

STATE DEPARTMENT BOMBING BY WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND

HEARING

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-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the testimony given before the Subcommittee on January 31, 1975, by R. James Short, Senior Investigator, shall be released from the seal of executive secrecy, printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, *Chairman.*

Approved: January 31, 1975.

(II)

STATE DEPARTMENT BOMBING BY WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1975

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 12:05 p.m., in room 4241, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond, presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel.

Senator THURMOND. Do you swear this will be the truth so help you God?

Mr. SHORT. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT JAMES SHORT, SENIOR INVESTIGATOR, SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

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

Mr. SHORT. Robert James Short.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you employed by the Internal Security Subcommittee?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Mr. SHORT. I am the senior investigator for the subcommittee.

Mr. SOURWINE. In that capacity have you conducted any investigation with respect to the recent bombing of the State Department?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you arrived at any personal conclusion with regard to where responsibility for this bombing should rest?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your conclusion?

Mr. SHORT. As claimed, the Weatherman Underground organization I feel is responsible for the bombing at the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you say there, as claimed.

What do you mean?

Mr. SHORT. They are the ones who claim credit for the bombing of the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. How have they claimed this credit?

Mr. SHORT. In several telephone calls and in addition, a 12-page letter that they placed in a telephone booth for the Associated Press in Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a copy of this letter?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. May it go into the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. It will be entered in the record at this point.

[The information referred to follows:]

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Italic in the following letter indicates organizations and locations added after the main text of the letter originally was prepared. Even a casual examination of the letter shows that blanks were left in the copy so that additions could be made at a later time.]

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

JANUARY 28, 1975.

Tonight we attack the *A.I.D.* in the *State Dept. Headquarters* in *Washington, D.C.* and the *Defense Department* in *Oakland, California.*

Through them, the US government continues to wage war against Vietnam and Cambodia. Unable to resolve the deepening economic crisis and suffering at home, the imperialists mobilize for further war. Official policies of secret military intervention and threats are escalating. We honor and celebrate with our acts and words the Paris Peace Agreement. We act in solidarity with the people and liberation forces of Vietnam, and in harmony with the millions of US people who are actively struggling to demand that the US get out of Indochina.

A.I.D. is part of the State Dept. It is an instrument for US domination and control throughout the world, not a charitable agency. Its work is directed by Henry Kissinger.

This year, *A.I.D.* dispensed \$450 million to the Saigon regime, through its so-called non-military programs. This money was not used to improve the lives of the people of Vietnam, but instead financed programs to keep the Thieu regime in power, to subsidize the Saigon economy, and to help Thieu occupy additional territory. For example: Food and goods provided by the US "Food for Peace" program are seized by the Saigon regime and resold at astronomical prices. These profits are converted to military use or used to enrich corrupt officials. Food for Peace is actually Food for War.

—"reconstruction and development" money is used to build and maintain concentration camps called "resettlement camps" where refugees are held and prevented from returning to their villages in liberated territory.

—The "Office of Public Safety" division of *A.I.D.* was responsible for designing and building the South Vietnamese prison system, and trains Saigon police and prison guards and military personnel, whose presence in South Vietnam is expressly prohibited by the Paris Peace Agreement.

The *Defense Dept.* runs the wars waged by the US government and is the enforcer of US power and domination around the world. The *Defense Department* used to be called the War Department. Its headquarters are in the *Pentagon* and it is the largest agency of the US government. While Americans are being asked to "bite the bullet" of inflation and funding for most social service programs are being cut, the War Department's budget this year will reach almost \$100 billion.

The War Department's *Defense Supply Agency* is the link between the *Pentagon* and the big defense contractors. It oversees and administers war contracts for supplies, weapons, ammunition, etc. The *DSA* office in *Oakland, California* administers millions of dollars of war contracts, including contracts for the new \$100 million B-1 bomber program.

Recently, Secretary of War Schlesinger threatened further US intervention in Vietnam if Thieu's position continued to deteriorate. The Ford Administration is asking for an additional war budget of \$550 million of military aid for Thieu and Lon Nol.

1. VIETNAM IS STILL AMERICA'S WAR

In the face of tremendous economic dislocation, in the heat of great social conflicts and increasing class struggle, in the midst of political upheaval and a new administration, THE US CONTINUES TO WAGE WAR IN VIETNAM

AND CAMBODIA. US intervention and aggression are the main cause of the intensified fighting and political struggles in Vietnam today, just as they were the main cause of the war ten years ago.

This month, two years after the US signed the Paris Peace Agreement:

—*Kissinger* announced his desire to send the US Sixth Fleet into the South China Sea as a signal to North Vietnam of US intentions in Southeast Asia.

—Secretary of War *Schlesinger* acknowledged that the US is flying reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam in open violation of the Paris Peace Agreement. He defended the US decision to break the treaty and virtually repudiated US commitment to the cease-fire agreement.

—*Ford* and *Rockefeller* have asked Congress for an emergency appropriation of \$300 million to prop up the desperate Thieu regime in South Vietnam, and \$250 million for the Lon Nol dictatorship in Cambodia, after promising the US people only days before that they would ask for no budget increases. This is deliberate and outright sabotage of the Paris Peace Agreement.

Unable to resolve crisis in the US, yet another US administration is determined to commit the US to further war and aggression in Vietnam. US strategy is still to create a safe base area for imperialism and to defeat the liberation struggle. Tactics have changed, but imperial desire and design remain the same.

The US maintains Thieu and the Saigon government: finances it, arms it, and trains it. The US pays 86% of the operating costs of the regime of South Vietnam, ⅔ of which is direct military spending. US dollars and personnel support the Saigon police apparatus, the one million man army, the rice wars, bombing raids against liberated territory, the prisons which still hold 220,000 political prisoners, and the concentration camp-type areas where people are forced to live. The US maintains a huge force of military "advisors" and pilots disguised as civilians to direct the Saigon and Cambodian military forces in continued fighting with US weapons. The CIA continues programs of assassination and secret war. The US is maneuvering to control possible successors to Thieu if he is overthrown. Without US aid, Thieu would fall tomorrow because he is hated and opposed by millions of Vietnamese people.

Today, throughout South Vietnam the people are rising up against Thieu. Thousands of people in the cities: Buddhists, Catholics, government workers, veterans, women and students have risked jail and death to demand his overthrow. They are living in emergency conditions: rampant inflation, hunger, prostitution and corruption. The people want free elections, they want the Peace Agreement to be implemented, they want all forms of US interference to end.

The defeat of Thieu and US-backed policies will mean that the Vietnamese people can rebuild their country, go back to their homes, grow their crops, hold elections, permit 220,000 prisoners to go free, and heal the wounds of a long and cruel war of foreign aggression.

And for the US people, this could mean a chance to organize ourselves to confront a weakened government and ruling class, to build our opposition to a government which is unable to provide decent jobs but carries out torture, starves, bombs, burns and rapes a gentle and beautiful people who have been fighting for freedom for 2000 years. The defeat of US policy in Vietnam will advance us a further step along the path to revolution in the US.

The victories of the Vietnamese are our victories too. In the course of the Vietnamese people's war for liberation and independence, the US people learned important lessons about the necessity of international solidarity in common struggle.

The history of the US involvement in Vietnam is a chain of government lies: the trumped-up Gulf of Tonkin incident; lies about the number of US troops in Vietnam; the weekly "body count" to create an illusion of US successes; the cover-up of My Lai; falsification of the enormous US defeats during the 1968 Tet Offensive; the disguised inflationary financing of this unpopular and unjust war; the Pentagon's denial of the bombing of Cambodia and Laos in 1970; the "secret war" conducted by the CIA; the myth that the US was protecting democracy in Indochina by propping up fascists; the denial of the bombing of the dikes, hospitals and other civilian targets in North Vietnam; Nixon's Peace with Honor that really meant terror-bombing; and now, the lie that the US is out of Southeast Asia.

The truth about Vietnam was fought for against the lies of four previous US administrations. Hundreds of thousands of people convinced and organized their families, friends, students, soldiers, sisters, and working people. This is still

necessary now. We must continue our struggle to final victory. The roots of discontent and oppression in our country are intertwined with unjust war and violent protection of empire. We must discredit the government's lies, expose its leaders and apologists, and tear apart the war machine. We must force the US Imperialists out of Indochina!

2. THE WAR COMES HOME

"Many historians who have seriously studied the US imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam have realized more and more clearly that the present chaotic US situation, which is studded with difficulties, presents a vivid picture of the rear base of a nation bearing the impact of a cruel, protracted and defeated colonial war.

This relationship might, at first glance, be difficult to identify because the US rear base was not hit by a single bullet, was not subject to any carpet-bombing raids, and was not the scene of any enemy troop landings.

However, because of the unjust nature of this cruel war, and because of the repeated US setbacks, the US rear base has been affected by violent and profound tremors with a destructive impact and cannot, as yet, be fully assessed." (Radio Hanoi, October 29, 1974.)

The US society and much of the capitalist world is in the midst of the most severe economic and political crisis since the Great Depression. Runaway inflation, widespread unemployment and layoffs, speed-ups on the job, drastic cut-backs in social services, rising rents and impossible costs for health care, uncertainty and food shortages haunt the people of the US.

The government blames these violent conditions on external causes. It is determined to pit the US people against the Arab nations because they have reclaimed a part of their natural resources. It is trying to convince people that the struggles of labor for decent wages and working conditions are responsible for rising prices, though wages have not even kept pace with rising costs. It blames welfare mothers and older people for inflation and government crisis. All these people are facing an organized campaign of reprisals and threats of violence.

In fact, the roots of these problems lie within the US system. Crises are intrinsic and inevitable in a system based on expanding profits rather than on people's needs. Capitalism and imperialism are fundamentally unstable because they are based on the exploitation of human beings, on the theft of many people's labor for the profits of the few. Because human beings resist, exploitation must be backed up by force. Since the end of World War II, the US has spent over one trillion dollars on military expenditures in order to dominate and secure this empire of exploitation.

The economic crisis today is the consequence of three decades of imperialist expansion, aggression, and war. It is the US imperialists who promoted the cold war, the arms race, military pacts, the maintenance of reactionary military governments; it is they who enforced the super-exploitation of the Third World, the blockade of the socialist countries, the unjust and aggressive war in Indochina. Crisis is unleashed by the imperialist system itself.

The war in Vietnam and Indochina was a culmination of imperialist expansion. We have been told that empire and war are good for the economy, and good for us. War has brought temporary and illusory prosperity to some sectors of the population here. Yet basic needs of the people are not being met, and we have failed to build a humane and decent society. The plunder of empire served mainly to strengthen the ability of the imperialists to rule and control us. The agonizing consequences of the Vietnam war make this crystal clear.

The US government has spent over \$200 billion to wage war in Indochina. The economic strain of financing the war on top of the already bloated military economy kicked off the spiral of rising prices (inflation). This severe inflationary crisis has further provoked growing unemployment, a stagnating economy and the hardships we now face.

No matter where the money to finance the Vietnam war came from: Congress, the War Department, or secret funds, it was the people who paid for it and continue to pay in the form of inflation and economic dislocation.

The jobs created in defense and war-related industries by this vast spending only created waste: war machinery, bombs, fighter planes, tiger cages. Military goods get burned up like napalm. They do not create more food, clothing, housing—the goods people need to live.

In addition to the economic costs, we are faced with the social costs of such wars. Over a million people were conditioned to participate in a brutal and racist war; vets came home to find unemployment, to deal with heroin habits and inadequate GI benefits. The human consequences of a war economy can easily be seen: the \$5 billion spent to develop the C-5 transport plane for Vietnam would be enough money to eliminate hunger in the US.

Furthermore, the lone Vietnamese resistance has been a spearhead to national liberation movements, challenging US domination of the world economy. Third World countries are beginning to demand equitable prices for their natural and human resources, to recover some of the wealth that has been stolen by imperialism. Now US corporations can no longer reap unlimited profits for these resources. Rather than settle for less profit, the imperialists make the people pay for their deficits. Oil monopolies continue to make record profits, while forcing up the prices of essential heating oil and gasoline. Inflation is an attack on the people and the poor pay more. First Nixon, and now Ford and Rockefeller are trying to reduce the war deficit by cutting welfare, old age benefits and veterans' payments.

Setbacks to US imperialism have opened the way for us to join the struggle against the common enemy, the struggle to build a socialist society.

This war took a profound toll on the US people. We are now shaken with economic uncertainty and government threats of constant war. Imperialist strategy includes continuing to mobilize the US people for war in Indochina, war in the Mideast. This can only lead deeper into crisis. We must fight against further war by demanding implementation of the Peace Agreement. This is the only basis for peace in Vietnam, and is a necessary step toward dealing with crisis within US society.

3. NO MORE BROKEN TREATIES: IMPLEMENT THE PARIS PEACE AGREEMENT

For decades US policy has been to use any and all methods to subvert liberation struggles and to impose on South Vietnam a pro-American military dictatorship. When colonial war and direct intervention were defeated in Vietnam, the US was forced to sign the Paris Peace Agreement, halt its terror-bombing, and withdraw its expeditionary force. This was a great victory along the road to liberation and final victory. But it has not changed the overall US goals in Southeast Asia. Its neo-colonial plans are to subsidize and use the Thieu administration to cover US involvement and interference in Vietnam. From the moment of the cease-fire agreement, the US continued its military involvement and intervention in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.

Article 1: The United States and all other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Viet Nam.

Article 4: The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam.

Since the Agreement, US military organizations have disguised themselves as civilian organizations and continued the war. The US Agency for International Development (AID) continues training, equipping and advising the Saigon police force. The US Embassy in Saigon, one of the largest in the world, includes 3,288 "diplomats" and staff who actually direct pacification programs, coordinate the administration of political repression, and direct the basic strategy of aggression pursued by the Saigon regime.

In addition, the US left 10,000 military personnel in Vietnam disguised as civilians and introduced 15,000 new personnel since the Agreement. The US has brought vast new quantities of weapons and war equipment into South Vietnam, and actually increased spending of military aid to Thieu since the Agreement.

The Paris Agreement was signed by four parties: the US, the Thieu (Saigon) government, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV-North Vietnam), and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). While the PRG and DRV distributed copies of the Agreement to everyone, studied it in schools and workplaces, Thieu made it a crime to circulate the Agreement in Saigon-controlled areas.

The Agreement recognizes two administrations in South Vietnam: the Saigon regime and the PRG, each with a clear geographical designation. Yet the US refuses to recognize the existence of the PRG, never even referring to it by name.

US/Thieu forces plan and carry out the bombing and shelling of liberated territory, including PRG headquarters at Loc Minh.

Kissinger/Nixon/Ford have grossly violated this international treaty from the beginning. They have done everything in their power to undermine it, and now they are repudiating it. If we are to bring an end to the unjust, corrupting and deadly US involvement in Indochina, we must learn to identify and fight against hidden forms of war, as well as overt attacks, being carried out in our name.

4. OUR TASKS

The imperialists who run this country are responsible for hunger, unemployment and racist repression against Black and Third World people. They condemn freedom fighters like Ruchell Magee to life imprisonment. They hold Puerto Rico as an outright colony despite the struggle of its people to be free. And they continue to wage war in Vietnam and Cambodia. The people and nations who are struggling to liberate themselves completely from imperialist control have exposed the horrors of empire and the true nature of the class society we live in. We face a common enemy.

The government that divides us against each other through racism, also tries to divide us from the people in the world who are liberating themselves. We cannot allow the government to turn to war again—in Indochina or in the Mideast—to paper over the crisis of imperialism.

Our responsibility is to force the US government to implement the Peace Agreement, to contribute to healing the wounds of war and the reconstruction of North Vietnam, and to completely withdraw from the land of the Indochinese people. Mobilizing for imperial war is no solution—Oppose Imperialist War!

U.S. out of Indochina.

End all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol.

Implement the Peace Agreement.

Heal the wounds of war: contribute to the reconstruction of North Vietnam.

Oppose imperialist war.

Decent jobs and food for people.

Complete and unconditional amnesty for all war resisters.

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION.

Senator THURMOND. Is there anything further?

Mr. SHORT. Sir, I might add one thing in connection with the Weatherman letter directed to the Associated Press. This letter appears to have been typed prior to the actual target selection. In other words, it starts out, "Tonight we attack" and then a space apparently is left blank and the name of the organization typed in on a different typewriter, this occurs with reference to A.I.D. of the State Department and the Defense Department in Oakland, Calif., and others.

And several places throughout the letter there were apparent blank spaces on the original. Organizations were typed in with a different typewriter after target selection was made.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Short, you stated that the Weatherman claimed credit for the bombing in several telephone calls. Who received the telephone calls?

Mr. SHORT. The Washington Post, among others.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, do you know whether these newspapers carried stories about the calls that they received?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, sir, they did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have copies of these newsstories?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. May they go in the record at this point?

Senator THURMOND. They will be entered in the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 29, 1975]

BOMB EXPLOSION RIPS THIRD FLOOR OF STATE DEPARTMENT

BLAST COMES AFTER THREAT BY "WEATHER"

(By J. Y. Smith)

A bomb exploded in the main State Department building early today shortly after an organization calling itself "The Weather Underground Organization" issued threats against the department and against Defense Department installations in California.

There were no injuries in the blast, which occurred at 12:56 a.m., D.C. police and other security officials said.

The device exploded in a third-floor rest room and collapsed walls separating it from an adjacent rest room, and a hallway, officials said.

The explosion ruptured several pipes and water damage was said to be heavy. Ceiling tiles in the hallway were dislodged for a distance of about 100 feet from the rest room, investigators said.

Officials reported some "structural damage" to beams above the blast site, but there were no immediate reports of how extensive it might be.

"This was a damn big bomb," D.C. police Sgt. Charles Lightner said. "It wasn't one of those blow-the-lid-off things."

In Oakland, Calif., the FBI cordoned off the old Armed Forces Induction Center after receiving a threat similar to those here. There were no immediate reports of an explosion.

There were no reports early this morning of similar attacks on other government installations in California or elsewhere in the country.

Within an hour after the blast, the police department bomb squad answered a call to 1901 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, where the Agency for International Development has offices on the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th floors. A package was found in a 7th-floor conference room, but it was harmless, officials said.

The State Department was not evacuated as a result of the explosion. The building is bounded by C and D Streets NW and by 21st and 23d Streets NW.

The rest room where the bomb exploded is located on the 23d Street end of the building next to an elevator shaft.

Located in the same area of the building is the Department's bureau of economic and business affairs which handles general trade and economic policy.

Most of the building is closed to the general public. To reach the area of the blast, a person must pass through the Department's fairly rigorous system of security checks. There was no immediate explanation of how the device was planted.

About 40 firemen and 40 policemen went to the scene. Included were members of the police department's K-9 corps. Officers were sifting through the debris for clues early this morning.

The incident at the State Department occurred about 20 minutes after a caller told The Washington Post that a bomb would explode "in 20 minutes" on the west side of the building.

The caller, a female who sounded nervous, asked that the State Department security office be notified of the threat and gave the phone number of that office.

"We don't want to hurt anyone," the caller said.

The Washington news bureau of the Associated Press also reported receiving a telephone call—from a man who said bombs would explode in a State Department Agency for International Development office here and in a Defense Department installation in Oakland, Calif.

The AP reported that the caller indicated the bomb was intended to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam and Cambodia. The male voice directed the AP to a typed 12-page statement, in a telephone booth on the street near the bureau offices at 2021 K St. NW.

AP said that statement elaborated on the theme of U.S. involvement in Indochina and criticized the State Department's Agency for International Development. The statement asserted that AID directed \$450 million in aid to the South Vietnamese regime this year that was used to keep President Thieu in power.

The funds were used to improve and expand the South Vietnamese prison system and train police and prison guards, the statement said.

AP reported that it was the sixth time in four years that someone claiming to be from the Weather Underground has taken responsibility for a bomb blast. None of the previous explosions resulted in injury. They were:

Gulf Oil Corp's international headquarters in Pittsburgh, on June 14, 1974. Two floors of the 38-floor building were damaged.

The California attorney general's office in Los Angeles, May 31, 1974. Doors were ripped off and holes were torn in the ceiling.

International Telephone & Telegraph Corp's Latin American Division offices in New York City Sept. 28, 1973. Four rooms demolished in the blast.

Two California prison system offices bombed and gutted by fire in August, 1971.

U.S. Capitol, minor damage, March, 1971.

The FBI has said the Weather Underground consists of 20 to 30 persons and one leader is believed to be Bernardine Dohrn, a fugitive since 1970.

The Weather Underground splintered from the campus protest group Students for a Democratic Society in the late 1960s.

Earlier yesterday, a bomb threat scrawled in a men's room forced evacuation of about 1,100 persons from the New Executive Office Building, about a block from the White House, officials reported.

According to a spokesman for the General Services Administration, a message found scrawled on a stall in a first men's room yesterday morning said a bomb had been planted in "someone's office" and was set to explode about 2:45 p.m. No explosion occurred.

[From the Washington Star-News, Jan. 29, 1975]

WEATHER UNDERGROUND STRIKES—BOMB SET OFF AT STATE DEPARTMENT

(By Lance Gay and Brad Holt)

An explosion ripped through a third floor men's restroom at the State Department early today moments after callers here and in San Francisco claiming to represent the anti-war Weather Underground group said they had set bombs in government buildings to protest continued U.S. involvement in Indochina.

No one in the heavily guarded building was injured in the blast, which came at 12:56 a.m. today in a restroom next to the Sahelian Drought Emergency desk—the State Department office coordinating American relief aid to drought-stricken areas of the Sahara Desert.

The explosion tore through two adjoining bathrooms and ripped out parts of the ceiling, breaking water pipes and causing both heavy structural and water damage to the third floor and the two floors below which include the State Department's security offices.

About 19 minutes before the explosion, the Washington office of the Associated Press said it received a call telling the news agency that a "communiqué" had been left in a telephone booth near the AP office "Tonight we attack the AID (Agency for International Development) in the State Dept. Headquarters in Washington D.C. and the Defense Department in Oakland, California," the 12-page typed letter said. The AID offices are located on the third floor of the State Department complex at 23rd and C Streets NW.

The Washington Post said it also received a call about 12:35 a.m. from a female caller who claimed to be from the Weather Underground and who told the newspaper that a bomb had been placed in the west wing of the State Department. The newspaper contacted D.C. police, who then notified the State Department.

A guard assigned to the building said a District policeman came to the building about 12:50 a.m. "He told me there was a bomb and I picked up the phone to call my office and the bomb went off just then," said the officer, who asked not to be identified. The officer noted the exact time of the blast 12:56 a.m.

There were only a few employees of the department in the tightly secured building at the time and those in the operations division on the 7th floor of the structure said they did not know of the blast until they were told by guards. The building was not evacuated.

"We only heard reports of it, we didn't hear a thing up here," said an employee in the operations division shortly after D.C. police and firemen rushed to the building following the explosion.

"The floor of the third floor looks like a river," said one guard. "Some of the ceiling is down but none of the walls was blown down. The damage is pretty extensive in three rooms." Among the rooms damaged were the offices of AID's African Affairs Division.

District police cordoned off the building and brought in dogs to search for more explosives, but found none. Police also searched buildings at 1901 Pennsylvania Avenue NW and 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, based on a tip they received, but found no explosives.

Early today, the FBI brought in sifting equipment and were combing through the wreckage to try to determine what kind of explosive device had been used. District bomb squad officers said today that they believe the explosion was caused by a dynamite bomb of perhaps as many as 10 sticks.

In San Francisco, another bomb threat telephoned to the AP prompted officials to cordon off the Armed Forces Induction Center in Oakland, but a search of the sprawling facility failed to turn up any explosive device.

The 12-page letter the AP picked up in a telephone booth near its downtown offices here linked the bombing at the State Department to President Ford's request yesterday for a total of \$522 million in arms aid for Cambodia and South Vietnam. Insurgents in both countries have recently achieved a number of military victories and administration officials have warned Congress that South Vietnam will go under unless it is given additional aid.

The Weathermen's statement said the Ford request is a "deliberate and outright sabotage of the Paris Peace agreement" that was signed two years ago. "The U.S. government continues to wage war against Vietnam and Cambodia," the communique continued. "Unable to resolve the deepening economic crisis at home, the imperialists mobilize for further war."

State Department officials said they don't know how anyone could get into the building to plant such a device. The building is one of the most closely guarded government buildings in the Nation's Capital and visitors must have a building pass at all times to get by a guard located in the front lobby. The building was being guarded at three open entrances at the time of the blast.

The early morning bombing marked the seventh time in four years that someone claiming to be from the Weather Underground has claimed responsibility for a bomb blast. None of the previous explosions—one of which was in a washroom at the Capitol, and another in a restroom at the Pentagon—resulted in any injuries.

On March 1, 1971, a time bomb of between 15 and 20 pounds of dynamite, was detonated in a ground floor lavatory at the Capitol, causing minor damage. The Weather Underground claimed responsibility for that explosion and said the act was in retaliation for U.S. foreign policies.

The bomb in the Pentagon was set off May 19, 1972 in a fourth-floor women's restroom of the sprawling complex and again the Weather Underground claimed credit, saying the act was in response to continued U.S. bombing and mining of North Vietnam.

The other bombings the group has claimed credit for were:

- The June 14, 1974 explosion at Gulf Oil's international headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa., which damaged two floors of the 38-story building.
- The Sept. 28, 1973 explosion that demolished four rooms at the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp.'s Latin American division offices in New York City.
- The May 31, 1974 explosion in the California attorney general's office in Los Angeles that ripped off doors and tore holes in the office ceiling.
- The August 1971 explosion and fire that gutted two California prison system offices.

The Weather Underground originally called itself the Weathermen and had its origins in a left-wing splinter group of the radical, but generally non-violent Students for a Democratic Society in the late 1960's. The Weathermen took their name from a 1965 Bob Dylan song "Subterranean Homesick Blues," which includes the verse "You don't need a weatherman to tell which way the wind blows."

The Weathermen officially split off from the SDS in 1969 after a sometimes bitter dispute within SDS over tactics. The group then went underground and the FBI—which has been unable to penetrate the group—estimates that it consists of 20 to 30 persons. One of the group's leaders is Bernardine Dohrn, a fugitive since 1970 who remains on the FBI's "10 Most Wanted" lists.

Meanwhile, in an unrelated incident, more than 1,100 employees of the New Executive Office building near the White House, yesterday were evacuated from the building following a bomb threat. The 10-story building was evacuated for an hour yesterday afternoon while officials searched it and failed to discover anything unusual.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 30, 1975]

FBI OPENS PROBE OF STATE DEPARTMENT BOMBING

(By Richard M. Cohen and Paul Hodge)

The FBI has begun an "intensive investigation" into the bombing early yesterday of State Department headquarters here and the subsequent discovery of an unexploded bomb in a federal building in Oakland, Calif.

In a press release, FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley did not dispute the claims of the radical Weather Underground that it was responsible for both the State Department blast and the unexploded Oakland bomb.

Both the Washington Post and the Associated Press were warned of the State Department blast minutes before it occurred by a caller who said the bombing was a protest by the radical group.

Kelley noted that the radical organization had claimed credit for previous bombings and specifically named eight of its members who are currently fugitives from justice.

Aside from that, however, the FBI was offering little new information about the blast, which caused extensive damage to the third floor of the headquarters building but caused no injuries or loss of life.

The explosion appeared to trigger a rash of bomb threats throughout the Washington area—everything from government buildings downtown to the Prince Georges County Court House in Upper Marlboro. The Interior and Treasury buildings were evacuated and other government buildings were searched following anonymous threats telephoned to either the agencies or news organizations. The Prince Georges Court House was evacuated temporarily.

Later yesterday, the Interior Department received a second threat, warning of a bomb set to go off at 9:30. Again the building was searched but nothing was found and police left by 10 p.m.

At the State Department, spokesman Robert Funseth said that the bomb was probably placed in an access area within a wall separating two rest rooms on the third floor of the main building. The access area, used for plumbing maintenance is about two feet wide and four feet from the floor. Funseth said the explosive device was probably placed in the wall from the women's room side of the wall.

The FBI had not yet determined, Funseth added, what sort of explosive material caused the blast or whether the device was triggered by a clock or by electronic signals from outside the blast area. However, State Department sources said the FBI was assuming the bomb was triggered by a timing device and that it was placed in the wall by a woman.

Officials said they also did not know how large a bomb the device was. The blast caused damage on five floors, and all but destroyed the area where the bomb itself was planted. It demolished both bathrooms and three nearby offices. Ruptured pipes caused further water damage some distance from the bombed area. Damage was estimated at \$350,000.

The rest rooms where the bomb exploded are located on the 23d Street end of the building next to an elevator shaft. The elevators were damaged by the blast. The building, which is bounded by C and D Sts. NW and 21st and 23rd Sts., NW., was not evacuated and business was carried on as usual there yesterday, although with tighter security.

There are offices of the Agency for International Development (AID) near the rest rooms where the bomb was planted. In a 12-page statement left in a Washington telephone booth, the Weather Underground claimed it was seeking to retaliate for the AID foreign aid programs in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Just hours before the blast, President Ford asked Congress in a special message for \$522 million more in military aid for both countries.

The General Services Administration, whose Federal Protective Service guards most government buildings, ordered an alert for both its Washington and California regions. The GSA, according to sources, was prepared to announce later today that it would begin to restrict access through unguarded doors, examine all packages unless brought in by someone with proper identification and increase its building and hallway patrols.

In addition, Capt. James Powell of the Capitol Police force said his men were on "an alert-type basis" as a result of the bombing, but that no additional men had been called to duty. The Capitol was bombed in March, 1971. That blast also was claimed by the Weather Underground as its work.

A statement found yesterday bore the name Weather Underground Organization and began, "Tonight we attack the AID in the State Department headquarters in Washington, D.C. and the Defense Department in Oakland, California." It was found by the Associated Press early yesterday after a caller directed the news service to a Washington phone booth.

The Oakland bomb was found in a brief case hidden in the seventh floor ceiling insulation of the Army Recruiting and Induction Center.

Calls to news media in Oakland warned of an impending explosion. A statement from the Weather Underground also was found, claiming an AID attack.

The Oakland bomb was removed from the building and detonated in the street by experts. Wire service reports said the blast broke windows nearby but caused no injuries. A government official said the bomb consisted of 10 to 15 pounds of high explosives.

Several Federal Protective Service guards stationed at the State Department yesterday told reporters privately that their guard force had been reduced within the past seven months and that they thought security in the building had suffered.

A GSA spokesman disputed this later, but conceded the FPS force at State had been reduced from 70 officers last year to 57 this fiscal year, and the total number of FPS guards in Washington reduced from 2,189 to 2,022. He said the creation of new mobile squads of FPS officers that patrol throughout the city has enabled FPS to provide better all-round protection.

State Department spokesman Robert Anderson, said at a press conference yesterday that "we consider the security adequate . . . but obviously a building as large as this with as many visitors" will be difficult to protect.

The reduction in the FPS guard force here has been made for economy reasons, the GSA spokesman said, but he added that more guards are being hired and FPS should again reach last year's levels or higher by this summer.

There were virtually no security checks at State 10 years ago, until a woman employee was raped in one of the building's corridors and guards were installed and a pass system begun, according to State officials. Security was again tightened in 1970, following a wave of bombings in public buildings, when entrance to all federal buildings here were limited and guards began inspecting all packages and briefcases. The checks have since been relaxed.

Some State officials said yesterday they were concerned about too stringent restrictions being placed on visitors to the nation's foreign office, in the name of security. In the words of one "If you attempt to close the building down in a mindless kind of way you make a fortress out of the place."

State Department spokesman Anderson said yesterday he believed visitors' packages and briefcases are still checked "but I know for those of us who work here it is not done."

Passes are required of virtually all who enter the State Department, but any government identification is considered a pass and any of Washington's 340,000 federal employees could thus walk into State without challenge. State officials conceded yesterday. In addition, any of the 6,000 State employees with a pass can bring in a friend or companion without his being checked.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 30, 1975]

WEATHER UNIT CLAIMS CREDIT FOR BOMBING

(By Paul W. Valentine)

The long quiescent Weather Underground Organization, emboldened by the nation's current social and economic unrest, bombed the State Department yesterday in a muscle-flexing gesture that may be a prelude to more violence.

This is the dominant view of several sources close to radical and underground politics here. In interviews yesterday, a number of activists and observers said the loose network of one to two dozen Weather Underground collectives throughout the nation has been preparing for months for some kind of overt and dramatic action.

"They've been more active in the last six to seven months," said Mike Drobenaire, a longtime antiwar organizer and now a law student at Howard University.

"I don't think they're dormant . . . I think we'll hear from them again," said another source who, like most others, asked not to be identified.

The State Department blast was the first political bombing in Washington for which the Weather Underground has taken credit since the May 19, 1972, explosion at the Pentagon. The Weather Underground claimed credit for both the Pentagon blast and an earlier explosion at the Capitol on March 1, 1971. No arrest has been made in either case.

Between 1970 and 1972, the organization also said it was responsible for at least 20 bombings in other cities against targets ranging from police stations and government military research centers to draft boards and ROTC buildings.

Since then, the shadowy and loosely defined organization, led by such noted radical militants as Mark Rudd, Cathlyn P. Wilkerson and Bernardine R. Dohrn, has been relatively quiet.

The FBI has identified at least 23 persons as Weather Underground fugitives wanted on a variety of criminal charges.

FBI and D.C. police intelligence officials said they do not know how many persons are actively involved in the Weather Underground today.

Their number was put at about 400 in 1970 by police, but sources close to radical activity here said yesterday that the number has probably decreased since then.

Despite the decrease, the tempo of Weather Underground's activity picked up last summer with publication and distribution of a new manifesto called "Prairie Fire," a 152-page statement of Weather Underground's revolutionary aims and purposes.

The soft-cover book, complete with photographs, maps and drawings, is available at radical literature bookstores and newsstands and is distributed through at least two overt outlets in New York and San Francisco.

These overt outlets—post office box numbers in New York and San Francisco—and further evidence of growing popular or "above ground" support for the Weather Underground, one source said here. Another source estimated that 3,000 to 4,000 copies of the original book have been printed.

The sources said "Prairie Fire" and newspaper format reprints of it are also available through an outlet in Cambridge, Mass.

The manifesto sets the stage for new violent actions, such as the State Department bombing, radical observers say.

Its opening chapter calls for both "mass struggle and clandestine struggle, peaceful and violent, political and economic, cultural and military."

Later, it says "We are at an early stage, going from small to large. The mass armed capability which will destroy the enemy has its beginnings in armed action.

". . . 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. . . ."

Radical sources here differed in their assessment of Weather Underground's coordination of its far-flung system of collectives, the groups of five to eight persons making up the basis units of the organization.

"They're so far underground that they don't have much communication," said Drobenaire. "It's a whole kind of isolation."

The collectives are largely autonomous units, he said acting often on their own initiative without coordinating their actions through the Weather Underground's five-member central committee.

Another source said, however, that despite the logistical problem of being underground, "the Weather people have mechanisms for organizing across the

country. . . . It would only take a dozen of them—representatives from each of the major cities—meeting on a weekend to work out a plan of action."

(From the Washington Star-News, Jan. 30, 1975)

WEATHERMEN "UNKNOWN" GUERRILLAS

(By Lance Gay)

Spawned by the Vietnam anti-war demonstrations and the campus protests that spread through the nation in the last decade, the Weather Underground today is perhaps the best known and yet most elusive of self-proclaimed "guerilla" groups operating in the United States.

And despite repeated efforts by the FBI to penetrate the tightly knit organization—24 of whose members are being sought on various federal warrants—federal agents today know little about the internal workings of the group and less about where its members are located.

One of its reputed leaders, Bernardine Dohrn, has been on the FBI's "10 Most Wanted" list for four years and despite a nationwide manhunt for her, the 33-year-old law school graduate has been able to write letters to various newspapers and periodically has issued "communiques" outlining the underground group's goals.

The Weather Underground was formed from the left wing of the Students for a Democratic Society, a radical but generally nonviolent group of young people who led anti-war demonstrations aimed at getting the United States out of Indochina in the latter part of the 1960's. The group takes its name from a Bob Dylan song "Subterranean Homesick Blues, which includes the line: "You don't need a Weatherman to know which way the wind blows."

The group officially split from SDS in a 1969 convention held by SDS and other radical groups in Chicago, when the Weathermen called for more militant and violent action and then went underground in isolated cells and later set off bombs around the country. The group quickly gained the nationwide attention and headlines it sought with a bizarre "Day of Rage,"—a wild window-smashing rampage in Chicago aimed at "bringing the war home."

In the years since, the Weather Underground has claimed credit for at least seven bombings of government buildings, including the Pentagon, the Capitol and the most recent explosion yesterday at the State Department—all of which the group said were in response to continued U.S. involvement in Indochina. The FBI claims the group is responsible for 19 bombings in the nation in the last four years.

Although the group has persisted in using violent tactics, there appear to have been a number of internal changes in the organization and some policy disputes. Early in 1974 in response to pressure from the women's liberation movement, the group changed its name to Weatherpeople but within the last year adopted the more anonymous Weather Underground.

Later in 1974 [sic.] the group issued a communique indicating it was going to change its tactics from bombing and terrorism, but the U.S. bombing of Cambodia followed and the Weathermen set another bomb in a restroom at the Capitol.

Last summer, the group published a 185-page pamphlet entitled "Prairie Fire" in which the Underground called for unification of all revolutionary groups in the nation to lead a revolution and overturn the government and resolve economic suffering in the nation.

"This is a deathly culture," the group wrote. "It beats children and discards its old people, imprisons its rebels and drinks itself to death. It breeds and educates us to be socially irresponsible, arrogant, ignorant and anti-political. We are the most technologically advanced people in the world and socially backward. . . ."

"We must rescue ourselves from the consequences of being the base area for imperialism—the base area for war, piracy, rape and murder. In the reclamation process, we must come to a better understanding of our history and ourselves. . . . We create the seeds of the new society in the struggle for the destruction of the empire. For our generation that has meant the birth of communalism and collective work in the most individualist, competitive society in the world. Revolution is the midwife bringing the new society into being from the old."

Although early last year the government dropped charges against members of the group indicted for the "Day of Rage" activities' none of the Weathermen

has since emerged publicly, apparently fearing the Justice Department would try to charge them with some other crime, such as the Capitol or Pentagon bombings. However, most of the Weathermen are believed still in this country.

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley four months ago told the American Legion in Indianapolis that "the Weather people proudly and defiantly have proclaimed their contempt for the law and their willingness to injure and kill human beings and destroy property."

"Make no mistake," Kelley said, "the Weathermen and other guerrilla groups have openly declared war on America."

[From the New York Times, Jan. 30, 1975]

SIX THOUSAND IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FLEE IN BOMB THREATS

THREE WASHINGTON SITES NAMED AFTER STATE DEPT. BLAST—DEVICE FOUND ON COAST

(By David Binder)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29.—Bomb threats against Federal buildings caused the evacuation of nearly 6,000 Government employes in Washington today, after an early morning explosion in the State Department.

A left-wing group calling itself the Weather Underground claimed responsibility for the blast, which damaged 20 rooms on three floors of the State Department at 1:17 A.M.

Another bomb was removed today from the Federal office building in Oakland, Calif., after a telephone caller had said it could be found behind a panel on the seventh floor. The bomb was detonated in the street by a bomb disposal squad. No damage was caused.

The Weather Underground is a group of self-styled revolutionaries that succeeded the so-called Weathermen, which was established in 1969 in Chicago. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is seeking about 29 reputed Weather Underground members.

The bomb threats made anonymously here by telephone were apparently without specific political motives, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Bomb threats against the Interior and Agriculture Departments and the Smithsonian Institution were conveyed about noon by a male who called the Associated Press Bureau. The Treasury Department received a threat from a male caller at 8:23, according to the Secret Service.

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton ordered his 4,500 employes to leave at about 12:30 P.M., while security officials searched the huge building. He kept his appointments at an office in another building. No bomb was found.

The Treasury Building's 1,200 employes were evacuated after a caller said the structure "will go up in smoke in half an hour." A security check was completed at 4:15 P.M. and the employes returned to work.

The Smithsonian employes were told to stay at their jobs while a bomb search was conducted. Several hundred Agriculture Department employes were sent out of the South Building in the early afternoon after a suspicious package was found in a trash can. A bomb squad found it contained three empty wine bottles.

Clarence M. Kelley, director of the F.B.I., issued a statement this afternoon saying that the existence of the State Department bomb and the bomb in the Federal building in Oakland had been announced in anonymous calls in at least four cities.

He said the calls were made to newspapers, radio and television stations in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Washington, and that the callers mentioned the Weather Underground.

VIETNAM AID

Later, letters purporting to be from the group were found in all four cities. They said the bombs had been planted in retaliation against the Ford Administration's proposal to send \$522-million in military supplies to South Vietnam and Cambodia. The letters called this "deliberate and outright sabotage of the Paris agreement" concluded Jan. 27, 1973, by the United States, North and South Vietnam and the Vietcong to end Indochina hostilities.

The letters also accused the State Department's Agency for International Development of helping the Saigon Government bilk Vietnamese with high food prices and build "concentration camps."

Two of the three offices most severely damaged this morning at the State Department belong to A.I.D.'s Bureau for East Asia and Bureau for Africa.

They are on the third floor at the intersection of corridors next to a women's rest room where the explosive device was deposited. The Federal Bureau of Investigation said the bomb was detonated by an electric battery pack.

A department spokesman who saw the damage in one of the A.I.D. offices reported: "It's a shambles, pipes hanging loose, walls sort of caved in."

Water from broken pipes flooded the third, second and first floors. There were still large smelly pools of water in the corridors at noon. Two elevators and a lighting system were knocked out. There was also extensive damage to the second floor office of Joe H. Morton, chief of the department's Security Investigations Division.

Only a small number of personnel, including a normal complement of 11 security guards were in the building when the bomb went off.

Secretary of State Kissinger was notified of the explosion at 7 A.M. and he expressed indignation at "this totally senseless act."

The third floor area was cordoned off all day as explosives specialist of the F.B.I. and the Metropolitan Police Department sifted the debris. The bureau also interrogated department personnel.

Mr. Kelly noted in his statement that the Weather Underground had claimed responsibility for 19 politically motivated bombings in the United States since 1970.

He said that the bureau was looking for eight Weather Underground members identified as Bernadine Dohrn, Jeffrey Carl Jones, Mark William Rudd, Kathy Boudin, Robert Roth, Cathlyn Wilkerson, Leonard Handelsman and Howard Machtinger.

Mr. Kelley noted that the Weather Underground published a 158-page statement entitled "Prairie Fire" last July, "calling for uniting of all revolutionary forces in this country with the ultimate aim to overthrow the Government."

He said that the group continued to use "false and stolen identification" and continued to operate clandestinely although they "receive help from an above-ground support apparatus allowing it to continue its terrorist attacks against the Government."

[From the New York Times, Jan. 30, 1975]

OAKLAND POLICE DETONATE BOMB AFTER NEW WARNING

(By Wallace Turner) —

OAKLAND, CALIF., Jan. 29—A bomb that failed to explode last night in the Oakland Federal office building was detonated in the street this morning by a bomb disposal squad.

At 5:40 a.m. today a woman telephoned the Oakland Tribune and said, "We don't know why the bomb didn't go off last night. It is located on the seventh floor directly across from Room 728 behind a panel."

The call came just before the police had planned to enter the blocked-off building and begin a search for a bomb that had been warned about in calls to news media here and in the East last night. The calls also warned that a bomb was in the State Department in Washington, and that one exploded.

A woman who made the initial warning call to The Oakland Tribune at 9:45 yesterday said she represented the Weather Underground and ended her message with the demand "U.S. out of Southeast Asia!"

SET FIRE TO CASE

After the early morning call, the Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms Unit's explosion investigation team entered the building with a dog trained to sniff out explosives.

But it was the men who found a black attache case behind a panel near the ceiling. Using ropes, they dragged it to the street and tried to explode it with charges.

In a second attempt, they set fire to the case and the protective covering. Three minutes later, as members of the unit crept forward to inspect the bomb, it exploded. No one was hurt, and there was no physical damage.

Joe Popello, chief of the firearms unit office here, said the case had held 10 to 15 pounds of explosives and that the clock mechanism that was to detonate it at about 10 p.m. was still ticking.

Charles Nixon, a public affairs officer, said that had it exploded inside it probably would have blown a corner off the building.

The Northern California military induction station is situated in the building. In 1967 the streets outside were the scene of violent demonstrations against the draft and the Vietnam War.

Another bomb threat telephoned to the switchboard at Oakland International Airport at 11:12 p.m. yesterday warned of an explosive hidden in the Posey Tube, which connects Oakland with Alameda island where the Navy has an airfield. The tunnel was closed an hour while the police searched it, but found nothing.

Mr. SOURWINE. What further information do you have with respect to this bomb?

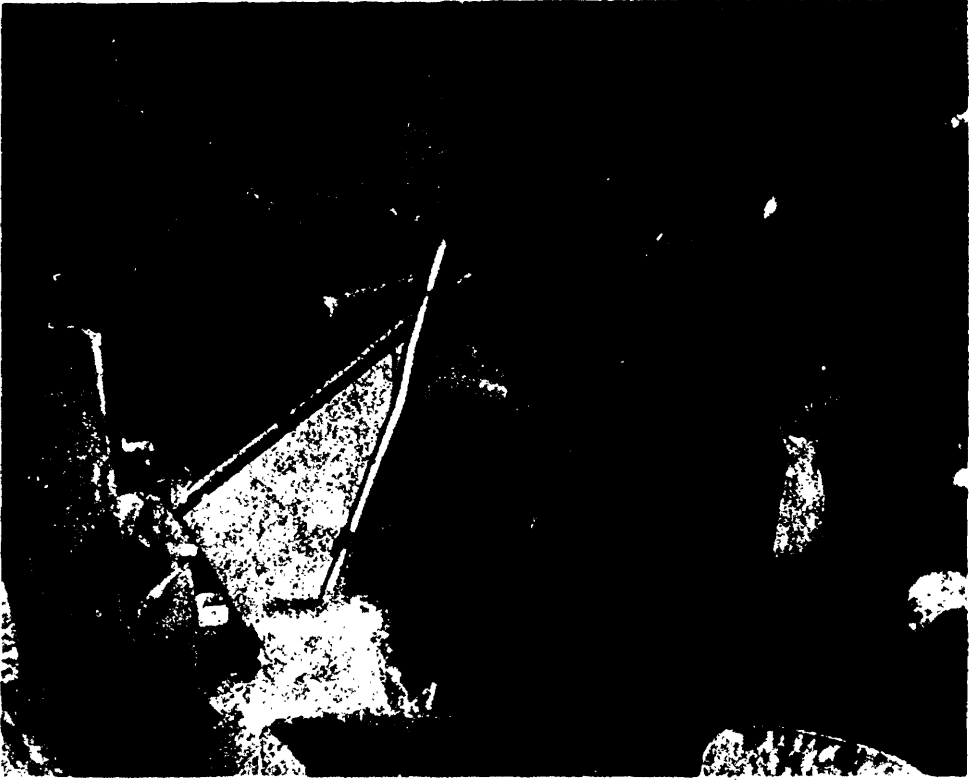
Mr. SHORT. Sir, I have some pictures of the actual State Department area that was bombed.

Mr. SOURWINE. May the pictures be received for the record, subject to ruling of the Chair as to whether they should be reproduced if and when this record is made public?

Senator THURMOND. They will be entered in the record.
[The documents referred to follow:]



Third floor men's room damage.



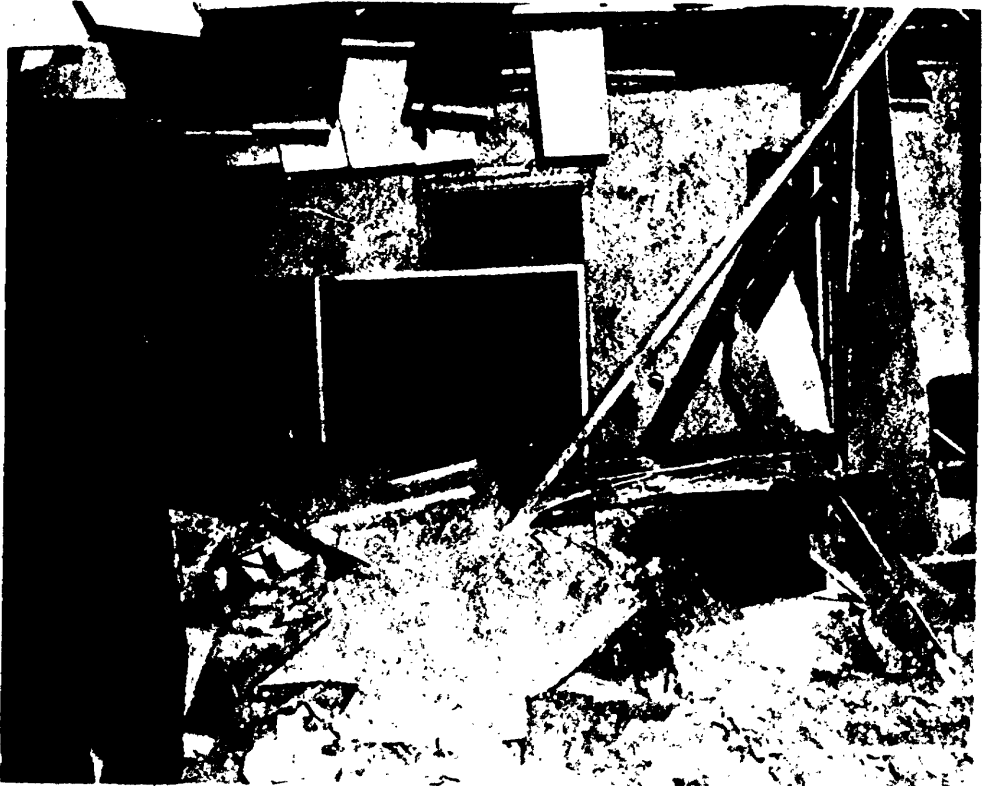
Third-floor men's room damage.



Third floor men's room damage.



Third-floor men's room damage.



Third-floor damage.



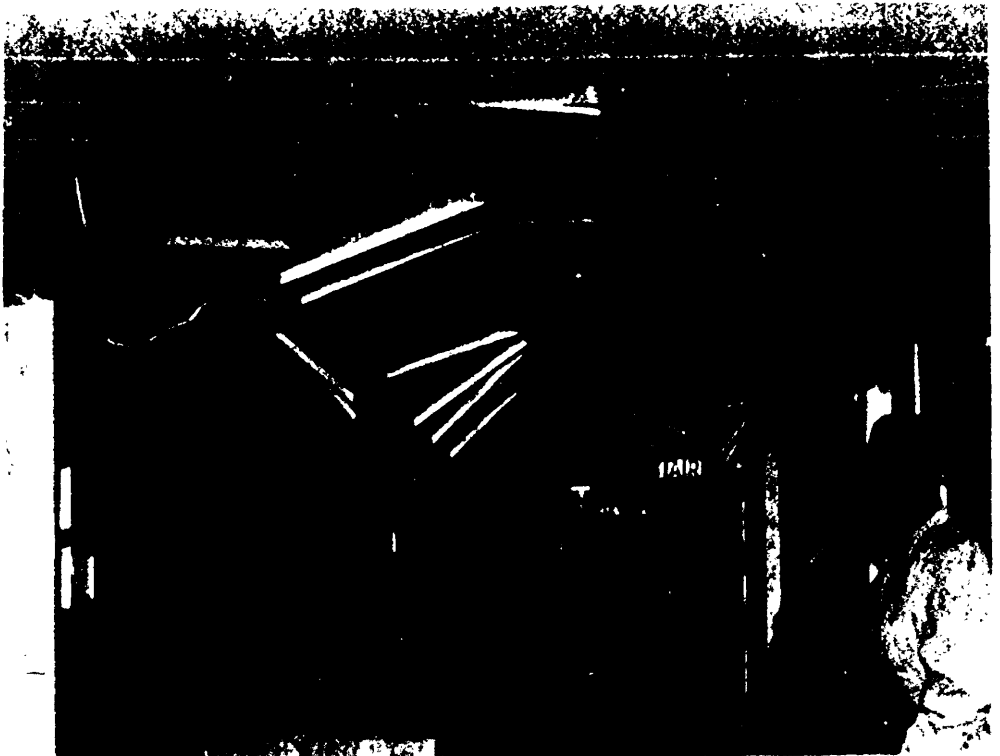
Third-floor men's room damage.



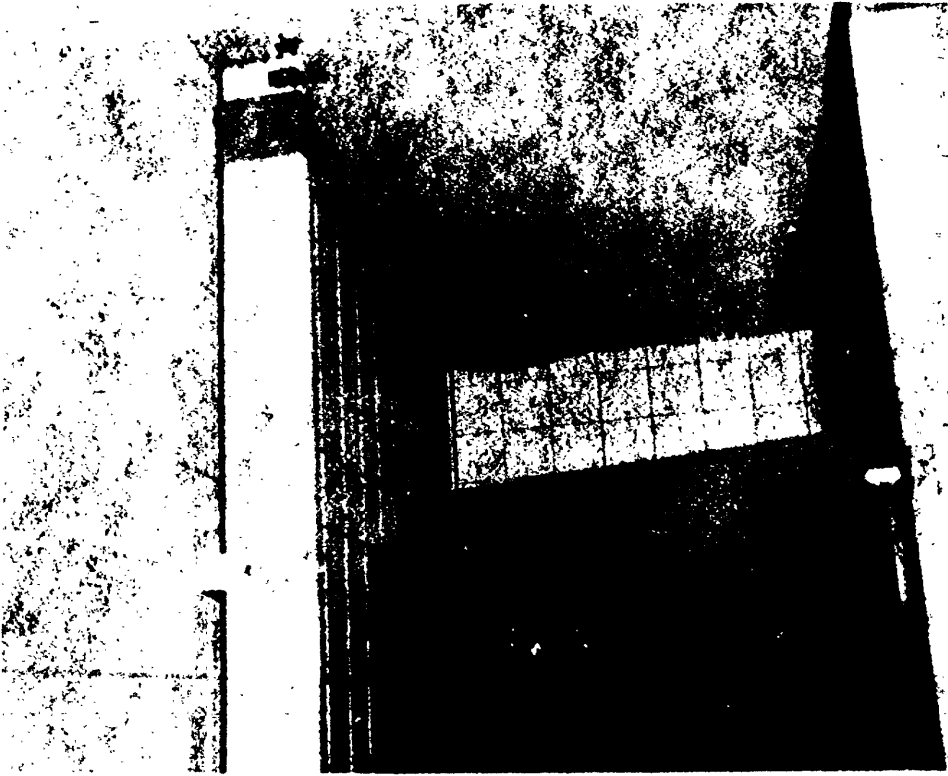
Third-floor damage.



Third-floor damage.



Third-floor damage.



Second-floor Ladies' restroom damage.



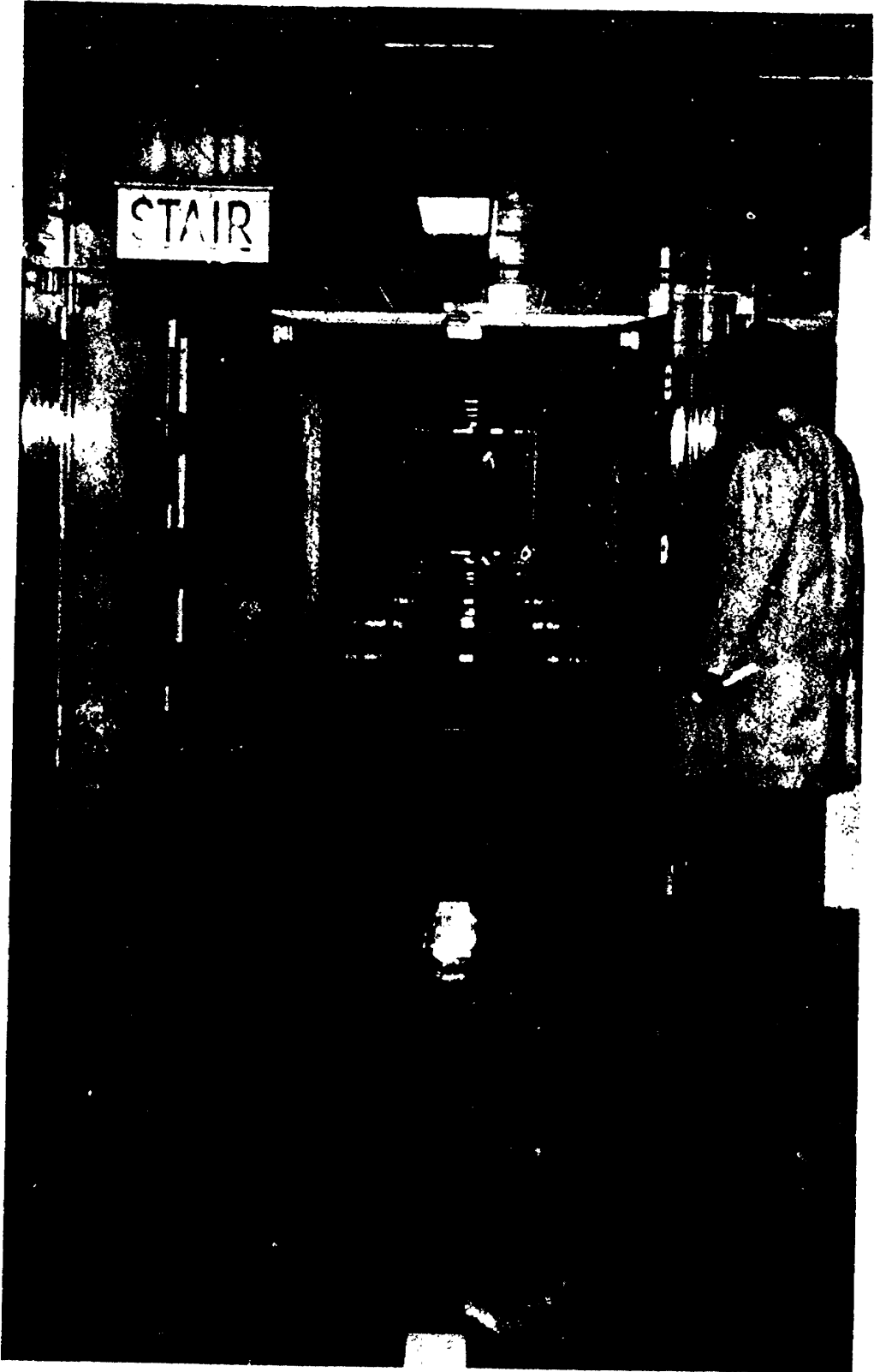
Second-floor Ladies' restroom damage.



Ladies' restroom damage.



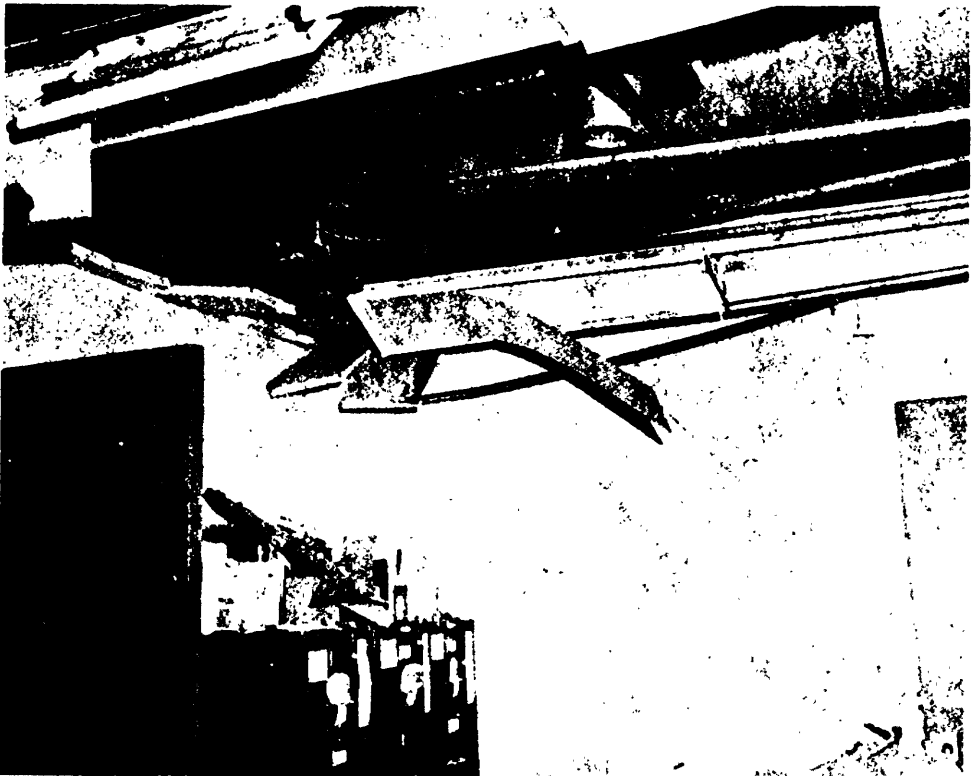
Fourth-floor office damage.



First-floor water damage.



Office damage.



Office damage.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, can you give us details about the bombing itself, and the extent of the damage beyond what appears in the clippings that are already inserted in the record?

In other words, do you have additional information that will help round out this record?

Mr. SHORT. No, sir, not at this time. I hope to have some additional information in the very near future.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the near future.

Mr. SHORT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, if the witness receives additional information in the near future, and before the record of this transcript is released, if it is released, may the order be that he make that information available in the record as a correction to his testimony?

Senator THURMOND. So ordered.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have anything further?

Mr. SHORT. Sir, I might add that the Weather Underground recently published a 151-page document, the "Prairie Fire," and in this particular document which derives its name from a quotation in the "Little Red Book of Chairman Mao," which states, "a single spark can start a prairie fire." And this is from a January 5, 1930—

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Short, we've already carried out this quote in our study of the Weathermen.

Senator THURMOND. I might say for the record that the committee's study of the Weatherman Underground is a very fine document, and its publication, which is scheduled to take place within the next few days, will make it available to the Senate and to the police departments and other law enforcement agencies, as well as to the public.

Now, I have no doubt it will prove to be a very valuable document in many respects.

Do you have anything further to say, Mr. Short?

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, the reason I was referring to the "Prairie Fire" was that this particular manifesto, I believe, set the stage for the recent bombing.

The bombing of the State Department and the attempted bombing of the Oakland Federal Building clearly reflect the vicious determination of this revolutionary-terrorist group to bring about the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. If I may expand for a moment on the subject, I would like to bring to your attention some very pertinent facts.

It would be an oversimplification to believe that the Weather Underground were the inventors of urban guerrilla terrorism, or that they are the only practitioners in the United States. The fact is that urban guerrilla terrorism is an international phenomenon. Most of its adherents describe themselves as "Marxists" and "Leninists" and, in most cases, "Maoists"—but they have added to the scriptures of Marx and Lenin and Mao the writings of Che Guevara, Franz Fanon, Carlos Marighella, and other theoreticians of the art of urban guerrilla warfare.

Scores of thousands of copies of the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" written by the Brazilian terrorist, Carlos Marighella, have been distributed in the United States. Let me quote just a few paragraphs from this handbook—which is probably the nearest thing to a Bible of the terrorist movement:

The accusation of assault or terrorism no longer has the pejorative meaning it used to have. It has acquired new clothing, a new coloration. It does not factionalize, it does not discredit; on the contrary it represents a focal point of attraction.

Today to be an assailant or a terrorist is a quality that ennobles any honorable man because it is an act worthy of a revolutionary engaged in armed struggle against the shameful military dictatorship and its monstrosities.

The urban guerrilla is an implacable enemy of the government and systematically inflicts damage on the authorities and on the men who dominate the country and exercise power. The principal task of the urban guerrilla is to distract, to wear out, to demoralize the militarists, the military dictatorship and its repressive forces, and also to attack and destroy the wealth and property of the North Americans, the foreign managers, and the Brazilian upper class.

Thus, within the framework of the class struggle, as it inevitably and necessarily sharpens, the armed struggle of the urban guerrilla points toward two essential objectives:

(a) the physical liquidation of the chiefs and assistants of the armed forces and of the police;

(b) the expropriation of government resources and those belonging to the big capitalists, latifundists, and imperialists, with small expropriations used for the maintenance of individual urban guerrillas and large ones for the sustenance of the revolution itself.

Execution is the killing of a North American spy, of an agent of the dictatorship, of a police torturer, of a fascist personality in the government involved in crimes and persecutions against patriots, of a stool pigeon, informer, police agent, or police provocateur.

Execution is a secret action in which the least possible number of urban guerrillas are involved. In many cases, the execution can be carried out by one sniper, patiently, alone and unknown, and operating in absolute secrecy and in cold blood.

Terrorism is an action, usually involving the placement of a bomb or fire explosion of great destructive power, which is capable of effecting irreparable loss against the enemy.

Terrorism requires that the urban guerrilla should have an adequate theoretical and practical knowledge of how to make explosives.

The terrorist act, apart from the apparent facility with which it can be carried out, is no different from other urban guerrilla acts and actions whose success depends on the planning and determination of the revolutionary organization. It is an action the urban guerrilla must execute with the greatest cold bloodedness, calmness, and decision.

The teachings of the terrorist theoreticians have been propagated and enlarged on by articles which have appeared in hundreds of underground publications across the country, and in repeated articles in better known left-wing publications like The Guardian and the Black Panther. One such item which appeared in the Quicksilver Times of Washington, D.C., on November 20, 1970, deserves special notice:

That's where we're at right now in the United States. By perhaps 1972, there will be a guerrilla war being fought in this country that people will generally agree began sometime in 1970. It will be a very peculiar guerrilla war, and its beginnings will have really been weird, which perhaps is one of the reasons that in 1970 the war that has already begun is not that easy to see.

Where does it go from here? Expect a rapid rise in bombings and the beginning of a long series of political assassinations. The next step may be the establishment of guerrilla sanctuaries, small urban sections in the ghettos and in places like Berkeley where the police can only go in massive force. Along with this may come the beginning of really serious sabotage. Our technological society is peculiarly vulnerable to sabotage. A well-placed bomb in a power station can plunge a great metropolitan area into darkness, the destruction of key computers can throw an industrial complex or a governmental department into chaos.

If a few thousand terrorists want to bring America to an angry, ass-grinding

halt, it's really not that difficult. A couple of thousand key assassinations, a thousand well-placed bombs, and a highly-sophisticated technological culture like our own would be left staggering and sputtering.

As Attorney General Evelle Younger of California pointed out in his testimony before the subcommittee on September 23, 1974, there has already been a multiplicity of urban terrorist organizations, and, because of their tendency to operate in small, cohesive, highly conspiratorial units, we shall probably have to contend with a lot more of them in the future.

The Weather Underground, however, has the distinction of producing the first manual devoted specifically to urban guerrilla warfare in the United States. This printed manual, a 151-page volume entitled "Prairie Fire," became widely available in printed form in June of last year. Attorney General Younger told the subcommittee that, within the 1-month period following its appearance, 20 bombings and attempted bombings occurred in California.

I want to quote just a few paragraphs from the opening pages of "Prairie Fire," which provide a key to the thinking and motivation of the revolutionary terrorist movement:

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 U.S. 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 are at an early stage, going from small to large. The mass armed capability which will destroy the enemy has its beginnings in armed action. It matures unevenly, with setbacks and at great cost. It will not spring full-blown on the scene at the magical moment of insurrection. We cannot leave the organizing and preparation for armed struggle to some more perfect future time. It would be suicidal. There is no predetermined model for revolution—we are always figuring it out. But for some, armed struggle is always too soon, although it is underway here and around the world.

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 U.S. troops and the most technologically advanced military power. In our own hemisphere, Che Guevara urged that we "create two, three, many Vietnams," to destroy U.S. imperialism by cutting it off in the Third World tentacle by tentacle, and opening another front within the U.S. itself. At home, the struggle and insurrection of the Black liberation movement heightened our commitment to fight alongside the determined enemies of the empire.

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

Mr. SHORT. The Director of the FBI, Clarence M. Kelley, in a recent speech to the American Legion in Indianapolis, said, and I quote, "Make no mistake; the Weathermen and other guerilla groups have openly declared war on America."

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Short, undoubtedly you are right about that, and the committee has made this very clear in its report on the Weatherman Underground which, as I say, will be published within the next few days.

Do you have anything further, Mr. Short?

Mr. SHORT. Nothing at this time, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. If there is nothing further, Mr. Chairman, I suggest we recess subject to call.

Senator THURMOND. That will be the order.

[Whereupon, at 12:15 o'clock p.m., the subcommittee recessed subject to the call of the Chair.]

[Information requested from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, U.S. Treasury Department, relative to the attempted bombing of the Federal building in Oakland, Calif., was received after the hearing was held and was subsequently ordered into the record by the chairman.]

On January 28, 1975, at approximately 10:00 p.m. (PST) RAIC Joseph Pupello received a telephone call from Oakland Police Department dispatcher stating that a bomb threat had been received against the Department of Defense building on Clay Street along with the State Department building in Washington, D.C. Oakland Police Department requested ATF assistance. SAIC Brenton G. Thorne was notified by RAIC Joe Pupello. Four ATF agents proceeded to the 1515 Clay Street location immediately with the bomb truck. RAIC Nick Dereta was notified at this time. Joe Pupello arrived on scene at Federal Building, 1515 Clay Street at approximately 10:15 p.m. (PST). He conferred with Lt. Conrad Blevins, Oakland Police Department and Federal Protective Officer Capt. Valdez. Both Oakland Police Dept. and Valdez officially requested ATF's assistance. Assessment of the situation was made by RAIC and it was suggested to the Federal Protective Officers that the Federal building be evacuated. Capt. Valdez, Federal Protective Officer, had summoned additional protective officers and was making plans for a search at approximately 12:00 a.m. (PST). Joe Pupello advised against a search at this time after realizing that the last possible time the building was opened to the public was approximately 6:00 p.m. (PST) and a twelve hour clock timing mechanism could still be in operation. It was suggested to the Federal Protective Service that a search not be made until 6:00 a.m. (PST) on 1/29/75, thereby minimizing the hazards.

Verification was made with Washington, D.C. that the bomb had gone off at the State Department building at 11:00 p.m. (PST). An additional anonymous call had been received by the news media at 11:00 p.m. (PST) stating that the bomb was still in the building, that they did not know why it did not go off but that it still could go off. The caller advised keeping people out of the building.

Six agents were on the scene with the bomb truck at 12:00 a.m. (PST) and an additional 8 agents were standing by to report to the bomb scene at 5:00 a.m. (PST), 1/29/75, for briefing prior to the search.

Contact was made by ATF with agency heads in the building who were instructed to bring their people to a 5:00 a.m. (PST) briefing to a command post set up nearby for the purpose of organizing a search.

The EOD team, Naval Air Station, Alameda, Calif. and the search dog with handler from San Mateo County Sheriff's Office were alerted to assist.

At approximately 5:15 a.m. (PST) on January 29, 1975, Special Agent Bennet Kale, FBI, Oakland, arrived on the scene. Station KGO advises that FBI had been informed of the threat at approximately 10 p.m. (PST) on January 28, 1975.

At 5 a.m. (PST) the news media received an additional call from the same person stating that the bomb was in the building and if it did not go off by 6 a.m. they would call back and let us know the location of the bomb.

At approximately 6 a.m. (PST), another call was received by the news media and relayed to AIF by the police department. The caller stated "the bomb is behind a panel on the 7th floor, across from Room 728. Be careful, it's a big one." At this time RAIC Joseph A. Pupello, Federal Protection Officer Bradley, Deputy Brazell from the San Mateo County sheriff's office and sniffer dog, along with Lt. Smallwood, EOD, Alameda Naval Air Station, went up to the 7th floor to the approximate location. The dog and his handler searched the area with no success. The unsuccessful search was attributed to the fact that the air conditioning and

heating system could not be shut off due to the absence of the GSA mechanics. Observation disclosed no panels across from Room 728. A physical search by the above-mentioned men was made of the area. RAIC Joe Pupello searched the ceiling panels and observed a black box, on top of a panel across from Room 728. EOD personnel viewed the object and agreed that this could be a device.

At this time RAIC Dereta and three other Navy EOD personnel were called on the scene to assist. The EOD team tied lines onto the box and pulled the box onto the floor. Dereta and Pupello were assisting. Once the bomb fell on the floor, a stethoscope was put on the box and it was ascertained that the bomb was ticking, and the timing mechanism was in operation.

Lt. Smallwood made the determination that the bomb would be placed in the bomb basket and taken to the first floor via the elevator. Once on the first floor, the bomb was taken out the side doors of the building, that were opened by ATF personnel. The bomb was then placed in the street, on 15th Street, between Jefferson and Clay, approximately 20 feet from the Federal Building.

EOD personnel set off a disarming shot to open up the case in an effort to determine the contents. The first shot was unsuccessful, opening just a portion of the box. The second shot was successful in that the shot opened the box and started the high explosives burning.

Approximately 1½ minutes later, a blasting cap detonated, this was followed by the main charge detonating, indicating that two-blasting caps were used.

RAIC Dereta assisted EOD in the actual placing of the disarming device. After the bomb was detonated, S/A Galyan, ATF, and his search team commenced a search of the area for the purpose of gathering all available evidence. FBI Agent Kale and approximately 15 other FBI agents stated that they wanted to help ATF with our crime scene search and RAIC Joseph Pupello requested that they remain outside the barrier because ATF was in the process of a systematic search. The FBI agents complied with our request.

The time of the actual main detonation was about 8:15 a.m.—(PST). Analysis of the evidence gathered disclosed that approximately 10 to 15 pounds of high explosive was used with a possible incendiary substance included in the package. There was a dual timing device, consisting of two Westclox pocket watches with the crystals and one hand removed, four Eveready 9 volt transistor type batteries encased in a metal cash box completely taped with black friction tape.

Upon receiving instructions from SAIC Brenton G. Thorne, at 11:00 a.m. (PST). RAIC Joe Pupello turned all evidence over to S/A's Kale and Daniels, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

