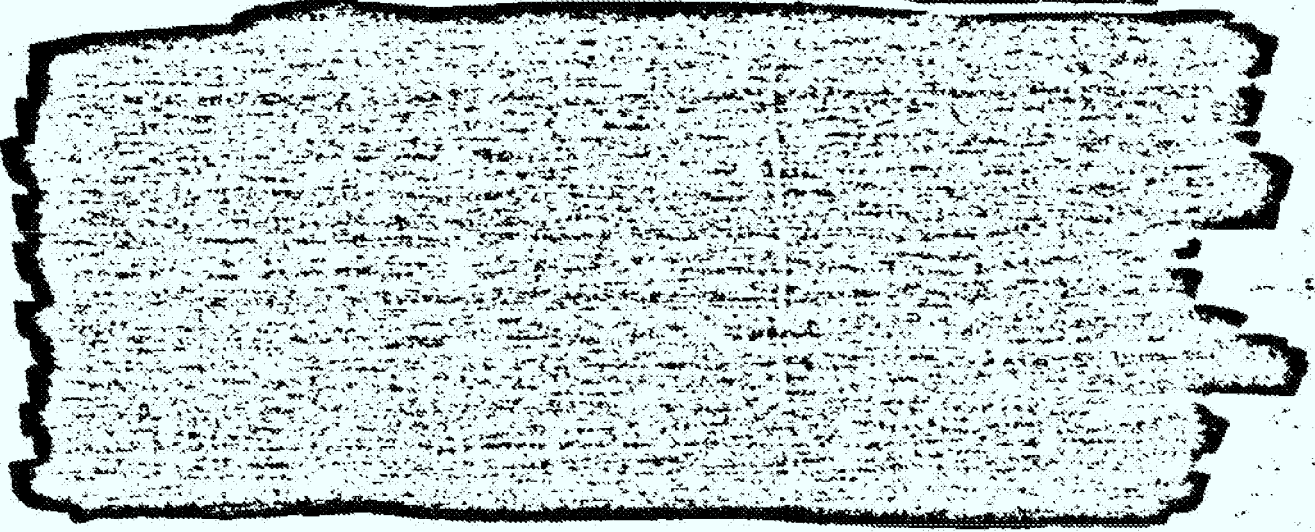
LAWRENCE MICHAEL NAGLER
Aka. "Luke", Jerry Webb

LARRY NAGLER is a white male who was born on November 6, 1951 in New York, New York. NAGLER was active in WUO matters in Ohio before traveling to Cuba on the second Venceremos Brigade. On his return he announced he was creating a cadre to function as a part of the WUO and subsequently claimed to have been in contact with the leadership of the WUO. He is married to JANE ANN WHITE NAGLER, who herself has been affiliated with the WUO in the past.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation



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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NAGLER was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who returned to the U.S. from Cuba via Canada across the border at Calais, Maine on April 28, 1970. He traveled to Cuba under U.S. passport AO 94675. (S)

(CG T- 88, 5/2/70)

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COLIN STUART NEIBURGER

NEIBURGER is a white male who was born on December 4, 1949, in Newport News, Virginia. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" held in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently NEIBURGER has been active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NEIBURGER traveled to Paris, France, in July, 1972, to meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese. His trip was sponsored by the Anti-War Union.



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RUSSELL TODD NEUFELD

NEUFELD is a white male who was born on September 22, 1947, in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. More recently he has taken a leadership capacity in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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JULIE ANN NICHAMIN,
Aka. Sharon Ann Englander,
Kiana Lena DeJulio,
Linda S. Peterson,
Ruth Ann Powers,
Ruth Ellen Powers, "Tanjia"

NICHAMIN is a white female who was born in Detroit, Michigan, on November 8, 1942. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in October, 1969, in Chicago, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council." She was largely instrumental in creating the Venceremos Brigade. During the early 1970s NICHAMIN functioned closely with the WUO and utilized at least two false identifications.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NICHAMIN foreign influence and travel can be found in the Venceremos Brigade section of this document.

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HILTON MANFRED OBENZINGER

HILTON OBENZINGER is a white male who was born on May 22, 1947, in New York, New York. He was active in the PFOC in 1974 and has been reported in contact with WUO fugitive MARK RUDD who is an old friend of his.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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LAURA ANN OBERT

OBERT is a white female who was born on October 30, 1949, in Madison, Wisconsin. She was a member of the "Pittsburgh 26" and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

LAURA OBERT, traveling under U.S. Passport #K 16776304, departed Mexico for Havana, Cuba, on the Venceremos Brigade on November 28, 1969. 



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JED PROUJANSKY

PROUJANSKY is a white male who was born on September 16, 1949, in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. More recently, PROUJANSKY has been involved in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On February 2, 1970, the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., advised that PROUJANSKY's name appeared on the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, Portland, Maine, advised on April 28, 1970, that on that date a group of individuals known as the Venceremos Brigade arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." PROUJANSKY, Passport #G509990, then residing at 9701 Shore Road, New York, was among those members.

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LANCE MICHAEL PUSTIN

LANCE PUSTIN is a white male who was born on March 15, 1949. He has been highly active in the PFOC in the Philadelphia area.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

On April 18, 1976 a handout leaflet was obtained which advertised a meeting regarding Angola in Philadelphia on April 18, 1976. In the body of the handout was the following paragraph:

On February 26, and 27, a group of North American Progressives met in Havannah, Cuba, with a delegation from the MPLA. Larry Holmes a member of the National Committee Workers League Party and the Third World Caucus of Youth Against War and Fascism and Lance Puston, member of the National Committee of PFOC will report on the meeting in Cuba.

[REDACTED]

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JONAH SETH RASKIN, PhD

JONAH RASKIN is a white male who was born on January 3, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York. He was an employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office during the summer of 1969. RASKIN wrote a book entitled "The Weather Eye" in late 1974 in which he set forth a number of WUO communiques. More recently RASKIN was involved in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

B1

(CG T-18, 10/70)

Miscellaneous Travel

On May 26, 1961, RASKIN was issued a U.S. Passport for travel to England, France, Switzerland and Italy. On May 10, 1966, RASKIN was issued a passport at the American Consulate in Liverpool, England, so as to remain abroad for two years. (e)

(CG T-62, 5/61)

[REDACTED]

B1

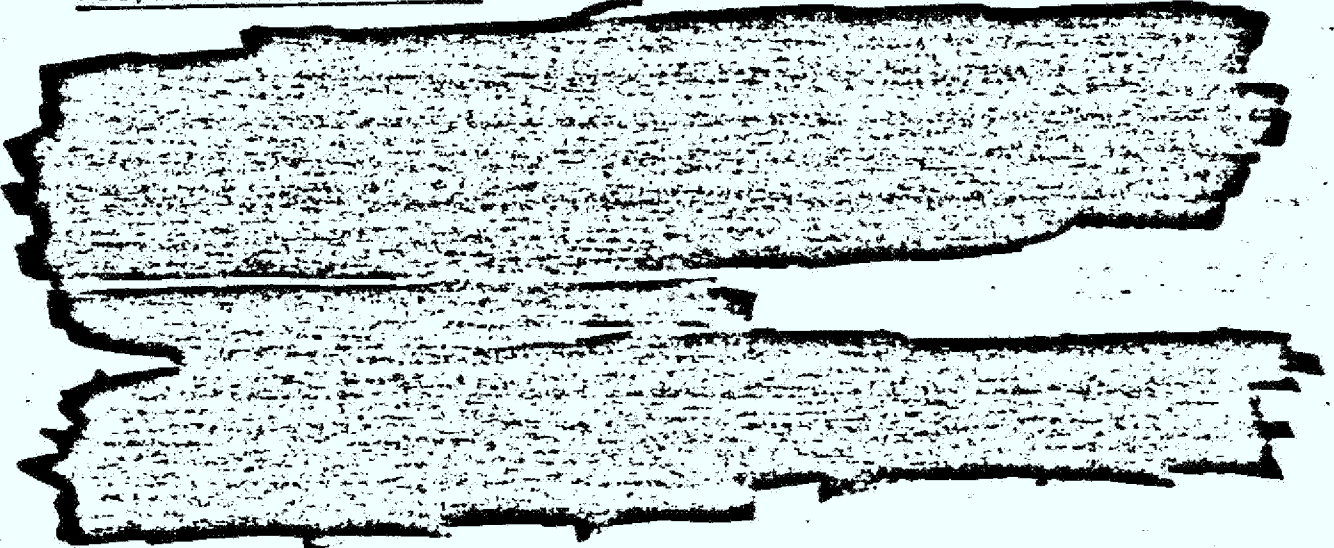
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NICHOLAS BRITT RIDDLE

NICK RIDDLE is a white male who was born on September 22, 1951, in Wilkesboro, North Carolina. He became involved with the WUO in Michigan during late 1969 and was subsequently arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation



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NATALEE ANN ROSENSTEIN

NATALEE ROSENSTEIN is a white male who was born on June 17, 1947, in New York, New York. ROSENSTEIN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. More recently she was active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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NANCY ANN RUDD

NANCY RUDD is a white female who was born on October 16, 1951, at Cincinnati, Ohio. She became involved with the WUO in Cincinnati in September, 1969, and subsequently was a part of the Detroit WUO. She participated in the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, although she was not arrested. She spent much of the next two years wandering throughout the country contacting various WUO support-type people.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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RICHARD IRA RUTH

RICHARD RUTH is a white male who was born on September 15, 1953, in New Haven, Connecticut. An associate of many former WUO members, RUTH has been active in the New York PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]

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LOUIS DANIEL SEGAL

LOUIS SEGAL is a white male who was born on February 28, 1949, in Oakland, California. Active in the SDS in 1970 on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, SEGAL claims to have traveled to Cuba in a WUO collective.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

LOUIS SEGAL attended meetings of SDS at the University of California at Berkeley.

[REDACTED] b1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

SEGAL stated he had been in Cuba with the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade and that he was in the Weatherman collective in the Brigade. This collective was the largest single unit in the Brigade with approximately 50 people, and the collectives held secret meetings. The collective actively recruited among other Brigade members and the people recruited were to join Weatherman communes upon their return to the U.S.

[REDACTED]

SEGAL reported that he did not know how many Venceremos Brigade members had joined the Weatherman, but he felt they had made some success, and he made no secrets of their policy in engaging in assassinations and reprisal bombings.

[REDACTED]

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DANIEL ROSS SLICK

DANIEL SLICK is a white male who was born on October 29, 1948, in Quincy, Massachusetts. SLICK was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and later became a close associate of CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF, who is a known functionary of WUO.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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MARGUERITE ROSE SMITH,
Aka. Mimi Smith

"MIMI" SMITH is a white female who was born on February 26, 1947, in Peoria, Illinois. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

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JEFFREY DAVID SOKOLOW

SOKOLOW is a white male who was born on April 5, 1948 in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently he has been active in the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

SOKOLOW was a member of the SDS Steering Committee at Columbia University and attended a meeting of that organization during March, 1968.

[REDACTED]

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]

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JANE SPIELMAN

SPIELMAN is a white female who was born on February 21, 1947 in Brooklyn, New York. SPIELMAN was arrested as a part of the WUO "Pittsburgh 26," was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On July 7, 1969 SPIELMAN traveled to Cuba from Mexico. (Accompanying SPIELMAN on the trip were such leading WUO members as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIANA OUGHTON, TED GOLD, PETER CLAPP and ELEANOR RASKIN.)

[REDACTED]

Miscellaneous Travel

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG

MARSHA STEINBERG is a white female who was born on August 22, 1942 at Boston, Massachusetts. She was arrested during the "Pittsburgh 26" action in September, 1969 and again arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARSHA STEINBERG attended a WUO underground meeting held at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, February 27-28, 1970, at which plans were formulated for the bombing of the Detroit Police Officers Association Building, Grand Boulevard, Detroit. Although STEINBERG initially had been selected to be one of six individuals who would actually place the bomb in the building, she was subsequently directed by Weatherman leaders to leave the city on March 1, 1970 prior to the bombing attempt.

[REDACTED]

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The Anti-War Union (AWU), then recently formed to protest U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, sponsored a trip to Paris, France from the U.S. for the period July 20, 1972 to July 27, 1972. The purpose of the trip was to expose a number of "Movement people" of the lower ranks to the members of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks.

It is noted that the terms "Movement" and "Movement people" are used to denote the anti-establishment phenomenon, sometimes also known as the "New Left Movement."

Included among those making the AWU sponsored trip was MARSHA STEINBERG, who was then associated with the SDS in Boston, Massachusetts. However, STEINBERG did not depart from New York City in July, 1972, with the main travel group, but met the group upon its arrival in Paris, as she and one other had traveled in advance of the main group to make arrangements for the group following their arrival.

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The purpose of the trip by rank and file members of the "Movement," as these delegates were, was, according to CAROLE CULLUM, a member of the AWU, Washington, D. C., to have a group of people in the "Movement" who could return to the U.S. and impress other members of the "Movement" and potential recruits into the "Movement" on the basis of having met personally with the North Vietnamese. It was hoped that such an action would help in the recruiting of additional converts into the "Movement" and thereby help to build the anti-establishment position in the U.S.

The American delegation arrived back in the U.S. at New York City. They had been given no direction by the leadership of the delegation and while it was noted that the Vietnamese had no suggestions as to what the American group might do upon return to the U.S., the Vietnamese had stated they would be interested in having any information which could be furnished to them concerning the development of new weapons by the U.S. They indicated that such information would be especially helpful if they could receive it before such weapons were used on the battlefield. Immediately after the above was mentioned, the subject was dropped and not mentioned again.

The various members of the American delegation brought back to the U.S. some "propaganda literature" which was handed out by the North Vietnamese.

[REDACTED]

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SUSAN ELIZABETH SUTHEIM
(See KEN CLOKE)

SUSAN SUTHEIM, nee BECHAUD, is a white female, date of birth February 28, 1942, at Berkeley, California. SUTHEIM, according to the November 4, 1967 issue of "National Guardian," was then a member of the New York Regional Staff of SDS.

SUSAN SUTHEIM was in Havana, Cuba in January, 1968 attending the Cultural Congress of Havana.

[REDACTED]

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MARSHALL S. TACK,
Aka "Eric"

MARSHALL TACK is a white male who was born on November 8, 1948, in Lexington, Massachusetts. Active in WUO affairs in Ohio, TACK traveled to Cuba with the first Venceremos Brigade.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARSHALL TACK was a member of the WUO collective in Cincinnati, Ohio, as of December 8, 1969, however, as a matter of fact was out of the country in Cuba at the time.

[REDACTED]

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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DR. CAROLINE MARGARET TANNER, M. D.
Aka. "CARLIE" TANNER, SHIRLEY JACKSON,
MEG JOHNSON, SHIRLEY JAMESON, MARGARET
ANN HARMONEY, BETH STEWART

TANNER is a white female who was born on November 21, 1948 in McKeesport, Pennsylvania. She was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during much of the latter part of 1969. In early 1970 she jumped bond in Chicago, Illinois and traveled to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade [REDACTED] and functioned as a part of the WUO underground until her arrest in December of 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED] (For further details see the Venceremos Brigade section of this document.)

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JOSEPH KIYO TASHIRO

JOSEPH TASHIRO is an Oriental male who was born on May 13, 1945 at Cincinnati, Ohio. During the summer of 1969 he was a full-time employee of the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TASHIRO traveled to Cuba with the third contingent of the Venceremos Brigade which left for Cuba by ship from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, on August 23, 1970. (C)

(CG T-184, 9/8/70)


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MP

MALORIE TOLLES

MALORIE TOLLES is a white female who was born on March 13, 1946 at Carmel, California. TOLLES was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots and subsequently became a fugitive when she failed to pay the fine assessed as punishment. In June, 1972 she paid the fine and surfaced from the underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MALORIE TOLLES departed Mexico for Havana, Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade on November 28, 1969. 



ROBERT CARL TOMASHEVSKY

ROBERT TOMASHEVSKY is a white male who was born on July 26, 1941 in New York, New York. TOMASHEVSKY was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago during the fall, 1969. He attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

Miscellaneous Travel

On September 24, 1974 it was learned that TOMASHEVSKY formerly resided for a time on an island named San Adreas which is located off Colombia, South America.

[REDACTED]

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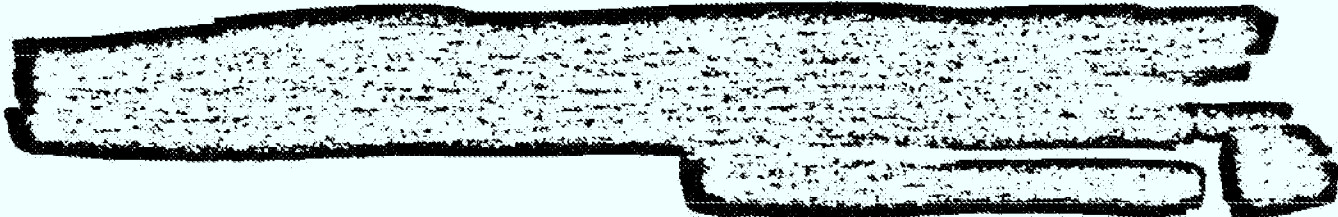
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CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF

CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF is a white male who was born on May 6, 1915 in Salem, Oregon. A former leader in the Communist Party, USA and later active in the Progressive Labor Party, VAN LYDEGRAF became involved with the WUO at the onset of the organization in the spring of 1969. VAN LYDEGRAF attended the "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969 and later was himself a member of the WUO underground. More recently VAN LYDEGRAF has been active in the PFOC and is presently one of the national leaders of that organization. VAN LYDEGRAF is one of the authors of the WUO "Prairie Fire" book and holds the copyright to the publication.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 23, 1968 the Passport Office, USDS, advised that CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF had been issued passport #J1015806 on September 12, 1968 at Seattle for travel for a four-month stay or less in Japan, Hong Kong, Philippine Islands, and Pakistan. It was valid for five years travel to all countries except Cuba, Mainland China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.



On June 5, 1967 it was ascertained that a dispute with the Progressive Labor Party leadership had led to VAN LYDEGRAF's expulsion from the Party. The Party also had brought out VAN LYDEGRAF's past connections with the Progressive Worker's Movement (PWM) in Canada. PWM is a pro-Chinese oriented organization operating in Canada. In October, 1967 VAN LYDEGRAF attended a PWM conference in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.



On June 13, 1972 source advised that Post Office Box 1421, Eugene, Oregon, had been rented on March 23, 1972, by CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF, who furnished the address of 2465 Roosevelt Boulevard, the Communications Company, Eugene. VAN LYDEGRAF signed for the box, but two other individuals, including DANIEL SLICK, were to receive mail through the box.

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On January 16, 1973 it was learned that VAN LYDEGRAF had renewed the Post Office Box and that he and SLICK were continuing to receive mail therein.

(CC T-188, 6/13/72/
1/16/73)

(SLICK traveled to Cuba with the Second Venceremos Brigade - see section of this document on SLICK.)

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BARRY SIMON WEINBERG

BARRY WEINBERG is a white male who was born on November 6, 1948 in New York, New York. A former SDS member in 1968-1969, WEINBERG has more recently been active in the PFOC in San Francisco.

WUO/PROC Affiliation

During late 1968 and early 1969, WEINBERG publicly stated that he was a member and supporter of the SDS at Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa, California. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] B1

WEINBERG is a member of the San Francisco Chapter of the PFOC where he participates in the Prison Collective. One of the objectives of the Prison Collective is to build a radical movement within the prison system. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

During the period March 10, 1972 - May 12, 1972, WEINBERG was in Cuba with the fifth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] B1

~~TOP SECRET~~

LAURA JANE WHITEHORN
Aka. Laura Stang

WHITEHORN is a white female who was born on April 16, 1945 in Brooklyn, New York. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently she has been a national leader of the PFOC. She is separated from her husband DONALD JAY STANG.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

ROBERT GREGG WILFONG

ROBERT WILFONG is a white male who was born on February 24, 1946 in Brownwood, Texas. Associated with the WUO in Massachusetts in 1969, WILFONG was arrested for illegal possession of a store of weapons and explosives in Massachusetts in 1972 and was subsequently sentenced to serve two years in prison. He was paroled in January, 1974.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On November 17, 1969, the Cambridge Police Department received information that a group of SDS members were living in three separate homes in Cambridge, where they had weapons and ammunition. They also reportedly had been involved in a shooting incident at the Cambridge Police Department Headquarters on the evening of November 8, 1969. Addresses named where the group lived were 344 Putnam Avenue, 509 Franklin Street, and 12 Prince Street. As a result of the information received, search warrants were obtained by the Cambridge Police Department for the three addresses and during the late hours of November 17, 1969 raids were conducted. ROBERT G. WILFONG, JR., age 23, was among the group arrest at 509 Franklin Street on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder.

On November 28, 1969, no probable cause was found for the above charge against WILFONG.

The "Boston Globe," a daily Boston newspaper, in its September 24, 1971 edition reported that a Massachusetts Supreme Court Justice on September 23, 1971 denied a request for a bail reduction in the case of two individuals including WILFONG arrested in a September 16, 1971 raid of a Brookline, Massachusetts garage, where explosives and alleged revolutionary materials were located. The two were being held in \$10,000 double surety bond.

WILFONG subsequently entered a plea of guilty in February, 1973, in local court and was sentenced to be incarcerated for two years. He was paroled in January, 1974.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ANDREW MITCHELL WILLIS,
Aka "Tony"

ANDY WILLIS is a white male who was born on November 10, 1969, in Erie, Pennsylvania. WILLIS was deeply involved in WUO activity in Ohio during 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WILLIS was one of a group of WUO members who was arrested in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, on September 20, 1969, in connection with WUO efforts to disrupt the Davis Cup Tennis Matches.

[REDACTED]

During November, 1969, it was learned that the leadership of the WUO had sent WILLIS to Kent, Ohio, to work in WUO matters.

[REDACTED]

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B1

~~TOP SECRET~~

DENNIS BLAIR WOOD.
Aka. Dale Greg Hutchins

DENNIS WOOD is a white male who was born on February 2, 1943 in Des Moines, Iowa. Active in SDS in the late 1960s, he has more recently been associated with various WUO support people.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WOOD was a signer of SDS position paper distributed by the University of California at Berkeley Chapter of SDS during October 1966.

During 1971, WOOD resided at 2201 Ocean Front Walk, Venice, California. This address was a commune of several persons, some of whom are past associates of Weatherman fugitives.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[REDACTED]

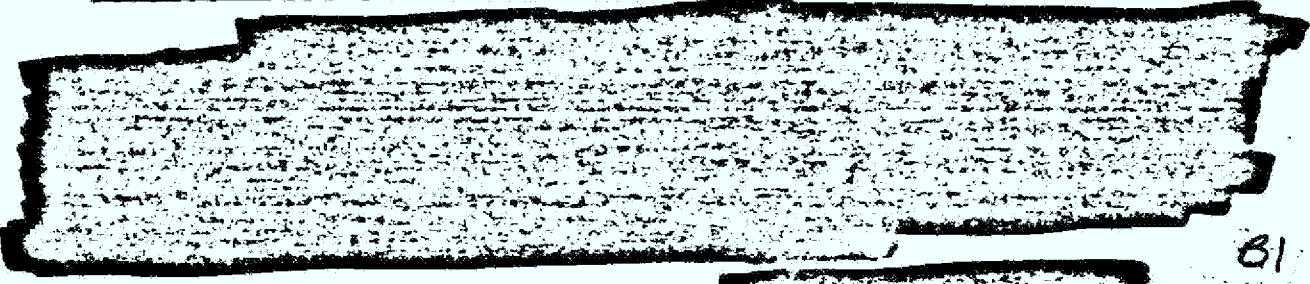
[REDACTED]

B1

MARY WOZNIAK

MARY WOZNIAK is a white female who was born in Chicago, Illinois on July 24, 1945. WOZNIAK was arrested as a part of the "Pittsburgh 26" and was again arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts



(It is noted that WOZNIAK's companions on her trip to Cuba included such leading WUO functionaries as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIONNE DONGHI, TED GOLD, ELEANOR RASKIN and DIANA OUGHTON.)

~~TOP SECRET~~

SECTION V

APPENDIX I

Documentation of WUO Members

The WUO has never been a membership organization as such. While it is true that some individuals have self-proclaimed themselves to be WUO members, many other members have not chosen to do so. Membership, therefore, is derived from the participation of individuals in activities normally attended by WUO members and their closest adherents. This appendix section contains lists which may be of assistance in verifying that certain of the individuals mentioned in this document are (or were) members of the WUO.

~~TOP SECRET~~

WUO-Dominated SDS National Office
June, 1969 - February, 1970

After taking control of the SDS, the Weathermen (WUO) occupied the SDS National Office located at 1601 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, from mid-June, 1969, until they abandoned the location during February, 1970, when the organization submerged into an underground status. Because the WUO feared that the rival Progressive Labor Party, whom they had expelled from SDS during the June, 1969, National Convention, might attempt to seize the National Office, they limited office employees to individuals who were followers of their ideology.

The following individuals who are mentioned in this document were employed in the SDS National Office during parts or all of the period indicated:

June-August, 1969

JONATHAN LERNER
CAROLINE TANNER
JOSEPH TASHIRO
MORRIS OLDER (GROSSNER)
MARTIN KENNER
KATHIE BOUDIN
JONAH RASKIN
PHOEBE HIRSCH
DAVID JOHNS

August-November, 1969

JONATHAN LERNER
CAROLINE TANNER
JOLIE CHAIN
HOWARD JEFFERSON MELISH
CHARLES CLARK MARSHALL
KATHIE BOUDIN
RUSSELL NEUFELD
ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY

November, 1969-February 5, 1970

JONATHAN LERNER
CAROLINE TANNER
JOLIE CHAIN
DAVID KLAFTER
MARGUERITE HOPE
RUSSELL NEUFELD
ELEANOR RASKIN
JED PROUJANSKY
MARK REAL



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~~TOP SECRET~~

"Days of Rage"

During October 8-11, 1969, the WUO staged a series of protest demonstrations in Chicago which are commonly referred to as the "Days of Rage" or the "National Action." These protests rapidly degenerated into destructive riots which led to open confrontations with Chicago Police. Although the WUO made a number of demands in connection with their "National Action," the primary target was the Vietnam War. Using a rallying slogan of "Bring the War Home," the WUO encouraged their followers to equip themselves for violence. To this end, participants attired themselves in helmets, boots and other heavy clothing and carried clubs and other weapons. Because the WUO's encouragement of violence on the weeks that preceded the "National Action" was so great, most other "New Left" organizations openly or passively denounced the proposed riots.

The files of the Statistical Section of the Records Division of the Chicago Police Department as reviewed on October 17, 1969, disclosed the following individuals who are mentioned in this document as having been arrested during the "Days of Rage" demonstrations:

CHRISTOPHER BAKKE
EDWARD J. BENEDICT
JEFFREY D. BLUM
KATHIE BOUDIN
ROBERT BURLINGHAM
DAVID IRA CAMP
PETER W. CLAPP
EDITH G. CRICHTON
MARK X. DINSMORE
BERNARDINE DOHRN
DIONNE M. DONGHI
ROBERT E. DUGGAN
HOWARD J. EMMER
LINDA SUE EVANS
BRIAN D. FLANAGAN
MARK FLIEGELMAN
LAURA FONER
JON F. FRAPPIER
JOHN FUERST
VICKI GABRINER
RHOEBE E. HIRSCH
MARGUERITE HOPE
JOHN G. JACOBS
NAOMI E. JAFFE
DAVID M. JOHNS
JEFFREY C. JONES
DAVID B. KLAFTER

CONSTANCE J. LONG
GERALD W. LONG
CELESTE MC CULLOUGH
NANCY LEE MAYER (MEYER)
DAVID MILLSTONE
JULIE A. NICHAMIN
LAURA A. OBERT
MORRIS A. OLDER (GROSSNER)
DIANA OUGHTON
JED PROUJANSKY
NICK B. RIDDLE
NATALEE ROSENSTEIN
MARK W. RUDD
DANIEL R. SLICK
MARGUERITE SMITH
ROBERTA SMITH
JEFFREY D. SOKOLOV
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
JANE SPIELMAN
BARRY P. STEIN
MARSHA STEINBERG
MARSHALL S. TACK
MALORIE TOLLES
ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY
DENNIS WALDMAN
JANE ANN WHITE
LAURA WHITEHORN
CATHLYN WILKERSON

~~TOP SECRET~~

Pittsburgh 26

In preparation for the "Days of Rage" the WUO staged several smaller scale protests in an effort to publicize their October, 1969 "National Action." One of these "actions" occurred at South Hills High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on September 4, 1969, when a group of WUO female members ran through the school building shouting slogans and distributing literature. The records of the Pittsburgh Police Department for September 4, 1969, disclose that the following individuals, who are mentioned in this document, were among the 26 WUO members arrested during this "action":

DIONNE DONGHI
LINDA SUE EVANS
LYNN RAYE GARVIN
NAOMI JAFFE
ELEANOR RASKIN
JANE SPIELMAN
MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG
LAURA WHITEHORN
CATHLYN PLATT WILKERSON
MARY WOZNIAK

WUO Confrontation With Chicago
Police on September 24, 1969

Another WUO demonstration designed to promote the "National Action" occurred in Chicago on September 24, 1969, when WUO members and police became involved in a series of fights when the WUO refused to obey a police order to move off of a city street. The records of the Chicago Police Department reflect the following individuals mentioned in this document were arrested on September 24 or on subsequent dates as a result of their participation in this confrontation:

KATHIE BOUDIN
BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN
LEONARD HANDLES MAN
DAVID KLAFTER
HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
RUSSELL TODD NEUFELD
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG
CAROLINE MARGARET TANNER
ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY

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WUO "Flint, Michigan
War Council"

The WUO's last open meeting held prior to their submergence into an underground status in early 1970 was their "Flint, Michigan War Council" held December 27-31, 1969. It was at this meeting that the decision was made to go underground and to engage in guerrilla warfare against the U.S. government. As with their "Days of Rage" virtually all of the attendees at this meeting were either WUO members or were highly sympathetic to their ideology. The following individuals, who are mentioned in this document, are known to have attended this convention:

KAREN ASHLEY
WILLIAM AYERS
KATHIE BOUDIN
JEFFREY BLUM
ROBERT BURLINGHAM
DAVID CAMP
PETER CLAPP
EDITH CRICHTON
MONA CUNNINGHAM
MARC DINSMORE
BRIAN FLANAGAN
LAURA FONER
JOHN FUERST
LYNN RAYE GARVIN
DAVID GILBERT
THEODORE GOLD
JOYCE GREENWAYS
LEONARD HANDLES MAN
PHOEBE HIRSCH
JOHN JACOBS
NAOMI JAFFE
JEFFREY JONES
MICHAEL JUSTESEN

DAVID KLAFTER
NANCY KURSHAN
KAREN LATIMER
JONATHAN LERNER
CONNIE LONG (ULLMAN)
HOWARD MACHTINGER
JEFFREY MELISH
JAMES MELLEN
RAYMOND MOSER
RUSSELL NEUFELD
DIANA OUGHTON
JED PROUJANSKY
ELEANOR RASKIN
NATALEE ROSENSTEIN
MARK RUDD
MARGUERITE SMITH
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
JANE SPIELMAN
BARRY STEIN
MALORIE TOLLES
ROBERT TOMASCHAVSKY
CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF
MARY WOZNIAK



(Special Agents of the FBI from photographs taken by Michigan State Police of the meeting)

The records of the Flint, Michigan, Police Department reflect that a number of vehicles were noted as being parked at the ballroom where the "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting was held. The following are vehicles registered to individuals mentioned in this document:

- JEFFREY BLUM
- G.A. CAVALLETTO
- THOMAS B. COOK
- DENNIS CUNNINGHAM (husband of MONA CUNNINGHAM)
- JOHN F. FRAPPIER
- JEFFREY HAAS
- MARGUERITE HOPE
- MARGARET JUSTESEN (mother of MICHAEL JUSTESEN)
- MELODY KILIAN (now known as MELODY ERMACHILD)
- DOROTHY SOMPOLINSKY

The Flint Police Department records also reflect that a number of vehicles were stopped and checked in the vicinity of the "War Council" during the period of December 27-31, 1969. The following individuals, whose names are mentioned in this document, were noted as being in these vehicles:

- WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS
- SCOTT ADDY BRALEY
- BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN
- LINDA SUE EVANS
- LAURA FONER
- JON FREDERIC FRAPPIER
- NICHOLAS ALBRECHT FREUDENBERG
- JOHN FUERST
- ANN HATHAWAY
- JOHN GREGORY JACOBS
- JEFFREY CARL JONES
- NANCY KURSHAN
- HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
- JAMES MELLEN
- RAYMOND LEE MOSER
- MORRIS OLDER (GROSSNER)
- JANE ANN WHITE
- LAURA STANG (WHITEHORN)

WUO "Pine Street Bomb Factory"

[redacted] San Francisco, California. He stated that during April, 1970, one CLINTON EVERETT WILLARD rented the apartment for a year period ending March, 1971. At the time he claimed to be employed by Mr. EZRA HENDON, an attorney in Berkeley, California. When [redacted] arrived at the building in mid-April, 1971, he discovered the apartment apparently abandoned. On inspection he discovered bombing paraphernalia which led him to contact the FBI.

[redacted] viewed photographs of various WUO members and identified photographs on California drivers licenses in the names CLINTON EVERETT WILLARD and ROBERT PEARSON WHITE as being identical to the man who rented the apartment. (Both the WILLARD and WHITE drivers licenses had come to the attention of the FBI in previous investigation insofar as both individuals in whose names these licenses were issued died as infants.) [redacted] also identified a photograph of WUO member CLAYTON VAN LIDEGRAF as being identical to the older man who helped to move "WILLARD" into the apartment. (On May 20, 1971 [redacted] Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, was shown the WILLARD and WHITE drivers licenses and advised that both bore the photograph of MARK JOSEPH REAL, whom he knew to have been the WUO leader in the Kent area in late 1969.)

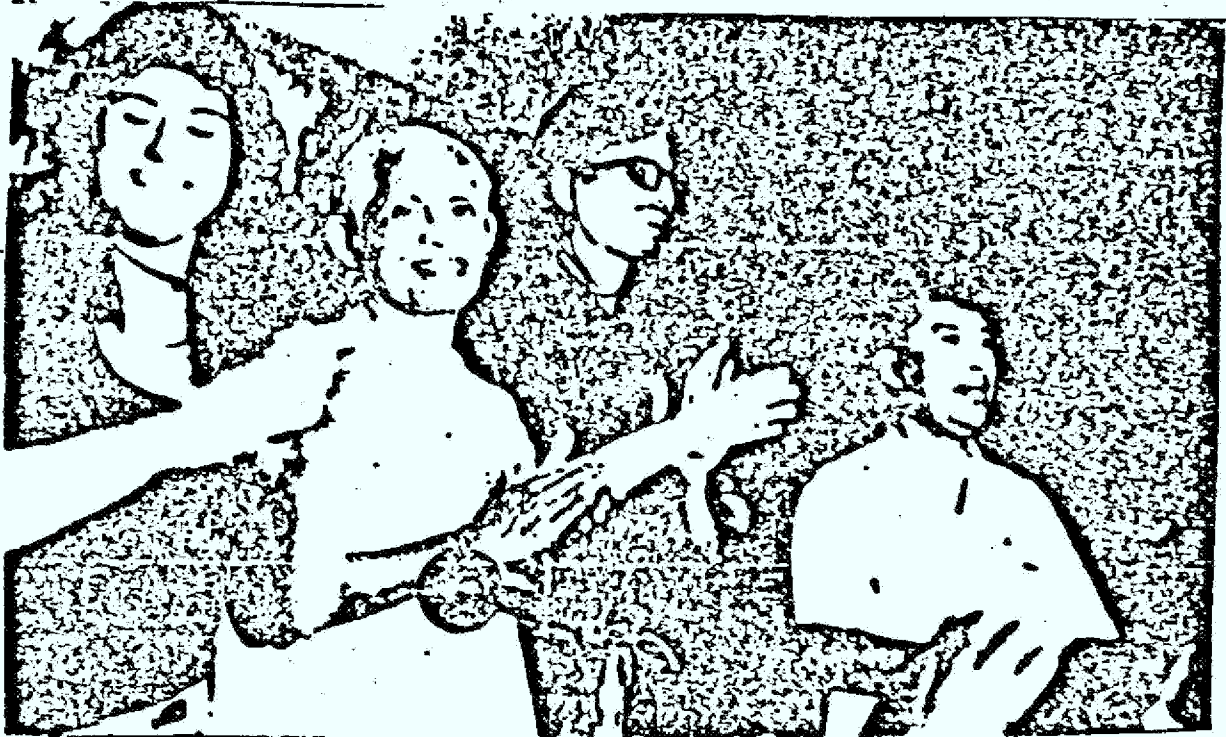
Inspection of the apartment yielded an amount of explosives and bomb making paraphernalia. Fingerprints were subsequently lifted from articles in the apartment by Special Agents of the FBI. Fingerprints of the following WUO members were found in this apartment:

KAREN LYNN ASHLEY
WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS
KATHIE BOUDIN
PETER WALES CLAPP
JOHN WILLARD DAVIS
DAVID JOSEPH GILBERT
NAOMI ESTHER JAFFE
MICHAEL THOMAS JUSTESEN

HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
JULIE NICHAMIN
JEFFREY DAVID POWELL
SHELDON ROSENBAUM
MARK WILLIAM RUDD
MICHAEL LOUIS SPIEGEL
LAWRENCE MICHAEL WEISS
CATHLYN PLATT WILKERSON

APPENDIX II

The following photographs reveal the influence of the Vietnamese on certain WUO leaders from the meeting held in Havana, Cuba in July, 1969 through the "Days of Rage" held in Chicago in October, 1969.



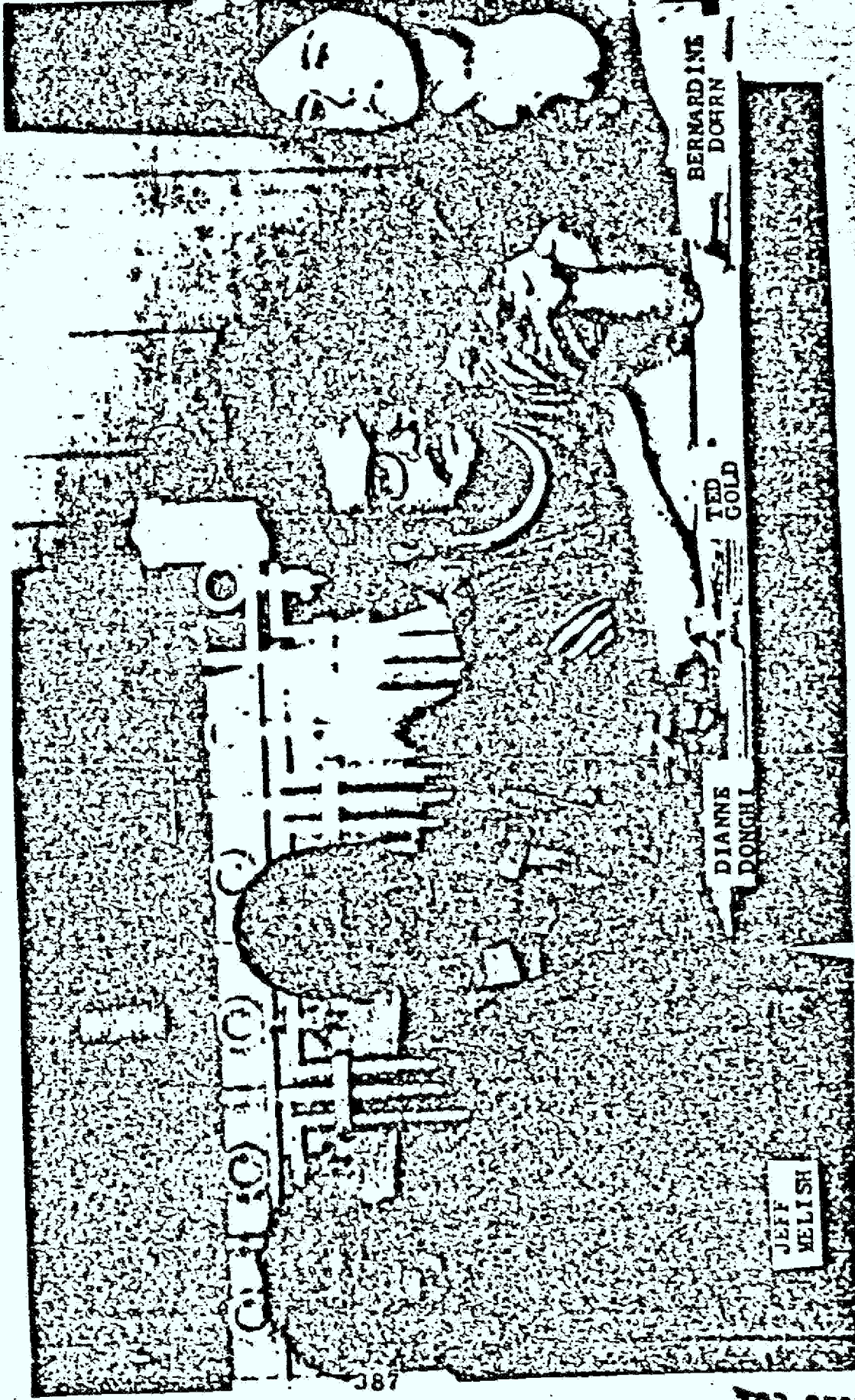
BERNARDINE DOEHN - HUYNH VAN BA - LUIS CUZA
Havana, Cuba, July, 1969



BERNARDINE with representatives of the PRG of South Vietnam



CARLOS APONTE - BERNARDINE DOHRN - PETER WALTERS CLAPP
Havana, Cuba, July 1969



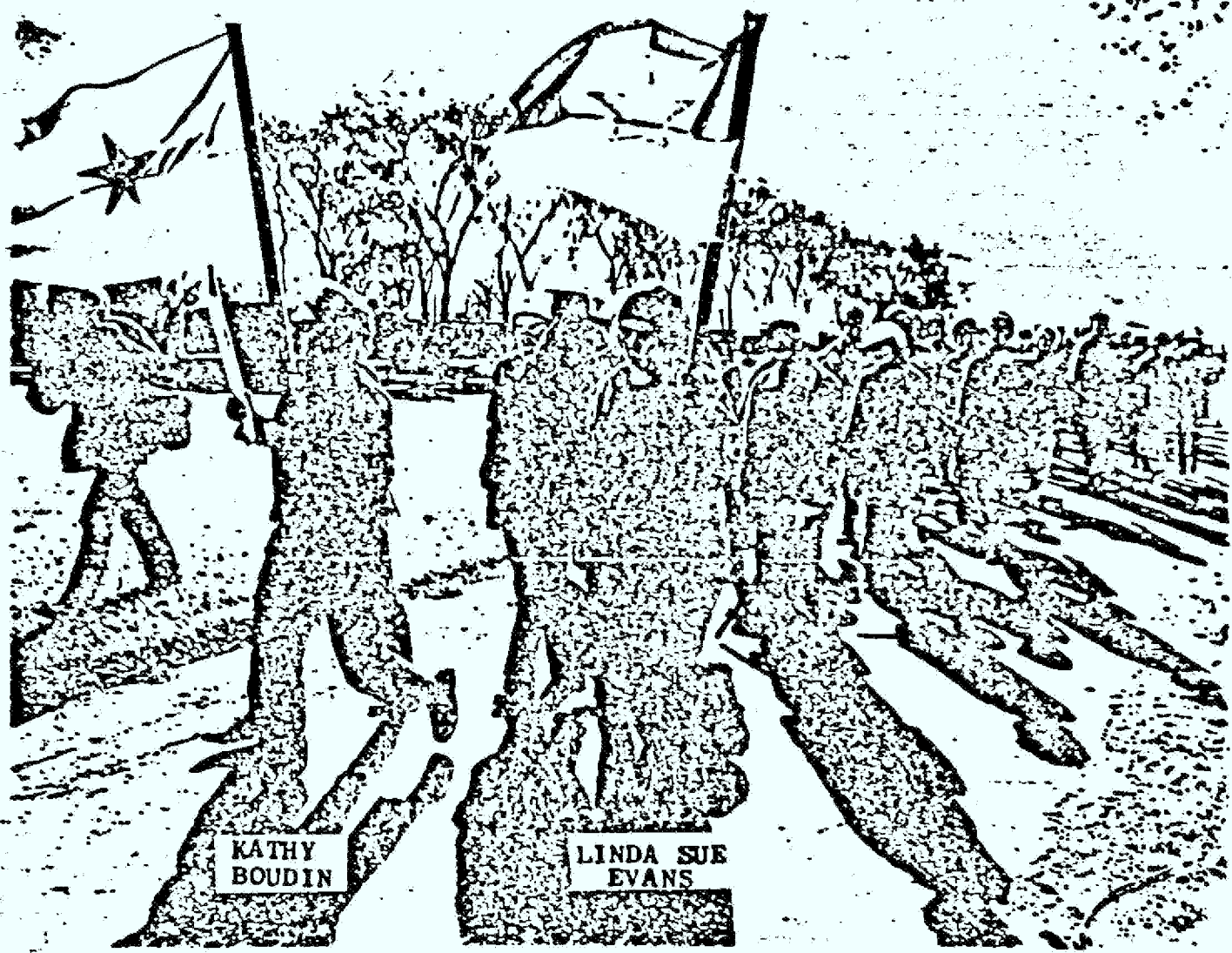
BERNARDINE
DOHRN

TED
GOLD

DIANNE
DONGHI

JEFF
MELISH

Weatherman Press Conference, New York City, August 19, 1969 on
return from Cuba where "National Action" plans announced.

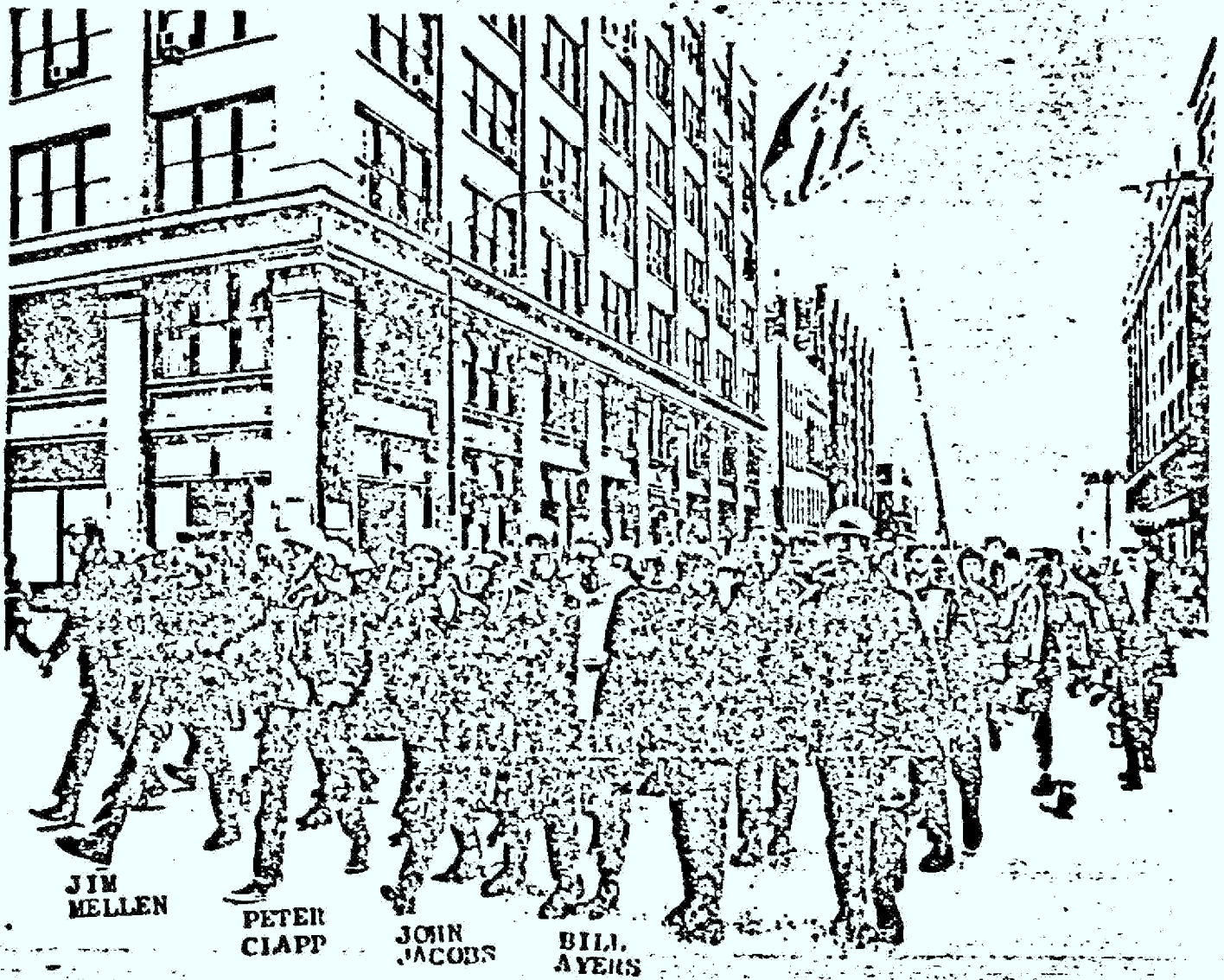


KATHY
BOUDIN

LINDA SUE
EVANS

Leading Women's Action - "Days of Rage", October 9, 1969.
Grant Park, Chicago

~~TOP SECRET~~



Leading "Days of Rage" march, October 11, 1969, Chicago, Illinois which culminated in 287 arrests

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

APPENDIX III

**Testimony of RONALD L. BROOKS, Agent,
Illinois Crime Investigating Commission
in Hearings before the Subcommittee to
Investigate the Administration of the
Internal Security Act and other Internal
Security Laws of the Committee on the
Judiciary, United States Senate, June 10, 1970**

The following material has been xeroxed from the above named report. It details the actions of Weatherman activists, particularly JULIE NICHAMIN, in their efforts to set up the VB. Of special note is the comment at the end of page 299 of the transcript by NICHAMIN which states that "if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here." This would be, of course, JESUS JIMINEZ ESCOBAR, First Secretary, Cuban United Nations Mission, located in New York City.

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOTES ON HOW PEOPLE SHOULD BE SELECTED FOR THE BRIGADE

From the point of view of the Cubans, and the Movement people who first developed the idea of the brigade, one of the most important aspects of the project was the contribution it could make in pulling RDB together organizationally and

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politically. We have come up with some ideas about the selection process for members of the brigade that we think could help develop ideas about collective responsibility and discipline. We've gotten the ideas from talks with party people down here about the selection procedure of Cuban party members.

1. There should be an initial program in which the brigade is described. This should obviously include a discussion of the 10 million tons and what they mean from an historical point of view, from the point of view of economic development in order to build a better understanding of what the Cuban revolution is all about. Then the qualifications for members of the brigade should be discussed (this amounts to a definition of our criteria for choosing members). We think it is important to stress the need for people who are self-disciplined and responsible, and who have a fairly high degree of commitment and involvement in the Movement. This is especially important to the Cubans, who are looking very much toward the future contribution these 100 people can make to the Movement.

2. After there is a pretty good understanding in the chapters about what the brigade is all about, they can hold nominating sessions, in which chapter members suggest people whom they feel meet the necessary qualifications to be a brigade member. Again, we believe that this procedure for suggesting names can begin to develop, in concrete terms, a sense of collective discipline and responsibility. This is because the idea is introduced in a meaningful context, where people understand the specific need for selecting people for political roles in a particular manner.

3. Next comes the crucial stage: sessions in which the qualifications of the people nominated are publicly discussed, sessions of criticism and self-criticism, sessions where people's work and personalities are discussed in political terms. The Cubans have told us that these meetings are tremendously important in the selection process for the party here, that frequently it is the only time in which people's work and attitudes are evaluated publicly, and finally, that the sessions are very educational and very traumatic. We believe that although sessions like these often take place among small groups of people in the Movement who are close friends and work closely together, that nothing of this sort exists among the majority of the people. Hopefully, the understanding of such evaluations and their value politically can be generalized.

4. The next stage, in which people are selected from the list of names of nominees, we feel, will be the most difficult. There has to be a group, a national council or committee, which will have the responsibility of carrying out the final selection process. Autobiographical material should be solicited from each nominee. People should be interviewed to get information about the nominee's political work, about his relationships with the people he works with, etc. And then that group, with the power which has been given to it, and according to criteria which have been developed and are publicly known, and in accordance with distribution quotas (perhaps defined regionally and according to population density), the final choice can be made.

We feel that the main problem here might be the notion of a hierarchy of decision-making: that a small group will have the final determination about the composition of the brigade. We aren't too clear yet about how the national committee should be formed; we do feel very strongly that it should include people who are willing to make themselves completely responsible for the tasks that will be assigned to them, and that they should have a good understanding of the nature of the Cuban revolution as well as a good understanding of the Movement. The point is that once the criteria for membership has been determined and the national committee formed, there can be no disputes as to the authority of that committee to make decisions (obviously, we mean here, only in the areas for which they have been mandated).

la brigada va,

JULIE NICHAMER,
BALAN MURPHY.

P.R. 1 (Julie) will be down here at least until the middle of April; if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here.

Mr. BROOKS. A postscript on the letter reads as follows:
"I (Julie) will be down here" referring to Havana "at least until the middle of April; if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the mission to forward down here."

SECRET

We later received information from a reliable source indicating that Jimenez is, in fact, Jesus Jimenez Escobar, who was secretary of the Cuban mission to the United Nations. Escobar was expelled from the United States on February 10, 1960, for carrying out activities unbecoming to his role as a diplomat.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me go off the record.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator THURMOND. On the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, please.

Mr. BOOKS. The second document, exhibit 2, is seven page long. It appears to be a working paper for choosing Venceremos candidates. This paper is also signed by Julie Nichamin and is entitled "Proposal on the Cuban Revolution." The paper consists primarily of Cuban Communist propaganda and lists the political purposes of the trade. At this time I would offer this document as the Commission's second exhibit.

Mr. SOURWINE. May it be received, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be received.

(The document referred to follows.)

EXHIBIT 2

PROPOSAL OF CUBAN REVOLUTION

Shortly before his death in battle, Jose Marti (leader of the Cuban Independence movement) wrote that he embraced the chance to give his life in the struggle, and "with the independence of Cuba, to prevent the United States from extending itself throughout the Antilles and pouncing with this added force upon the countries of our America."

Marti died, and his hopes for true Cuban independence remained unfulfilled for sixty years, as United States imperialism relentlessly carried out Marti's prophecy in Cuba and the entire Latin American continent. The United States rapidly became the center of world-wide imperialism, all the while increasing its economic penetration and domination of Third World countries, particularly those in Latin America. Cuba is the first Latin American country to break out of U.S. domination and control. Since our movement to destroy American imperialism from the inside is inextricably linked with Third World liberation movements, we should understand in what ways the Cuban Revolution serves as an example for these struggles, and we should be prepared to offer the most concrete support possible. This proposal contains a prediction of the Cuban Revolution, a call to support a North American brigade to cut sugar cane in the 1970 Ten Million Ton harvest as a means of demonstrating our solidarity, and a call for a national educational program on the Cuban Revolution.

I. Description: Political Background

North American intervention in the Cuban War of Independence (which Spain (sometimes called the "Spanish-American War") forced Cuba to leave from the domain of Spanish colonial power to the status of sovereignty of the United States. Under the protection of such tactics as outright military intervention, the Platt amendment, tariff agreements, and the sugar quota agreement, the U.S. imperialism systematically carried out their domination of Cuban society. No other Latin American country had its economy penetrated so quickly and so thoroughly. The imperialists controlled the best land, all the mines, the greater part of the sugar industry, public services, the most efficient industries, the electric power industry, the telephone service, the railroads, the most important businesses and the banks.

This period of American domination of Cuba (1902-1959) corresponds to the time of development of monopoly capitalism in the United States, and the mechanisms of acquisition and control of Third World were an extension of this process. Cuba was a colonial market for U.S. surplus capital and manufactured goods, as well as a source of raw materials. The imperialists put it to "use and

The (American) monopolies that geared the Cuban economy to sugar, dominated its resources, subsidized its industry with the goods they pumped in, and drained out its foreign exchange for luxuries." This economic domination had its political counterpart in the "pseudo-responsible" with its bourgeois, neocolonial parliamentary system. These two forces, economic and political domination by the imperialists, are the roots of the Cuban revolutionary struggle, and define the logic of the Cuban revolutionary process. Sartre describes the nature of the Cuban political superstructure (so familiar today in all the Third World):

"... In the midst of that absurd total dependence, what could the politicians who governed you have done? For the country, nothing. Their impotence came not from their vices but from their servitude; and their vices, on the other hand, were born from their impotence... In other words, **THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY WAS NOTHING MORE THAN A FLAT JOKE IF IT WERE NOT FOUNDED UPON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.** And that sovereignty... would continue to be an empty abstraction so long as it was not the concrete consequence of **ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.** The first objective of the revolutionary struggle were already manifesting themselves, revealing a more radical and imperative finality... the economic imperialism of the Foreign Power necessarily created its own accomplices in the very countries it was crushing... representatives of foreign imperialism on their own soil; to fight for the independence of the Cuban economy, for the sovereignty of (the) State and for the honesty of (the) ruling officials, was first to fight against them."

In order to be politically and economically independent and to be able to develop the Cuban economy for the benefit of all the Cubans, to re-distribute wealth, the Cuban revolutionaries had to seize power (through armed struggle and the defeat of Batista's army), and destroy the domestic bourgeoisie and its international bosses, American capitalists with interests in Cuba (through class struggle and the expropriation and nationalization of the productive forces). As Fidel said, speaking of Cuba's historical position in Latin America:

"... We are the first people of this continent to abolish the exploitation of man by man! It is true that we were the last to begin (to gain independence and free slaves), but it is also true that we have gone further than anybody else. We have eradicated the capitalist system of exploitation; we have made the people the true owners of their future and their wealth. **WE WERE THE LAST TO BREAK THE CHAINS OF THE COLONY, BUT WE HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO THROW OFF THE CHAINS OF IMPERIALISM!**"

In the early years of the Revolution, power was consolidated and guaranteed by the arming of the people (in people's militias) and the enlargement of the Rebel Army. The armed force of the Revolutionary Government was their chief class weapon against internal enemies (counter-revolutionaries) and foreign imperialists and their agents. At the same time, efforts were begun to develop the Cuban economy. Speaking to workers at a May Day rally, Fidel said:

"How many were there who could understand that a revolution did not mean that the people would simply enter an era of wealth, but that it meant that they would begin to create that wealth, begin to lay the groundwork for that era of wealth?... There wasn't even a political organization that represented the will and effort of all the people. That is why we speak of the triumph of the rebellion instead of the triumph of the revolution."

The Cubans see work as the battle of their new war—the war of a Revolution in power against underdevelopment, and they see the Party as the vanguard of that struggle. During the Revolutionary War the guerrillas were vanguard which, through the process of armed struggle, created the subjective conditions necessary for victory (the consciousness that victory was possible by violent means), and developed the strategies which led to that victory. After the socialist revolution changed the objective relations of production in Cuban society, the Party became the vanguard which created the subjective conditions necessary for the development of a communist society, and developed the policies for the economic changes leading to an economy of abundance. The change in consciousness comes from participation in the struggle to develop the economy, and from an understanding of that process. As Che said:

"Every worker, on every level, becomes a soldier for the economy... their vanguard (is) the party, composed of the most advanced workers, of the advanced men who move along toward the masses and in close communion with them... To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with the material base."

Selection of party members in Cuba is unique in the socialist world. All potential party members must be nominated from the base; in every work-place there

is a workers' assembly in which nominees are chosen for the party nucleus of that work-place. The party retains the right to review and evaluate each nominee's qualifications and make the final choice of admission, and it presents its justifications for acceptance or rejection at another public workers' assembly. (Che)

"Our aspiration is that the party become a mass one, but only when the masses reach the level of development of the vanguard, that is, when they are educated for communism. Our work is aimed at providing that education. The party is the living example; . . . with their acts they must lead the masses to the end of the revolutionary task, which means years of struggle against the difficulties of construction, the class enemies, the defects of the past, imperialism."

Internationalism

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

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

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

Economic Strategy

Economic policy in the early years of the revolution was based on the conviction that readjusting economic priorities and releasing idle labor and resources gave unlimited opportunities for economic growth, and that to break out of the condition of neo-colonialism meant to industrialize and to diversify agriculture. Therefore, the first two important goals were seen as import substitution and the development of a heavy industrial base. These policies required heavy investment of foreign reserves in raw materials, factories, the building of an economic infrastructure, the training of skilled personnel, and construction, which placed a severe strain on the Cuban economy. Pressure on reserves (foreign exchange as well as labor and resources) forced the Cubans to re-evaluate their policies. According to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, their conclusions were that strong dependence on foreign trade could not be ended in a short period. Further, as a tropical country, Cuba had many agricultural products (sugar, dairy and meat products, citrus fruit, coffee, tobacco) which she could offer to other socialist countries (and increasingly, to non-socialist countries) who in turn were capable of providing a stabilized market with good prices. This meant that sugar, primarily, meat and dairy products, and citrus fruits would provide the bulk of foreign exchange making industrial development possible. In addition to solidifying their own subsistence base, this focus on agriculture aims at a mechanized agriculture, which will produce capital for re-investment, while at the same time freeing labor for other activities. The early stages of industrial development are viewed as deriving from the focus on agriculture: initiatives required by a technologically advanced agricultural development (fertilizer, cement, electricity, agricultural equipment), and industries which agriculture generates (based on agricultural by-products and processing). The Ten Million Ton harvest of 1970 is thus crucial in Cuba's economic development: it will be the turning-point on the road toward sustained economic growth. The revenue from this harvest will enable Cuba to mechanize and improve the agricultural sector and advance the expansion of her industrial sector.

SUMMARY: POSITION OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

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

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

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

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

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

**II. Support of a North American Brigade to aid Cuba in the 1970 Sugar Harvest
Political Purposes of the Brigade**

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

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

(3) To help develop a working unity among participants (students, drop-outs, blacks, chicano, white working class youth GI's) based on concrete, practical tasks.

(4) To strengthen our organizational capacity. The carrying out of this program on a national level, with the cooperation of other groups, will force us to confront problems of internal organization as conditions of struggle become more difficult. This will include the further development of a serious and disciplined revolutionary cadre and base, already in the process of being formed. We can learn no mechanical lessons from Cuba, but we can gain general inspiration, ideological clarity and political growth.

(5) To gain a practical understanding of the creative application of communist principles on a day-to-day basis. The New Left in the advanced capitalist countries has in the last decade clearly defined itself within the tradition of socialist and communist struggle begun a century ago. The American mass media and educational system have made the word communism into anathema; this experience will help us to develop ways of combating anti-communism.

III. Support of an Educational Program of the Cuban Revolution

The N.O., along with REF and the New England Free Press shall be encouraged to distribute literature on the Cuban revolution, including speeches of Che and Fidel, and articles describing and analyzing the Cuban Revolution. Chapters shall be encouraged to develop political education sections on the Cuban Revolution, which can be coordinated with the recruitment of brigade members in the chapters.

JULIE NICHAMIK

could best be implemented through ads I would push it at the nic. BUT, if as you said PL turns it into a huge sectarian thing that would hamper its implementation, then I would favor working outside of national ads.

Love/Struggle.

RUSSELL

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good. Thank you.

Mr. BROOKS. The Commission's fifth exhibit, exhibit 5, contains two cover letters and a document entitled "Working Committee Working Proposal for Brigades." One cover letter has the date April 6 with no year. From reading the material I would say that this was April 6, 1969, soon after the SDS national council meeting at Austin, Tex. The document attached to the cover letters tells of the political purposes of the brigade and what criteria should be used in selecting members. The letters are variously signed by Arlene Bergman and the "Working Committee" made up of Karen Ashley, Arlene Bergman, and Jerry Long. The name of Bernadine Dohrn is mentioned several times in the document. I would now like to offer this as Commission's exhibit No. 5.

Mr. SOURWINE. May it be received, Mr. Chairman!

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

(Korros's Note.—Certain obscene words herein have been printed in a style conforming to the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing.)

EXHIBIT 5

COMPANEROS BERNADINE, KAREN AND JERRY—APRIL 6

Here's the proposal I worked out on the basis of our talks. Hopefully, I didn't f— up too much, but I may have, so scream loud and fast if you think I did.

Karen, I'm sending you several copies of the proposal cause I don't have the addresses of everyone else in that Austin meeting. Unless there are screams of f— from H.J. or yourself, you should mail the copies out immediately.

Both Ogelsky and Locker has seen this proposal. Ogelsky declares his opinions irrelevant and doesn't want to work with us—Bernadine, I guess was already informal us—and by the way Bernadine, he says he is quitting the NIC, the only doubt is whether or not he'll make it formal. After some hassle with Locker, he agreed to the proposal, but he told me he didn't want to be on the exec. comm. anyway (no time).

I haven't spoken to BLP or TWLF yet (and we also have to figure out what other brown groups—YLO is Puerto Rican and supposedly the Cubans don't want any PR's)—Didn't think I should show the proposal to them without everyone else's ok.

No time to write more about NC, how it was good to meet you, Jerry, and Karen etc.

Adelante Guerrillero Adelante Guerrillero.

ARLENE

P.S. Bernadine—Here's the Statement of Principles of the RU—you have, I think their other paper—Leibel (Linc's old man), Hamilton will be visiting you soon—take it easy—

Love & struggle.

ARLENE

COMPANEROS

This is only meant to be a working paper—kind of an expanded agenda so we can begin to move concretely.

You should study and discuss it with the Austin meeting people and in written form and send your comments, criticisms, suggestions to: Arlene, 2210 California Street, Berkeley 94703. By April 20 (remember the Che brigade).

If there are any big hassles or substantive antagonistic disagreements we will have to meet (and soon, like before the end of April).

If there are no big hassles, the working committee will proceed to contact the Black Panthers, TWLF etc. and try to make logistical arrangements for the exec. comm. to begin to work together. Hopefully this will happen early MAY.

Hasta la victoria siempre.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE,
KAREN, ARIENS AND JERRY.

WORKING COMMITTEE WORKING PROPOSAL FOR BRIGADE

I. PURPOSES OF THE BRIGADE

We should be able to reach agreement on these purposes among ourselves, the BPP and TWLF before proceeding to anything else, since the structure of the project and its implementation must flow from the political purposes of the trip. A fundamental assumption is that any project we push must have a specific political purpose (as opposed to a why-not-what-a-groove-it's-a-chance-to-get-to-Cuba attitude).

If we agree on our political purpose first—that can stand as a relatively stable standard when hassles come up in the future. We should work out this statement of purpose well enough so that it will be a real guide.

Purposes of this specific project naturally flow from our broader political perspective. This is not meant to be a definitive statement—but rather a set of broad boundaries to our perspective that we must be able to agree on.

A. Boundaries

(1) The major struggle in the world today is against US imperialism. (Imperialism is understood not merely as a f— immoral foreign policy but as integral to advanced capitalism.) The struggles of the people's of the world against imperialism weaken the domestic position of monopoly capitalism, enabling our struggle to advance. Likewise, whatever we accomplish against the monster from the inside creates more favorable conditions for the struggles outside the monster, i.e. the struggles are complementary.

(2) Black people were the first victims of US imperialism here and abroad. The struggle of black people is one of national liberation. Also, since the great majority of black people are workers, it is in the vanguard of US working class struggles.

(3) All revolutionaries have to join with the working class, and develop unity with black people and the peoples of the world to defeat imperialism. We may have disagreement over the definition of working class—but minimally we can agree that the struggle against imperialism must be waged on all available fronts, especially among the industrial proletariat, working class youth in the army schools, streetcorners etc.

(4) The duty of the revolutionary is to make a revolution. This means armed struggle against the ruling class.

(5) While no timetable is possible, we can agree that in the future we will need some kind of Marxist-Leninist Party. Of course, a revolutionary party can only be successful when there are revolutionary masses and the masses and party are integrally tied. We need an organization capable of maintaining energy, continuity and direction of the political struggle. The enemy is highly organized. To defeat it, we must also be organized.

A step in the direction of building a party is for people with a revolutionary perspective to form collectives which link up with the on-going struggles of all oppressed people. These groups should accept collective discipline, carry out self-criticism of their political work and apply the most advanced revolutionary concepts to all their struggles.

B. Political Purposes of the Brigade (no priority intended, all viewed as complementary).

(1) To politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the Bafra which strengthens the most important bastion against imperialism in this hemisphere, and therefore aids our domestic struggle.

(2) In publicizing the brigade, we will be able to educate many people about imperialism, the international revolution against imperialism, who are our brothers and who are our enemies.

(3) Develop a working unity based on a practical concrete task against imperialism among participants in the brigade of AID. COLON. Learn from

each other on a day to day basis etc. (recruitment of some poor and working class white people is very important here).

(4) Contribute to the further development of revolutionary cadre already in the process of being formed in the US, i.e., deepen our understanding of the above principles, learn how to be good comrades (if you prefer "comrades" or brothers), seriousness and urgency of struggle. We can learn no mechanical lessons from Cuba—but we can get general inspiration, principles etc. Nor do we want to become "Cuba experts" or get involved in super-sectarian debates about international questions that have little practical relevance to the struggle here.

II. THE PROJECT ITSELF

This part must be very sketchy because so much depends on the exec. comm. selection, American political scene, repression etc. We'll have to be flexible and more definite plans must be formulated by the final exec comm. (NDS, MPP, TWLF, P).

A. Inside the Monster

(1) Chapters of the national organizations represented on the exec. comm. and/or a national mass "ad hoc group" (the choice is a pragmatic one) should engage in massive educational campaigns about the political purposes of the brigades and activities that highlight America's relationship to Cuba e.g. breaking the blockade, and attacking the most virulent spokesmen for the blockade. Many imaginative projects that would suit local conditions.

(2) Legal defense, fundraising etc.

(3) Preparation of brigade members—there should be minimal reading requirements on Cuba, internationalism, communist principles and perhaps some guidelines to prevent culture shock and ugly Americanism. The exec. comm. should organize this—the group should get together before leaving, definitely on a regional basis and, we should do all possible to have some orientation sessions on a national level. (this might be carried on the boat).

B. In Cuba

(1) At this point, it's absurd to lay out much concrete. We might aim for around 150 people, but the main consideration is quality. Composition should be divided as equally as possible (mas o menos) among the major groups: MPP, TWLF, NDS. It would be good if brigades integrated not only these three groups, but also included some Cuban workers.

(2) Brigade members should mix work and study.

(3) SWEAT, SWEAT, SWEAT.

III. SELECTION OF BRIGADE MEMBERS

A. The Process

(1) Local or regional chapters of the participating national organizations should nominate people to the exec. comm.

(2) Nominators should fill out written application that tries to get some biography and at the nominator's feelings about the above political points, plus their practical political experience and future plans for movement activity.

(3) After interviews with exec comm., exec comm. makes final decision.

B. Basic Criteria for Selection

(1) Some knowledge of Spanish—for people who want to go and otherwise seem solid, we should strongly urge intensive language courses (this should be urged when we first start asking for nominees).

(2) Personal maturity—no ego-trips, hang-ups in relating to small group of same people for long time, understanding of "Socialist-Cuban morality" re drugs and sex, physical health and honesty.

(3) Some movement references and history—learn the dangers that we get agents or people who act like agents in Cuba or when they return.

(4) Understanding and agreement with the boundaries of our political perspectives. (see above)

(5) Some movement experience in putting theory into practice.

C. How Right is Right?

Obviously there are very few accomplished revolutionaries in the US, and it would be a drag to expect everyone to be at the same political level of sophistication. Ideology and practice is very uneven and, of course, varies with differences in race, geography and practical experience in struggle. We should aim for

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