

# THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

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## REPORT

OF THE

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

OF THE

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UNITED STATES SENATE

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

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## RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the attached report entitled "The Weather Underground," shall be printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary.

**JAMES O. EASTLAND**, *Chairman*.

Approved: January 30, 1975.

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## FOREWORD

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This report is the result of an inventory and analysis of all information in the files of the subcommittee with respect to the Weatherman organization, its members and former members. The material presented does not purport to be encyclopedic, but it is hoped the report will be helpful in any consideration of legislative proposals designed to deal with violent, terroristic or other subversive organizations. It should also have interest and value for law enforcement agencies.

Since completion of this report the subcommittee has taken testimony from a young man who infiltrated the Weatherman organization for the FBI. This testimony will be published soon.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
*Chairman.*

## THE WEATHERMAN ORGANIZATION

*Launched in 1969 as a para-military offshoot of SDS, the Weather Underground first became "activists" (under the name "Weatherman") in Chicago in October 1969, went from trashing, burning, and street fighting in Chicago to the group decision (in Cleveland, Ohio) to kill police and violently attack military and industrial sites.*

*Weathermen smuggled arms and explosives in various parts of the country. They established contact with terrorist organizations abroad including Al Fatah and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Weathermen trained, in Al Fatah camps in the Middle East, in use of weapons and explosives.*

—Penthouse, July 1973, pages 150-151

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### OVERVIEW

"Weatherman"—now known as the Weatherman Underground—is a revolutionary organization dedicated to the violent overthrow of established power in the United States through "armed struggle".

It is a para-military offshoot of Students for a Democratic Society, which grew out of a faction within SDS.

Students for a Democratic Society was founded in 1960. Its "Port Huron Statement" in 1962 called for an alliance of blacks, students, peace groups and liberal organizations and publications, to serve the announced objective of progressive realignment of the Democratic Party.

In June 1963, a SDS document "America and the New Era" criticized what it called the inadequacy (in areas of disarmament, social justice and racial equality) of the Kennedy "New Front" program, and urged the independent organization of "emerging insurgent forces" (within the civil rights, peace and student movements).

December 1963 saw SDS sponsoring its education research action project involving organization of poor whites and blacks in ten cities of the United States.

The first "anti-Vietnam War" march to Washington was organized by SDS in the spring of 1965. One prompt result was a sudden growth of SDS membership. Local chapters increased from about 35 to over 100 within 6 months.

At a national convention at Clear Lake, Iowa, in August 1966, SDS stressed need for political work on college campuses, calling for a "student power" strategy. In December 1966, SDS made draft resistance its top-priority political activity, and inaugurated campus protests against the "military-industrial complex."

The following year (at its 1967 national convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan) the SDS made a call for a "new working class" as the crucial agency of revolution (deliberately setting this concept against the Progressive Labor Party's emphasis on its "industrial working class" theory).

In April and May 1968 came the occupation of Columbia University by students, both black and white, effectively closing the campus. In the action at Columbia, Mark Rudd gained national prominence. Rudd later became an early and important leader of the Weatherman organization.

Controversy marked the national convention of SDS in East Lansing, Michigan, in June 1968. The Progressive Labor faction was in the minority.

At Boulder, Colorado, in October of 1968, the SDS National Council threw out a plan (for joint student-labor action projects) sponsored by the Progressive Labor faction. But three months later, in December, at the Ann Arbor National Council meeting, the Progressive Labor faction made a comeback, securing approval of a resolution on racism. At the same time, a resolution presented by a group headed by Mike Klonsky and Les Coleman, and supported by Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs, Howie Machtinger, Jim Mellen and Mark Rudd, was approved by the Council. Entitled "Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement", and known as the RYM Resolution, this paper brought its backers to a prominence which helped some of them, later, to coalesce the Weatherman organization.

At its March 1969 meeting in Austin, Texas, the SDS National Council threw out the Progressive Labor resolution on racism which had been approved only four months previously, substituting SDS alliance with the Black Panther Party. At the Austin meeting it became obvious there were serious internal differences within the group which had sponsored and won approval of the RYM Resolution in December 1968.

In 1968 and 1969, the RYM I faction of SDS, in the course of its evolution into Weatherman, was actively seeking to recruit youngsters in their early teens, as well as older youths. (One of the earliest precepts of the Weatherman organization was that from the reservoir of "underprivileged youth" would emerge "the true revolutionary vanguard".)

An example of high-school recruiting by SDS, in which the growing Weatherman faction took such extremely active part that the recruitment effort at many individual high schools became "Weatherman" operations, is the so-called "Niagara Liberation Front" program in Buffalo, New York. Aimed primarily at minorities, and especially at students with Puerto Rican backgrounds, the "Niagara Liberation Front Program for Action" was set forth in a 12-page brochure circulated from the "General Movement Work" headquarters of SDS in Buffalo. This pamphlet referred to the United States as "Amerika" and began on the first inside page: "We are all outlaws in the eyes of amerika—all of your private properties target for your enemy and your enemy is we. We are obscene, low, dirty, dangerous, and angry. In order to survive, we steal, fight, lie, forge, f—, hide and deal."

The slogan of the pamphlet was "Revolution in our lifetime". Other pages included such statements as: "We will fight Amerikan imperialism", "We must weaken America's capacity to wage wars against our brothers and sisters in the Third World"; and "Until capitalism is destroyed, we shall fight against any American Army opposed all institutions (like the universities, high schools and corporations) that train men and women to support imperialism. And we shall attempt

to bring the international war home by engaging in continual actions that disrupt the business-as-usual fabric of American life."

Other excerpts from the pamphlet:

We support draft resistance and GI rebellions within the Armed Forces. By organizing at induction centers, we will encourage men to resist the draft or else go into the army to foment rebellion.

For over 300 years white America has brutalized black, brown, red, and yellow people . . .

We recognize and support their struggles to regain what is theirs and to control their own communities.

We will turn the high schools into training grounds for liberation . . . Students must destroy the senile dictatorship of their teachers and school bureaucrats. Grading, tests, tracking, detentions, demotions, and expulsions must be abolished.

We will destroy the universities unless they serve the people . . . The war machine, including ROTC and defense contracts, must be driven from the campus by any means necessary.

We will continue to live communally, get high on grass and wine and encourage all other youth to adapt a revolutionary life style.

We demand workers' control of factories and shops. We demand that our industries be retooled to provide for the needs of the people, not for profit . . . We demand an end to all profit and private ownership of the workplace . . . Until we control our factories—All Power to the Saboteurs.

We will defend ourselves against law and order . . . We must abolish forces which break down anyone who fights for liberation. State of emergency, martial law, conspiracy charges, campus expulsions, firing of workers and teachers, and all measures used to crush our movement must be resisted by any means necessary—from courtroom to armed struggle . . . We will make our community a sanctuary for rebels, outcasts and revolutionary fugitives.

At the SDS Convention in Chicago in June 1969, a serious dispute arose within the SDS radical group holding company on the problem of black nationalism. Specifically, the Maoist Progressive Party, which was an important component of the SDS, attacked the Black Panthers as being more nationalist than revolutionary. The defenders of the Panthers were subsequently reconstituted as the Revolutionary Youth Movement. This group attempted to form an alliance with the Panthers and the militant Puerto Rican group, the Young Lords. It was rebuffed largely because there was a substantial faction within it which wanted to declare immediate war on the police, a policy not favored at that time by the Panthers and Lords.<sup>1</sup>

The Young Lords organization, "certainly the most politically oriented" and "most subversive of the gangs," in the Lincoln Park area of Chicago, according to two local witnesses, were active in housing and establishing communication centers for the Weatherman faction during the Chicago "Days of Rage."<sup>2</sup>

Formal cleavage between the SDS and Progressive Labor Party took place at the 1969 SDS National Convention in Chicago. At this convention the RYM II Statement was launched, as a purported "refinement" of the original RYM Resolution, and by (mainly) the same individuals who had offered the original RYM Resolution.

Also presented at the Chicago convention (largely by those who shortly afterward became the leaders of the Weatherman organization) was the famous "Weatherman" statement.

This "Weatherman" paper (entitled "You Don't Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows") ran to 16,000 words,

<sup>1</sup> Washington Post, November 15, 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Extent of Subversion in the New Left, Part 7, August 3, 1970, p. 1162.

attempting to define an ideology and fix a program for SDS as a white radical youth movement.

Recognizing opposition to "U.S. Imperialism" as the focus of international struggle, the Weatherman paper saw Third World guerrillas as leaders of this fight abroad and the U.S. "internal" black colony as leaders here.

Postulating that aggressive and prolonged guerrilla tactics could accomplish overthrow of the U.S. economic system and its "military industrial complex", the Weatherman paper derived the conclusion that the element of basic importance was the black liberation movement, with white radicals playing only a supportive and promotion role. It stressed the point that blacks will organize themselves in their own way, form their own alliances, and white organizations cannot change this and should not fight it.

Seeing the youth movement in the U.S. as composed too largely of "privileged" students, the Weatherman paper urged maximum organizational effort to build city-wide movements, and counseled that such community movements should regard themselves as active cadres in the formation of a new revolutionary party.

Sponsors of the Weatherman paper were Karin Ashley, Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs, Jeff Jones, Gerry Long, Howie Machtinger, Jim Mellen, Terry Robins, Mark Rudd and Steve Tappis.

The Weatherman paper states: "The goal is the destruction of U.S. imperialism and the achievement of a classless state: world communism. Winning state power in the U.S. will occur as a result of the military forces of the U.S. overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal; the struggle within the U.S. will be a vital part of this process, but when the revolution triumphs in the U.S. it will have been made by the people of the whole world. For socialism to be defined in national terms within so extreme an historically oppressor nation as this is only imperialist national chauvinism on the part of the movement."

It is noteworthy that the "Weatherman" paper's enunciated philosophy rests on the Maoist theory of the world revolutionary process.

The Chicago convention elected three members of its "Weatherman" group (Jeff Jones, Mark Rudd and Bill Ayers) to controlling positions in the national office of SDS.

Programs carried out by SDS in Michigan and Ohio in the summer of 1969 became prototypes for Weatherman collectives.

By the fall of 1969, fragmentation of Students for a Democratic Society had proceeded to the point where clear-cut descriptions of particular factions, or even sharp lines of demarkation between factions, were impossible. Major SDS factions included what came to be known as the Weatherman faction, but was then referred to by many in SDS as Revolutionary Youth Movement No. 1 (RYM I); a group influenced or controlled by the Progressive Labor Party, known as the Worker-Student Alliance; Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II); the so-called Labor Committee; and various groups called Independent Socialist Clubs.

(Most violent and most radical of these factions was the RYM I group rapidly evolving into Weatherman. Not quite all of the members of RYM I stayed with Weatherman; but a substantial majority did.

Leaders of the Weatherman faction at the time included Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs, Jeff Jones and Mark Rudd.)

In October 1969, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, in its publication, "Magnetic Violence," warned that Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones and Bill Ayers, described as "national leadership" of the Weatherman faction of the SDS "claim to be true-blue Communists following the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. Their theory of the role of violence owes much to Castro and Regis Debray who taught the "Propaganda of Action." They advocate urban guerrilla warfare as practiced by the Tupamaros of Uruguay. They have organized a Red Army and have female commando units which break into high schools and rush into classrooms screaming "jailbreak," urging the students to leave class and join them, using karate on any who oppose them. The Weatherman organized the Chicago demonstrations—October 8–11, 1969—as an exercise in civil war with the slogans, "Bring the war home" and "The time has come for fighting in the streets."

During a three-day mass meeting in Cleveland (August 20–September 1, 1969) Bill Ayers made a major speech. Two days later, in Pittsburgh, Weatherman women won their mass-action spurs. When the Chicago trial of "conspiracy eight" opened, September 24, 1968, nineteen members of the Weatherman organization were arrested on felony charges as a result of violent action outside the court house.

The "national action" planned and sponsored by SDS took place in Chicago October 8–11, 1969. In Weatherman lexicon, these four days are referred to as the "Days of Rage". Weatherpeople were extremely prominent, and hundreds of Weatherman activists, including most Weatherman leaders, were arrested and/or indicted as a result of their Chicago activities during this period.

#### NEW LEFT TERRORISM

SDS at its national convention in Chicago in June of 1969 split into three hostile segments. These segments were: The Weatherman, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, and the Worker-Student Alliance.

The Weatherman, under the leadership of such well-known leftists as Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, and Bernardine Dohrn, quickly developed into a highly militant group advocating violence. From October 8 to 11, 1969, the Weatherman staged the "days of rage" in Chicago. The real purpose of the Chicago demonstration which had been purposely planned by the Weatherman was to gain experience in revolutionary tactics. At a national council meeting in Flint, Michigan, in December 1969, a decision was made to convert Weatherman into small, tough, para-military organizations to carry out urban guerrilla warfare for the purpose of bringing about a revolution in the United States. The necessity of killing police and self instruction in the use of firearms and bombs were stressed.

In July 1969 a group of Weatherman leaders including Dohrn, Ted Gold, and Diane Oughton, traveled to Cuba, where they met with representatives from North Vietnam.

Shortly after the beginning of 1970, many Weathermen members disappeared and went underground. In New York City on March 6, 1970, a series of dynamite explosions occurred in a fashionable Green-

wich Village townhouse in New York in which Weathermen Ted Gold and Diane Oughton were killed.

In a three-page typed statement to the press on May 25, 1970, said to be a transcript of a tape recording by Bernadine Dohrn, it was noted that the Weatherman group was declaring a state of war against the United States and called for revolutionaries and youths to join in the Weatherman revolution.<sup>3</sup>

In "communique No. 1 from the Weather Underground," Bernadine Dohrn said:

There are several hundred members of the Weatherman Underground and some of us face more years in jail than the 50,000 deserters and draftdodgers now in Canada. Already many of them are coming back to join us in the underground or to return to the man's army and tear it up from inside along with those who never left.

We fight in many ways. Dope is one of our weapons. The laws against marijuana mean that millions of us are outlaws long before we actually split. Guns and grass are united in the youth underground.

Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks. If you want to find us, this is where we are. In every tribe, commune, dormitory, farmhouse, barracks, and townhouse where kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns—fugitives from American justice are free to go.

#### WEATHERMAN FINANCES

The Illinois Crime Investigating Commission, in its report of April 20, 1970, said the Weatherman faction of SDS had built up a war chest of more than \$100,000 in advance of the Chicago disorders in October 1969. The report listed 77 persons who contributed to a bail bond for those arrested in the Oct. 8-11 disturbances and 80 other names and sources of contributions to the SDS.

Among those listed as contributors were:

Arthur Waskow, \$500.

Howard (Jeff) Melish \$4,529.

Mark Rudd, SDS Nat'l Sec'y, \$7,000 in contributions.

Among the contributions also were checks received from the Young Socialist Alliance, Congress of Racial Equality, Liberation News Service and the American Civil Liberties Union. The report also listed a grant made to the faction by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.<sup>4</sup>

The Illinois Crime Investigating Commission report called Weatherman "extremely dangerous". The report made the point that there appeared to be continuing contacts between the Weatherman and the Hanoi government.<sup>5</sup>

Though the Weatherman organization had sought to mobilize thousands for action in Chicago, and only a few hundred Weather-people had shown up, the "Days of Rage" had a major impact on the whole New Left movement, as well as solidifying the Weather-people themselves and bringing them national publicity.

On December 4, 1969, two Black Panther leaders (Mark Clark and Fred Hampton) were killed by police in Chicago. A Weatherman "National War Council" was held in Flint, Michigan, December 27-30. On March 6, 1970, a townhouse in Greenwich Village, New York City,

<sup>3</sup> FBI Annual Report, 1970.

<sup>4</sup> Chicago Tribune, April 21, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Chicago Tribune, April 20, 1970.

was the site of an explosion in which Diana Oughton, Terry Robins and Ted Gold were killed.

On April 3, 12 members of the Weatherman organization were named in Federal indictments, each being charged specifically with crossing state lines with intent to incite a riot, and the group being charged collectively with conspiracy.

On April 15, the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested Linda Evans and Dianne Donghi. About five weeks later, the Weatherman Underground issued its first communique.

New York City police headquarters was bombed on June 9, 1970, and a second "underground communique" from the Weatherman organization took responsibility for the bombing. Two weeks later, 13 members of the Weatherman were named in Federal indictments charging conspiracy to engage in acts of terrorism and sabotage. In response, the Weatherman Underground issued its communique No. 3. The following day, a Bank of America branch in New York City was bombed, and again the Weatherman organization took responsibility.

#### IN CONNECTION WITH DEMONSTRATIONS

Nearly 7,200 persons were arrested on the nation's campuses during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1970, who caused more than \$9.5 million in damages, according to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover specifically cited the Weatherman faction of SDS as a principal force guiding the country's violence-prone young militants, but named the Black Panther Party as the most dangerous and violence prone of all extremist groups.<sup>6</sup>

The FBI Director's report cited a marked increase in protest demonstrations across the country and a corresponding increase in violent deaths, injuries, property damage and arrests. Hoover tabulated 281 attacks on ROTC buildings and said 313 other college buildings were the targets of sit-ins or seizures. There were 38 demonstrations protesting research for the government, 73 protests against military recruiting and 63 demonstrations against corporate recruiters, Mr. Hoover reported.<sup>7</sup>

The FBI report said the Weatherman organization included between 500, and 1,000 adherents, averaging 25 to 30 years of age, most of them attached to communes in New York, California, Illinois, Ohio and Washington state. Although active in some college demonstrations, few of these are currently enrolled in college, the report said.<sup>8</sup>

The Weatherman organization masterminded the escape of Dr. Timothy Leary from San Luis Obispo State Prison in California,<sup>9</sup> and on September 15, the Weatherman Underground issued its fourth communique and Dr. Leary issued what was touted as a "major statement."

Communique No. 4 from the Weatherman Underground was dated September 15, 1970. It declared:

The Weatherman Underground has had the honor and pleasure of helping Dr. Timothy Leary escape from the POW camp in San Luis Obispo, California.

Dr. Leary was being held against his will and against the will of millions of kids in this country. He was a political prisoner, captured for the work he did in

<sup>6</sup> Washington Star, July 14, 1970, page A-3.

<sup>7</sup> Washington Post, July 14, 1970, page A-3.

<sup>8</sup> Washington Star, July 14, 1970, page A-3.

<sup>9</sup> See excerpts from testimony printed in appendix VI, at p. 135.



helping all of us begin the task of creating a new culture on the barren wasteland that has been imposed on this country by democrats, republicans, capitalists and creeps.

LSD and grass, like the herbs and cactus and mushrooms of the American Indians and countless civilizations that have existed on this planet, will help us make a future world where it will be possible to live in peace. Now we are at war.

With the NLF and the North Vietnamese, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Al Fatah, with Rap Brown and Angela Davis, with all black and brown revolutionaries, the Soledad Brothers and all prisoners of war in American concentration camps, we know that peace is only possible with the destruction of US imperialism.

The "letter" from Timothy Leary, released at the same time as communiqué No. 4 from the Weatherman Underground, declared, in part:

I declare that World War III is now being waged by short-haired robots, whose deliberate aim is to destroy the complex web of free wildlife by the imposition of mechanical order.

Listen. There is no choice left but to defend life by all and every means possible against the genocidal machine. . . .

Do not be deceived. It is a classic stratagem of genocide to camouflage their wars as law and order police actions.

Remember the Sioux and the German Jews and black slaves and the marijuana pogroms and pious TWA indignation over airline hijackings . . .

Listen Americans. Your government is an instrument of total lethal evil.

Remember the buffalo and the Iroquois!

Remember Kennedy, King, Malcolm, Lenny.

Listen. There is no compromise with a machine. You cannot talk peace and love to a humanoid robot whose every Federal bureaucratic impulse is soulless, heartless, lifeless, loveless.

In this life struggle we use the ancient holy strategies of organic life:

1. Resist lovingly in the loyalty of underground sisterhoods and brotherhoods;
2. Resist passively, break lock step . . . drop out.
3. Resist actively, sabotage, jam the computer . . . hijack planes . . . trash every lethal machine in the land.
4. Resist publicly, announce life . . . denounce death.
5. Resist privately, guerrilla invisibility.
6. Resist beautifully, create organic art, music.
7. Resist biologically, be healthy . . . erotic . . . conspire with seed . . . breed.
8. Resist spiritually, stay high . . . praise god . . . love life . . . blow the mechanical mind with Holy Acid . . . dose them . . . dose them.
9. Resist physically, robot agents who threaten life must be disarmed, disabled, disconnected by force . . . arm yourself and shoot to live . . . life is never violent. To shoot a genocidal robot policeman in the defense of life is a sacred act.

#### CUBAN INFLUENCE

Representative Barry M. Goldwater, Jr., (R. Calif.) inserted in the *Congressional Record*<sup>10</sup> a charge that "Fidel Castro's Cuba has become a revolutionary factory for the processing and refining of American radicals for export back to the United States." Rep. Goldwater's insertion was an article by George M. Geyer, which pointed out that Mark Rudd, described as "fugitive leader of America's violent left," had "visited Cuba in February and March 1968" with 20 other activists of the Students for a Democratic Society, and that "Two months later, with Rudd at the helm, Columbia University was reduced to chaos."

The article continued: "Bernardine Dohrn, Weatherman member and 30 fellow activists met with Vietnamese Communists in Havana

<sup>10</sup> Congressional Record, October 14, 1970.

in July 1969. Three months later, with Bernardine in command, a shocked Chicago watched as several hundred ultra-radical Weathermen staged a wild window-smashing rampage which they called 'four days of rage' in protest against the Vietnam war. Angela Davis, the Negro UCLA philosophy instructor, visited Cuba in July 1969. A year later she made the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list for alleged complicity in a California courthouse kidnapping and shootout. Four men, including the judge, two defendants and the kidnapper were killed. Bernardine Dohrn, University of Chicago law school graduate, mapped her anti-war campaign during that eight-day seminar with representatives of Hanoi and the Vietcong. She journeyed to Havana at their request. Now a fugitive sought by the FBI, Bernardine was heard from last when she claimed credit for her group for blowing up—for the second time within a year—the police memorial statue in Chicago's Haymarket Square.

"Also present at the Havana meeting along with Bernardine were two now deceased Weathermen. They were Diane Oughton and Ted Gold, both killed last March 6 when a Greenwich Village townhouse which they and others had converted into a bomb factory was ripped by a series of explosions."

### WEATHERMAN POLITICAL THEORY

At the Chicago national convention of the SDS in June 1969, the Weatherman faction surfaced with a position paper titled "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows". (This phrase is contained in the Bob Dylan song: "Subterranean Homesick Blues".)

The Weatherman-supported position paper, printed in "New Left Notes" of June 18, 1969, started from the premise that all politics must be formulated in the context of American economic imperialism:

We are within the heartland of a worldwide monster, a country so rich from its worldwide plunder that even the crumbs doled out to the enslaved masses within its borders provide for material existence very much above the conditions of people of the world.

Worldwide revolution, the paper argues, is in progress against American imperialism by the 'Third World peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa; within the "mother country" itself, this revolution is already under way on the part of the oppressed "black colony".

"If necessary," the paper says, "black people could win self-determination, abolishing the whole imperialist system and seizing state power to do it, without the white movement, although the cost among whites and blacks both would be high."

The Weatherman scenario sees American military might over-extended and weakened in losing colonial struggles all over the world, and an armed black force rising up and seizing control of the Government. It is imperative, the paper argues, for whites to "get on the right side" of the impending revolution immediately; there is no time left for what Weatherman describe as "leafletting at the factory gate". White revolutionaries, the paper urges, must take action that will give material—not merely moral—support to the black and Third World struggles, blows that will "increase the cost of empire," exemplary actions that will show others the way to smash (the favorite Weatherman verb) the state. It is a call for the opening of a new

front "behind the enemy lines," much as French leftist terrorists increased the cost of the Algerian and Indochinese wars.

The paper sees white workers as being hopelessly bought off with the small comforts and relatively better positions which have accrued from the exploitation of black and Third World people—what Weatherman term "white-skin privilege"—and thus duped into racism. College students, too, are mired in their own middle-class aspirations and are too soft and self-interested to be true revolutionaries, it is argued.

The Weatherman seek to organize a new constituency—among tough working-class high-school students and dropouts, bikers, greasers, rock freaks and street kids. They argue these white youths are thoroughly alienated, trapped in "jail-like" schools, dropped out into dead-end jobs, scooped up by the draft, propertyless and harassed by the police. They are ready, the paper says, to "burn down their schools."

\* \* \*

The Weatherman style evolved over the summer of 1969 in several midwestern collectives of about 10 to 30 people each. Members of the collectives lived intensely: studying revolutionary doctrine and the works of Mao, writing, organizing and being watched by the police. Much of their time was spent in self-criticism sessions, harsh group therapy in which Weatherman urged one another to "push it out," to exorcise vestiges of bourgeois attitudes. Most Weatherman collectives—largely at the urging of the women—outlawed monogamy, on the ground that mates would stick up for each other in self-criticism sessions and undermine total collective discipline. The Weatherman are very serious about themselves.

The organizing technique that grew out of the collectives involved fighting, putting people "up against the wall," creating instant polarization. The tough high-school kids must be shown, the reasoning went, that the radicals were not wimpy intellectuals—soft, privileged hippies—but real fighters, gang members in their own right.

What Weatherman demands—and where its adherents find much of its appeal—is a total commitment to the revolution. Weatherman says that radicals must abandon their comfortable, hip existence of digging "The Battle of Algiers," the Black Panthers' and other people's revolutions, smoking grass and sleeping late, and submit themselves to disciplined lives as revolutionaries. They just purge themselves of all elements of the hated "white-skin privilege."<sup>11</sup>

Bernardine Dohrn's prediction (issued on or about December 6, 1970) that the Weatherman group would change tactics from underground violence to "new and open 'revolutionary culture'" was received with skepticism by the FBI, which commented that "If there was a shift from violent tactics, it was short-lived." Pointing out that the United States Capitol was bombed on March 1, 1971, the Bureau said a letter dated February 28, 1971, and postmarked March 1, 1971, at Elizabeth, New Jersey, was received from the "Weather Underground" in which that organization claimed credit for the bombing. On May 3, 1971, the Bureau pointed out, the "Weather Underground" sent a letter to a San Francisco radio station "again claiming responsibility for the bombing of the Capitol".

<sup>11</sup> "That's What the Weathermen are Supposed to be . . . 'Vandals in the Mother Country,'" The New York Times Magazine, January 4, 1970, pages 15, 16, 18, 24, 27, 28.

While describing the Weatherman as "fanatical revolutionaries", Irvin L. Recer, Supervisor of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division, addressing a group at the Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., early in May, had referred to the Weatherman letter claiming responsibility for the Capitol bombing as having been "received but not authenticated."<sup>12</sup>

#### J. EDGAR HOOVER CHARACTERIZATION

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, testifying before a congressional committee in mid-March 1971, characterized the "Weatherman Organization" as "a non-membership group which is completely underground." He said, "Investigation has identified over 1,544 individuals who adhere to the extremist strategy of the Weatherman."

Mr. Hoover said Weatherman leaders "believe a revolution in this country is possible". He pointed out that in May 1970 Bernardine Dohrn had sent a statement to the press announcing that the Weatherman organization was "declaring a state of war against the United States and was calling for revolutionaries and youth to join in the revolution."<sup>13</sup>

"Urban guerrilla warfare by black extremist organizations such as the Black Panther Party, by white radical groups, such as the Weathermen, and by other organized terrorists, is a serious threat to law enforcement and the entire Nation", the late Mr. Hoover told Congress in the spring of 1972.<sup>14</sup>

"New Left terrorism has been personified by the Weatherman group", Mr. Hoover told the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, adding that "the Weatherman, addicted to violence and hostile to our society, has from its underground perch claimed credit for the bombings at colleges, business establishments, and Government installations, including the March 1971 bombing of the U.S. Capitol." As of that date (March 2, 1972), Mr. Hoover told the Committee, more than 20 Weathermen were currently FBI fugitives for violations of federal statutes or local mob-action laws.<sup>15</sup>

For a time the Weatherman organization used as a training document a handbook entitled "Firearms and Self Defense—A Handbook for Radicals, Revolutionaries and Easy Riders", produced in December 1969 by the International Liberation School in Berkeley, California with the help of the Red Mountain Tribe. More recently the weatherman Underground has based its tactics on Carlos Marighela's "Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla."

#### WEATHERMAN GROUP "COMMITTED TO DESTROYING GOVERNMENT"

L. Patrick Gray III, at the time acting Director of the FBI, told Congress in March 1973 that members of Weatherman Group are

<sup>12</sup> Not all bombings and other acts of violence attributed to the Weatherman, or even claimed by the Weatherman organization, were actually operations of the Weatherman Underground. For example, detonation of a bomb at the Army Mathematics Research Center in Madison, Wisconsin (August 1970) which resulted in the death of a student, was carried out by an underground group called the New Year's Gang, which apparently had no connection with the real Weather Underground, but which issued a communique about the Madison bombing in the name of Weatherman Underground, and signed the communique with the Weatherman inside-joke code name 'Marlon Del Gado.'

<sup>13</sup> Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, March 17, 1971, Before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, 92d Cong., 1st Sess.

<sup>14</sup> Testimony of FBI Director Hoover, March 2, 1972, House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

"committed to overthrowing and destroying our system of Government". "Since early 1970," he said "they have been in an underground status from which they have claimed responsibility for bombings and have also been involved in other criminal activities such as bank fraud and embezzlement." He said of the Weathermen that "their very existence in an underground apparatus and past advocacy and tactics of terrorism makes them a continued threat to the public safety of the citizens of this country."<sup>15</sup>

#### WEATHERMAN IDENTIFIES WITH COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Weatherman identifies itself "with the worldwide Communist movement rather than with any particular Communist state" according to the FBI. The Bureau said Weatherman spokesman had "voiced admiration for such Communist countries as Cuba and North Vietnam and for Arab and South American terrorist groups", and added, that "weatherman leaders have praised such personalities as Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, as well as the Arab terrorist, Leila Kahled."<sup>16a</sup>

#### WEATHERMAN "VANDALS"

Members of the Weatherman group saw themselves as "vandals in the mother country", who would support the North Vietnamese and other "Third World peoples" by functioning as guerrillas in the United States, according to a special dispatch from Detroit printed by the New York Times, June 6, 1973.

#### WEATHERMAN "ACTS OF EXTREME VIOLENCE"

According to the FBI Annual Report for 1973, the Weatherman Underground became the subject of investigation by the Bureau because of "its stated intention to engage in revolution and related acts of extreme violence."

Since entering underground status, Weatherman has used "sophisticated techniques of false identities and clandestine communications", 1973 FBI Annual Report said.

The Weatherman group "has stressed the use of LSD and marijuana and has announced that "dope is one of our weapons", the FBI report said, adding that "the drug-oriented youth culture has provided Weatherman with refuge both in the United States and abroad."

#### WEATHERMAN REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVES

Weatherman has "made no secret of its revolutionary objectives" according to the FBI. The Bureau said the Weatherman group is composed of "revolutionary Communists" aiming to "destroy imperialism and to establish a socialist state". The Bureau named Bill Ayers, described as a Weatherman leader, as having used the quoted phrases.<sup>16b</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Testimony of L. Patrick Gray III before House Subcommittee on Appropriations, March 29, 1973.

<sup>16a</sup> FBI Annual Report 1973a

<sup>16b</sup> FBI Annual Report 1973.

## WEATHERMAN CHRONOLOGY

**NOTE:** Many arrests are necessarily mentioned in the following pages. The subcommittee has made a diligent effort to discover the dispositions of arrests, but has been unable to do so in some cases in time for inclusion in this report.

### WEATHERMAN AND VENCEREMOS

On January 26, 1969, a letter was written to Bernardine Dohrn from Havana by two of her associates, Julie Nichamin and Brian Murphy. The letter was headed, "Notes on How People Should Be Selected for the Brigade," and goes into detail about what kind of persons would make up the soon-to-be-formed Venceremos Brigades, groups of young radical Americans who would travel to Cuba to help with cane harvesting and receive indoctrination. The letter was among the documents left in a vacated Chicago apartment by Dohrn and others in October 1969.

### CALL FOR REVOLUTION

On June 18, 1969, in the SDS publication, "New Left Notes," the Weatherman faction of SDS issued a clear call for revolution in the United States. It urged that schools and colleges be forced to close down because such institutions are a hindrance to the worldwide revolution which the Weatherman believes is occurring.

The Weatherman statement called for formation of a broad-based revolutionary youth movement which will lend active support to black militants—a movement intended to evolve into a secret Marxist-Leninist party of sufficient strength to defeat the United States Government by violent means.<sup>16</sup>

### WEATHERMEN TRAVEL TO CUBA

Several members of the Weatherman faction traveled to Cuba in July of 1969. Among them were: Peter Clapp, Dianne Donghi, Bernardine Dohrn, Theodore Gold (since deceased), Gerald W. Long, Howard Jefferson Melish, and Diane Oughton (since deceased).

### PITTSBURGH HIGH SCHOOL INVADED

On September 4, 1969, seventy-five female members of the Weatherman faction of SDS invaded a Pittsburgh high school shouting, "jailbreak, jailbreak" in the hopes of rallying support for the organizations' planned demonstrations in Chicago—October 8-11, 1969. In each classroom, teachers were shoved aside while the female Weatherman members pleaded with the students to leave school to join the "revolution"—none of the students left. Twenty-six of the women were arrested for riot, inciting to riot and disorderly conduct.

### SUPPORT OF VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

After returning from Cuba on September 17, 1969, Bernardine Dohrn held a news conference and stated that the SDS, would actively promote the Venceremos Brigade.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Congressional Record—Senate, pages 13484 and 13485, Thursday, October 30, 1969—"Senator Byrd of West Virginia Discusses 'Weatherman' Faction of SDS".

<sup>17</sup> Testimony of Ronald Brooks before S185 on "Extent of Subversion in the New Left", page 4, June 10, 1970, page 297.

### RUDD ASKS SCHOOL CLOSINGS

In a speech at City College in New York on September 25, 1969, Mark Rudd said that the revolutionary movement could best be advanced by closing schools and government bureaus "in whatever manner is necessary". There is "nothing too strong," he said, adding that it was "good to be violent against the pigs"—which he identified as bureaucrats, members of the establishment, policemen and "even the workingmen who are drafted and fighting in Vietnam."

### WEATHERMAN BLAMED FOR DISTURBANCES

In September 1969, one of the national leaders of SDS placed on the Weatherman faction the blame for disturbances of the peace in Boston, and Cambridge, Mass.

John Pennington, SDS National Secretary, stated invasions of the Harvard University's Center for International Affairs, the Girls' Latin School, and the University of Massachusetts, earlier the same month (September 1969) had been led locally by Eric Mann, and nationally by Mark Rudd, both Weathermen.<sup>18</sup>

### ARMS FOR "DAYS OF RAGE"

An arms cache was linked to the Weatherman organization in the fall of 1969.

On October 3, 1969, Dennis Sleeth, 22, of Gardena, California, and Daniel Brucher, 22, of Sonoma, California, were arrested by Chicago police and charged with unlawful use of weapons. The two, who were driving a camper with California license plates, were apprehended a short distance from an SDS protest march. It was reported they were in Chicago for the purpose of selling weapons for the protests planned by the Weatherman faction of SDS for October 8-11, 1969. A sales offer actually was made in the Weatherman headquarters at 701 Armitage Avenue, Chicago. The weapons cache included a 20-gauge shotgun and an ammunition bandolier with 25 rounds in it; a .22 caliber pistol with 58 rounds of ammunition; five Sumurai swords; and 13 knives in sheaths.<sup>19</sup>

Weatherman plans for four days of protests in Chicago called for demonstrations to start with a rally in Lincoln Park on October 8, 1969 (second anniversary of the slaying of Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara). The date also coincided with the conspiracy trial of eight radical leaders charged with fomenting disorders during the Democratic convention in August, 1968.

Fred Hampton, Chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, denounced the activities planned by the Weatherman as "anarchistic" and "Custeristic." He considered the Weatherman demonstrations to be "ill conceived and suicidal" and likened the strategy to that of General Custer in his disastrous battle with Chief Sitting Bull.<sup>20</sup>

Illinois Crime Investigating Commission believed earliest plans for October 8-11, 1969, rampage were formulated in Cleveland, Ohio, during a major peace conference July 4 weekend, 1969. In time, the

<sup>18</sup> Christian Science Monitor (New England Edition) September 30, 1969.

<sup>19</sup> Chicago Tribune, October 6, 1969.

<sup>20</sup> Sun Times (Chicago, Illinois), October 8, 1969.

Commission reported, planning for the Chicago "Days of Rage" was taken over solely by SDS.

**"DAYS OF RAGE"—CHICAGO, OCTOBER 8-11, 1969**

To give the more important details of the Weatherman "Days of Rage" in Chicago, the following is excerpted from the report of the Illinois Crime Commission, as reprinted in the SISS hearing on "Extent of Subversion in the New Left", part 4, pages 372-377:

... events which actually touched off the riots began the evening of October 8, 1969. Approximately 60 young men and women began to chant, sing, and dance around a bonfire in Chicago's Lincoln Park. Sprawling on the grass near the bonfire were 500 young spectators, eager for a confrontation . . . A Vietcong flag waved . . . Soon, the chanting became frenzied . . . (calling) for those assembled to "build a people's army, fight a people's war!" Many participants wore helmets and other protective gear.

This bonfire rally was the beginning of a desperate attempt to reignite the violence that marked the Democratic National Convention of 1968—

The radicals who made up most of those present represented a fanatic sect of the faction-ridden Students for a Democratic Society—

The Weathermen and their allies listened to obscenity-laced speeches until their own "riot squad" . . . arrived . . . with clubs, chains, metal pipes, and even spray cans of oven cleaner for use as home-made mace. . . . (they) wore heavy denims and old football helmets, army steel helmets or motorcycle crash helmets. Some ripped timbers from park benches for fire wood and for weapons. At 10:25 p.m., a white-helmeted youth grabbed the bull horn from the last speechmaker and announced that "pig Hoffman (Judge Julius Hoffman who conducted the Chicago Conspiracy Trial) lives in the Drake Hotel, just two miles from here. Let's go get him!" Suddenly many of the helmeted Weathermen sprinted off yelling, "Ho Ho, Ho Chi Minh!" and several hundred others followed along chanting, "The only direction is insurrection, the only solution is revolution!" It was apparent what their goals would be. Soon the youths were running wild in the streets of the fashionable Near North Side and Gold Coast sections of Chicago.

As they ran, they would swing clubs, shattering windshields of parked cars . . . heave bricks through the windows of stores and homes . . . Chicago police stepped in . . . officers dispatched to the riot scene used their night sticks to disperse the mob . . . police arrested 60 leaders of the rampage . . . 23 persons were injured (including 8 policemen).

... first glass breaking occurred . . . (at) . . . the Chicago Historical Society when a rock crashed through a high French window. The mob pressed southward. . . .

The Weathermen were now spearheading a senseless rampage through the streets of Chicago. They stopped cars and beat the bewildered passengers, smashed windows and glass doors, and urinated on everything in sight. Some charged head-on into squads of policemen. Officers retaliated with nightsticks, tear gas and, in a few instances, guns.

At one point, police fired pistols over the heads of the charging hoards (sic). One youth was shot in the neck by a patrolman who was being clubbed on the ground, and a young couple suffering from buckshot wounds was found later in a small near North Side garage.

The police allowed the mob to press on, keeping track of the Weathermen by patrol car radio until they approached Lake Shore Drive. The mob rushed the police . . . the rioters were repelled with batons.

(After) the rioting (about 250) radicals held a closed meeting in the Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston. . . . One of the main speakers called for the dynamiting of various parts of Chicago . . . (as) the most "effective way" of carrying out "demonstrations." . . . other speakers . . . suggested a middle ground for future demonstrations.

Many speakers claimed success because of the number of policemen injured and . . . the high degree of property damage which they caused.

Juxtaposed to the rampage of the Weatherman faction was a competing peaceful series of demonstrations led by another SDS faction, Revolutionary Youth Movement II.

Later that evening, police obtained warrants and, in a predawn raid on the Covenant United Methodist Church of neighboring Evanston, picked up 43 of



the 237 SDS members staying there. The raid resulted in the confiscation of iron pipes, chains, and cans of chemical spray. A second raid, on the Emmanuel Methodist Church, also in Evanston, resulted in the arrests of 41 SDS members.

. . . the radicals tried again the following day. Governor Richard Ogilvie responded by mobilizing 2,500 National Guardsmen . . . The Mayor requested the aid of the National Guard. Their troops were then placed on alert in city armories. . . .

The violence began to subside. In response, the Weatherman brought a contingent of about 100 girls helmeted and padded like a women's hockey team. The group called itself the Women's Liberation Army. The WLA set off towards the United States armed-forces induction center . . . Police blocked the way . . . The girls responded by kicking, spitting, and biting . . . 12 of their leaders had been arrested. The thirteenth arrested proved to be a man wearing a wig. . . .

Bernardine Dohrn led the helmeted young women in their attempt to take over the army induction center. Two of the women carried Vietcong flags and most carried three-foot-long clubs . . .

In the scuffle, five policemen and Stephen Zucker, an Assistant Corporation Counsel were injured. Zucker and a policeman were bitten and another policeman was overcome by a chemical disabling spray.

After the arrests the remaining members of the contingent surrendered their clubs. Most escaped by the subway. The 12 were charged with aggravated battery, refusing to obey a policeman and disorderly conduct.

In addition to Bernardine Dohrn, those arrested included Cathlyn Wilkerson, Charlotte Massey, Judith A. Clark, Kathy B. Boudin, Phoebe E. Hirsch, Celest McCullough, and Dee Peterson, all of Chicago. Other women arrested who gave out of town addresses were: Susan E. Stern of New York City; Shelley Hackman of New York City; Judith Cohen, Milwaukee, and Linda S. Evans, Detroit.

Another 14 persons were arrested as they left a protest rally in the Federal building plaza after an undercover policeman identified them as ring leaders or participants in the rioting on the Near North Side Wednesday night. Thirteen were from out of state.

. . . more insurgents continued to arrive in the city throughout the day. They reported to "movement centers" at the Garrett Biblical Seminary and the Universal Disciple Church for instructions and information.

A downpour washed out another attempt to hold a rally in Lincoln Park, scattering demonstrators and inspiring the *Chicago Sun Times* to report: "The revolution was cancelled on account of rain." . . .

#### THE LOOP RIOT

The lull did not last long. Participating in a weekend march through the Loop, some 300 Weathermen suddenly split into small groups. Many displayed Communist flags and shouted Marxist slogans; as they marched they smashed shop windows and attacked police and bystanders. As before, the marchers were armed with clubs, chains and other weapons. A St. Louis youth was arrested . . . carrying a hatchet. Another demonstrator had a bayonet . . .

Officers arrested five more of the leaders, including Mark Rudd himself. More than 100 additional arrests were made. For a few hours 300 National Guardsmen with live ammunition were sent into the streets. Bloody street fighting erupted. Assistant Corporation Counsel Richard Elrod was paralyzed from the neck down after he was allegedly kicked in the head by demonstrator Brian Flanagan. Twenty-three policemen were injured.

#### MAJORITY OF ARRESTEES NON-STUDENTS

Of the 283 individuals arrested during the four "Days of Rage" demonstrations by the Weatherman faction of SDS in Chicago, 68 percent were not students.

Arrests on October 11 involved individuals from 19 different areas, as follows:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Chicago Today, October 13, 1969.

Chicago—16  
 Suburbs of Chicago—3  
 New York—25  
 Ohio—13  
 Michigan—11  
 Wisconsin—7  
 Pennsylvania—5  
 Massachusetts—4  
 Colorado—3  
 Washington—3

California—2  
 New Jersey—2  
 Maryland—2  
 Washington, D.C.—2  
 Iowa—1  
 Missouri—1  
 North Carolina—1  
 Nebraska—1  
 Canada—1

In October 1969, federal authorities and local police agencies were conducting secret investigations into all aspects of financing of Weatherman violence in Chicago, earlier that month.

Investigators described Howard Melish, of Brooklyn, New York, as "accountant" for the SDS. (His father, William Howard Melish, of New York City, had been identified as a member of the Communist Party in testimony by Louis Budenz before the Subversive Activities Control Board.)

SDS financial records obtained by investigators showed various contributions to the SDS. Melish's account in a Brooklyn bank reached a high of almost \$14,000 in September 1968, then dropped to \$3,800. Donations came from throughout the country and Canada, in amounts ranging from \$5 to \$1,000. One check for \$1,000 was drawn on a Colorado bank.<sup>21</sup>

#### MEETING BROKEN UP

"On October 23, 1969, the Ogle County Sheriff's Office and the Illinois State Police broke up what was apparently a high-level policy meeting of SDS held in the White Pines State Park in Oregon, Ill.," according to Illinois Crime Investigating Commission report. Occupants of four rented cabins were John G. Jacobs, Bernardine Rae Dohrn, Mark W. Rudd, Linda Sue Evans, and Jeffrey Carl Jones—all of whom had been arrested during the Chicago riots, October 8-11, 1969. Other occupants were Terry Robbins, 22, 9604 57th Ave., New York City; James Gerald Mallen, 34, Chelsea, Michigan; William Charles Ayres, 25; and Robert B. Mackowsky, 20, 1 Horizion Road, Fort Lee, New Jersey. Robbins, Ayres, Rudd, and Evans were delegates to the Cleveland Peace Conference, July 4 weekend, 1969.<sup>22</sup>

#### THREE WEATHERMEN INDICTED

William F. Willett, 23, Jeffrey C. Jones, 22, both of 1608 West Madison Street (site of national SDS office headquarters), Chicago, Ill., and Frank Malysiak, 21, of 4337 Madison Street, Brookfield, Ill., were indicted by the Cook County grand jury on November 5, 1969 for allegedly trying to disrupt a Students for a Democratic Society

<sup>21</sup> Chicago Tribune, October 17, 1969.

<sup>22</sup> From Illinois Crime Investigating Commission report, reprinted in Part 4 of "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," p. 377.

rally held at the University of Illinois Circle Campus by SDS members not affiliated with the Weatherman.

#### WEATHERMEN ORGANIZE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

"In October and November 1969, Radio Havana broadcast the names and addresses of individuals residing in the United States to whom applicants could write for information regarding the trip to Cuba. Among these were Arlene Bergman and Gerald Long . . . also . . . Michael Klonsky and Miss Diana Oughton, who met her death in the New York townhouse explosion along with at least two other anarchists."<sup>24</sup>

#### MORE WEATHERMEN TO CUBA

Several members of the Weatherman faction traveled to Cuba as members of the Venceremos Brigade in November 1969 and returned in February 1970. Among them were: Neil (or Neal) Birnbaum, Linda Sue Evans, Gerald W. Long, Julie Nichamin.

#### WORLD COMMUNISM WEATHERMAN GOAL

David Gilbert, a member of the Weatherman group and a member of the National Committee of the SDS, debated Phillip Abbott Luce, 31, National College Director of the Young Americans for Freedom, at the University of Denver on November 11, 1969. Gilbert stated in part: "'Third World' revolution is the only way to reach a justice for all human beings—the goal of the Weatherman is world communism." "To talk about laws is nice for people who live in a world of words," he said, but has no relevance to "people in the street." The world has arrived at the point, he said, where "debate is useless" and "what's happening is the people's war."

#### MARCH ON SOUTH VIETNAMESE EMBASSY

During the fall 1969 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., members of the Weatherman faction of SDS and the Crazies and Mad Dogs were in a confrontation with police on November 14, 1969, at Massachusetts Avenue and Sheridan Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C., a few hundred feet from the Embassy of South Vietnam. Rocks, bottles, red paint and pieces of lead pipe were thrown by the young militants, many of them carrying Vietcong and other Communist flags.

#### SNIPER ATTACK ON POLICE STATION

On November 18, 1969, 23 members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS were arrested on a charge of conspiring to murder police in a sniper attack on the police station in Cambridge, Mass., during an incident on November 8, 1969, in which two shots were fired through a window.

James K. Kilpatrick, 22, and James H. Reaves, 22, who both said they were Northeastern University students, were charged with assault to murder and conspiracy to murder; bail was set at \$10,000

<sup>24</sup> Testimony of Ronald Brooks before SISS on "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4, June 10 1970, p. 298.

each. The other 21 were charged with conspiracy to murder and bail was set at \$1,000 each.

#### BONDS POSTED IN CAMBRIDGE

Leaders of the Weatherman faction of SDS came up with \$13,000 in November, 1969, to free on bond 23 members charged with attempted murder and conspiracy to murder growing out of the guerrilla attack on a police station in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Federal investigators reported the Weatherman had produced approximately \$100,000 in recent weeks for bail bonds and lawyers' fees.<sup>25</sup>

#### CHARGES DROPPED IN CAMBRIDGE

On November 29, 1969, Judge M. Edward Viola, of the East Cambridge District Court, Cambridge, Massachusetts, dismissed a charge of conspiracy to commit murder against Eric Mann, leader of the Weatherman group in Cambridge, in connection with an alleged shooting attack on the Cambridge police headquarters. Judge Viola also ordered all charges discontinued against 20 other Weatherman, stating: "They have gained their freedom by the same system which they wish to destroy."<sup>26</sup>

The dismissal of charges came after James W. Paradise, 16, of Watertown, Mass., the prosecution's only witness, said in court that the police forced him to testify.<sup>26</sup>

#### WEATHERMAN JAILED

James H. Reeves, 23, of Putnam Avenue, Cambridge, Mass., and Henry A. Olson, 28, of Prince Street, Cambridge, Mass., both members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS, were sentenced to jail on Dec. 16, 1969, for their part in a fracas outside the Cambridge, Mass., Police Headquarters on Nov. 19, 1969 when Eric Mann, leader of the Weatherman, was arrested on charges stemming from the firing of two shots into headquarters a few weeks earlier. Mann was later cleared of the charges.

#### WEATHERMAN MEMBERS ATTEND BLACK PANTHER PARTY RALLY

Weatherman members attended a rally at City Hall Plaza in Boston on December 6, at which an alliance was announced between the Black Panther Party and the Weatherman. Speakers urged all revolutionary groups, both black and white, must join together to "intensify the struggle against oppression" in the United States.

James Reeves, a Weatherman, stated the Black Panther Party and the Weatherman are part of the "revolutionary army" and he urged the listeners and others to support them.

#### WEATHERMAN VANDALISM

Four members of the Weatherman were forced by college officials to leave the premises of Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland

<sup>25</sup> Human Events, November 29, 1969, page 2.

<sup>26</sup> The New York Times, November 30, 1969.

on December 12, 1969 after passing out leaflets condemning the administration of the college for not permitting the use of the school's facilities during the Winter vacation for a national SDS convention. The individuals, who were not recognized as students of the college, during the disturbance broke a window, knocked down a flag and pushed materials off several desks.

#### SCHOOLS TARGET OF WEATHERMAN

On Dec. 15, 1969 the House Internal Security Committee reported the nation's high schools had been selected by the Weatherman faction for increased recruiting and disruptions. Weatherman was described as "most intent" on winning high school students, especially from blue collar working families, to the revolutionary cause.

#### POLICE INJURED, WEATHERMAN SHOT

Three policemen were injured and one Weatherman shot during a 10-minute rampage as 21 store windows were broken and hundreds of shoppers were terrorized in Cleveland, Ohio, on December 20, 1969.

#### SEVEN WEATHERMEN CHARGED IN RAMPAGE

Seven members of the Weatherman faction of SDS had their bond set at \$25,000 each in Cleveland Heights (O.) Municipal Court on December 28, 1969 and were ordered to appear in court on Jan. 6, 1970 to face charges including assault to kill and malicious destruction of property, following a window-smashing incident in the Cleveland suburbs on December 20, 1969.

#### NATIONAL WAR COUNCIL

A "national war council" of Weatherman convened in Flint, Mich., on December 27 and ran through December 31, 1969.

Stated purpose of the "War Council" was to discuss "revenge for the murders of Chairman Fred Hampton and Mark Clark (Illinois Black Panther Party leaders killed in a predawn police raid on December 4, 1969) and of the Vietnamese people," the Chicago Sun-Times said. The Weathermen, the Sun-Times added, "also plan to look into changing things from the troubled Sixties to the violent Seventies."

About the same time the Detroit Free Press reported the three major points around which the Weatherman's "national war council" in Flint, Michigan, centered were:

(1) Serious discussion about killing policemen, with the young revolutionaries trying to decide on the best mental attitude to adopt as they move closer to physical violence;

(2) Abolishing monogamy—a single mate for each person—in favor of living in "collectives" where each person would try to love the others equally; and

(3) Wiping out male supremacy in the hope of building a society in which both sexes would be equal in everything, including plotting strategy and fighting."

The Free Press said the Weatherman group "makes no secret of the fact that it wants to build a Communist society in America."

## WAR COUNCIL DETAILS

At the Flint "war council" of the Weatherman faction of SDS, general sessions were held in a hired ballroom, and secret meetings of more select groups were held at the Parish House of the Sacred Heart Church. At one such meeting in particular, held on December 30, 1969, plans were laid for terrorist bombings in New York, Pittsburgh and other large cities, according to Flint's Chief of Police, James W. Rutherford.

Rutherford listed among those he said attended the secret council at the Parish House on December 30, Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, Linda Evans, Eric Mann, Howard Machtinger, Dianna Oughton, and Mark Rudd. Chief Rutherford sent a telegram to then U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell in which he stated, "Unquestionably, many federal laws were violated at the Weatherman convention, including 'conspiracy to bomb, commit anarchy and transport explosives across state lines to further such conspiracies.'"

Testifying before the Internal Security Subcommittee on July 1, 1970, Chief Rutherford's police estimated between 500 and 600 persons attended the "war council" meetings at one time or another during the five-day meeting.

Rutherford said Flint police had information furnished by a "defector" from the Weatherman group, that 200 sticks of dynamite were procured by the Weatherman leaders after purchase by a person in priest's clothing, on the pretext that the dynamite would be used to blow up stumps in a seminary in Brighton, Michigan. Chief Rutherford said it was reported to police that the "Weathermen took the dynamite back to the Sacred Heart Parish and distributed it to cars which would be going to such states as New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, or Washington, and Colorado."

This report "tended to be reinforced", Chief Rutherford testified, when the Flint Police Department was notified that Diana Oughton had been identified "as one of the three persons killed in the blast that leveled" the home of Cathlyn Wilkerson's parents in Greenwich Village, New York City.

Listed by Flint police as among those who attended the national "war council" meetings were: William Ayres (national key member of SDS); Bernardine Dohrn (international organizing secretary of SDS); Linda Evans; John Fuerst; Theodore Gold (also killed in the Greenwich Village blast at the Wilkerson home); Thomas Hayden (one of the Chicago Seven, and an original SDS organizer); Jeff Jones (National Interim Committee); Karen Latimer (described as "a nationally known SDS member"); Bradford Long; Howard Machtinger; Eric Mann (SDS National Interim Committee); James Mollen (described as an Ann Arbor staff member of SDS); Diana Oughton; and Mark Rudd (alternate member of the SDS National Interim Committee.)

Chief Rutherford testified that the Flint police department refrained from issuing comments or statements at the time regarding the SDS in general or the war council meetings in particular but that it "became apparent to us, after the explosion in New York, as well as other information that came to our attention, that there indeed was a true war council meeting that took place."

Flint police impliedly identified the SDS "defector" and informant about the secret "war council" meetings as Eric Mann. Chief Rutherford testified that:

John Peterson of the Detroit News received a phone call from an anonymous person who identified himself as Eric, and the following is the recollection of the telephone conversation by Mr. Peterson, not knowing of the ramifications at the time.

The caller identified himself as Eric. He said he had talked to John Peterson, during the Weatherman convention in Flint, outside of the giant ballroom and had been given Mr. Peterson's card. He said that he was a former Weatherman who had dropped out after reading about the New York bombings because "I didn't want to get implicated". He said, "I have some information. Do you want it?"

Mr. Peterson replied, "Yes; let me get a pencil." He then said the Weatherman had held a meeting at the Sacred Heart Parish because the day before the convention broke up, he said he sat in at a large portion of that meeting and that they planned to bomb Government, campus and corporation facilities around the country. He said that Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, Linda Evans and about six others were present.

It is not sure as to whether or not the caller identified Diana Oughton or Theodore Gold as being present there. The caller said later he was in a parking lot later that night when someone dressed as a priest was driven to the lot by the girl identified as Nancy. At that time, he thought the man was a parish priest. But now he believes it may have been a Weatherman in a priest's outfit.

He said the man said he had just purchased some dynamite from the contractor just out of town. The priest said he bought 200 sticks. The others assisted the person who was dressed in the priest's garb in handling and loading the dynamite from his car; that is, the person who was dressed as a priest, who was driven by Nancy to other cars in the lot.

Four of the cars in the lot that were given dynamite were from New York. They had New York plates. And that one of these cars was driven by Theodore Gold.

He said other cars that received some of the dynamite were from the state of Washington, Colorado, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

As to the identity of this person, we have no further information.

Police Chief Rutherford of Flint told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that 18 of the persons indicted or listed as co-conspirators by grand juries in Chicago following the "Days of Rage" riots in October 1969, were in attendance at the Weatherman "war council" in Flint, Michigan, during December 1969. He gave the names as Edward Benedict, John Buttney, David Chase, Peter Clapp, Diane Donghi, Lynn Garvin, Theodore Gold, Ann Hathaway, Sam Karp, Karen Latimer, Jonathan Lerner, Jeff Melish, James Mellen, David Millstone, Diana Oughton, John Pilkington, Susan Stern and Cathy Wilkerson.

Chief Rutherford said arrangements for renting the giant ballroom for the "war council" convention were made by "one Scott Braley, who was an activist in the SDS from Detroit."

#### **"ARMED STRUGGLE" EXPLAINED**

One piece of literature handed out at the Weatherman "War Council" at Flint explained the Weatherman idea of "armed struggle":

"The notion of public violence is increasingly key. That is, planning, organizing, and carrying off public and visible violent action against the state. . . .

". . . Armed struggle starts when somebody starts it. International revolutionary war is reality, and to debate about the 'correct time and conditions' to begin the fight, or about a phase of work necessary to prepare people for the revolution, is reactionary. Making War on the state creates both the consciousness and the conditions for the ex-

pansion of the struggle, making public revolutionary politics, proving that it is possible to move and that there is an organization with a strategy."

#### WEATHERMEN PROMISE VIOLENCE

Two Weatherman leaders of the "war council" in Flint, Mich., December 27-31, 1969, warned of coming violence. Mark Rudd promised: "You can look for pitched battles between militant groups and the pigs on a scale that will make anything in the 1960's look like a Sunday school picnic."

Bernardine Dohrn, who delivered the keynote speech, called for "revolution in the 1970's." She urged her faction to "unite with other white radical groups to overthrow the racist America power structure."

#### WAR COUNCIL AFTERMATH

After the Flint convention, the Weatherman faction closed its national office in Chicago and went completely underground. It was reported that their base of operations then shifted to Berkeley, Calif., where an intensive recruiting campaign was conducted. Total strength of the organization was estimated at slightly more than 400, centered in Berkeley, Cleveland, Detroit, and New York City.<sup>27</sup>

#### BISSELL SOUGHT FOR BOMBING

Silas Trim Bissell, a poet and former instructor at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, was arrested with his wife (Judith Emily) on January 18, 1970, on the University of Washington campus, and charged with planting a dynamite bomb under the steps of the Air Force ROTC Building. They posted \$25,000 bond each on February 10, and then left Seattle and disappeared. Both are identified by police as participants in the Weatherman's secret war council in Flint, Michigan, in December 1969.

#### ILLEGAL WEAPONS PURCHASE

A man identified as a member of the Weathermen, Russell T. Neufeld, was arrested in Montpelier, Vermont, on a charge of illegally buying a military-type carbine on Feb. 6, 1970.

The complaint, issued at the request of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service, said that Neufeld had bought the weapon after signing a statement that he was not under indictment. The complaint stated that Neufeld was under a five-count indictment from Cook County, Ill., charging him with assault, mob action and aiding and abetting the escape of a prisoner.

Neufeld was reported being held in lieu of \$5,500 bail.

#### REPORTED PLOT AT PLANT

Police Chief James W. Rutherford, of Flint, Michigan, asked the Justice Department on March 14, 1970 to investigate reports that a nationwide terrorist bombing plot was planned at the meeting held by the Weatherman in Flint on December 27-31, 1969.

Rutherford stated: "While it cannot be verified, we are convinced that this is the meeting where plans were drawn to bomb various locations throughout the nation. . . Information was received and

<sup>27</sup> Chicago Tribune, March 10, 1970.



has been substantiated that there were plans to begin a massive series of bombings at governmental and business installations throughout the nation."

To Attorney General John Mitchell, Rutherford wrote: "there were unquestionably many federal laws violated, including conspiracy to bomb, commit anarchy and the transporting of explosives across state lines to further such conspiracies."<sup>28</sup>

#### STOLEN CREDENTIALS USED IN ARMS PURCHASES

In early February, 1970, the FBI was reported hunting for 4 suspected Weathermen, all in their twenties, who had purchased weapons and ammunition at a number of gun stores in the Philadelphia area, using stolen identification. The weapons involved included four rifles, two shotguns, three telescopic sights, and 925 rounds of ammunition. The purchasers used identification stolen from Warren Hazen and Miss Avery Taylor, students at Swarthmore College. Investigators noted that at the time of the Swarthmore theft, credentials and credit cards were also stolen from several girls at Bryn Mawr College, the University of Pennsylvania, and Harcum Junior College. Law enforcement officials were quoted as believing that the Philadelphia purchases were linked to the Greenwich Village "bomb factory" explosion.<sup>29</sup>

#### THOMAS MICHAEL JUSTESEN

Justesen was indicted on April 16, 1970, by a Federal Grand Jury in Seattle, Wash., in connection with violent demonstrations which occurred there on February 17, 1970, reportedly to protest the pending "Chicago 7" trial. The demonstrators allegedly smashed windows of the U.S. Court House and reportedly damaged no less than 30 business establishments in the area. A Federal warrant for Justesen's arrest was issued on April 16, 1970, at Seattle.

In August 1971, commenting on the indictment, the FBI law enforcement bulletin said Justesen "allegedly wears a long hunting knife strapped to his leg" and "is reportedly a member of the militant and violence-oriented Weatherman Group," and said "he should be considered dangerous."

#### FOUR CHARGED IN SEATTLE DEMONSTRATION

Four persons, including three reported members of the Weathermen, were arrested in Seattle on May 16 on charges stemming from a demonstration which took place there on Feb. 17, 1970. Attorney General John Mitchell authorized the arrest.

The next day, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said indictments had just been returned by a federal grand jury charging the four with destruction of government property, violation of anti-riot laws, and conspiracy to destroy government property. Hoover identified those arrested as Michael Victor Abeles, 19, of Seattle; Joseph Hugh Kelly, 25, of Seattle; Jeffrey Alan Dowd, 20, of Ithaca, New York, and Seattle, and Susan Ellen Stern 27, recently of Seattle.

<sup>28</sup> Free Press (Detroit, Michigan), "Probe Urged of Students' 'War Council'," March 19, 1970.

<sup>29</sup> Philadelphia Bulletin, April 12, 1970.

At the Radical Lawyers Convention, Feb. 21, 1970, "a braless young Weatherman woman wearing a low-cut knit blouse exhorted her sisters to become 'a living waking example of the total struggle' against imperialism, 'to become Communists, if you will.'" <sup>30</sup>

### THREE KILLED IN GREENWICH VILLAGE BLAST

Weatherman bunglers making bombs with dynamite caused an explosion that wrecked the Wilkerson townhouse in Greenwich Village, New York City, and took three lives.

Immediately identified was the body of Theodore Gold, 23, one-time leader of Columbia University militants, and a member of the Weatherman faction. A female body, badly mutilated, later was identified as that of Diane Oughton. Third death was that of Terry Robbins (who was named as a victim in a Weatherman letter before his identity was otherwise ascertained.) Absolute confirmation of the identification never was possible because the body was too badly mutilated.

Police subsequently reported finding large quantities of explosives and fragmentation bombs in the wreckage.

When the Wilkerson townhouse at 18 West 11th Street in New York City, blew up on the morning of March 6, 1970, five persons are known to have escaped from the building. Three of the five remain unidentified today. These three got out through the back garden.

Two others, both Weatherman leaders, escaped through a front window: Cathlyn Wilkerson (daughter of the house's owner) and Kathy Boudin, daughter of Leonard Boudin, prominent radical lawyer. Escaping, Cathlyn Wilkerson wore only blue jeans, Kathy Boudin was naked. Two women helped them—Ann Hoffman, wife of actor Dustin Hoffman, whose apartment was in a building next door to the Wilkerson house; and Susan Wager, former wife of actor Henry Fonda, who lived in the same block. Wilkerson and Boudin were taken to the Fonda home. They left within a few minutes in borrowed clothes, saying no goodbyes, and have not since been identified as having been seen in public.

### CHICAGO BOMB PLOT

On the Monday night before April 1, 1970, Chicago police, acting on the basis of information provided by exterminators, raided an apartment on Kenmore Ave. and found 59 sticks of dynamite, blasting caps, bottles of liquid explosive, guns and ammunition. The name of Nicholas Freudenberg was written on the inside cover of a book found in the apartment. Freudenberg, of New York City, was being sought by New York police at the time for questioning in connection with the March 6 explosion in a Greenwich Village townhouse which killed 3 persons. Freudenberg disappeared after the March 6 explosion.

Police Chief James Rutherford of Flint, Mich., reported that Freudenberg was among the 400 members of the Weatherman faction who participated in the secret war council December 27-30, 1969.

Freudenberg was also identified as one of 4 SDS activists who led the rioting at Columbia University in April 1968 which resulted in the arrest of 700 people and the injury of 100.

<sup>30</sup>Washington Star, February 22, 1970.

Police said that the explosives in the apartment, if detonated, could have destroyed the 50-unit building and much of the residential plot.

Also found in the apartment were bottles containing hydrochloric and sulphuric acid used in making nitroglycerine and a number of weapons including two 12 gauge shotguns, a .30 caliber rifle and a .22 caliber rifle. Also seized in the apartment were a number of volumes containing instructions on how to make bombs, conduct guerrilla warfare, and conduct other violent or violence-related activities.

#### WEATHERMAN COMMUNE

In April, 1970, Boston papers carried accounts of the experience of a Boston landlady, Mary Ann Aghaian, who rented a six room apartment to "a nice young lady" and then discovered that it had been occupied by as many as 23 members of the Weatherman organization. It took more than 3 months, plus the assistance of a lawyer and a constable to evict the Weathermen. They left the apartment a shambles, cheated Miss Aghaian out of \$200 in rent, and left so much debris that she had to pay a junk dealer \$100 to remove it.

Cans of spray paint had been used to write slogans on the walls, such as: "Take Stock in Amerika, Join the Viet Cong" "Smash U.S. Imperialism" "Pick Up Guns Now" "Make War Not Love" "Off the Pigs Now".

Describing the scene when she visited the apartment before the eviction, Miss Aghaian said, "I couldn't even walk around the apartment, there was so much stuff on the floor. I nearly gagged. I smelled body odor. There were 3 or 4 mattresses on the floor, literally brown from dirt. They had broken windows and then stuffed clothing in the holes." In one room, she said, 8 young men and women sat on the floor. "They never took a bath. There was 2 inches of dirt in the tub."

The fact that her apartment was being occupied by a large number of student militants was brought to Miss Aghaian's attention in November of 1969 when a police officer called at her home. He told her that the apartment was one of 3 dwellings raided by police on November 17 in connection with the firing of gunshots at Cambridge police headquarters the week before. A Japanese rifle, four rounds of ammunition and a box of bullets were found at the address. Some of the 23 members of the Weatherman collective, charged with assault and conspiracy to commit murder in connection with the police station incident and subsequently freed, were identified as having used the apartment.<sup>31</sup>

#### 12 CHARGED BY GRAND JURY

A fifteen-count indictment charging 12 members of the Weatherman faction with conspiracy and interstate travel to incite riots in Chicago, October 8-11, 1969, was handed down by a Chicago grand jury on April 3, 1970. Named in the indictment were Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, William Ayers, Jeffrey Jones, Kathy Boudin, Terry Robbins, Michael Spiegel, Linda Evans, Howard Machtinger, Judy Clark, John Jacobs, and Lawrence Weiss.†

Judge Julius J. Hoffman was designated as the trial judge under this indictment.

<sup>31</sup> Boston Morning Globe, April 3, 1970.

†See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV, p. 131.

## POSSESSION OF DANGEROUS WEAPONS

Robert Stern, 26, of San Francisco, described by police as a member of the Weathermen, surrendered himself on May 2, 1970, on a warrant charging him with possession of a dangerous weapon.

Stern had been arrested with four other identified Weathermen on April 15, 1970, during anti-ROTC demonstrations at the University of California, Berkeley. The other four, who also face weapons charges, were David Littman, Roger Lippman, David Elbaz, and Jeffrey Blum of Baltimore, Md.

The original charge against the five Weathermen at the time of their arrest was criminal conspiracy at Berkeley, but the district attorney's office decided not to press charges.

## OCTOBER RIOTS PLANNED IN CUBA?

Ron Koziol wrote a story for the Chicago Tribune on April 27, 1970, in which he said that "leaders of the radical Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society may have planned last October's rioting during a meeting in Cuba with Asian and Latin American communists." Koziol said "intelligence agents have reported that among the top Weatherman attending the meeting" (in Cuba) July 9-15, 1969, were Bernardine Dohrn, Ted Gold, Kathy Boudin, Diane Donghi, Howard (Jeff) Melish, Peter Clapp, Jerry Long, and Christopher (Kit) Bakke.

Koziol wrote that among the Vietnamese taking part in the meeting were Nguyen Van Trong of the Communist Committee for Solidarity with American People; Le Dahn of the North Vietnam Working Youth Unions; Ngo Ony Du of the North Vietnam National Union of Students and Van Ba, head of the Vietcong Delegation. (Though Mr. Koziol's story did not mention any Latin American Communists by name, it was illustrated by a group picture taken in Cuba, with a caption identifying four persons in the photograph as "Peter Clapp, a Vietnamese delegate, Bernardine Dohrn, and Luis Cuza." Cuza is the founder and leader of the Young Lords Organization in Chicago.

Koziol wrote that a diary believed to have been kept by Miss Dohrn quoted Van Ba, the Vietcong representative, as having advised the Weathermen: "When you go into a city, look for the person who fights hardest against the cops. That's the one you talk all night with. Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights."

RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT AND REVOLUTIONARY PRINTING  
COOPERATIVE COMMITTEE

The Radical Education Project and the Revolutionary Printing Cooperative Committee were reported in May 1970, to be active and operating from a headquarters in the Detroit suburbs. The Weathermen retained control of the REP when they broke from SDS in 1969. The RPCC was an offshoot of the REP.

The address given for the REP was 3908 Michigan Avenue; that given for the RPCC was 3914 Michigan Avenue.

Leaflets printed by the RPCC were reported by late Spring, 1970, to be showing up with increasing frequency at colleges and high school campuses across the nation. Typical was one handed out in May 1970. On the front were pictures of two white youths, a long-

haired girl and a bushy-haired boy, both carrying automatic weapons. "Join the Americong," the leaflet proclaimed, "Be an outlaw. The time is right for fighting in the streets . . . it's an international communist conspiracy!" The leaflet was signed "Weathermen," and bore the printing bug of the Revolutionary Printing Cooperative Detroit. In addition to Weatherman propaganda, the RPCC and the REP combined to print a full range of radical essays on a variety of themes including women's liberation in Castro Cuba.

Radical Education Project was founded in 1963 by Alan Haber, son of William Haber, Assistant to the Executive Officers of the University of Michigan and Chairman of the State Democratic Party Political Reform Commission; William Ayers; Diana Oughton; and Stuart Doughty. Miss Oughton was one of 3 Weatherman members killed on March 6, 1970, when a dynamite blast shattered a Greenwich Village house that police said was being used as a bomb factory. Ayers reportedly went underground after being named in the April 2 Chicago indictment as one of the 12 Weatherman leaders who conspired to incite the Chicago riots in October 1969. Doughty and his wife Janet were at the time the article appeared listed as President and Vice President of the REP according to incorporation papers filed with the Michigan Dept. of the Treasury.

Other officers listed in the latest incorporation papers were: Mary Ravitz of Detroit, secretary; David Pratt of Fortage Lake Village, treasurer; James Jacobs of Detroit; Evelyn and Michael Goldfield of Chicago; the Doughtys; and Haber; all of whom were listed as directors. The Goldfields and Haber were identified in Senate testimony as known Weatherman members. Miss Ravitz is the daughter of Mel Ravitz, president of the Detroit City Council. Jacobs, a sociology instructor at Macon County Community College, said that he had quit the REP about a year previously.

The article notes that four other known Weathermen members have also been identified as REP and RPCC workers. The four were James Gerald Mellen; Hanna Ziegellaub; Judy Gamble; and John Supak.<sup>32</sup>

#### FBI SEARCHES FOR LEADERS

In May 1970 the FBI announced that "one of the most intensive manhunts in FBI history" was underway for nine Weatherman leaders.<sup>33</sup> The nine named were: Kathie Boudin; Bernardine Rae Dohrn; Lawrence Weiss; William Ayers; Howard Machtinger; Mark Rudd; Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson; Michael Speigel; and John Jacobs.

One FBI official, outlining the difficulties of tracking down the fugitives, said that "there are literally hundreds of hippie communes throughout the country where they could remain hidden for months."

#### WEATHERMAN LEAFLET

A May 24, 1970 Detroit News article introduced into a hearing record by Witness Allen Crouter, Detroit police detective sergeant, reported: ". . . committee leaflets have been showing up with increasing frequency at college and high school campuses across the nation. Typical was the one handed out at Kent State University during student disorders

<sup>32</sup> Source: Detroit News, May 24, 1970.

<sup>33</sup> More than four years later the FBI still was hunting.

earlier this month. On the front were pictures of two white youths, a long-haired girl and a bushy-haired boy, both carrying automatic weapons. 'Join the Americong,' the leaflet proclaimed. 'Be an outlaw. The time is right for fighting in the streets . . . it's an international Communist conspiracy!' The leaflet was signed 'Weatherman' and bore the printing bug of the Revolutionary Printing Cooperative, Detroit."<sup>4</sup>

#### NATIONWIDE BOMB PLOT

Late in May 1970, investigations conducted by federal authorities and local police agencies were reported to have uncovered evidence of a nationwide bomb plot clearly linked to the Weathermen. The investigations focused on Chicago, Detroit and San Francisco Bay Area and Colorado.

The story was a "scoop" for Ron Koziol, Chicago Tribune reporter. Koziol's story, from the Chicago Tribune, of May 27, 1970, appears below.

#### POLICE LINK NATIONAL BOMB PLOT TO WEATHERMAN REVOLUTIONARIES

(By Ronald Koziol)

A nation-wide bomb plot, which for the first time is clearly linked to the Weatherman band of revolutionaries, has been uncovered by federal authorities and police agencies thruout the country.

The three-month investigation, utilizing intelligence agents from the San Francisco area to Detroit, ties the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society to the purchase of dynamite and with at least two explosions which have caused death and injury to policemen.

It was learned that the investigation has focused on Chicago, Detroit, the San Francisco bay area, and in Colorado.

#### SEIZE SELLER'S RECORDS

Bomb evidence accumulated by agents in these areas has been traced to a legitimate seller of dynamite in Boulder, Colo. All records of the seller have been seized by federal agents.

The connection to the Weatherman group was established in Chicago after police found 59 sticks of dynamite on March 30 in what was described as a "bomb factory" in an apartment at 5433 Kenmore av.

Investigators found that the apartment was used by top leaders of the Weatherman faction, including some of those indicted recently by a federal grand jury for their roles in the rioting here last October.

The dynamite in the apartment was traced to the Colorado supplier.

#### FIND BOMBS IN DETROIT

Three weeks earlier, on March 6, Detroit police found 10 sticks of dynamite in a police association building and 34 sticks in a district station. Both bombs were discovered before they exploded.

Police bomb experts in Detroit traced the dynamite to an 8,000-lb shipment purchased by a distributor in Golden, Colo. A further check showed that part of the shipment was sold to the Boulder supplier.

The pattern of terrorist bomb tactics developed even further after an investigation was started by Inspector Earl Bergfeld of the Berkeley, Cal., police department.

#### ONE POLICEMAN KILLED

Bergfeld had been assigned to investigate two dynamite bomb blasts in the Berkeley police station parking lot on Feb. 13. The blasts injured six policemen.

Three days later, a dynamite bomb exploded outside a San Francisco police station, fatally wounding a sergeant and injuring eight other policemen.

<sup>4</sup> Extent of Subversion in the New Left, Pt. 9, Aug. 6, 1970, page 1235.

The next day, a dynamite bomb which failed to explode was found outside an Oakland, Cal., paint factory.

The investigation took a new turn Feb. 25 when two suitcases were found by a surfer at the bottom of a cliff near San Francisco. They contained 60 sticks of dynamite, 100 feet of fuse, two 12-inch pipe bombs, and a can of black powder.

#### SAME TYPE DETONATORS

Bergfeld, coordinating his investigation with San Francisco and Oakland police, also found that the dynamite in the suitcases came from the Boulder supplier. Detonators in the suitcases were of the same type found on the Oakland bomb and matched fragments in the Berkeley and San Francisco bombings.

The Berkeley inspector also learned that the fuse was a type sold exclusively by the Colorado dynamite seller. He also began to trace the origin of the pipe used to make the black powder bombs.

With only one manufacturer's marking and a price of \$1.53 etched on the pipe, Bergfeld traced it to the Gary area. But he has been unable to pinpoint the store which sold the pipe.

#### CITES WAR COUNCIL

Bergfeld said he believes that members of the Weatherman group began to purchase the bomb materials shortly after a secret war council at Flint, Mich., at the beginning of the year.

It was at this meeting that the Weathermen openly declared their intention to wage an underground, terrorist, and guerrilla-type war against the "establishment."

"If you trace a line on a map of the United States, you'll find that some Weathermen—after leaving Flint—could have stopped in Gary, then on to Colorado, and from there to the San Francisco bay area," Bergfeld said.

The Berkeley inspector said he also has obtained a set of records from the Boulder dynamite seller. He said purchasers of the dynamite were not required to show any identification. They only had to sign their names.

"It's obvious that many of the signatures on the list are fictitious," Bergfeld said.

#### ONLY ONE IN CUSTODY

Federal authorities said they hope that handwriting experts will be able to establish the identities of the purchasers.

Only one of the 12 Weatherman leaders indicted by the federal grand jury here for the October disorders is in custody. She is Linda Evans, who was arrested a month ago in New York City.

Still in hiding are Bernardine Dohrn and other top leaders of the revolutionary group. Berkeley police have placed Miss Dohrn in that city from Feb. 8 to 21.

Members of the Weatherman, in a statement attributed to Miss Dohrn, issued a warning Monday that they will attack a symbol or institution of American injustice within the next two weeks.

#### NINE WEATHERMEN SENTENCED IN CHICAGO

On June 1, 1970, nine members of the Weatherman faction were placed on 2 to 5 years probation in criminal court in Chicago. Seven of the nine were given 3-month "work release" sentences in the House of Corrections. The nine who were sentenced to 2 to 5 years' probation pleaded guilty to charges of battery and mob action stemming from the September 24, 1969, demonstration at the Chicago Federal Building in support of the "conspiracy eight." They were:

Robert Tomashevsky, 28, of the Bronx, N.Y.

Samuel M. Karp, 23, of Aliquippa, Pa.

Joseph H. Kelly, 25, of Mount Kisko, N.Y.

Russell Neufeld, 22, of Middleton, N.Y.

Miss Courtney Esposito, 23, of 1225 E. 60th St.

Miss Laurel Lambert, 21, of 1326 George St.

Miss Charlotte Masso, 18, of Ann Arbor, Mich.

Miss Jean Yonemura, 20, of New York City.

Miss Marcia Steinberg, 27, of 3138 Broadway.

A tenth defendant, Daniel H. Cohen of Baltimore, Md., did not appear and his bond was forfeited and increased to \$75,000.<sup>35</sup>

Robert Stover and Paul Lamm were captured in late May 1970 after a high-speed chase by Oakland police intelligence agents who linked the two men with Weathermen. Chemicals found in the car purportedly were taken during a chemical warehouse holdup. A small laboratory was found in their house.

#### ARREST FOR ATTEMPTED MURDER AND ARSON

Leo and Patricia Wood, also known as Steven and Bonnie Heide, were arrested in a West Side New York apartment. The New York Times of May 31, 1970 said police found a cache of weapons and some drugs. They were being held on \$150,000 bail on California charges, and were said by police to be members of Weathermen. They had been accused of looting an Oakland factory where nitroglycerine is manufactured, bombing incidents, beating a landlord in Oakland, and burning his house.

#### BOMBING OF NEW YORK POLICE HEADQUARTERS, JUNE 1970

The Weathermen next struck at headquarters for the world's largest police force, that of New York City.

At 6:43 p.m. on June 9, 1970, an operator at headquarters was told by a male voice: "There's a bomb in Police Headquarters. It will go off in a few minutes." Two minutes later the same man called back: "The bomb is about to go off in Police Headquarters."

Three minutes later the bomb exploded wrecking much of the second floor of the five-story building at 240 Centre Street and injuring eight persons.

The Weathermen had issued a "Declaration of War" two weeks prior to the blast, promising that "Within the next 14 days we will attack a symbol or institution of American injustice."

The bomb squad said the bomb consisted of 15 dynamite sticks in a package about eight inches square and was placed in a metal utility locker against the south wall of the men's room on the second floor. The locker stored maintenance equipment and was used throughout the day. Lt. Kenneth O'Neil, bomb squad commander, said the bomb must have been planted after 5 p.m. when the workers had gone home.

A news story in the New York Daily News of June 11 said the blast ripped holes in the floor and ceiling of the men's room and crumbled two cinderblock walls about three feet thick, as well as shattering numerous windows in both the headquarters and a building across the street.

On Wednesday morning, June 10, the Associated Press received a hand-printed special delivery letter signed "Weatherman", claiming responsibility for the bombing. It had been canceled the night before in the General Post Office.

It read:

Tonight, at 7 p.m., we blew up the N.Y.C. Police Headquarters. We called in a warning before the explosion.

<sup>35</sup> Chicago Today, June 1, 1970.



The pigs in this country are our enemies. They have murdered Fred Hampton and tortured Joan Bird. They are responsible for 6 black deaths in Augusta, 4 murders in Kent State, the imprisonment of Los Siete De La Raza in San Francisco and the continual brutality against latin and white youth on the Lower East Side. Some are named Mitchell and Agnew. Others call themselves Leary and Hogan. The names are different but the crimes are the same.

The pigs try to look invulnerable, but we keep finding their weaknesses. Thousands of kids, from Berkeley to the UN Plaza, keep tearing up and ROTC buildings keep going down. Nixon invades Cambodia and hundreds of schools are shut down by strikes. Every time the pigs think they've stopped us, we come back a little stronger and a lot smarter. They guard their buildings and we walk right past their guards. They look for us—we get to them first. They build the Bank of America, kids burn it down. They outlaw grass, we build a culture of life and music.

The time is now. Political power grows out of a gun, a molotov, a riot, a commune . . . and from the soul of the people.

Weatherman

Four Weathermen Members—Jeffrey Blum, Roger Henry Lippman, David Charles Lippman and David Elbaz—were arrested for possession of deadly weapons during violence on the University of California campus on April 17, 1970.<sup>36</sup> The district attorney's office later decided not to press the case.

In late June 1970, Cuban sources reported to government investigators that 11 members of the Venceremos Brigade—Julie Cashin, Carol Cina, Bruce Jacobs, Robert Collier, Lucas Dumont, Nancy Rubin, Judy Gumbo, Judy Clavir, Genie Plamondon, Carol Brightman, and Phil Hutchins—were believed involved with Weathermen.

#### FEDERAL GRAND JURY INDICTS 13

On July 23, 1970, a federal grand jury in Detroit indicted 13 persons whom the Justice Department called the leaders of the Weatherman faction of SDS on charges of conspiring to bomb and kill. Ten of the 13 already are being sought on fugitive warrants on other federal or local cases.

The indictment attempted to link Weatherman meetings in Flint, Michigan, in December 1969 and in Cleveland in February 1970 with bomb-making in New York and an arms cache found in Chicago, and various meetings among the 13 named defendants. The 13 indicted persons were Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, William Ayers, Kathy Boudin, Linda Evans, Cathy Wilkerson, Diane Donghi, Russell Neufeld, James Spielman, Ronald Fliegelman, Larry Grathwohl, Naomi Jaffe, and Robert Burlington.<sup>†</sup>

#### BANK OF AMERICA BOMBED

An explosion which on July 28, ripped a marble slab from the vestibule wall of the Bank of America was thought by authorities to be the latest terror attack by the Weatherman wing of the SDS. An unidentified man called the news at 3:50 a.m. about 15 minutes after the Wall Street blast and said, "This is the Weatherman. Listen close. I'll only say it once. We have just bombed the Bank of America. We left a Vietcong flag. We did it in honor of the Cuban revolution and our brothers who died on the Isla Vista. Tell John Mitchell, U.S. Attorney General, that no matter what he does, we cannot be stopped."

<sup>†</sup> For disposition of Detroit indictments, see Appendix IV, at p. 131.

<sup>36</sup> The American Legion Firing Line, page 3, June 1970.

A torn Vietcong flag and a Cuban pennant were found at the scene as well as parts from a two-inch pipe bomb. They were sent to the police laboratory. The blast blew out two glass doors and shattered several windows of the building.<sup>37</sup>

#### LETTER WARNS ATTORNEY GENERAL

The San Francisco Chronicle said in late July 1970, it had received a letter signed by Weatherman Underground which advised Attorney General John Mitchell "don't look for us, dog, we'll find you first." In New York the Post said it apparently had received the same letter. The letter said in part, "with other revolutionaries all over the planet, Weatherman is celebrating the eleventh anniversary of the Cuban revolution. Today we attack with rocks, riots and bombs the greatest killer pig ever known to man—American imperialism." The New York Post said its letter was mailed special delivery from Detroit after noon Saturday and arrived at the newspaper's offices shortly after 9:30 p.m. Monday. It was dated July 26, the anniversary of the start of Fidel Castro's rebellion.

During the first week of September 1970, the Weatherman faction of SDS participated with other groups in the Black Panther-sponsored Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. Among other groups represented were the Quakers, Black Muslims, Yippies, and Women's Strike for Peace.

#### TIMOTHY LEARY ESCAPES

On September 13, 1970, Timothy Leary scaled a 12-foot chain fence in the minimum security section of the California Men's Colony near San Luis Obispo, Calif., and walked away. Several days afterward, in a letter to the news media, signed by Bernardine Dohrn, Weatherman leader, the revolutionaries claimed the honor and pleasure of helping Leary escape. On October 20, 1970, at a news conference held outside the women's house of detention at Greenwich Avenue and West Heather Street, Leary was described as alive and well and high in Algiers. The Yippies read a letter purportedly from Leary that said in part "I offer living gratitude to my sisters and brothers in the Weatherman underground who designed and executed my liberation." Also read at the news conference, was a letter from Yippie member Stew Albert, who is also in Algeria, stating that Leary had been granted asylum and would rent a house in the countryside. It is understood that Leary would work at the Algiers office of the Black Panther Party opened recently by the Panthers Information Minister Eldridge Cleaver, who is also a fugitive.

Robbery of the State Street Bank & Trust Co. in Boston took place on September 23, 1970. In connection with the robbery (which involved \$26,585), a Boston police officer was shot and killed. Police charged both Susan Edith Saxe and Katherine Ann Power of the Weatherman group with complicity in the murder and robbery.

In a tape recording received by the Youth International Party from the Weatherman Underground on October 6, 1970, Weatherman took credit for this bombing.

<sup>37</sup> New York Daily News, July 28, 1970.

A UPI story published on October 7, 1970, under a New York dateline reported that a letter "assertedly by three prominent members of the Weathermen" claims credit "for a bombing Monday in Chicago" and "promises attacks against 'the enemy' next week around the country". Signatures on the letter were Bernardine Dohrn, Jeff Jones, and Bill Ayers. Describing the news story as being "sought as fugitives since their indictment for conspiracy in violation of the Federal Anti-Riot Act." The UPI said the letter had been received on October 6 by the Youth International Party in New York. The UPI said the letter "referred to the explosion early Monday that destroyed the statue of a policeman in Chicago's Haymarket Square for the second time in a year."

#### ROTC FACILITIES DAMAGED AT UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

On October 8, 1970, bomb explosions heavily damaged a National Guard armory in a county courthouse in California, and damaged the inside of Air Force and Navy ROTC facilities at the University of Washington. Two of the blasts were preceded by telephone warnings to authorities. The explosions came just two days after representatives of the Weatherman had said that a "fall offensive would soon be launched." At a press conference in New York earlier the same week, a recording said to be the voice of Bernardine Dohrn, the fugitive Weatherman leader, said an offensive by dissident youths would spread "from Santa Barbara to Boston, back to Kent and Kansas." The Weatherman tape recording was identified as Miss Dohrn's voice by her sister Jennifer, a spokesman for the Youth International Party, at whose New York headquarters the tape was played. Jerry Rubin, the Yippie leader and one of the defendants in the Chicago 7 trial, said the recording was received by mail in New York Tuesday postmarked from Chicago on Monday and bearing the return address of the old national headquarters of the SDS.

#### FBI JOINS INVESTIGATION

Bombing of a Courthouse in Long Island City, N. Y., on October 11, 1970, was the next Weatherman move.

The FBI joined State agents in an investigation of the early morning explosion, which caused extensive damage.

The blast heavily damaged the interior of the courthouse. City officials said the structure could not be used until after a complete renovation.

No one was injured in the explosion which occurred on the third floor between a wall next to an elevator shaft and a telephone booth. The blast took place at 1:23 a.m., about 10 minutes after an anonymous caller telephoned the police and said, "This is the Weatherman calling. There is a bomb planted in the court building that will go off shortly. This is in retaliation for what happened during the week. Inform Pig Murphy." The Murphy reference was apparently directed to Patrick B. Murphy, who had been installed by Mayor Lindsay as Police Commissioner the previous Friday.

One police official speculated that as many as 8 to 10 sticks of dynamite had been used in the courthouse blast, which was similar to that

which had shattered police headquarters in Manhattan 4 months earlier.

In Washington, D.C., the Federal Aviation Administration, reacting to a series of bomb threats blamed by some on the Weatherman, has acted to tighten security measures at the nation's airports. The Pentagon also responded to three west coast bombings this week with an order for increased National Guard security at government installations.

#### SECURITY TIGHTENED

On October 13, 1970, it was announced the Federal government was tightening security at all federal buildings across the country, GSA Administrator Robert Kunzig stated that open access to most federal buildings had been restricted and guards placed on patrol, with security patrols ordered around the clock instead of the customary 6:00 pm to 7:00 am. The Daily News pointed out the move came after a day of eight bomb blasts, five in Rochester, New York, two in New York City, and one in Orlando, Florida. The Washington Daily News, said the explosions, which injured three people, followed warnings by the revolutionary Weatherman group that it planned an offensive in terror, including sabotage, assassinations, and kidnappings.

The bomb that blew up Chicago's Haymarket Square statue of a policeman on October 5, 1970 was assembled "in the air-conditioned comfort of a suburban home," and placed between the statue's legs by a young woman, according to an article in a Chicago magazine said to have been written by a Weatherman. "I planted the bomb and it blew up the Haymarket pig statue," the article begins. "By the time you read this, my friends and I will be far gone from Chicago. We are underground. We are Weatherman." (The article appeared in the Chicago Free Press.)

On October 16, 1970, it was news that: "Scattered bomb threats but no bombings were reported across the country yesterday forcing the evacuation of hospitals in Boston, of airports in New York and St. Louis, and of a subway station in Harvard Square in Cambridge, Mass. In St. Louis, the St. Louis Municipal Airport was closed down for 85 minutes after Frontier Airlines reported it had received a call from a man who said a bomb would go off in 40 minutes 'compliments of the Weatherman.'"

#### OFFICIAL FBI DESCRIPTION

The attached paragraphs are from the FBI Annual Report for fiscal 1970, released in the fall of that calendar year:

#### WEATHERMAN/WEATHER UNDERGROUND

The Weather Underground has been described by the FBI as "one of the most violent of revolutionary organizations." The Weatherman began in 1969 as a faction of the Students For A Democratic Society. The split occurred so that the Weatherman could build itself into a small hardcore organization dedicated to immediate revolution in this country. Weatherman members first engaged in massive anti-war demonstrations in 1969 in both Chicago and Washington, D.C. At that time, its leaders declared their aim was to "destroy imperialism and establish a socialist state."

In early 1970, the Weatherman went underground, members assumed new identities, and leaders declared the group's intentions of conducting guerrilla

warfare against the entire U.S. government. The group then became involved in nationwide bombings and has claimed credit for those directed at correctional offices in California and New York in 1971 and the Pentagon Building in Virginia in 1972. The bombings of the State Attorney General's Office in Los Angeles on May 31, and the Federal Building in San Francisco on March 7, 1974, are two of this organization's most recent acts of violence.

Weatherman fugitives have been reported to have been in the Berkeley/San Francisco area on a number of occasions during the past several years; however, they have continued to remain elusive. Most of the hardcore leaders are currently wanted on a variety of federal charges. This small nucleus of fugitives remains a viable threat because of their terrorist activities and knowledge of explosives and urban guerrilla tactics.

### THREE ON "MOST WANTED" LIST

Three female members of the Weatherman Underground were on the FBI "List of Most Wanted Fugitives" for a full three years without being apprehended. They were Bernardine Rea Dohrn, Susan Edith Saxe, and Katherine Ann Power. All went on the list in October 1970.

### SIX CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY

The District Attorney of Bronx County, New York, on November 8, 1970, caused the arrest of six persons and charged them with conspiracy to commit murder and arson, and to make bombs. Four of them, he said, were connected with the Weatherman. The arrests came as a result of the bombings of armories in Queens and a police station in the Bronx.

On November 15, 1970, the Chicago Tribune reported that: "Organizers of the Venceremos Brigade have indicated their willingness to purchase a printing press which has been used extensively by the Weatherman organization. The press is in the former Weatherman headquarters at 1608 Madison Street and has been unused since the Weatherman went underground to promulgate its revolutionary tactics."

On November 20, 1970, an informant notified the U.S. Customs Bureau that "the revolutionary underground Weatherman organization" was planning to steal biological weapons from Fort Detrick, Md., and contaminate a major city's water supply. According to Army sources, the Weatherman's plan, disclosed the anonymous informant, was not to kill anyone but rather to incapacitate the population by infection for 7 to 10 days. The plan's objective was to "cause havoc and increase the possibilities of revolution."

### BERNARDINE DOHRN WARNS OF ATTACKS

Bernardine Dohrn sent a letter to the Associated Press in late November 1970, which read, in part: "In retaliation for the commando raids and bombing of North Vietnam, attacks will be carried out on pigs, military and government buildings and agents without warning."

### BOGART, M'LEAN ARRESTED IN BOMBING

Vivian Bogart and Patricia McLean were arrested on charges that they had thrown an incendiary bomb at the Royal National Bank of New York on 5th Avenue and 28th Street. They were seized near the

bank branch within moments of the bombing at 1:30 a.m., December 11, 1970, after a witness alerted two policemen in a patrol car.

Toward the end of 1970, some members of the I Wor Kuen were reported by informants to be members of or associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS.

On December 5, 1970, the New York Daily News reported six Weathermen were being held without bail after being accused of conspiring to commit a series of bombings to mark the anniversary of the police slaying of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton last year in Chicago. The six were arrested after they allegedly prepared to fire-bomb the First National City Bank of New York, the Daily News said.

On December 9, 1970, the Washington Star (page A-11) reported indictment of six persons on charges they plotted to blow up several targets, including the law firm where President Nixon and Attorney General John N. Mitchell were once partners. The six were charged with conspiracy to commit arson, attempted arson, attempted criminal mischief and possession of dangerous instruments. The Star said Richard "Robin" Palmer, age 40, "called by police a recruiter for the radical Weatherman group" was being held in lieu of \$250,000 bail, while bail had been set at \$50,000 each for the other five.

Among other alleged targets, the Star reported, were two police stations, a bank, the mathematics and science building at New York University, and the Bolivian Consulate.

#### WEATHERMAN "GUERRILLA STRATEGY"

According to a statement by Weatherman leader, Bernardine Dohrn, in 1970, Weatherman at that time was "declaring war" and would use "the classic strategy of the Vietcong."<sup>38</sup>

#### DYNAMITE PURCHASED IN ARIZONA

Purchase of dynamite by members of the Weatherman organization in Tucson, Arizona, with intent to transport it to California, was the subject of a grand jury investigation begun late in 1970. Five persons characterized by the *New York Times* as "radicals from Venice (CA)." "refused to answer grand jury questions on the ground of self-incrimination. They still refused to testify after they were granted immunity from prosecution. They were then cited for contempt. In a special dispatch from Venice, the *Times* said Terri Volpin, 22, spent 7 weeks in jail and Dave Scheffler, 24, served 5 weeks, while "three other women served three weeks apiece."

In the course of the dispatch, Miss Volpin was characterized as one who "works with the anti-war movement within the military."<sup>39</sup>

#### SIX PLEAD GUILTY TO CONSPIRACY

Richard Robert Palmer, 40, one of six persons described by police as members of the Weatherman organization who pleaded guilty on March 8, 1971, to charges of conspiracy to set fire to a group of

<sup>38</sup> FBI Annual Report 1973.

<sup>39</sup> New York Times January 10, 1971, page 68.

buildings, was described in the indictment count to which he pleaded guilty as a recruiter for the Weatherman.

Others who pleaded guilty with him were Claudia Conine, 22; Sharon Krebs, 33; and Joyce Placha, 26; Christopher Trenkle, 19; and Martin Lewis, 25. All were residents of the Greater New York area. All six of the defendants, described by police as Weathermen, were arrested in the early morning of December 4, 1970, outside the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st Street, New York City. They were caught placing four one-gallon containers of gasoline and benzene outside the building. The indictment count to which they pleaded guilty charges conspiracy to commit arson at the bank and at five other locations, including (1) the building at 20 Broad Street, which houses the law offices of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, which former President Nixon was once a member; (2) the East Fifth Street police station; (3) a new police station under construction off West 10th Street, in New York City; (4) the Bolivian Consulate; and (5) the Mathematics and Science Building at New York University.

#### MAY DAY CONFERENCE

Jonny Lerner, former assistant national secretary of the Weatherman faction of SDS, attended a 3-day conference held on May Day on an 850-acre farm, owned by Larry Canada, in Needmore, Ind., May 21-23, 1971.

#### WEATHERMEN AT MAY DAY CAUCUS

Former activists of the Weatherman group participated in the May Day Caucus on February 6, during the National Student and Youth Conference for a People's Peace, held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., during the weekend of February 5-7, 1971.

#### WEATHERMAN "MOST DANGEROUS"

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, told a congressional committee on February 10, 1970, the FBI "considers the Weatherman as the most violent, persistent and pernicious of revolutionary groups. "They are plotting to blow up underground electrical conduits and steampipes to disrupt Government operations. "The name of a White House staffer has been mentioned as a possible kidnap victim to be held for ransom until the U.S. bombing in Southeast Asia ceases and all political prisoners are freed."

#### LEARY AND WEATHERMAN

In February 1971, Dr. Timothy Leary, in a joint interview with Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther leader, granted to the FBI in Algeria, said youthful radicals should be "following the way of militant Weatherman and Black Panthers, rather than clowning or tripping".

#### WEATHERMAN IN VENICE, CALIF.

Also in February 1971 it was reported that a group whose members were believed to belong to the Weatherman organization was operating in the Venice area of Los Angeles. Among the individuals named as involved were Bob Gottlieb, who was active in organizing the Move-

ment for a Democratic Society in New York City; Susan Sutheim, and Harry Kirkman, of New York City; Terri Ann Volpin (dob June 12, 1948) and William Weiss (dob April 30, 1943) a former SDS activist from Maryland and a 1969 employee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; John Donaldson (dob October 14, 1946); Pamela Donaldson (dob August 4, 1948); Richard Wolman (dob April 26, 1946); Lucille Brandt (dob November 7, 1948); David Scheffler (dob December 16, 1946); Peter Wilkie (dob November 10, 1948); Karen Duncan (dob May 20, 1945, a veteran of the Venceremos Brigade); Lee Weinberg, Carl Weinberg, James Tuggle, and Georgia Markovich. The group was reported as meeting at a bookstore (The Midnight Special) on Washington Boulevard in Venice.

#### CROZIER CHARACTERIZES WEATHERMAN

In an interview in U.S. News & World Report, March 1, 1971, Brian Crozier, student of Communist strategy and a leading authority on subversion and insurgency, stated that the "real danger" in the United States "is posed by the desperate, bomb-throwing anarchy of the Weatherman type. Their activities and the possible consequences of Federal action against them could lead to a situation that the Communists might eventually exploit—if you stretch the term 'Communists' pretty widely." Mr. Crozier expressed the opinion that "revolutionary war and urban terrorism are going to get worse over the next 5 years," but said that he "would expect them to be contained after that."

#### WEATHERMEN BOMB MAILBOXES

In Detroit, Mich., early in March 1971, pipe bombs demolished two mailboxes after police received phone calls allegedly from the radical Weatherman group.

#### FOUR PLEAD GUILTY

Some 15 months after the SDS/Weatherman "Days of Rage" in Chicago, 4 of the 12 women arrested during the women's action entered guilty pleas to charges of "felonious mob action" in the October 1969 battle with police. The four were Dee Peterson, Shelly Hackman, Sue Stern, and Judy Clark.

#### WEATHERMAN AND YIP

Various former members of the Weatherman group of SDS were noted as highly vocal presences during a 4-day conference of the Youth International Party held at the University of Wisconsin early in April 1971. Among former associates of the Weatherman faction who took part in the YIP conference at the University of Wisconsin on April 1-4, 1971, were: Linda Evans, Julie Nichamin, Mike Drobenaire, Brian Johnson, Chris Starnes, John Trenkle, Hank Gehman, Oliver Steinberg, Jeff Sokolow, and Howie Emmer.

#### WEATHERMAN AND CAPITOL BOMBING—MAY DAY 1971

A "Weatherman communique" published in the Quicksilver Times in June 1971 took the form of a letter to the mother of Leslie Bacon



and declared that Miss Bacon "is completely innocent of any involvement of the U.S. Capitol. We know this for a fact because, as the FBI and Justice Department well know, our organization did the bombing." The "communique" continued:

During the U.S. invasion of Laos, we attacked the very seat of U.S. white arrogance for several reasons: (1) To express our love and solidarity with the nonwhite people of the world who always happen to be the victims of 200 years of U.S. technological warfare; and (2) to freak out the warmongers and remind them that they have created guerrillas here; and (3) to bring a smile and a wink to the kids and people here who hate this Government, to spread joy.

#### WEATHERMAN CALIFORNIA BOMBINGS

Three California bombings, for two of which credit was claimed on behalf of the Weatherman group, took place on August 28, 1971.

State Department of Corrections offices in Sacramento and San Francisco were heavily damaged in bombings which a letter signed "Weather Underground" and delivered to the San Francisco Examiner claimed were Weatherman operations. The third bomb wrecked the State Department of Rehabilitation Office in San Mateo. Investigators said the San Mateo blast seemed unrelated to the apparently coordinated attacks on the Sacramento and San Francisco prison system offices.

In San Francisco, the bomb did \$50,000 worth of damage in the offices of the Psychiatric Clinic for Prison Parolees. In Sacramento, the bomb went off in a women's restroom, blew out a wall, damaged an elevator, ruptured a water main, and poured water down the elevator shafts. On July 15, 1971, in an announcement about the bombing in October 1970 of the police statue in Chicago's Haymarket Square, the FBI said that "other bombings for which the Weatherman group has claimed credit were directed at colleges, government installations, and business establishments throughout the United States."

#### WEATHERMAN WARN OF ALBANY BLAST

On September 18, 1971, about half an hour before a blast ripped through two lavatories and an elevator shaft in the New York Department of Corrections offices in Albany, newspapers and a radio station received word from an anonymous caller that a time bomb had been set by the militant Weatherman wing of the Students for a Democratic Society as a demonstration of solidarity with "the courageous prisoners of Attica" and "other 20th-century slave ships."

#### WEATHERMEN WARN OF PENTAGON BLAST

Just before a bomb exploded in a top security area of the Pentagon within the first hour of May 19, 1972, the Washington Post was told by a telephone caller who identified himself as a member of the Weatherman group, that a bomb would go off shortly in the Pentagon. Shortly before the explosion, a telephone voice self-identified as "Weatherman Underground No. 12" also called the New York Post and said "We have just bombed the Office of the Secretary of the Air Force in the Pentagon."

## WEATHERMAN IN CHECK FRAUD, NARCOTICS

In the early fall of 1972, investigators on the west coast said the Weathermen underground had embarked on a campaign to help finance its activities through use of fraudulent travelers' checks and sales of narcotics.

## WEATHERMAN "VIOLENCE PRONE"

Characterizing the Weatherman group as violence prone, the then acting Director of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray III, told a Congressional committee in March 1973 that more than 30 members of the Weatherman underground were wanted by the FBI at that time for Federal violations.<sup>40</sup>

## WEATHERMAN "SPORADIC VIOLENCE"

"Sporadic acts of extreme violence" which the Weatherman organization claimed to have committed during 1973 included bombing of two New York City police patrol cars on May 18, 1973.<sup>41</sup>

## 29 WEATHERMEN WANTED

At midpoint of 1973, 29 Weatherman activists were wanted by the FBI in connection with violations of sabotage, bombing and gun control statutes, antiriot laws, and unlawful flight to avoid prosecution.<sup>42</sup>

## WEATHERMAN TO STAY UNDERGROUND

It is unlikely that any of the members of the Weatherman Underground represented by New York lawyer Gerald Lefcourt will come out of hiding soon, Lefcourt told the Washington Post during the first week of 1974. Lefcourt, described by the Post as "a radical lawyer" succeeded in his defense of the Weathermen when Federal prosecutors in October 1973 dropped the main charges against the Weatherman defendants rather than disclose details of Government surveillance of the accused.

## LEONARD BOUDIN CALLS FOR AMNESTY

According to the Washington Post, Leonard Boudin, described as "the criminal lawyer whose own daughter, Kathy, disappeared with the other Weatherman in 1970," hopes for "a nationwide campaign of amnesty for these young people." The Post said Boudin "lumps together all of the antiwar protesters from Weatherman to draft evaders as 'young people who were the first to recognize the official lawlessness'."

## WEATHER UNDERGROUND

By spring of 1974, the Weather Underground had come to be known, and referred to in newspapers stories, as "the last of the U.S. radical groups to endorse all forms of violence."

<sup>40</sup> Testimony of L. Patrick Gray III before House Subcommittee on Appropriations, Mar. 29, 1973.

<sup>41</sup> FBI Annual Report 1973.

<sup>42</sup> FBI Annual Report 1973.

**CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE BOMBED**

The bomb which went off in California Attorney General Evelle J. Younger's Los Angeles office May 31, 10 minutes after a call from the Weather Underground warned of the explosion, blew holes in the floor and ceiling, shattered windows and tore away two big doors. No one was injured.

**SLA, WEATHERMAN "SISTERS AND BROTHERS"**

A letter delivered to the Los Angeles Times, May 31, 1974, purporting to come from the Weatherman Underground, was addressed to the "sisters and brothers" of the Symbionese Liberation Army, and referred to the bombing of the office of California's attorney general, for which the Weatherman Organization claimed responsibility, as "for you and all frontline fighters".

In both Pittsburgh and Los Angeles, Weatherman bombings, newsmen were directed to telephone booths where they found letters signed "Weather Underground."

**GULF OIL BOMBING**

The bombing of Gulf Oil Corp. executive headquarters in Pittsburgh on June 13, 1974, responsibility for which was claimed by the Weather Underground, blasted holes in floor and ceiling of the 28th floor, and knocked out concrete wall partitions, but caused no injuries.



Boudin



Dohrn



Jones



Machtinger



Rudd



Wilkerson

## THE FACES OF WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND

As this report went to press, the following persons were believed to be in the Weatherman Underground. Photographs of them are reproduced on this page, and the two following pages.\*

Karen Lynn Ashley  
 William Charles Ayers  
 Lawrence David Barber  
 Judith Emily Bissell  
 Silas Trim Bissell  
 Kathie Boudin  
 Scott Addy Braley  
 Peter Wales Clapp  
 Daniel Howard Cohen  
 Robert Maris Cunningham  
 Bernardine Dohrn  
 Pamela Sue Fadern  
 Judith Ann Flatley  
 Ronald David Fliegelman  
 John Allen Fuerst  
 Gerald Joseph Ganely  
 David Joseph Gilbert  
 Leonard Handelsman  
 Harriet Ann Heinan

Phoebe Hirsch  
 John Gregory Jacobs  
 Naomi Esther Jaffe  
 Jeffrey Carl Jones  
 Thomas Michael Justesen  
 Howard Norton Machtinger  
 Celeste Maurine McCullough  
 Jeffrey David Powell  
 Eleanor E. Raskin nee Stein  
 Robert Henry Roth  
 Mark Rudd  
 Judith Barbara Russell nee  
 Schlachman  
 John Rytis Skardis  
 Roberta Brent Smith  
 Michael Louis Spiegel  
 Lawrence Michael Weiss  
 Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson  
 Joanna Zilsel

\*Barry Stein, listed in the Weatherman Underground for some 5 years, surrendered to Chicago authorities December 20, 1974.



Ashley



Ayers



Braley



Clapp



Cohen



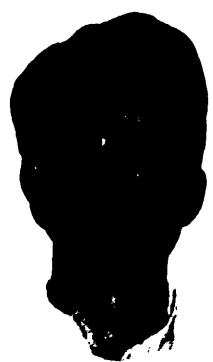
Cunningham



Barber



Bissell



Bissell



Fadem



Flatley



Fliegelman



Fuerst



Ganley



Gilbert



Handlesman



Heiman



Hirsch



Jacobs



Jaffe



Justesen



McCullough



Powell



Raskin



Roth



Russell



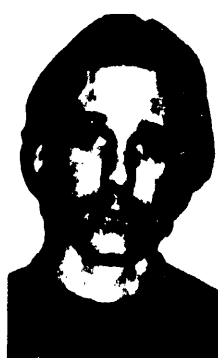
Skardis



Smith



Spiegel



Weiss



Zisel

## PERSONS IDENTIFIED WITH WEATHERMAN FACTION

**NOTE.**—Many arrests are necessarily mentioned in the following pages. The subcommittee has made a diligent effort to discover the dispositions of arrests, but has been unable to do so in some cases in time for inclusion in this report.

Following is an alphabetical listing of 158 individuals who have at one time or another been identified as members of, or as having associations with, the Weatherman organization from its founding in 1969, together with information about each person from public and other sources.

The list includes the names of 38 persons, believed to comprise the Weatherman Underground, who disappeared from public view in 1970. Others on the list are thought to be part of an extensive support apparatus for the underground. Still others are no longer associated with Weatherman, having dropped out, broken away, or been purged.

**ASHLEY, KAREN LYNN. Weatherman Underground.** Born September 9, 1949, or September 2, 1949, Montreal, Canada. Attended Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1966–1968. Traveled to Cuba with SDS, February, 1968. Member of SDS National Collective, 1969, and active in Chicago, New York, and Ohio regions of SDS and Weatherman. Went underground with Weatherman February 1970. Is stepsister of Pamela Fadem.

**AYERS, WILLIAM CHARLES. Weatherman Underground.** He has been identified as the son of Thomas G. Ayers, 793 Forest Avenue, Glen Ellyn, Ill. Thomas G. Ayers is President of Commonwealth Edison Co. of Chicago.

In February 1966, William C. Ayers, 21, of Glen Ellyn, Ill., was identified by the Chicago Sun Times (February 2, 1966) as among 28 individuals sentenced to 15 to 20 days in jail as a result of their convictions by a Circuit Court jury in Ann Arbor, Mich., of trespassing in a sit-in at the Ann Arbor draft board office on October 15, 1966.

William C. Ayers, 24-year-old University of Michigan graduate, was arrested on February 26, 1969 in Ann Arbor, Mich. on a felony charge stemming from a student demonstration on February 10, 1969, on the Michigan State University campus in East Lansing, Mich.†

William Ayers, 24, was elected national educational secretary of the Revolutionary Youth Movement of the Students for a Democratic Society at the SDS national convention held in Chicago in June of 1969.

A position paper entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," printed in the June 18, 1969, issue of New Left Notes, official publication of the Students for a Democratic Society, sets forth the views of leading officials of the SDS including Bill Ayers, national educational secretary.<sup>43</sup>

In August 1969, in Cleveland, Ohio, Bill Ayers described the Weatherman as: "We're revolutionay Communists."<sup>44</sup>

On November 17, 1969, William Ayers, a Weatherman leader, met with leaders of the Vietnam moratorium in Washington and asked for help in meeting legal expenses growing out of disturbances in Chicago in October 1969.

† Charged with "assault with deadly weapon," Ayers pleaded guilty to "simple assault" on Sept. 15, 1969, and was fined \$75 and \$15 court costs or 15 days in jail.

<sup>43</sup> Congressional Record—House, August 18, 1969, pages H7377–H7378.

<sup>44</sup> FBI Annual Report, fiscal 1970, p. 21.

Led by William Ayers, the Weatherman joined other groups in Washington, D.C., in mid-November 1969, to protest the Vietnam war. Demonstrators urged on by the Weatherman hurled rocks, sticks, and bottles at the Department of Justice Building and also were involved in inflicting severe damage to other areas of the Capital City.

William C. Ayers, a national leader of the Weatherman faction, was identified as the former boy friend of Diana Oughton, one of three persons killed in a New York City explosion in March 1969.

William C. Ayers was among 12 members of the militant Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society indicted by a Federal grand jury on April 2, 1970, in Chicago for conspiring to cross State lines to incite riots in Chicago in October 1969.<sup>45</sup>

On July 23, 1970, William Charles Ayers, 25, of Chicago, was among 13 Weathermen of the Students for a Democratic Society charged with conspiracy by a Federal grand jury in Detroit as a result of the blast last March 6 that destroyed a bomb factory in a brownstone house at 18 11th Street, New York, N.Y. The 13 individuals were accused of conspiring with 15 others, not named as defendants, to blow up police stations and other buildings in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Berkeley, Calif.<sup>46</sup>

A letter, postmarked October 5, 1970, in Chicago and signed by three prominent members of the Weatherman, including Bill Ayers, claimed credit for an explosion that destroyed the statue of a policeman in Chicago's Haymarket Square on October 5. The letter was received by the Youth International Party.

At the end of fiscal 1973 year, 29 Weathermen, including Bill Ayers, were wanted by the FBI in connection with violations of sabotage, bombing and gun control statutes, antiriot laws, and unlawful flight to avoid prosecution.

On October 15, 1973, U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith of Detroit dismissed conspiracy charges against the Detroit 15, including William Ayers, on the Government's own motion. The motion by U.S. Attorney Ralph B. Guy, Jr., said the Government would not endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed. Judge Keith had issued a sweeping order last June 5 for the Government to disclose whether it had used burglaries, sabotage, electronic surveillance, agents provocateurs, or other "espionage techniques" against the Weatherman.

On January 3, 1974, U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman in Chicago dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including William Ayres, 28, of Chicago, charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in 1969. Judge Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case.

The week of July 22, 1974, a radical manifesto, entitled "Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism," was released by the Weather Underground. The preface of the book is signed by William (Billy) Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, and Jeff Jones, three known members of the Weather Underground.

<sup>45</sup> Washington Post, April 3, 1970.

<sup>46</sup> New York Daily News, July 24, 1970, and New York Times, July 26, 1970.



**BAENZER, JOHN.** Identified by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of 35 indicted in connection with Weatherman "Days of Rage" demonstration.

**BAKKE, CHRISTOPHER L. ["Kit"].\*** Identified by informant as one of several persons known to have been associated with the Weatherman organization who visited Marin County, Calif., summer of 1971, to visit Angela Davis or attend hearings. Gave address in fall of 1969 as 7837 N.E. 112 St., Kirkland, Wash. Arrested October 11, 1969, disorderly conduct, Chicago, pleaded guilty November 3, 1969, fined \$100. At that time claimed to be former medical student at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. (Bryn Mawr was an all-woman college until 1973.)

Reported to have attended meeting in Cuba July 1969 with Asian and Latin American Communists.

**BARBER, LAWRENCE DAVID. Weatherman Underground.** Born February 25, 1950, New York, N.Y. Attended Columbia University, September 1968 to April 1969. Columbia University delegate to SDS national council meeting, Texas, March 1969. Member of Weatherman group. Failed to appear at Federal grand jury, SDNY, April 1970, after having been served subpoena. Indicted June 26, 1972, on selective service violation, T. 50, U.S. Code, app. sec. 462(a), USDC, EDNY. Bench Warrant issued, USDC, Brooklyn, N.Y., August 29, 1972.

**BENNETT, LINDA C.\*** Arrested October 11, 1969 (disorderly conduct), pleaded guilty October 29, 1969, fined \$50. At that time gave her age as 20 and her address as 270 Daniel Street, Newark, Del. Wilmington Daily News (Del.) October 24, 1969, identified "Miss L. Bennett" as one of two residents of Newark, Del., "charged with mob action and disorderly conduct in Chicago circuit court" for "their participation with members of the Weatherman when they walked through Chicago's North Side on October 8, 1969 (sic) throwing rocks and engaging in other provocative actions."

**BENNETT, MARGARET G.\*** Arrested October 9, 1969 (mob action), found guilty November 20, 1969, sentenced to 6 days, considered served, and fined \$450. At that time gave her age as 23, her address as 3822 Woodlawn, Seattle, Wash., claimed to be a student at the Seattle Community College. Traveled from Seattle to Chicago "Days of Rage" demonstration in the company of Roger Lippman, Constance J. Misich, and Gerald J. Ganley, all of whom participated in the "Days of Rage" demonstration. Ganley is a known member of Weatherman Underground.

**BERGMAN, ARLENE.\*\*** Daughter-in-law of Liebel Bergman. Named by Radio Havana Broadcast fall of 1969 as one of a number of U.S. residents to whom applicants could write for information regarding the "Venceremos Brigade" trips to Cuba. Others similarly named included Michael Klonsky, Gerald Long, and Diana Oughton.<sup>47</sup> Writer of letter to Bernardine Dohrn, accompanying document titled "Working Committee Proposal for Brigades".<sup>48</sup> Listed by former Cuban informant as among members of Weatherman faction who came to Cuba as members of Venceremos Brigade.

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\* Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>47</sup> SSIS, Extent of Subversion in the New Left, part 4, June 10, 1970, page 298.

<sup>48</sup> Testimony of Ronald Brooks, Illinois Crime Investigating Commission, before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, June 10, 1970, pt. 4, pp. 241, 305.

**BERNE, ROBERT.\*\*** Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October (1969) in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." †

**BERNSTEIN, CLIFFORD M.** One of four individuals identified by Los Angeles Herald-Examiner June 5, 1970, as "members of the Chicago Seven and suspected of being members of Weatherman" who "were convicted on misdemeanor charges."

**BERZON, MARSHALL.\*\*** Identified by Washington Evening Star, October 9, 1969, as one of three "members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS," who "ran through Chicago's near North Side on the night of October 8, 1969, breaking windows, damaging cars, and intermittently battling with the police" who were injured in the demonstration.

**BIGGIN, BILL.** Identified by Philadelphia Bulletin April 12, 1970, as one of four persons "watched by police department as members of Weatherman who held meetings for purposes of preparation and use of explosives." (Others named were Judith Biggin, David Gross and Leslie Gross.)

**BIGGIN, JUDITH.** Identified by Philadelphia Bulletin April 12, 1970, as one of four persons "watched by police department as members of Weatherman who held meetings for purposes of preparation and use of explosives." (Others named were Bill Biggin, David Gross and Leslie Gross.)

**BIRNBAUM, NEIL (or Neal).\*** Identified in investigative memorandum as "a leader of the SDS and a member of its Weatherman faction" who "traveled to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade in November 1969 and returned in February 1970."

**BISSELL, JUDITH EMILY. Weatherman Underground.** Wife of Silas Trim Bissell. She and he were arrested on January 18, 1970, on the University of Washington campus, and charged with planting a dynamite bomb under the steps of the Air Force ROTC building. They posted \$25,000 bond each on February 10, and then left Seattle and disappeared. Both were identified by police as participants in the Weatherman's secret war council in Flint, Mich., in December 1969.

On April 23, 1970, Chief Rutherford, Flint, Mich., police department advised that Judith Emily Bissell and her husband, Silas Trim Bissell, had been in the Flint and Grand Rapids area and it was believed they intended to visit her brother some place in New York State.

**BISSELL, SILAS TRIM. Weatherman Underground.** Husband of Judith Emily Bissell. He is a poet and former instructor at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. On January 18, 1970, he and his wife, Judith Emily Bissell, were arrested on the University of Washington campus, and charged with planting a dynamite bomb under the steps of the Air Force ROTC building. They posted \$25,000 bond each on February 10, and then left Seattle and disappeared. Both were identified by police as participants in the Weatherman's secret war council in Flint, Mich., in December 1969.‡

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\* Possibly part of weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

† See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV at p. 131.

‡ Warrant still active on Bissell, who reportedly fled to Canada with his wife in 1970.

On April 23, 1970, Chief Rutherford, Flint, Mich., police department advised that Silas Trim Bissell and his wife, Judith Emily Bissell, had been in the Flint and Grand Rapids area and it was believed they intended to visit her brother some place in New York State. Silas Trim Bissell is an heir to the Bissell Carpet Sweeper Co. fortune.

On February 24, 1969, Trim Bissell, although not a student at the University of Washington, led a rally sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society and the United Mexican-American Students which forced a United Fruit Co. representative from the third floor of Loew Hall, University of Washington, and prevented him from recruiting.

**BLUM, JEFFERY D.**\*\* Some time prior to late October 1969, Jeffery Blum, along with Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs and Peter W. Clapp, used as a dormitory and office an apartment leased to Gerald Long and his family (4943 North Winthrop, Chicago). Blum was president of the student body at the University of Chicago in 1968. In June 1967 he was named to the steering committee of the National Student Mobilization Committee. He was attached to the SDS Chicago headquarters. Jeffery Blum, Roger Henry Lippman, David Charles Lippman, and David Elbas, members of Weatherman were arrested for possession of deadly weapons during violence on University of California campus on April 17, 1970. Later news reports said the district attorney's office decided not to press the charges.

**BLUME, HARVEY JOEL.**\*\* Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October (1969) in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969.†

**BOTTNEY, JOHN.**\* Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October (1969) in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969.

**BOUDIN, KATHY. Weatherman Underground.** Kathy Boudin, born in New York City on May 19, 1943, is the daughter of Leonard B. Boudin, a lawyer. She went to private schools in New York and graduated in 1961 from the Elisabeth Irwin High School in New York. She attended Bryn Mawr College, majoring in the Russian language and literature. Her senior year was spent at the University of Moscow and she lived in Leningrad as well. She received credit for her year at the University of Moscow and in June 1965 was granted a magna cum laude degree from Bryn Mawr College.

In the summer of 1963 worked in Cambridge, Md., to desegregate a skating rink and restaurants.

Kathy Boudin worked with the Summer Organizing Committee during the summer of 1968 and her address was c/o Outpost, 13037 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44112 (216—541-2444).

On August 30, 1968, Kathy Boudin, 25, of Cleveland, was among three individuals arrested in Chicago and charged with criminal damage to property. The three were dropping an acid solution on

\* Recent information shows this individual is no longer associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\* Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

†See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV at p. 131.

carpeting in a cocktail lounge in the Palmer House, Chicago, Ill., which, when activated, caused a foul odor.

On October 30, 1968, the Cook County Circuit Court in Chicago, Ill., put her on a 1-year "supervision" as the result of her arrest on August 30, 1968.

On March 20, 1969, a grand jury, sitting in Chicago since the fall of 1968, indicted eight key members of the Nation's radical New Left and eight Chicago policemen, charging them with conspiracy to cause a riot as a result of the violence at the Democratic convention in 1968. The indictment included Boudin, who is still wanted on the charge.

In July 1969, Kathy Boudin traveled to Cuba with six SDS leaders, including Kathy Wilkerson and Ted Gold, to meet Vietcong and North Vietnamese representatives.

Kathy Boudin was arrested in Chicago on September 29, 1969, for damage to property and again on October 2, 1969 for mob action.

On October 10, 1969, Kathy Boudin was arrested in Chicago on charges of mob action and disorderly conduct. She claimed to be unemployed but actually is an attorney, licensed to practice in New York.

On October 31, 1969, 22 persons were indicted, including Kathy Boudin, by a grand jury in Chicago in connection with protests in support of the eight men on trial in Federal District Court on charges of conspiring to incite riots during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. She was charged with aggravated battery.

On December 19, 1969, Kathy Boudin was indicted by the Cook County Grand Jury in Chicago on one count of mob action during the street disorders in Chicago in October 1969.

Kathy Boudin attended the war council held by the Weatherman faction of SDS in Flint, Mich., during the latter part of December 1969.

On March 6, 1970, a townhouse in Greenwich Village, 18 West 11th Street, New York, N.Y., was destroyed by explosions. Kathy Boudin's credit card, library card and birth certificate were found in the rubble; however, she was not among the individuals killed.

Later it was reported that Boudin and Cathlyn Wilkerson, both Weatherman leaders, escaped through a front window. Wilkerson, daughter of the house's owner, wore only blue jeans. Boudin was naked. Two women helped them—Ann Hoffman, wife of actor Dustin Hoffman, who lived next door, and Susan Wager, former wife of Henry Fonda, also a neighbor. Wilkerson and Boudin left in borrowed clothes a few minutes later and disappeared into Weatherman Underground.

Kathy Boudin was scheduled to appear in Chicago Criminal Court on March 16, 1970, for pretrial motions on charges stemming from an alleged free-for-all with police last October (1969) in Chicago's Grant Park. Her bail was revoked and a warrant was issued for her arrest for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution. Kathy Boudin was also wanted by New York authorities for questioning about a March 6 explosion which wrecked a Greenwich Village townhouse.

On April 2, 1970, 12 members of the militant Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Kathy Boudin, were indicted by a Federal grand jury in Chicago for conspiring to cross State lines to incite riots in Chicago last October (October 8-11).

On April 2, 1970, almost immediately after the 12 members of the Weatherman, including Kathy Boudin, were indicted by a Federal grand jury in Chicago, the Federal Bureau of Investigation began a nationwide hunt for them.

In the New York Times book review section of April 5, 1970, "The Bust Book-What To Do Till the Lawyer Comes," was reviewed by Richard Lingeman. Kathy Boudin was one of the four authors of the book which originally appeared in July 1969, in pamphlet form. It is a handbook of legal advice for young "movement people" who get arrested.<sup>49</sup>

On July 23, 1970, Kathy Boudin, 27, of New York, was among 13 Weatherman of the Students for a Democratic Society charged with conspiracy by a Federal Grand Jury in Detroit as a result of the blast last March 6 that destroyed a bomb factory in a brownstone house at 18 W. 11th Street, New York, N.Y. The 13 individuals were accused of conspiring with 15 others, not named as defendants, to blow up police stations and other buildings in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Berkeley, Calif.

The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, March 1971, page 32, reported Kathy Boudin was being sought by the FBI for unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for mob action, violation of Federal anti-riot laws, and conspiracy.

On October 15, 1973, U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith of Detroit dismissed conspiracy charges against the Detroit 15, including Kathy Boudin, on the Government's own motion. The motion by U.S. Attorney Ralph B. Guy, Jr. said the Government would not endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed. Judge Keith had issued a sweeping order last June 5 for the Government to disclose whether it had used burglaries, sabotage, electronic surveillance, agents provocateurs or other "espionage techniques" against the Weatherman.

On January 3, 1974, U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman in Chicago dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Kathy Boudin, of New York, charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in 1969. Judge Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case.

According to The Washington Post, Leonard Boudin, described as "the criminal lawyer whose own daughter, Kathy, disappeared with the other Weatherman in 1970," hopes for a "nationwide campaign of amnesty for these young people." The Washington Post said Boudin "lumps together all of the antiwar protesters from Weatherman to draft evaders as 'young people who were the first to recognize the official lawlessness.'"

**BRALEY, SCOTT.** Scott Addy Braley (a.k.a.: Brailey) of Detroit, Mich., was born on March 26, 1947, a white male. He was one of the organizers of the Students for a Democratic Society at Kent State University.

In the Internal Security Subcommittee hearing, dated September 25, 1970, part 8, page 1172, a witness, Richard Schave, testified that Braley was active in the SDS at Michigan State University where he

<sup>49</sup> The New York Times Book Review, April 5, 1970, page 40.

attended SDS meetings and other national meetings. He was with Karl D. Wolff at Michigan State in March of 1969 when Wolff spoke at Wells Hall.

Braley was arrested in Southfield, Mich., December 1969 for assaulting a police officer. The Southfield Police Department Records Bureau reports that it never received any disposition of this arrest from the court.

It was revealed that the ballroom in Flint, Mich., which was used for meetings of the Weathermen for their "War Council" in December 1969, was rented by Scott Braley. He was active in demonstrations and disruptions at Michigan State University.

**BURKETT, LAWRENCE.** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests."†

**BURLINGHAM, ROBERT ["BO"]\*\***(a.k.a.: Arlo Jacobs). Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October 1969 in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." Identified by Washington Post November 11, 1973, as one of 15 defendants in "the Detroit Weatherman conspiracy case". Indicted December 19, 1969, by special SDS grand jury on one count each of aggravated battery and resisting a police officer. His arrest record shows an arrest on September 30, 1969, in Pittsburgh, Pa. [loitering and disorderly conduct].†

**CHASE, DAVID.** Flint, Mich., police identified David Chase as "associated with the Revolutionary Youth Movement and \* \* \* also Weatherman."

**CLAPP, PETER WALES. Weatherman Underground.** Traveled to Cuba in July of 1969.

On May 19, 1969, Peter W. Clapp, 22, of New York City, and Mark W. Rudd were arrested at Niagara Falls on marijuana possession charges after entering this country from Canada.

Peter W. Clapp was arrested on October 11, 1969 during the rioting in Chicago by the Weatherman faction of the SDS. He was among the 35 members of the Weatherman indicted in a grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969 and charged with one count of aggravated battery, one count of resisting a police officer, one count of criminal damage to property and one count of mob action and his bond was set at \$30,000.†

He was known to have attended the "War Council" held by the Weatherman faction of SDS in Flint, Mich. the latter part of December 1969.

On July 23, 1970, a Federal Grand Jury in Detroit indicted 13 members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS and accused them of conspiring to build a nationwide revolutionary network to bomb and kill. Fifteen persons, including Peter W. Clapp, were named co-conspirators, but not defendants in the indictment.

On October 15, 1973, the Government decided to drop the case against the Weatherman radicals, against whom an original indictment was handed down on July 23, 1970, and on December 7, 1972, a

\*\* Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

†See Chicago and Detroit indictments, Appendix IV, at p. 131.

substitute indictment, charging four more persons, was handed down by a Federal Grand Jury in Detroit. U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith dismissed the case on the Government's own motion so as not to endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed.

**CLARK, JUDITH ALICE ["Judy"].**\*\* Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." Identified by Washington Post January 7, 1974, as one of only two out of twelve defendants in the Chicago Weatherman case who had been apprehended by the end of 1973, and as having served 90 days in jail after conviction on State charges. [The other person similarly identified was Linda Evans.] The Illinois Crime Commission advised SISS that Judith A. Clark once lived in Chicago with Cathlyn P. Wilkerson and Ted Gold. Identified by Liberation News Service March 10, 1971, as "one of four female 'Weatherman' who pleaded guilty of charges of 'felonious mob action' in March 1971 and 'was sentenced to 3 years probation plus 180 days' ". Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969, in connection with the protests."

**COHEN, DANIEL H. Weatherman Underground.** Cohen, 20, of Baltimore, Md., was arrested with seven others, members of the SDS, after refusing a police order to stop handing out antiwar handbills to motorists in Chicago on September 15, 1969. They were charged with obstructing traffic and disorderly conduct. They were scheduled to appear in court on September 22, 1969.† Among those indicted in connection with violent demonstrations September 24, 1969, in Chicago, was Daniel H. Cohen of Baltimore, Md. They were identified by the States attorneys office as members of the militant Weatherman faction of the SDS. A grand jury in Chicago indicted them on October 31, 1969.

**COHEN, JUDITH ANN.** [See Flatley, Judith Ann.]

**COMSTOCK, LYNDON.**\*\* Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969."‡

**CRICHTON, EDITH G.**\*\* Identified by Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "5 Weatherman" fined and sentenced to jail on October 31, 1969 in mass arrests court in Chicago "in connection with violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman faction of the SDS." Identified by Wilmington, Del. News, October 24, 1969, as one of two residents of Newark, Del., "charged with mob action and disorderly conduct in Chicago Circuit Court on October 12, 1969 for their participation with members of the Weatherman when they walked through Chicago's North Side on October 8, 1969, throwing rocks and engaging in other provocative actions." Identified by

\*\* Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

†Cohen is still wanted on the charge.

‡See Chicago indictments, Appendix IV, at p. 131.

Chicago Crime Commission as having been a member of the Vencemos Brigade which went to Cuba in February 1970. (Crossing the Canadian line en route to St. John's, New Brunswick, to board the Cuban freighter, S.S. Luis Arcos Bergnes, en route to Havana, on February 9, 1970, she gave Canadian authorities her address as 94 Colorado Avenue, Wilmington, Del.)

CONINE, CLAUDIA. One of six persons described by police as members of the Weatherman organization who pleaded guilty on March 8, 1971, to charges of conspiracy to set fire to a group of six buildings in New York City. (The six buildings were: [1] 20 Broad Street, which houses the law offices of Mudgo, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander, of which former President Nixon once as a member; [2] the East Fifth Street police station; [3] a new police station under construction off West Tenth Street; [4] the Bolivian Consulate; [5] the mathematics and science building at New York University; and [6] the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st Street, where Conine and her co-conspirators were arrested after being caught placing four 1-gallon containers of gasoline and benzine outside the building.)

CROWLEY, BRUCE.\* Arrested October 11, 1969, Chicago, charged with mob action, aggravated assault, disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Pleaded guilty December 16, 1969, sentenced to 11 days in the county jail and fined \$500. Identified by Chicago Crime Commission as the son of a family of known Communist organizers in the Seattle, Washington, area.

CROZIER, BRIAN. Characterized as Weatherman in printed interview in U.S. News & World Report, March 1, 1971. Said to be student of Communist strategy and a leading authority on subversion and insurgency. In interview, Crozier expressed opinion revolutionary war and urban terrorism are going to get worse over the next 5 years. Crozier stated in interview that real danger in the United States is posed by the desperate, bomb-throwing anarchy of the Weatherman type. Their activities and the possible consequences of Federal action against them could lead to a situation that the Communists might eventually exploit—if you stretch the term "Communists" pretty widely.

CUNNINGHAM, ROBERT MARIS, III. Weatherman Underground. Born February 1, 1944, Chicago, Ill. Brother of Chicago Weatherman attorney Dennis Cunningham. Known associate of Weatherman Jonathan Lerner, Jennifer Dohrn, and Susan Weyssdorf. Location unknown and possibly part of Weatherman underground.

DEAN, TIMOTHY A.\* Arrested October 11, 1969, Chicago, charged with aggravated battery and mob action. Pleaded guilty December 19, 1969, sentenced to 1 day in the county jail and a fine of \$500. Reported 1 of about 12 persons who attended a meeting at Case Western Reserve October 17, 1969, where he gave a review of the Weatherman "Days of Rage" in Chicago, stating that the overall accomplishments were successful, doing close to \$500,000 worth of physical damage and put about 50 pigs in the hospital, one seriously

\* Recent information shows these individuals may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.



injured. Stated further it was also successful because this was the first time a white fighting force was gathered to support the Black and Vietnamese liberation struggle and actually went into the streets and fought the imperial pigs. Dean allegedly stated there were about 150 of their people in Chicago jails and that money was needed to bail them out. He mentioned two Clevelanders who were still in jail, Bobbie (Roberta) Smith and Celeste McCullough. He urged people should try to approach rich liberal friends and try to get large sums of money; and instructed that all money be forwarded to Rick Skirvin, 1516 Belmar, East Cleveland, Ohio. (McCullough and Smith were known members of Weatherman.)

DOHRN, BERNARDINE RAE (also known as Bernardine Rae Ohrnstein). **Weatherman Underground.** Graduated from Whitefish Bay High School, Milwaukee, Wis., in June 1959. She attended the University of Miami in Oxford, Ohio, from September 1959, to January 1961. She received the following degrees from the University of Chicago: B.A. in June 1963; M.A. in June, 1964; and a Doctor of Law Degree (J.D.) in June 1967.

According to the National Lawyers Guild Newsletter, volume 13, No. 2 (a self-described bi-monthly publication of the National Lawyers' Guild) Bernardine Dohrn was listed as the new student director of the National Lawyers Guild in 1967. The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions and which since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.<sup>60</sup>

As a speaker for the National Lawyers Guild, which was representing many of the striking students at Columbia University, Bernardine Dohrn stated a motion would be filed on May 26, 1968 in Federal District Court asking for an injunction to halt disciplinary action against student activists pending criminal charges against them.

The Students for a Democratic Society held its national convention at Michigan State University—June 9–15, 1968—and on June 14, 1968, Bernardine Dohrn was elected to the position of Interorganizational Secretary of SDS, a national office. Asked if she was a socialist, Miss Dohrn answered, "I consider myself a revolutionary Communist."<sup>61</sup>

The National Interim Committee of the Students for a Democratic Society held its third meeting—August 30–September 1, 1968. Bernardine Dohrn was unable to attend as she was in Yugoslavia.

The strike committee and the Students for a Democratic Society at Columbia University sponsored an assembly of revolutionary student movements which was held in New York City on September 23, 1968. Bernardine Dohrn, who had returned from Europe on September 20, 1968, stated she and 27 other American student leaders had met with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF) (Vietcong) of South Vietnam in Budapest—September 5–9, 1968. The meetings in Budapest centered on the Paris peace talks,

<sup>60</sup> Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, House Documents No. 398, 87th Congress, 2p session, revised and published December 1, 1961, page 121.

<sup>61</sup> The Evening Star, June 15, 1968, page A1 and the Evening Star, June 16, 1968, page A2.

on prospects of further student unrest and furthering draft unrest among GI's.<sup>52</sup>

The United Christian Fellowship at George Washington University, Washington, D.C., set up a meeting which was held at Lisner Auditorium on Tuesday night, October 1, 1968, and attended by about 1,300 persons. The purpose of the meeting was to condemn policy action in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention and the investigation of the disorders by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among the speakers was Bernardine Dohrn, who stated she was the attorney for Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden who had been subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

At a meeting on October 13, 1968, of the governing body of the Students for a Democratic Society held on the campus of the University of Colorado at Boulder, a resolution was adopted calling for the group to organize high school and college students for a November 4-5, 1968 strike and to "mobilize large militant SDS regional demonstrations in major cities to make visible the wide extent of opposition to this election. . . . All elections under the present system are fraudulent." Bernardine Dohrn was one of the SDS national secretaries who helped prepare the resolution.

During the National Council Meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society held at the University of Colorado at Boulder, October 11-13, 1968, Bernardine Dohrn spoke on October 11th. She said new members want to know, "What will we do after the revolution?" Continuing, she said, "People are looking for involvement in a real struggle, not an ideological struggle." She suggested the achievement of SDS goals would come through expanding the movement to non-students. All this was necessary, she explained, to complete the job of "attack, expose, destroy."

A movement legal conference was held at a dude ranch near Austin, Tex., from December 12-14, 1968, with approximately 200 people attending. Among the legal strategists who attended was Bernardine Dohrn, formerly with the National Lawyers Guild and at that time interorganizational secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society.<sup>53</sup>

Federal City College in Washington, D.C. agreed to allow the National Mobilization Committee to End the War to use its building January 18-19, 1969, for a conference prior to the committee's "counterinauguration" activities. Bernardine Dohrn, interorganizational secretary of SDS, was listed among the scheduled speakers.

The Students for a Democratic Society at the University of Washington scheduled a Cuba teach-in to be held at the university on January 29 and 30, 1969, in recognition of the 10th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. Among the scheduled speakers was Bernardine Dohrn, national interorganizational secretary of SDS.

A group of black militants and white radicals held a news conference on March 6, 1969, at the Diplomat Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y., charging that the State and Federal Governments were moving toward a system of preventive detention designed to intimidate the poor, Negroes and dissidents seeking to change the

<sup>52</sup> The Washington Post, September 21, 1968, and U.S.A., September 27-October 11, 1968.

<sup>53</sup> Guardian, Jan. 4, 1969—p. 7.

society. The statement, which was prepared by the Student Non-violent (now National) Coordinating Committee, said that preventive detention proposals, if approved, would be "the first step to legalized fascism in this country." Among those who subscribed to the aforementioned statement was Bernardine Dohrn, a leader of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The Students for a Democratic Society held a regional conference at Oberlin College the week of April 14, 1969, attended by members of the SDS from campuses all over Ohio. Bernardine Dohrn, National Interorganizational Secretary of SDS was one of the principal speakers.

At a press conference on May 13, 1969, at the regional headquarters of the Students for a Democratic Society in Chicago, Bernardine Dohrn said that plans were under way to "attack" college graduation ceremonies on campuses throughout the country. "Our presence will be known at the graduation ceremonies where the big people will come as speakers," she said.

After its office in Chicago was raided by police on May 12, 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society issued a leaflet—entitled "Urgent RAIDS Urgent"—instructing members on how to take "Elementary Security Proceedings." The verbatim text of the order contained in the leaflet read as follows: "All Political Arrests Must Be Viewed and Evaluated in a National Context. In order to respond nationally to these Mitchell raids, the national office must hear immediately from chapters the full details of arrests, investigations, and harassments—this applied to attacks on all movement people in their area. Several serious mistakes have been made in recent weeks because local groups did not report events in their area which turned out to have major significance. We must remember we are a national movement."

The Students for a Democratic Society held its national convention in Chicago beginning June 18, 1969. During the proceedings of the convention, there was a split between the "regulars" of the SDS and the rival Progressive Labor Party faction. On June 21, 1969, the "regulars" of the SDS voted to expel the Progressive Labor Party members from the organization. Bernardine Dohrn, in reading the expulsion resolution attacked the PLP for "an inability to relate to the black struggle and to the revolution of workers in America," and said the rival group was "not a viable part of the meaning of SDS." She referred to the PLP faction as "objectively racists, anti-Communist and reactionary." The "regulars" also criticized the PLP faction for failing to back North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the socialist revolution in Cuba.

In a letter dated June 23, 1969, from the SDS national office, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612, and addressed to Dear Sisters and Brothers," Bernardine Dohrn was listed as a member of the national interim committee of the SDS. The aforementioned letter was signed by Mark Rudd, national secretary; Jeff Jones, interorganizational secretary; Bill Ayers, educational secretary; Michael Klonsky, NIC member; and Bernardine Dohrn, NIC member. The letter read in part as follows:

By now the news of the Chicago convention has probably reached most of you. This letter is to let you know that despite any news you may hear to the contrary, SDS still lives and the national office is functioning as usual. . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

The split will create many problems. Anti-Communists may interpret this split wrongly. We must be clear that we will never tolerate anticommunism in our movement. . . .

Our next task is to build major actions in the fall against the war in Vietnam and in support of the black liberation struggle. We are calling for people to come to Chicago in September, at the time of the conspiracy trial of the Chicago 8 and force the power structure to bring the war home. . . . We welcome anyone who will join us. But we will not be turned around.

Bernardine Dohrn, National Interim Committee member of the SDS and a member of the Weatherman faction, traveled to Cuba with a delegation from the SDS on July 4, 1969, by plane via Mexico City and returned to North America on a Cuban vessel, *Manuel Ascunce*, arriving in Canada on August 16, 1969.<sup>54</sup>

On August 9, 1969, 100 sign-carrying, chanting antiwar demonstrators marched 3 miles from Hurt Park to Grant Park in Atlanta, Ga., for speeches commemorating the 24th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. Among the speakers was Bernardine Dohrn of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Bernardine Dohrn, SDS national officer, stated on August 20, 1969, that members of her organization met in Havana, Cuba, with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and members of an official delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during an 8-day period in early July 1969. Miss Dohrn condemned "U.S. stalling tactics" at the Paris peace talks. The SDS group also had views on other aspects of the so-called struggle in Asia. "It became clear to us," Miss Dohrn related, "that the struggle of the Korean people is a crucial struggle for the liberation of Asia. To our generation who grew up not knowing the issues of aggression in that war, when there was organized resistance in our country, we were greatly impressed by our discussions on the Korean situation."<sup>55</sup>

On August 22, 1969, Bernardine Dohrn was arrested in Chicago and charged with possession of drugs after police found 20 pills in her purse. On September 9, 1969, Judge Kenneth R. Wendt of Narcotics Court, Chicago, Ill., dismissed the charges on leave to reinstate. Judge Wendt's action came on a motion from the defense attorney to suppress evidence because the charges stemmed from an illegal search of Jeffery Jones' car, in which Bernardine Dohrn was a passenger, when police stopped it for lacking brake lights.<sup>56</sup>

An anti-Vietnam war rally was held near the Davis Cup tennis matches in Cleveland Heights, Ohio on September 20, 1969, which led to a knockdown, dragout battle with Cleveland Heights police. Among the 20 persons arrested was Bernardine Dohrn, 27, of Chicago, SDS Interorganizational Secretary. Miss Dohrn was charged with disorderly conduct.<sup>57</sup>

On September 26, 1969, Bernardine Dohrn was arrested in Chicago for mob action as a result of a demonstration in Chicago on September

<sup>54</sup> Material seized by the Chicago Police Department on April 14, 1970 at the premises of the residence of Martha Real located at 5845 South Blackstone Street, Chicago, Ill.

<sup>55</sup> Daily World, Aug. 20, 1969—p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left", pt. 4—p. 457.

<sup>57</sup> "Extent of subversion in the New Left", pt. 4—p. 457.

24, 1969 in support of the Chicago 8 who were being tried on riot conspiracy charges.

Bernardine Dohrn was arrested on October 9, 1969, by Chicago police during a clash between police and a women's faction of the Weatherman group. She was released on \$1,000 bond.<sup>58</sup>

On October 31, 1969, a grand jury in Chicago indicted 22 individuals, including Bernardine Dohrn, 27, of 4943 Winthrop Avenue, in connection with a demonstration in support of the eight men on trial in Federal district court on charges of conspiring to incite riots during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. The aforementioned demonstration took place on September 24, 1969.

In October 1969, Bernardine Dohrn was among high-ranking members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society who vacated an apartment at 4943 North Winthrop Avenue, Chicago, leaving behind documents later obtained by the Illinois Crime Investigating Committee. Charles Siragusa, Executive Director of the Commission, stated: "They reveal the violent nature of the SDS Weatherman, their connection with foreign Communist authorities, and a dangerous dedication toward armed revolution. \* \* \* We concluded that the SDS represents both an immediate and a long-range threat to the international security of this country. Under its new Weatherman leadership, the SDS has evolved into an organization which has risen beyond revolution to the level of anarchy. \* \* \* It is our belief that the recent bombings across the country are the first manifestation of the new Weatherman doctrine of anarchy \* \* \*." <sup>59</sup>

On December 19, 1969, a special Cook County Grand Jury in Chicago indicted 35 more members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Bernardine Dohrn, who were involved in the "Days of Rage" in October 1969. She was charged with two counts of aggravated battery, one count of soliciting to commit mob action, one count of resisting a peace officer and one count of mob action and her bond was increased to \$40,000.<sup>60</sup>

From December 27-30, 1969, the Weatherman held a "War Council" in Flint, Mich. The keynote address was given by Bernardine Dohrn and began by criticizing her fellow Weatherman for missing revolutionary opportunities:

We didn't fight around Bobby Seale when he was shackled at the [Chicago 8] conspiracy trial. We should have torn the courtroom apart. We didn't smash them when Mobe peace creeps hissed David Hilliard [for suggesting the murder of President Nixon] on Moratorium Day in San Francisco. We didn't burn Chicago down when Fred [Black Panther Fred Hampton] was killed.

The grisly murder of movie star Sharon Tate and four companions was cheered by the Weatherman and Bernardine Dohrn stated: "Dig it; first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, then they even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach! Wild!"

Bernardine Dohrn was scheduled to appear in Cook County Court, Chicago, Ill., on March 16, 1970, to face trial on various charges of

<sup>58</sup> "Extent of subversion in the New Left", pt. 4—p. 456.

<sup>59</sup> Hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on "Extent of Subversion in the New Left", pt. 4, June 10, 1970—p. 238.

<sup>60</sup> "Extent of subversion in the New Left," pt. 4—p. 456.

mob action and assault during the 4 "Days of Rage" staged by the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society in Chicago in October 1969. She did not make an appearance and Cook County Judge Louis B. Garippa revoked her bail, set a new bond of \$75,000 and issued a warrant for her arrest.

On April 2, 1970, a Federal Grand Jury in Chicago indicted 12 members of the Weatherman, including Bernardine Dohrn, on charges of conspiracy to violate the anti-riot act during the "Days of Rage"—October 8–11, 1969—in Chicago.<sup>61</sup>

On April 3, 1970, the Federal Bureau of Investigation began a nationwide hunt for the 12 Weatherman, including Bernardine Dohrn, who were indicted in Chicago on April 2, 1970 on charges of conspiracy and violation of the Federal anti-riot act. The Chicago police were also searching for Miss Dohrn in connection with the discovery of an alleged bomb factory in an apartment on Chicago's North Side on Monday, March 30, 1970.

On Monday, May 4, 1970, a new warrant for the arrest of Bernardine Dohrn was issued when she failed to show up in jury court in Chicago for her trial on a charge of auto theft. She was charged with borrowing an automobile and failing to return it to the lender, William Frapolly, a Chicago policeman working as an undercover agent during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Magistrate Lawrence Genesen issued an arrest warrant for her and set a new bond of \$5,000. Miss Dohrn was already being sought on Federal and State warrants stemming from other charges.

In late May 1970, the New York Times bureau in Chicago received by mail a three-page typed statement which was allegedly a transcript of a tape recording by Bernardine Dohrn, a leader of the Weatherman. The statement was a "Declaration of a State of War" from the Weatherman Underground and read as follows:

Hello. This is Bernardine Dohrn.

"I'm going to read a Declaration of a State of War.

This is the first communication from the Weatherman Underground.

All over the world, people fighting Amerikan imperialism look to Amerika's youth to use our strategic position behind enemy lines to join forces in the destruction of the empire.

Black people have been fighting almost alone for years. We've known that our job is to lead white kids to armed revolution. We never intended to spend the next 5 or 25 years in jail. Ever since SDS became revolutionary, we've been trying to show how it is possible to overcome the frustration and impotence that comes from trying to reform this system. Kids know that the lines are drawn; revolution is touching all of our lives. Tens of thousands have learned that protest and marches don't do it. Revolutionary violence is the only way.

Now we are adapting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Vietcong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros to our own situation here in the most technically advanced country in the world.

<sup>61</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left", pt. 4--p. 456.

Che taught us that "revolutionaries move like fish in the sea." The alienation and contempt that young people have for this country has created the ocean for this revolution.

The hundreds and thousands of young people who demonstrated in the sixties against the war and for civil rights grew to hundreds of thousands in the past few weeks actively fighting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the attempted genocide against black people. The insanity of American "justice" has added to its list of atrocities six blacks killed in Augusta, two in Jackson and four white Kent State students making thousands more into revolutionaries.

The parents of "privileged" kids have been saying for years that the revolution was a game for us. But the war and racism of this society show that it is too ——— up. We will never live peaceably under this system.

This was totally true of those who died in the New York townhouse explosion. The third person who was killed there was Terry Robbins, who led the first rebellion at Kent State less than 2 years ago.

The 12 Weathermen who were indicted for leading last October's riots in Chicago have never left the country. Terry is dead, Linda was captured by a pig informer, but the rest of us move freely in and out of every city and youth scene in this country. We're not in hiding, but we're invisible.

There are several hundred members of the Weatherman Underground, and some of us face more years in jail than the 50,000 deserters and draft dodgers now in Canada. Already many of them are coming back to join us in the Underground or to return to the man's army and tear it up from inside along with those who never left.

We fight in many ways. Dope is one of our weapons. The laws against marijuana mean that millions of us are outlaws long before we actually split. Guns and grass are united in the youth underground.

Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks. If you want to find us, this is where we are. In every tribe, commune, dormitory, farmhouse, barracks, and townhouse where kids are making love, smoking dope, and loading guns—fugitives from American justice are free to go.

For Diana Oughton, Ted Gold, and Terry Robbins, and for all the revolutionaries who are still on the move here, there has been no question for a long time now—we will never go back.

Within the next 14 days we will attack a symbol or institution of American injustice. This is the way we celebrate the example of Eldridge Cleaver and H. Rap Brown and all black revolutionaries who first inspired us by their fight behind enemy lines for the liberation of their people.

Never again will they fight alone.

May 21, 1970.<sup>62</sup>

On July 23, 1970, a Federal grand jury in Detroit indicted 13 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic

<sup>62</sup> The New York Times, May 25, 1970, page 27 and Liberation News Service, May 27, 1970, pages 8 and 9

Society, including Bernardine Dohrn, and accused them of conspiring to build a nationwide revolutionary network to bomb and kill.

Fifteen individuals were named as coconspirators, but not defendants, in the indictment.

A letter, postmarked October 5, 1970, in Chicago, and signed by Bernardine Dohrn, Jeff Jones, and Bill Ayers, was received on October 6, 1970, in the New York office of the Youth International Party. The letter referred to an explosion early on October 5, which destroyed the statue of a policeman in Chicago's Haymarket Square for the second time in a year and read in part as follows:

A year ago we blew away the Haymarket pig statue at the start of a youth riot in Chicago. Last night we destroyed the pig again. This time it begins a fall offensive of youth resistance that will spread from Santa Barbara to Boston, back to Kent and Kansas.

Next week families and tribes will attack the enemy around the country.

We are building a culture and society that can resist genocide. It is a culture of total resistance to mind-controlling maniacs, a culture of high-energy sisters getting it on, of hippie acid-smiles and communes and freedom to be the farthest out people we can be. \* \* \*

We are not just "attacking targets"—we are bringing a pitiful helpless giant to its knees.

The Youth International Party also received a tape with the same message as the aforementioned letter and Bernardine Dohrn's sister, Jennifer, identified the voice on the tape as that of her sister, Bernardine.

On October 14, 1970, Bernardine Rae Dohrn was added to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's list of the 10 most wanted fugitives. Her aliases were listed as Bernardine Dohrn, Bernardine Rae Ohrnstein, H. T. Smith, and Marion Del Gado.<sup>63</sup>

In late October 1970, Bernardine Dohrn, allegedly was in Algiers with Black Panther Party leader, Eldridge Cleaver, and Timothy F. Leary, advocate of free use of the drug LSD and a fugitive from U.S. justice. On October 25, 1970, Timothy F. Leary, accompanied by his wife, Rosemary, and a young woman believed to be Bernardine Dohrn left Algiers supposedly headed for Jordan.

On November 30, 1970, Bernardine Dohrn sent a letter, signed "Bernardine Dohrn, Weatherman Underground," to the Associated Press which read in part as follows:

In retaliation for the commando raid and bombing of North Vietnam, attacks will be carried out on pigs, military and government buildings and agents without warning.

Brothers and sisters: Keep away from ROTC; city, State, and Federal buildings; pig stations and cars.

The U.S. aggressors will be punished here and in Vietnam. All power to the people.

A significant shift in emphasis for the Weatherman, both in philosophy and tactics, was suggested in a communique, dated December 6,

<sup>63</sup> The Evening Star, Oct. 15, 1970, page A-5.



1970, allegedly written by Bernardine Dohrn, the fugitive leader of the group. The aforementioned communique, entitled "New Morning" after Bob Dylan's recent album, seemed close to a recantation of the Weatherman's commitment to violence as the only and vital instrument of revolutionary change. The communique, which was distributed by the Liberation News Service, appeared in a number of campus and underground newspapers and read in part as follows:

This communication does not accompany a bombing or a specific action. We want to express ourselves to the mass movement not as military leaders, but as tribes at council. It has been 9 months since the townhouse explosion. In that time, the future of our revolution has been changed decisively. A growing illegal organization of young women and men can live and fight and love inside Babylon.

It is time for the movement to go into the air to organize, to risk calling rallies and demonstrations, to convince that mass actions against the war and in support of rebellions do make a difference. Only acting openly, denouncing Nixon, Agnew, and Mitchell, and sharing our numbers and wisdom together with young sisters and brothers, will blow away the fear of the students at Kent State, the smack [heroin] of the Lower East Side [here in New York], and the national silence after the bombings of North Vietnam.

Much of Bernardine Dohrn's statement tended to confirm reports that the Weatherman leaders decided they could be more effective as builders of a new "revolutionary culture" than as bombers and terrorists. At the end of the statement, Miss Dohrn's name was followed by the words—"Weather Underground"—whereas a previous statement attributed to her, bore the identifying phrase—"Weatherman Underground."<sup>64</sup>

On October 15, 1973, the Government decided to drop the case against the Weatherman radicals, against whom an original indictment was handed down on July 23, 1970, and on December 7, 1972, a substitute indictment, charging four more persons, was handed down by a Federal grand jury in Detroit. U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith dismissed the case on the Government's own motion so as not to endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed.<sup>65</sup>

After U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith in Detroit dismissed the case against the Weatherman on October 15, 1973, the Federal Bureau of Investigation removed Bernardine Dohrn from its "Most Wanted List" in December 1973. [New York Post, July 26, 1974—p. 58.]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, in its annual report for 1973, characterized Bernardine Dohrn as "A Weatherman leader, still a fugitive," and quoted her as having said in 1970 that Weatherman was "declaring war" and would use "the classic guerrilla strategy of the Vietcong."

On January 3, 1974, U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman in Chicago dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Bernardine Dohrn, charged with leading the riotous "Days

<sup>64</sup> The New York Times, Dec. 25, 1970—p. 18 and Inside Labor, Dec. 22, 1970.

<sup>65</sup> The Washington Post, October 16, 1973—p. A5; The New York Times, Oct. 16, 1973—p. 1.

of Rage" through Chicago streets in October 1969. Judge Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case.<sup>66</sup>

In February 1974, Bernardine Dohrn wrote a letter, using the dateline "Weatherman Underground," to two San Francisco newspapers giving what the papers called "guarded approval" to the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Federal antiriot and conspiracy charges against Bernardine Dohrn were dismissed in June 1974, but she remained on the FBI Wanted List for interstate flight to avoid prosecution and firearms violations.<sup>67</sup>

Bernardine Dohrn was listed as one of the authors of a revolutionary book, "Prairie Fire, the Politics of Revolutionary Anti-imperialism," allegedly printed and distributed under the auspices of the Weatherman. The book was mysteriously delivered to selected stores around the Nation on Friday, July 26, 1974.<sup>68</sup>

**DOHRN, JENNIFER.** \*\* Sister of Bernardine Dohrn, Weatherman leader. Identified by New York Post, July 26, 1974, as "herself reportedly a member of the Weatherman Underground." Listed in advance notices given to newspapers and radio stations as one of those expected to attend a press conference in Baltimore, Md., on July 26, 1974, to announce distribution of the Weatherman book, "Prairie Fire".

**DONGHI, DIANNE MARIE** (alias Dionne Donghi). \*\* Arrested October 11, 1969 [mob action], pleaded guilty December 16, 1969, sentenced to 1 day in the county jail and fined \$90. Identified by SISS investigative report as a "leader of the SDS and a member of its Weatherman faction" who "traveled to Cuba in July 1969". Identified by Washington Post November 11, 1973, as "one of 15 defendants in the Detroit Weatherman conspiracy case."

**DROBENAIRE, MIKE.** Identified by an SISS informant as one of a group of individuals "formerly associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS, who took part in the Youth International Party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1-4, 1971."

**ELBAZ, DAVID.** Elbaz, Jeffrey Blum, Roger Henry Lippman, and David Charles Lippman, members of Weatherman, were arrested for possession of deadly weapons during violence on University of California campus on April 17, 1970, according to the American Legion Firing Line, p. 3, June 1970. News reports said the district attorney's office decided not to press the charges.

**ESPOSITO, MISS COURTNEY.** \*\* Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests."

**EVANS, LINDA SUE.** \*\* Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." Identified by Washington Post November 11, 1973, as

\*\* Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>66</sup> The Washington Post, Jan. 4, 1974—p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> The New York Post, July 26, 1974—p. 58.

<sup>68</sup> News-American [Baltimore], July 29, 1974—p. 2A.

one of 15 defendants in the Detroit Weatherman conspiracy case. Identified by SISS informant as "one of a group of individuals formerly associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS, who took part in the Youth International Party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1-4, 1971." Identified by New York newspapers April 15, 1970, as "a member of the Weatherman faction" who had "been arrested in New York" the previous Friday as "a fugitive under a Federal indictment handed down in Chicago."

On September 4, 1969, Linda Sue Evans was arrested in Pittsburgh, Pa., and charged with inciting to riot and insulting a police officer, in connection with a demonstration at the South Hill High School. [This is known to have been a Weatherman demonstration.]

On October 24, 1969, Linda Sue Evans was arrested by the Illinois State Police after the police raided three cabins in the White Pines State Park near Oregon, Ill. Also arrested were Jeff Jones [international organizational secretary of the SDS Weatherman faction] and what police described as eight more of the top SDS Weatherman faction members including William Ayers, Mark Rudd, Jeffrey Jones, and Bernardine Dohrn. [Illinois Crime Commission report printed as an appendix to SISS hearing.]

Linda Sue Evans was a member of the second Venceremos Brigade which went to Cuba on the "Luis Arcos Bergnes" in February 1970. Identified by Washington Post, January 7, 1974, as 1 of the only 2 of the 12 defendants in the Chicago Weatherman case who had been apprehended by the end of 1973.

**FADEM, PAMELA SUE, Weatherman Underground.** Born December 1, 1951, Amityville, N.Y. Attended Bennington College, Bennington, Vt., September 1969 to January 1970. Articles belonging to Fadem found in New York City townhouse explosion, March 6, 1970. Attended Weatherman national conference, Flint, Mich., December 1969. Resided in Weatherman commune until February 1970, in New York, when she went underground. Is step-sister of Karen Ashley.

**FLANAGAN, BRIAN.**<sup>60</sup> Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of 35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago who were indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969. Identified by New York Times, December 20, 1969, as one of three named persons involved in the 3 days of intermittent battling of the Weatherman with the police in mid-October in Chicago. Indicted by the Chicago special grand jury December 19, 1969, on charges of aggravated battery, simple battery, mob action and resisting arrest in connection with the attack on Assistant Corporation Counsel Richard Elrod, who, as a result of the attack, was paralyzed from a broken neck. Identified by the Washington Post December 20, 1969, as among the 35 members of the Weatherman indicted by a special grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969 as a result of charges growing out of the marches in Chicago on October 8, 1969, and October 11, 1969. Identified by Washington Daily News August 21, 1970 as having just been found innocent of attacking a city official during last October's "Days of Rage" by the SDS Weathermen, and as having stated: "There is no such thing as a fair trial" and

<sup>60</sup> Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

"What's a fair trial in Chicago? Law and order is a farce. I sat in that court room and I watched black men hurried in and out and I saw the court officials licking their chops. I want to get back in the streets where I can fight. I want to live the way I did." According to the Daily News story, "The jury also cleared Flanagan of kicking an off-duty policeman."

**FLATLEY, JUDITH ANN. Weatherman Underground.** Born January 19, 1945, Newark, N.J., as Judith Ann Cohen. Attended Douglas College of Rutgers University, N.J.; Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pa.; and received B.A. degree, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1968. Resided in a Weatherman commune in Detroit. Attended Weatherman National Council meeting in December, 1969. Participated in Weatherman national action in Chicago, October 1969. Listed by Chicago Daily News of December 19, 1969, as one of 35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago who were indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969. Member of Milwaukee SDS and attended Youth International Party (YIP) meetings and National Convention. Federal warrant issued, Milwaukee, March 6, 1972, under Title 18, United States Code, section 1073, UFAP-Forgery. Recommended bond \$50,000. Federal warrant issued, Milwaukee, May 9, 1972, under Title 18, United States Code, section 922(a)(b), for purchase of firearms under false identification. No bond recommended.

**FLIEGELMAN, RONALD D. Weatherman Underground, Fliegel-**man, 26, was one of 13 leaders of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS to be indicted on July 23, 1970, on charges of setting up a nationwide terrorist underground. The charges stemmed directly from an investigation begun after the destruction of the New York townhouse where the explosion killed three persons. They were charged with conspiracy, and facing maximum penalties of 5 years imprisonment and \$10,000 fines.<sup>70</sup>

According to the New York Times of Sunday, July 26, 1970, Ronald D. Fliegelman is still at large and has gone underground. He was named as one of the defendants who is believed to have fled after an explosion in a New York townhouse.

The Washington Star of January 9, 1972 reported that FBI agents were searching for a young man who in June 1971 repeatedly discussed how to make bombs in three bars. Bombs were found and disarmed in three banks in Chicago, New York City and San Francisco. An alert was issued for Weatherman leaders, including Ronald D. Fliegelman, 27, wanted for questioning in regard to the bombs.

**FRAPPIER, JON F.\*** Attended National Weatherman war council Flint, Michigan, December 27-31, 1969. [Extent of subversion in the New Left, hearings, SISS, part 9, August 6, 1970, page 1227.] Arrested October 11, 1969, Chicago, charged with disorderly conduct. Pled guilty October 24, 1969, fined \$100. Reported in clipping printed in appendix of cited SISS hearing, that he and his then wife, Nancy [from whom he was divorced shortly after Weatherman faction broke with the SDS], returned to Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1963, and that, for a few months immediately thereafter, Tom Hayden roomed with

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

<sup>70</sup> Washington Post of July 24, 1970, page A1, and Washington Daily News, July 24, 1970, page 2.

them in their duplex apartment. Same source reported that after arriving at Ann Arbor, Frappiers helped organize the children's school, along with William Ayers, later a national Weatherman leader, and Diana Oughton.

**FRAPPIER, NANCY.\*\*** Identified in testimony by Detroit police detective sergeant as having attended national Weatherman convention in Flint, Mich., December 27-31, 1969 [the war council]. Nancy Frappier was a member of the February 1970 Venceremos Brigade. While she was in Cuba in March 1970, a vehicle registered to her was used by persons unknown to purchase dynamite in Romeo, Mich.<sup>71</sup>

**FUERST, JOHN A. Weatherman Underground.** A resident of Milwaukee, Wis., Fuerst, 25, was arrested in Chicago on October 11, 1969, on charges of mob action, aggravated battery, and resisting arrest. On December 1, 1969, he was indicted by the special SDS grand jury on the above charges and his bond was increased to \$35,000.

An apartment located at 4943 N. Winthrop St., Chicago, which had been occupied by Bernardine Dohrn and other prominent SDS personalities was vacated in October 1969. Documents left behind included a letter from one Thomas Kappner of 530 W. 122d Street, Apt. 6B, New York City, making application to join the Venceremos Brigade. He gave as his personal reference six known SDS members including that of John Fuerst.

He was closely associated with Carol Anne Hoppe and Judith Ann Cohen, also SDS members from Wisconsin. After the Chicago riots Fuerst, Cohen, and other SDS members returned to the Milwaukee area and were engaged in soliciting moneys from sympathizers at various universities for bond, legal fees, and fines of those arrested during the Chicago riots. On November 8, 1969, Fuerst and Hoppe left Milwaukee for an unknown destination to perform SDS administrative functions. He was a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. He was also a leader in the Wisconsin Draft Resistance movement.<sup>72</sup>

John Fuerst was a passenger in a 1967 Chevrolet van which was stopped by the police in Flint, Mich., on December 30, 1969.

He is known to have attended the "War Council" held by the Weatherman faction of SDS in Flint, Mich., the latter part of December 1969.

The New York Times of January 10, 1971 (p. 68), reported that a Federal grand jury in Tucson, Ariz. was investigating an incident in which some radicals, who the prosecution said were Weathermen, purchased dynamite in Tucson with an intent to transport it to California. One person, John Fuerst, has been indicted in connection with the incident, but he had not been apprehended.

According to the Washington Star of January 9, 1972, John A. Fuerst was one of 16 Weathermen being sought for questioning about three bombs found in Chicago banks, three in New York City and two in San Francisco. They were searching for a young man who used the name of Christopher Mohr in renting safety deposit boxes in the banks,

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>71</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left" hearings, SSISS, part 8, September 25, 1970, pages 1169-1170, and part 9, August 6, 1970, page 1240.

<sup>72</sup> Hearing SSISS "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," part 4, dated June 10, 1970.

allegedly to plant the bombs in them. He had been observed by witnesses in bars and heard discussing the making of bombs.

The Justice Department on December 7, 1972 expanded a 1970 indictment against the Weatherman organization charging four more persons with plotting to bomb a Cleveland policeman's home and police and military facilities in several cities.

The original and substitute indictment handed down by a Federal grand jury in Detroit, resulted from an investigation that began after an explosion destroyed a Brownstone townhouse described as a Weatherman bomb factory in March 1970. Weathermen were charged in both indictments with plotting to bomb police and military facilities in Detroit and Milwaukee. The four new defendants indicted included John Fuerst, 28.<sup>73</sup>

**GANLEY, GERALD J. Weatherman Underground.** Ganley, of Seattle, Wash., aged 27, was arrested in Chicago on October 9, 1969, on charges of mob action. He claimed to be a student of the Seattle Community College. He was released on a \$500 bond on October 14, 1969. On November 10 of that year, he pleaded guilty, was fined \$500 and sentenced to 5 days in the county jail.

His record of arrest shows that on January 1, 1963, he was arrested by the Mercer Island, Wash., police on charges of reckless driving and driving with an expired license. He was found guilty and fined \$25. On May 24, 1966, he was arrested by the Lodi, Calif., police for a faulty muffler, no operator's license, no vehicle registration, and no identification. He was sentenced to 35 days in jail and given 3 years probation. On July 11, 1966, he was arrested by the Olympia, Wash., police on charges of possession of dangerous drugs. No disposition shown on police report.<sup>74</sup>

**GARDINER, ELIZABETH.** Identified by Washington Evening Star, October 9, 1969, as one of three Weathermen who were injured when members of the Weathermen faction, wearing helmets and carrying clubs, "ran through Chicago's near North Side on the night of October 8, 1969, breaking windows, damaging cars, and intermittently battling with the police."

**GEHMAN, HANK.\*** Identified by SISS informant as one of a group of individuals formerly associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS, who took part in the Youth International Party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1 to 4, 1971. Now believed to be living in France.

**GILBERT, DAVID JOSEPH. Weatherman Underground.** A member of the Weatherman and a member of the National Committee of the SDS, participated in a debate with Philip Abbott Luce, 31, national college director of the Young Americans for Freedom at the University of Denver on November 11, 1969. Gilbert stated in part: "Third World' revolution is the only way to reach a justice for all human beings—the goal of the Weatherman is world communism." \* \* \* "To talk about laws is nice for people who live in a world of words," he said, but has no relevance to "people in the street." The

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

<sup>73</sup> Washington Star-News, December 8, 1972, page A13.

<sup>74</sup> Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing of June 10, 1970, titled "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," p. 462, pt. 4.

world has arrived at the point, he said, where "debate is useless" and "what's happening is the people's war."<sup>75</sup>

Dave Gilbert, an SDS organizer, stated: "We use the technique of demands, always pushing and pushing on through demands, to an end where they have to give in or fight against the revolution."<sup>76</sup>

**GOLDFIELD, EVELYN.** Wife of Michael Goldfield. Identified by Detroit News of May 24, 1974, as having been "identified by Senate investigators as known Weatherman member." [Such identification was not made by SISS.]

**GOLDFIELD, MICHAEL.** Husband of Evelyn Goldfield. Identified by Detroit News of May 24, 1974, as having been "identified by Senate investigators as known Weatherman member." [Such identification was not made by SISS.]

**GROSS, DAVID.** Husband of Leslie Gross. Identified by Philadelphia Bulletin, April 12, 1970, as one of four persons "watched by police department as members of Weathermen who hold meetings for purpose of preparation and use of explosives."

**GROSS, LESLIE.** Wife of David Gross. Identified by Philadelphia Bulletin, April 12, 1970, as one of four persons "watched by police department as members of Weathermen who held meetings for purposes of preparation and use of explosives."

**HABER, ALAN.** Identified by Detroit News of May 24, 1974, as having been "identified by Senate investigators as known Weatherman member." [Such identification was not made by SISS.]

**HACKMAN, SHELLY.\*** Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 9, 1969." Identified by Liberation News Service, March 10, 1971, as "one of four female members of 'Weatherman' who pleaded guilty to charges of 'felonious mob action' in March 1971 [growing out of an October 1969 battle with Chicago police 16 months earlier] who was sentenced to 3 years' probation.

**HAGEDORN, SUSAN.\*\*** Identified by Fall River [Mass.] police sergeant as having told his informant that she was "with the Weatherman and the Weatherman had gone underground", and that it was her purpose to "inculcate revolutionary thinking" in the junior high school children she was teaching.<sup>77</sup>

**HANDELSMAN, LEONARD.** Weatherman Underground. On October 30, 1968, Handelsman, 22, a graduate student at the University of Chicago and a member of the Students for a Democratic Society, was arrested in Chicago and charged with possession of drugs, running a red light and driving on the wrong side of the street. Two other SDS members were also arrested. All were released on \$1,000 bond each and were to appear in Narcotics Court in Chicago on December 12, 1968.<sup>78</sup>

Leonard Handelsman, 23, was among 22 individuals indicted on October 31, 1969, by a grand jury in Chicago in connection with the

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\* Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>75</sup> Denver Post, Nov. 13, 1969.

<sup>76</sup> Congressional Record—Extensions of Remarks, Apr. 28, 1970, p. E3672, article from the San Diego Union, Mar. 30, 1970.

<sup>77</sup> Extant of Subversion in the New Left," SISS, hearings, part 5, July 9, 1970, pgs. 827-828.

<sup>78</sup> American, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 31, 1968.

protests by the Weatherman faction of the SDS in Chicago during October 1969.<sup>79</sup>

On January 8, 1972, the FBI issued a nationwide alert for 16 leaders of the militant Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Leonard Handelsman, for questioning as the result of bombs which were found and disarmed on January 7, 1972, in three Chicago banks, three banks in New York City, and two banks in San Francisco.

A Federal grand jury in Detroit handed down a substitute indictment on December 7, 1972, expanding the July 23, 1970, indictment against the Weatherman, charging four more persons, including Leonard Handelsman, 26, of Cleveland, with plotting to bomb a Cleveland policeman's home and police and military facilities in several cities.

On October 15, 1973, the Government decided to drop the case against the Weatherman radicals, against whom an original indictment was handed down on July 23, 1970, and on December 7, 1972, a substitute indictment, charging four more persons, was handed down by a Federal grand jury in Detroit. U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith dismissed the case on the Government's own motion so as not to endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed.<sup>80</sup>

**HEIMANN, HARRIET. Weatherman Underground.** Heimann, 22, of Queens, N.Y., was arrested in Chicago on October 11, 1969, on charges of mob action and disorderly conduct. She claimed to be a doctor's assistant at the time of her arrest. On October 28, 1969, she pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 17 days in the county jail.<sup>81</sup>

**HIRSCH, PHOEBE E. Weatherman Underground.** Hirsch, 23, of Chicago, Ill., was arrested on October 9, 1969, on charges of mob action, aggravated battery, and resisting. On December 19, 1969, she was indicted by a special SDS grand jury on a charge of mob action, and bond was increased to \$20,000. She claimed to be a writer for the R.A.T. Publications in New York, a militant newspaper.

Phoebe Hirsch is known to have attended the "War Council" held by the Weatherman faction of the SDS in Flint, Mich., in December 1969.<sup>82</sup>

The New York Times, dated March 17, 1970, reported that Phoebe Hirsch was present in court in Chicago on March 16 as ordered, in connection with the bombing of a building in New York.

**HIRSCHFIELD, JOAN RIA.** \*\* Identified by Chicago Tribune of November 1, 1969, as one of five Weathermen fined and sentenced to jail on October 31, 1969, in mass arrest. Arrested October 11, 1969 [mob action and disorderly conduct], pleaded guilty on October 31, 1969, fined \$215 and \$10 costs. Also sentenced to 2 days in jail, sentence considered served because of time spent in jail before being released on bond.

<sup>79</sup> Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>80</sup> Chicago Tribune, Nov. 1, 1969.

<sup>81</sup> The Washington Post, Oct. 16, 1973, p. A5; the New York Times, Oct. 16, 1973, p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing dated June 10, 1970, titled "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4, p. 484.

<sup>83</sup> Report from Chief of Police, Flint, Mich., received on Apr. 17, 1970, "The Students for a Democratic Society" in Flint, Mich., p. 5, pt. II.



HOCHBERG, ARTHUR G.\* Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969."

HOPE, MARGARETTE.\* Arrested October 9, 1969 [mob action and disorderly conduct], pleaded guilty October 27, 1969, fined \$50. Member of second Venceremos Brigade sailing from St. John's, New Brunswick, in February 1970. Identified by former Cuban informant as one of a group of members of Weatherman faction of SDS who went to Cuba as Venceremos Brigade members.

JACOBS, JOHN G. **Weatherman Underground.** Jacobs, 22, of Detroit, Mich., was arrested on October 11, 1969, on charges of aggravated battery, mob action, and resisting arrest. He claimed to be unemployed. On December 19, 1969 he was indicted by the special SDS grand jury. His bond was increased to \$50,000.

He is a former boy friend of SDS leader Bernardine Dohrn. He is a former Progressive Labor Party and SDS activist at Columbia University in New York. Jacob's record of arrest reveals that on August 17, 1966, he was arrested in Washington, D.C., on charges of disorderly conduct. On August 22, 1969, he was arrested in Chicago on charges of assault and battery. This SDS demonstration was in protest to the Vietnam war. He assaulted a police officer with a rock when the officer relieved him of the Communist flag he was carrying.

On April 2, 1970, he was 1 of 12 indicted by the Federal jury in Chicago on charges of conspiracy to violate the Antiriot Act during the October 8-11, 1969 riots.<sup>83</sup>

The militant left wing Students for a Democratic Society—later identified as "Weatherman"—held a meeting in Boulder, Colo., on October 13, 1968, on the campus of the University of Colorado. They voted a twofold plan to express its disdain for the Presidential campaign and the election process.

They also voted to accelerate efforts to enlist high school students in the group's radical cause.

The document was prepared by Bernardine Dohrn, one of the group's three national secretaries, and two New York members, John Jacobs and Jeff Jones.<sup>84</sup>

In the Northern Virginia Sun on October 21, 1968, an article was printed stating that the militant left wing SDS are busy trying to set in motion a grandiose scheme for nationwide disruption of the November 5 election.

They had set up plans to organize strikes, walkouts, and demonstrations in high schools in major cities, on military installations and in the cities. Basically they planned to pursue the same tactics employed in the turbulent demonstrations and clashes with police at the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

"Boulder to boulder" was the SDS designation for the election disruption project. It was proposed by Bernardine Dohrn, Jeff Jones, and John Jacobs.

Also discussed at a midnight SDS meeting was staging a revolutionary theater on November 4 and 5. Participating in this discussion

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

<sup>83</sup> Hearings SIS8 dated June 10, 1970, part 4, titled "Extent of Subversion in the New Left."

<sup>84</sup> The Baltimore Sun, October 14, 1968.

were representatives of the American Playground, sponsored by the Institute of Policy Studies. A leader of the latter was Mark Raskin, one of the defendants in the trial of Dr. Benjamin Spock and Rev. William Sloane.

Charges against three leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society and two others of possession of drugs, unlawful possession of a weapon, and failure to register a weapon were stricken on leave to reinstate on September 9, 1969, by Judge Kenneth R. Wendt of narcotics court.

Listed among the defendants was John Jacobs, 22, of 4943 Winthrop Avenue, Chicago.

The reason for dropping the charges were that police lacked a search warrant for searching the car where the above illegal possessions were found. The car had been stopped for lacking brake lights. Found in the car was a 3-inch knife, a gun, and 90 rounds of ammunition.<sup>85</sup>

Nine SDS members were arrested in Detroit after demonstrators clashed with police during an antiwar rally at the main library.

John Jacobs was charged with resisting and obstructing arrest.

Police attempted to bring a charge of anarchy against Jacobs because he waved a red flag during the antiwar rally, but the Wayne County prosecutor's office refused to recommend a warrant on the charge.<sup>86</sup>

A special Cook County grand jury investigating the October clashes between Students for a Democratic Society and the Chicago police declared that there was no doubt that those confrontations were deliberate attempts to disrupt the city government and create as much havoc as possible.

In an unusual statement, made after announcing 20 indictments, the grand jury said there was no question that the Weatherman faction of the SDS was a "revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization dedicated to the violent overthrow of our present form of government and the creation of a godless Communistic society."

Among the Weatherman faction leaders indicted was John J. Jacobs, 22, of Detroit, Mich. He was charged with battery, resisting a policeman, and mob action.<sup>87</sup>

A meeting by the Weathermen held in Flint, Mich., to plan revolutionary strategy and coordinate plans was described by undercover operatives in a report printed by "Human Events" dated January 31, 1970.

Posters of Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, and Eldridge Cleaver adorned the wall.

Bernardine Dohrn gave the keynote address and began by criticizing her fellow Weathermen for missing revolutionary opportunities.

A correspondent for the New Left's Liberation News Service reported that Weathermen leaders were calling for "political assassination and literally any kind of violence in the armed struggle against imperialism."

The murder of movie star Sharon Tate and her four companions was cheered by the Weathermen and crude, grisly remarks were made about the way the murder was committed.

They made jokes about their crazy behavior and admitted that they deliberately set out to frighten "honky" America.

<sup>85</sup> The Chicago Sun-Times and Chicago Tribune both dated September 10, 1969.

<sup>86</sup> Detroit, Mich., News, September 29, 1969.

<sup>87</sup> New York Times, December 20, 1969, p. 62.

Weatherman leader John J. J. Jacobs agreed. "We're against everything that's good and decent," he crowed.

Police were seeking what they described as "a highranking Weatherman leader from Detroit" for questioning about a "bomb factory" discovered in a North Side Chicago apartment on Monday, March 30, 1970.

They identified him as John (J.J.) Gregory Jacobs, 22, who bears a marked resemblance to Gary C. Witzel, the Chicagoan who previously had been accused of being the man who rented the apartment under an alias 2 months ago. The manager of the building and other tenants identified photos of Jacobs as the man who rented the apartment.

Investigators describe Jacobs as 5 feet 9 and weighing 160 pounds, with black hair, gray eyes, and a ruddy complexion.

The bomb factory was discovered when an exterminator opened the apartment with a pass key. He saw a box containing dynamite on a bed and called police.

Investigators said the explosives, if detonated could have destroyed the three-story building and much of the surrounding residential block. The building housed 50 apartments—all of them occupied.<sup>88</sup>

Included in a nationwide hunt by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is John Jacobs, 22, along with 11 other Weatherman. They have been indicted in Chicago on charges of conspiracy and violation of the Federal Anti-Riot Act. The search began almost immediately after the indictments were handed down to the young men and women who make up most of the leadership of the violence-oriented faction of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The organization is reported to have broken up in small groups and gone underground. Some are believed to have left the country; possibly to Canada. The national office is closed and their newspaper is no longer published.<sup>89</sup>

In a report printed on May 3, 1970, in the Washington Daily News, it was reported that an intensive manhunt was underway for the leaders of the ultramilitant Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society. They are wanted on charges of riot and conspiracy growing out of the "4 days of rage" disorders in Chicago in October 1969.

Nine of the ring leaders were considered particularly dangerous in the ferment sweeping the U.S. universities.

One of these, John Gregory Jacobs, 22, also goes by the names of Barry P. Stein and "J.J.," is ruddy, muscular, and of medium height. [He is also the son of wealthy eastern parents, and a graduate of a prep school.]

After the bombing of the U.S. Capitol, police and FBI agents resumed their never-ending search for the dozen bomb conspiracy suspects from the radical left. They are known members of the Weathermen underground, the militant, bomb-prone offshoot of the Students for a Democratic Society that forms the hard core of revolutionary activists in the United States.

<sup>88</sup> Detroit, Mich., News, April 3, 1970.

<sup>89</sup> New York Times, April 4, 1970, page 12.

Among the fugitives being sought is John G. Jacobs, 23, who is wanted on riot conspiracy indictments and a leader in the Weathermen.<sup>90</sup>

The FBI, in January 1972, renewed its search for 16 members of the militant Weathermen for questioning in connection to the placement of bombs in three cities. The bombs were placed in safety deposit boxes in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco. John "J.J." Jacobs is one of those whose name appears on the wanted list.

A young man whose name is reported to be Christopher Mohr rented out the safety deposit boxes shortly before the bombs were discovered. He was also heard to discuss the making of bombs in several bars and police are searching for him and anyone who may know of his whereabouts.<sup>91</sup>

Judge Julius J. Hoffman dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weathermen charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in 1969.

Judge Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case.

Included in the dismissal is John Jacobs, 25, of Detroit. His indictment charged that he and the other defendants crossed State lines, made speeches, published articles and made specific plans for the disturbances at the SDS offices in Chicago.<sup>92</sup>

**JAFFE, NAOMI ESTER. Weatherman Underground.** Both the Washington Star and the Hanoi International Service of May 15, 1968, have reported that Naomi Esther Jaffe was one of four American students who visited Hanoi and were taken on a tour.

Naomi Jaffe was identified as a leader of a women's antidraft movement in the SDS in New York.

The delegation was welcomed by Secretary Do Van Hien and many members of the Vietnam National Union of Students. They visited the Vietnam Revolution Museum and a number of supplementary education classes in Hanoi. They also called on the DRV commission for the investigation of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam. They talked with North Vietnamese students about the antiwar movement by students in the United States.

Naomi Jaffe participated in a Women's Liberation protest in Atlantic City at the site of the Miss America contest, in September 1968.

In a position paper, Miss Jaffe coauthored with Miss Bernardine Dohrn, admonished women to "come together, not in a defensive posture to rage against our exploited status vis-a-vis men, but rather in the process of developing our autonomy to expose the nature of American society in which all people are reified [manipulated as objects]" et cetera.

Naomi Jaffe was described as a former student of Herbert Marcuse at Brandeis and currently [1968] a graduate student in sociology at the New School.<sup>93</sup>

Thirteen leaders of the militant Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society were indicted on charges of setting up a

<sup>90</sup> Washington Daily News, March 8, 1971.

<sup>91</sup> Washington Evening Star, January 8, 1972.

<sup>92</sup> Washington Post, January 4, 1974.

<sup>93</sup> New York Times Magazine, February 9, 1969.

nationwide terrorist underground. A Federal grand jury in Detroit said the conspiracy included plans to bomb police stations and military installations, and even talk of assassinations. Among those listed is Naomi E. Jaffe, 27. Her whereabouts are unknown.

The conspiracy charges carry a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Naomi Ester Jaffe, aged 26, Manhattan, New York was arrested on October 11, 1969, on two counts of aggravated battery and resisting arrest. She gave her occupation as a school teacher at Staten Island Community College, New York City. On December 16, 1969, she pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 52 days in the county jail and fined \$500.

She has been very active in the SDS. In June 1968, she attended the National Convention of the SDS in East Lansing, Mich. In January 1969, her name appeared on the mailing list of the New York Regional SDS as the contact for the New School, Graduate Division. She was arrested on August 23, 1969, in New York City, for obstructing Government administration and disorderly conduct. She was arrested in Pittsburgh, Pa., on September 4, 1969, with 25 other SDS females during an SDS disruption at the South Hills Public High School.<sup>44</sup>

In an article by the Washington Daily News, March 8, 1971, Naomi Jaffe, one of the bomb conspiracy suspects and a member of the Weathermen, was listed as being sought on the bomb conspiracy indictment. She is believed to have gone underground.

When several bombs were found in banks in three U.S. major cities; Chicago, New York, and San Francisco, the FBI again resumed their search for the 16 Weatherman who were fugitives before the bomb incident and are being sought for questioning.

Witnesses have testified that a man who called himself Christopher Mohr had talked with people at bars about making bombs and he allegedly, rented safety deposit boxes in these banks prior to the discovery of the bombs. Naomi Jaffe is listed as 1 of the 16.<sup>45</sup>

On October 16, 1973, both the New York Times and the Washington Post carried news items indicating that the Government had decided to drop the case against 15 Weathermen rather than undergo a searching court hearing on how it obtained its evidence. The Weathermen involved were sometimes referred to as the "Detroit 15" and included Naomi Jaffe.

**JAMES, MICHAEL.** Identified by witness, a member of SDS, as being a Weatherman. [Witness stated she believes father of Michael James is a Broadway producer.] James was arrested October 8, 1969 [aggravated battery, resisting arrest, unlawful use of weapons], indicted December 1, 1969. [James was accused of attacking an innocent bystander with a 4-inch blade knife bearing Black Panther insignia.] [June 1968, James was elected one of eight officers of the National Council of SDS; and at the Chicago riots in August 1968, during the Democratic National Convention, he was photographed trying to overturn a police squadrol.]

**JENSEN, PETER.** Listed by Chicago News, Dec. 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS

<sup>44</sup> Hearing, 8188 dated June 10, 1970, pt. 4, titled "Extent of Subversion in the New Left."

<sup>45</sup> Washington Evening Star, January 8, 1972.

involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969."

**JOHNSON, BRIAN.\*** Identified by SISS informant as one of a group of individuals formerly associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS, who took part in the Youth International Party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1-4, 1971.

**JOHNSON, OWEN RICHARD**, alias Bryan Lee. Identified by Chicago Crime Commission as having been active in SDS affairs in the Seattle, Wash., area.

**JONES, JEFFREY CARL. Weatherman Underground, "Jeff"** Jones, a member of the Students for a Democratic Society since 1966, has proven to be one of the most radical of the revolutionary students who have demonstrated against the establishment.

He attended Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, from October 1965 to April 1966.

According to the October 21, 1967, issue of the Guardian he was reported to have said:

It is now clear to us that our goals include a new American revolution and that the development of new American revolutionaries will be a difficult task in the context of liberal society.

He was one of a group of four who visited Paris, France, and went on to visit Cambodia and Hanoi in November 1967. The SDS newspaper, New Left Notes, carried an article in December captioned "Delegation to Hanoi Returns." Referring to the visit by the SDS students, Fulton Lewis III stated:

Both SDS and the Viet Cong have one common interest . . . to end the war in Vietnam soon with a Communist victory.

In June of 1968, Jones was elected to the SDS National Interim Committee.

He was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on February 23, 1947; is 5 feet 11 and weighs approximately 150 pounds, is slender, blonde with blue eyes.

On October 9, 1969, he was arrested on charges of mob action, battery, and resisting arrest. He struck Chicago assistant corporation counsel Stephen Zucker at the corner of State and Division, in Chicago's downtown Loop section. Zucker was an official observer during the Chicago demonstrations with his immediate superior, assistant corporation counsel Richard Elrod who was allegedly attacked by Brian Flanagan who was also arrested on December 19, 1969. Jones was indicted by the special SDS grand jury on the above charges and his bond was increased to \$40,000.

Independently of that indictment Jones was also indicted in Chicago on November 5, 1969, on charges of felonious mob action and aggravated battery stemming from his arrest on October 2, 1969, at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus. At that time he gave his address 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, which was the national SDS office until February 1970.

Jones, aged 22, gave the fictitious address of 3101 Sheffield, Chicago, at the time of his October 2, 1969, arrest but since he worked out of the SDS national office in Chicago, his local residence was within the city, at an unknown address. He supplied 13949 Tyler Street, Sylmar, Calif., as his permanent address.

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

On October 23, 1969, he was arrested by the Illinois State Police at White Pines State Park in Illinois during a meeting of SDS Weathermen leaders including William Ayers and Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn and Linda Sue Evans.

At the SDS national convention at Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., June 9-15, 1968, Jones was one of 11 national officers elected. At the June 1969 SDS national convention in Chicago, he was elected interorganizational secretary, succeeding Bernardine Dohrn. In addition to the above-named arrests, Jones was also arrested on January 23, 1969, in San Francisco on charges of unlawful assembly, remaining present at the place of a riot, and disturbing the peace; on August 22, 1969, in Chicago, for unlawful use of a weapon; on September 29, 1969, in Pittsburgh, Pa., for larceny.<sup>96</sup>

The Northern Virginia Sun carried an article on October 21, 1968, describing a "grandiose scheme" by the militant leftist SDS students for disrupting the November 5 elections. Plans were allegedly made for enlisting high school students and military people in their attempts to create havoc, confusion and discourage citizens to vote. The proposal was submitted at a meeting in Boulder, Colo., by Bernardine Dohrn, Jeff Jones, and John Jacobs. The vote in favor was overwhelming.

On November 5, 1968, the SDS succeeded in their attempts to disrupt the elections.

Scores of dissident youths held demonstrations in major cities across the Nation. That night, the police reported 77 demonstrations. There were clashes between bands of protestors and the police. Scores were arrested. The demonstrations were organized by the militant faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Resistance, and the High School Student Union.

In New York, the rally was conducted under the tense surveillance of a heavy concentration of policemen and the 1,000 persons gathered in the square were told by Jeffrey Jones a member of the SDS regional staff, to head for Rockefeller Center.

"We're in a pig pen," he said using the favored New Left word for police. "We've been there before. The people we sent out tell us that the forces of law and order go farther than the eye can see."<sup>97</sup>

At a SDS meeting in Chicago in June 1969, the organization split into two factions. The Progressive Labor Party faction attempted to wrest control of the SDS from the Revolutionary Youth Movement faction. The RYM group claimed to have kept charge of the SDS through control of the organization's headquarters, files, and funds.

About 700 delegates of the original 1,500 left with the RYM faction. The RYM group elected Mark Rudd the National Secretary, Jeff Jones as National Secretary for Interorganizational Affairs, and Bill Ayers as National Education Secretary.<sup>98</sup>

On August 13, 1969, Congressman Ichord inserted in the Congressional Record a position paper which reprints the ultimate objectives of the current SDS leaders.

The position paper was entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows", which was printed in the June

<sup>96</sup> S188 hearing "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," Part 4 dated June 10, 1970.

<sup>97</sup> New York Times, November 6, 1968.

<sup>98</sup> Washington Daily News, June 23, 1969.

18, 1969, issue of New Left Notes, official publication of the Students for a Democratic Society. [From this time forth, this SDS faction was referred to by the press and others as "Weatherman."]

Their [the leaders] attitude relative to the American educational system is that "revolutionaries should never put forth a line which fosters the illusion that imperialism will grant significant reforms." They express the belief that high schools and colleges should be closed rather than reformed.

The document goes on referring to the United States as an oppressor nation, stating:

We are within the heartland of a worldwide monster, a country so rich from its worldwide plunder that even the crumbs doled out to the enslaved masses within its borders provide for material existence very much above the conditions of the masses of people of the world.

The goal is the destruction of U.S. imperialism and the achievement of a classless world; world communism.

To further quote from the SDS document:

The centralized organization of revolutionaries must be a political organization as well as military, what is generally called a "Marxist-Leninist party". . . . A revolutionary mass movement is different from the traditional revisionist mass base of "sympathizers". Rather it is akin to the Red Guard in China, based on the full participation and involvement of masses of people in the practice of making revolution; a movement with a full willingness to participate in the violent and illegal struggle.

Because police lacked a search warrant when they searched the car of Jeffrey Jones on September 9, 1969, six of the seven charges against the occupants of the car were dropped. One charge, driving without a brake light was sustained. The police found, in searching the car, pills, an unregistered gun, a knife, and 90 rounds of ammunition in the trunk. The car was occupied by three leading members of the SDS and two others.

Two opposing factions of the radical Students for a Democratic Society battled each other and plainclothes detectives on October 2, 1969, during a rally on the University of Illinois Circle campus.

They engaged in fist fights, in the campus amphitheater, and shoving matches which resulted in the arrests of three SDS activists, including Jeff Jones. All three were charged with aggravated battery, mob action, and resisting arrest.<sup>99</sup>

State and county police raided three cabins at White Pines State Park in Illinois on October 23, 1969, turning up top leaders of the Weatherman faction of the SDS. Jeffrey C. Jones, 22, SDS inter-organizational secretary from Cylmar, Calif., was one of those arrested. Jones was charged with possession of a deadly weapon [a blackjack] and released on a \$1,000 bond.<sup>100</sup>

Police uncovered a "gun storage depot" in a Chicago apartment in April 1970, believed to have been used by members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS. The whereabouts of the four Weathermen who were known to have frequented the apartment were unknown. Police were searching for them. Among those identified was Jeff Jones who was indicted by a Federal grand jury for conspiracy to riot. The indictment stemmed from his role in the Weathermen disorders in Chicago on October 8-11. The apartment is believed to have been a training site in explosives for the Weatherman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Chicago Tribune, Oct. 3, 1969.

<sup>100</sup> Press, Polo, Ill., Oct. 30, 1969.

<sup>1</sup> Chicago Tribune, Apr. 22, 1970.



Twelve Weathermen indicted in 1969 Chicago disorders. The 12 militant activists were indicted by a Federal grand jury for conspiring to cross State lines, to incite riots in Chicago last October. Some of the 12 young men and women may possibly be out of the country. The disorders are often referred to as the "4 days of rage." The climax of the "days of rage" was a march on October 11 that began at the Haymarket Statue, a landmark honoring police. It had been blasted by an explosion earlier in the week.

About 400 began shouting, after an orderly march through the Loop, then suddenly turned and raced down Madison Street, breaking windows, battling police, and trying to struggle free into the crowds of astonished shoppers. Most of them were arrested.

Jeffrey Jones was one of the members indicted. He was 22 and had worked with SDS regional offices in New York and San Francisco Bay areas; organized high school students on east and west coasts as well as in Chicago; elected SDS interorganizational secretary in 1969.<sup>2</sup>

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has spurred their search for the 12 Weathermen indicated for the Chicago riots. The search had begun almost immediately after they were handed down. The Weathermen have virtually dropped out of sight. The Weathermen, estimated to number around 300 persons, have reportedly gone "underground." They have broken up into small secret groups, living in several cities with almost no contact with other radical organizations.

One of the 12 being sought was Jeffrey Jones, 22.<sup>3</sup>

Jeff Jones is one of the signers of a "communication" from the Weather Underground, allegedly written by Bernardine Dohrn in which she points out the aims of the youthful revolutionaries. It was received by the Youth International Party on October 6, 1970. In the final paragraph she warns American leaders, "Guard your planes, guard your colleges, guard your banks, guard your children, guard your doors."

Jeffrey Jones, 24, was again one of the Weathermen who was sought for questioning after bombs were found in banks in New York, Chicago and San Francisco.

U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in 1969.

He acted on a Government request after a Supreme Court decision barred electronic surveillance without a court order to be used for evidence. The court order would have hampered prosecution of the case. One of those who had been indicted was Jeffrey Jones.<sup>4</sup>

The radical Weather Underground, has apparently surfaced after 4 years in a new book claiming responsibility for 19 bombings.

The 152 page booklet was received by radio station WBAI-FM in New York and mysteriously delivered to selected stores in San Francisco and around the nation. Anonymous callers told store owners they could sell the publication or give it away. The books were reported snapped up within hours by radicals wanting to know the current thinking of the group.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Post, Apr. 3, 1970—biographical sketch Chicago News; same date.

<sup>3</sup> New York Times, Apr. 4, 1970, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 4, 1974.

It is not known whether the book is authentic, but it bears the names of Miss Dohrn, Billy Ayers and Jeff Jones.

Entitled "Prairie Fire—The Politics of Anti-Imperialism," the book bears the phrase, "printed underground in the U.S. for the people."

The book asserts a belief that revolution is necessary to destroy the present political and economic system and that violence is necessary to achieve that purpose.

**JUSTESEN, THOMAS MICHAEL. Weatherman Underground.** In August, 1969, Thomas Michael Justesen, a member of the Weatherman faction of SDS, represented the organization at an anti-imperialist conference in Tokyo.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Michael Justesen is being sought by the FBI for conspiracy to unlawfully injure property of the United States. He was indicted on April 16, 1970, by a Federal Grand Jury in Seattle, Wash., in connection with violent demonstrations which occurred there on February 17, 1970, reportedly to protest the pending "Chicago 7" trial. The demonstrators allegedly smashed windows of the United States Court House and reportedly damaged no less than 30 business establishments in the area. On April 16, 1970, a Federal warrant for Justesen's arrest was issued at Seattle.<sup>6</sup>

In August 1971, commenting on the indictment of Justesen, the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin said Justesen "allegedly wears a long hunting knife strapped to his leg" and "is reportedly a member of the militant and violence-oriented Weatherman Group," and said "he should be considered dangerous."

The charges against Thomas Michael Justesen were dismissed for lack of evidence on May 10, 1974.

**KARP, SAMUEL.\*\*** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests."

**KELLY, JOSEPH H.\*\*** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests."

**KLAFTER, DAVID B.\*\*** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests."

**KLINE, REBECCA A.\*** [Betsy Ann]. Arrested on October 11, 1969, on charges of mob action and disorderly conduct. Pleaded guilty October 30, 1969, sentence to 3 days in the county jail and fined \$200. Identified by the Pittsburgh, Pa., Post-Gazette, October 17, 1969, as having been one of 26 young women who "invaded South Hills High School on September 4, 1969 in an alleged drive to promote the Weatherman faction of the SDS." (The South Hills High School demonstration is known to have been a Weatherman project.

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\* Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>2</sup> The American Legion Firing Line, July 1970, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Aug. 1971, p. 32.

**KREBS, SHARON.** One of six persons described by police as members of the Weatherman organization who pleaded guilty on March 8, 1971, to charges of conspiracy to set fire to a group of six buildings in New York City. [The six buildings were: (1) 20 Broad Street, which houses the law offices of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander, of which former President Nixon once was a member; (2) the East Fifth Street police station; (3) a new police station under construction off West Tenth Street; (4) the Bolivian Consulate; (5) the mathematics and science building at New York University; and (6) the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st Street, where Krebs and her coconspirators were arrested after being caught placing four 1-gallon containers of gasoline and benzine outside the building.]

**KLONSKY, MICHAEL.** Named by Radio Havana [broadcast] in the fall of 1969 as one of a number of individuals from the United States to whom applicants could write for information regarding the [Venceremos Brigade] trip to Cuba. [Others similarly named by Radio Havana included Arlene Bergman, Gerald Long, and Diana Oughton.]

**LAMBERT, LAUREL A.\*** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969, in connection with the protests." Arrested October 9, 1969 [mob action] rearrested on October 11, 1969 [final day of the Chicago "Days of Rage"]. December 1, 1969 pleaded guilty, sentenced to 6 days in the county jail and fined \$450.

**LAMM, PAUL.** San Francisco Chronicle, May 30, 1970, reported that Paul Lamm and one Robert Stover "were captured after a high speed chase by the Oakland Police intelligence agents who linked the two men with Weatherman". The Chronicle reported further that "chemicals were found in the car" which were "purportedly taken during a chemical warehouse holdup," and that "a small laboratory was found in their house."

**LEACH, MILINDA STIVERS.** Named by Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of five Weathermen "fined and sentenced to jail on October 31, 1969 in mass arrests court in Chicago in connection with violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman faction of the SDS." Arrested October 11, 1969, (mob action, disorderly conduct), pleaded guilty October 31, 1969, sentenced to 60 days in the county jail and fined \$750.

**LEARY, TIMOTHY.\*** Several days after he escaped from San Luis Obispo Men's Colony (part of the California prison system) on September 13, 1970, a letter appeared in various news media, purporting to be signed by Bernardine Dohrn, Weatherman leader, claiming that the Weatherman organization had had the "honor and pleasure" of helping Leary to escape. A subsequent letter purportedly from Leary said in part: "I offer living gratitude to my sisters and brothers in the Weatherman underground who designed and executed my liberation." In February 1971, Leary, in a joint interview with Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, said youthful radicals should be "following the way of militant Weathermen and Black Panthers, rather than clowning or tripping," according to the Washington Daily News of February 24, 1971. Recently, in a confession about his escape, Leary

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\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

has confirmed that it was the Weatherman operation. He also implicated members of the National Lawyers Guild in Los Angeles, and revealed he had met with Bernardine Dohrn, Weatherman leader, in Seattle, before going to Algiers.

**LEWIS, MARTIN.** One of six persons described by police as members of the Weatherman organization who pleaded guilty on March 8, 1971, to charges of conspiracy to set fire to a group of six buildings in New York City. (The six buildings were: (1) 20 Broad Street, which houses the law offices of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander, of which former President Nixon once was a member; (2) the East Fifth Street police station; (3) a new police station under construction off West Tenth Street; (4) the Bolivian Consulate; (5) the mathematics and science building at New York University; and (6) the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st Street, where Lewis and his co-conspirators were arrested after being caught placing four 1-gallon containers of gasoline and benzene outside the building.)

**LIEBLING, JEFFREY.\*** Identified by the Chicago Crime Commission as having, from June to middle November 1969, "maintained an apartment at 2311 Jefferson Street, Baltimore, Md., which was a focal point and communal for SDS Weatherman members."

Same source reported that on October 4, 1969, District of Columbia police stopped an auto being operated by Liebling and found it contained 34 steel helmets, gas masks, chains, web belts, and first aid kits. The automobile was followed to 2311 Jefferson Street in Baltimore, and it was established all the equipment had been purchased by one Gregory Dunkel of Hyattsville, Md., on September 30, 1969, in the District of Columbia. Dunkel, Liebling, and Marcus Dinsmore, owner of the vehicle in question, were all arrested during the Chicago "Days of Rage".†

**LIPPMAN, DAVID CHARLES.\*** Born in Washington State but grew up in Sacramento. Active SDS organizer on high school campus in Sacramento, distributed radical underground newspapers at school, and was arrested there in October 1969 for violation of the California Education Code. Was a member of POOR, the Project of Organized Resistance, at Caramento High School. According to American Legion Firing Line of June 1970, David Charles Lippman was one of four members of Weatherman arrested for possession of deadly weapons during violence on University of California campus on April 17, 1970. Others were his brother, Roger, Jeffrey Blum, and David Elbaz. News reports said the district attorney's office decided not to press the charges.

**LIPPMAN, ROGER HENRY.\*** Originally from Sacramento, Calif., he attended Reed College in Oregon and the University of Washington. Was editor of the Agitator, underground radical tabloid while at Reed, and in 1967 headed Northwest Regional Conference on Draft Resistance. New Left Notes, national publication of the SDS, identified him in 1968 as keyman for the SDS summer project in Seattle area, which called for infiltration of industries and business there "for sabotage and recruitment. Coauthor of article in New Left Notes of January 15, 1969, titled, "Smash the Military Machine in Schools." Attended Chicago SDS convention at which Weatherman was formed. During Chicago SDS riots was arrested October 8, 1969

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.  
† See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV, at p. 131.

(mob action, disorderly conduct). Rearrested October 11, 1969, same charges. Pleaded guilty December 17, 1969 (mob action), sentenced to 11 days in county jail, \$90 fine. Charge of disorderly conduct stricken with leave to reinstate. Illinois Crime Investigating Commission stated Roger Lippman lived in fall of 1969 at 3822 Woodlawn, Seattle, Wash., a commune for SDS members, and was considered to be leader of Weatherman chapter in Seattle. Roger Lippman was one of four members of Weatherman, according to the American Legion Firing Line of June 1970, who were arrested for possession of deadly weapons during violence on University of California campus on April 17, 1970. Others were his brother, David, Jeffrey Blum, and David Elbaz. News reports later said the district attorney's office decided not to press the charges.

**LIPSCHUTZ, ELAINE D.\*** Identified by Philadelphia Bulletin, December 22, 1969, as "among the Weatherman indicted by a special grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969, in connection with the October disorders in Chicago." Same newspaper reported after arrest Lipschutz stated Henry A. Kissinger "unwittingly started her on the radical road", explaining she was a student of Kissinger's when he taught a political science course in 1963 at Harvard University, while she was attending Radcliffe College. Lipschutz was quoted as saying: "I saw that he had no regard for human life and construed our foreign policy as a power game." Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October (1969) in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969."

Arrested October 11, 1969 [aggravated assault, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest], released on \$13,000 bond in court December 19, 1969, bond forfeited. Indicted by special SDS grand jury on charges of aggravated battery and resisting arrest.

**LONG, CONSTANCE IRENE.\*\*** (nee Ullman). Identified by Illinois Crime Commission as "married to Gerald W. Long who was also arrested during the Chicago riots." And "resided with her husband [prior to October, 1969] at 4939 North Winthrop Street, Chicago," and that "also residing in the same apartment were Bernardine Dohrn and other high-ranking national officers of the SDS." Arrested [Chicago] October 9, 1969, for failure to disperse. Pleaded guilty November 17, 1969, fined \$22.50.

**LONG, GERALD W.\*\*** Traveled to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade in November 1969. Named by Radio Havana broadcast, fall 1969, as one of the individuals in the United States to whom applicants could write for information regarding the [Venceremos Brigade] trip to Cuba. [Others similarly named included Arlene Bergman, Michael Klonsky, and Diana Oughton.] Identified by SISS investigative memorandum as "a leader of the SDS and a member of its Weatherman faction" who traveled to Cuba in July 1969. Identified by former Cuban informant as one of the members of the SDS Weatherman faction who tripped to Cuba as Venceremos Brigade members. Arrested [Chicago] October 9, 1969, on a charge of mob action. Pleaded guilty November 10, 1969, sentenced to 1 day in the county jail and

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

ined \$400. On October 2, 1969, was lessee of an apartment in Chicago where he resided "with his wife, Bernardine Dohrn, and other high-ranking SDS leaders" according to the Illinois Crime Commission.

Identified by Illinois Crime Commission as one of "SDS leaders from the national office" who were "interrupted by the Illinois State Police during the meeting they held at White Pine State Park, October 24, 1969." [Others similarly named included William Charles Ayers, Mark Rudd, Jeffrey Carl Jones, and John G. Jacobs.]

In June 1969, Liberation News Service reported Long was one of eight members of the national executive committee that had the responsibility of recruiting SDS members to cut sugarcane for Fidel Castro's Communist Cuba. Long was a member of the first "Venceremos Brigade" contingent to go to Cuba. Identified by Richard M. Schave, Michigan police officer, as "one of the authors of a leaflet entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows." And as "a close confidante of many fugitive members of the Weatherman movement." <sup>7</sup>

Executive director Charles Siragusa of the Illinois Crime Investigating Commission testified that in October 1969, Bernardine Dohrn, Gerald Long, and other high-ranking members of SDS Weatherman vacated an apartment at 4943 North Winthrop Avenue, Chicago, leaving behind documents later obtained by the Illinois Crime Investigating Commission. Siragusa testified the documents "reveal the violent nature of the SDS Weatherman, their connection with foreign Communist authorities, and a dangerous dedication toward armed revolution." Internal Security Subcommittee hearing "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," part IV, June 10, 1970, p. 238. [An investigative memorandum in SISS files identifies Gerald W. Long as "a leader of the SDS and a member of its Weatherman faction" and states Long attended the Havana Cultural Congress in January 1968.

**MACHTINGER, HOWARD. Weatherman Underground.** Born in October 1946, he made one of his first public statements as a SDS leader when three other members were arrested on drug charges in October 1968.

A graduate student in sociology at the University of Chicago he claimed that "The point is to intimidate us so he [Mayor Daley] doesn't have to use public violence to stop the election day demonstrations." <sup>8</sup>

On January 31, 1969, a Chicago Daily News Article gave brief sketches of some of the leaders of the SDS who had participated in the University of Chicago demonstrations.

Howard "Howie" Machtinger was described as a "doctoral candidate in sociology, from New York City, a short, thin youth with curly red hair," with an easygoing manner and sense of humor which belied the fact that he was among one of the most radical of the militants.

Another newspaper, the Chicago Tribune, said that he had attended the university for 2 years, and studied at Columbia University, and had been a regional director of the SDS since the fall of 1968. He was one of the group who planned the election day demonstrations.

<sup>7</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," SISS hearings, part VIII, Sept. 25, 1970, p. 1170.

<sup>8</sup> Chicago American, October 31, 1968.

When the administration building at the University of Chicago was taken over on January 30, 1969, by rebellious students protesting the university's failure to rehire an assistant professor of sociology, it was reportedly a "steering committee" of 20 students, which frequently was led in its discussions by Howard Machtinger.

In another demonstration, University of Chicago students marched on the home of the school's president and smashed a glass porch door as they nailed petitions to a wooden door, and harassed diners at the Quadrangle club, a private club for the faculty and the administration. One of the demonstrators was identified as Howard Machtinger. The students mingled with the diners, poked their fingers into the food, helped themselves at the buffet and ridiculed the members.<sup>9</sup>

The March 22, 1969, issue of the Guardian reported that Howard Machtinger was one of the leaders of the SDS who was expelled by the University of Chicago for his participation and planning for the 15-day takeover of the university administration building.

When the Students for a Democratic Society split into two factions at their national convention in Chicago in June 1969, Howard Machtinger became part of the national interim committee of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) which had broken away from the other members who represented the Progressive Labor Party faction. Mark Rudd and Bernardine Dohrn were actually the top leaders of this group which later became known as the "Weatherman," and even later as the "Weather Underground" when they went into hiding.

Howard Machtinger was indicted with 12 Weathermen by a Federal grand jury on April 2, 1970, for conspiring to cross State lines to incite riots in Chicago in October 1969. These riots were sometimes referred to as the "Days of Rage."

He had previously been indicted in Chicago on October 31, 1969, along with 21 other individuals.

A meeting of the militant "Weathermen" was held in Flint, Mich., in December 1969, where plans were made for disturbances and demonstrations by the members. One of those who actively participated was Howard Machtinger. It was at this meeting too, that plans were made for the dissidents to go "underground."

The New York Times in an issue printed in April of 1970 stated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was conducting a nationwide manhunt for the 12 Weathermen indicted in Chicago on charges of conspiracy and violation of the Federal Antiriot Act. The 12, along with possibly 300 other members of the group, were reported to have broken up into small groups and scattered around the country. Some may even have left the country and gone to Canada. Howard Machtinger, 23, was one of those being sought.

Ten members of the radical Weatherman organization were indicted on July 24, 1970, on charges of conspiring to build a nationwide revolutionary network to bomb and kill.

One bombing attempt was carried out, at the Detroit Police Officers Association building when a package containing 10 sticks of dynamite was thrown through a rear window of the building, but failed to explode.

<sup>9</sup> Chicago Tribune, February 25, 1969.

Fifteen persons were also named as coconspirators, but not defendants in the indictment. One of these was Howard Machtinger, originally from New York.

The indictment claims the Weathermen in their "war council" in Flint, Mich., at the end of December, were told by Mark Rudd that "they should participate in bombings of police stations and banks throughout the country and killing police to further the revolution."<sup>10</sup>

Bombs were found in three banks in three major cities, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. As a result of this, a search was being conducted by the FBI for a man known as Christopher Mohr who had been seen in bars in Chicago and was heard discussing how to build time bombs. The bombs were found in safety deposit boxes. Mohr had rented safety deposit boxes in these banks.

Sixteen Weathermen were being sought by the FBI for questioning in connection with the bombs. One of the 16 is Howard "Howie" Machtinger, 25.

Howard Machtinger was arrested in September 1973, in New York City and jumped bail [\$2,500] in October, according to the Washington Post in an article dated January 7, 1974.

Most of the Weathermen have been living underground and dress in nondescript clothing and live away from areas associated with radicals. Howard Norton Machtinger, when he was arrested, was carrying a fake draft card and other false identification. He had been sought for more than 3 years.<sup>11</sup>

Charges against the 12 Weathermen in Chicago who led the riotout "Days of Rage," were dismissed on January 4, 1974, by U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman.

Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the 4-year-old case.

One of those who had been indicted was Howard Machtinger, 26, of New York.

The Washington Post ran an article on January 7, 1974, in which they stated that U.S. prosecutors have dropped the last of the cases pending against the "Weather people." Some of them are presumably hiding in the United States under false identities.

One of the 12 Chicago defendants, Howard Machtinger, was arrested on East 86th Street in New York in September, went underground again after the judge released him on bail.

**McCULLOUGH, CELESTE, Weatherman Underground.** McCullough, 22, of Chicago, Ill., was arrested on October 9, 1969, on charges of mob action, aggravated battery, and resisting arrest. She claimed she was unemployed. On December 19, 1969, she was indicted by the special SDS grand jury on the above charges. Her bail was increased to \$40,000 which she furnished. She has been very active in SDS activities in Ohio. On March 16, 1970, she failed to appear in circuit court at Chicago. Her bond was raised to \$75,000 and an arrest warrant issued against her. In the 1970 testimony of Timothy A. Dean, he stated that Celeste McCullough was one of the two "Cleve-

<sup>10</sup> Washington Star, July 24, 1970.

<sup>11</sup> New York Times, September 29, 1973.



landers" [she apparently is originally from Cleveland, Ohio] who is still in jail in connection with the Chicago street disorders".<sup>12</sup>

Celeste McCullough was one of the Weatherman fugitives being sought for questioning in connection with bombs which were found in safe deposit boxes in banks in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco.<sup>13</sup>

McGARRY, KEVIN.\* Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." At the time of his arrest in Chicago [October 9, 1969], McGarry was charged with two counts of aggravated battery, one count of mob action, and one count of resisting arrest. On March 30, 1971, McGarry pleaded guilty to aggravated battery and was sentenced to 1-year probation. Chicago police reported McGarry was, in 1969, a student in Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Ill., where he was known as a member of the Weatherman faction of the SDS. McGarry had two disorderly conduct arrests in Carbondale, on December 4, 1969 [fined \$25 plus costs], and on February 2, 1970 [disposition not reported].

McKEON, MICHAEL. Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." McKeon was charged with aggravated assault, mob action, resisting arrest, two counts of aggravated battery.†

McLEAN, PATRICIA. Identified by the New York Times, December 11, 1970, as one of two individuals arrested on charges of throwing an incendiary bomb at the Royal National Bank of New York, Fifth Avenue and 28th Street. [This is a bombing for which the Weatherman organization allegedly has claimed the credit.]

MALYSIAK, FRANK.\* Arrested Chicago, October 9, 1969 [mob action, resisting arrest], pleaded guilty to disorderly conduct January 12, 1970, sentenced to 4 days in jail, fined \$500. "Mob action" charge stricken with leave to reinstate. Identified by Chicago News, November 5, 1969, as one of "three Weathermen indicted for disrupting SDS rally". The paper said Malysiak and his two companions, William F. Willette and Jeffrey C. Jones, were indicted for "trying to disrupt a Students for a Democratic Society rally held at the University of Illinois Circle Campus by SDS members not affiliated with the Weatherman." Malysiak pleaded guilty to mob action and was sentenced to 1 year probation.

MANN, ERIC.\*\* Identified by the Boston Globe, November 27, 1969, as "leader of the Weatherman faction of the SDS" in reporting Mann had been sentenced to 1 year in jail and fined \$50 on November 26, 1969, for his role in the invasion of the Harvard Center for International Studies on September 25, 1969. Described as "head of the Weatherman" by the Washington Evening Star, June 16, 1972, in reporting Mann had appealed his sentence in connection with the 1969 raid on the Harvard Center for International Studies to the Massachu-

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

† See Chicago indictments, Appendix IV, p. 131.

‡ From testimony in S188 hearing titled "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4, dated June 10, 1970.

§ Washington Evening Star, Jan. 8, 1972; reprinted from Chicago Daily News Service.

setts Superior Court "where his sentence was doubled on the grounds that the assaults were 'vicious and premeditated'."

**MASSEY, CHARLOTTE.\*** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman, who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969, in connection with the protests." Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicated by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969.†

**MELISH, HOWARD\*** ("Jeff"). Identified by SISS investigative memorandum as "a top leader of the SDS and a member of its Weatherman faction," who "traveled to Cuba in July of 1969." Identified in newspaper article received for the record in SISS hearing as "accountant for the Weatherman."<sup>13a</sup>

**MEYER, NANCY L.\*** Arrested October 9, 1969, Chicago, on charge of disorderly conduct. Pleaded guilty November 11, 1969, sentenced to one day in the county jail [considered served] and fined \$100. Posted \$1,000 cash bond for John G. Jacobs after his arrest October 11, 1969, on charges of mob action, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest. Nancy Meyer's name appears on the National Membership list of the Students for a Democratic Society, and is known in Baltimore, Md., as an active member of the SDS Weatherman, the Illinois Crime Commission reported in 1970.

**MICHAELS, LINDA.\*** Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969."†

**MILLER, RODNEY.** Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." When arrested October 11, 1969, Miller was charged with mob action and two counts of aggravated battery.†

**MILLER, TERRY KEITH.** Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." Miller, described by the Illinois Crime Commission in 1970 as a student at Colorado State College, was charged at the time of his arrest on October 8, 1969, in Chicago, with two counts of aggravated battery, one count of mob action, and one count of aggravated assault.†

**MISICH, CONSTANCE J.\*** Reported by Illinois Crime Commission in 1970 as having been arrested on October 8, 1969, on a charge of mob action, and having pleaded guilty November 10, 1969, and receiving a sentence of 15 days in jail. Characterized in the Crime Commission Report as "an outspoken agitator for the SDS Weatherman on the campus of Seattle Junior College."

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.  
† See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV, p. 131.

<sup>13a</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," hearings, 8188, pt. 9, Aug. 6, 1970, page 1315.

**NEUFELD, RUSSELL T.\*\*** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests." Reported by Seattle [Washington] Times, May 20, 1970, as having been "identified as a member of the Weatherman" in connection with in Montpelier, Vt., on a charge of illegal purchase of a military-type carbine on February 7, 1970. When buying the gun, Neufeld signed a statement that he was not under indictment, according to the complaint issued at the request of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service. Neufeld's indictment in Cook County, Ill., charged assault, mob action, aiding and abetting the escape of a prisoner.†

**NICHAMIN, JULIE.\*\*** Arrested Chicago, October 11, 1969 [mob action, disorderly conduct]. Pled guilty February 9, 1970, sentenced to 2 days in the county jail, fined \$270. Described by Illinois Crime Commission as graduate of University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) 1964. Reported by Illinois Crime Commission to have been a "prime organizer of the Venceremos Brigade". Identified by Liberation News Service, June 28, 1969, as one of eight members of the National Executive Committee of Venceremos Brigade. Described in the July 20, 1969, English-language edition of Granma, official newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party in Havana, as having been spokesman for "a group of young people belonging to radical organizations" and saying that the Venceremos Brigade would be made up of [among others] "members of the SDS and of the Black Panther Party." The Illinois Crime Commission reported in 1970 that one of a number of documents "left behind by Gerald W. Long, Bernardine Dohrn and other SDS leaders in an apartment they formerly occupied" in Chicago had been sent to Bernardine Dohrn by Judy Nichamin. This document was entitled "Notes on How People Should Be Selected for the Brigade." An investigative report (SISS) characterizes Nichamin as "a leader of the SDS and a member of its Weatherman faction."

**OBERT, LAURA A.\*** Arrested Chicago, October 11, 1969 [mob action, disorderly conduct]; pleaded guilty October 30, 1969, sentenced to 10 days in jail and fined \$135. [Fine subsequently stricken with leave to reinstate.] Laura Obert has been identified as having been a member of the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, and a confidential former Cuban informant listed her as one of a group of "SDS Weathermen" who came to Cuba as Venceremos Brigade members.

**OCHS, RICHARD J.\*** Arrested Chicago, October 10, 1969, mob action, unlawful use of a weapon. Listed on arrest slip as desk clerk at McKelden (SIC) Library, University of Maryland, also as a printer for the Agricultural Department of the University of Maryland. Pled guilty October 11, 1969, fined \$100 and costs, on mob action charge. Unlawful use of weapon charge stricken with leave to reinstate. Identified by Illinois Crime Commission as "associated with the Workers-Student Alliance, a branch of the SDS Weatherman."

**OLSON, HENRY A.\*** Identified by Boston, Mass., Record-American, December 17, 1969, as one of two individuals "both members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS" sentenced to jail on December 16, 1969, "for their part in a fracas outside the Cambridge, Mass., police

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above ground support at this time in some capacity.

†See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV, p. 131.

headquarters on November 19, 1969, when Eric Mann, leader of the Weatherman, was arrested on charges stemming from the firing of two shots into headquarters a few weeks earlier." [Mann later was cleared of the charges.]

ONO, SHINYA \* (or Shinja). Arrested Chicago, October 11, 1969; mob action, aggravated battery, resisting arrest. Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October 1969, in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969."† Reported by the Illinois Crime Commission in 1970 as "currently a teacher for the New York City Board of Education." Ono had been a radical activist while attending Columbia University; he was a member of the May 2 movement, in 1963 signed a petition protesting the appearance of Madame Nhu on the campus, was arrested in April 1968, in connection with the seizure of administration buildings at Columbia University, and was arrested July 9, 1969, for disorderly conduct during an SDS-sponsored demonstration in front of Governor Rockefeller's New York City office. Reported by Illinois Crime Commission to be a karate teacher.

ORRIS, PETER.\* Reported by a confidential informant to have been one of several persons "associated with the Weatherman organization" who went to Marin County, Calif., "to visit Angela Davis or attend hearings" during the summer of 1971.

PALMER, RICHARD ROBERT. One of six persons described by police as members of the Weatherman organization who pleaded guilty on March 8, 1971, to charges of conspiracy to set fire to a group of six buildings in New York City. [The six buildings were: (1) 20 Broad Street, which houses the law offices of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, of which former President Nixon once was a member; (2) the East Fifth Street police station; (3) a new police station under construction off West 10th Street; (4) the Bolivian Consulate; (5) the mathematics and science building at New York University; and (6) the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st Street, where Palmer and his coconspirators were arrested after being caught placing four 1-gallon containers of gasoline and benzene outside the building.] Palmer was described in the indictment count to which he pleaded as a "recruiter" for the Weatherman.

PETERSON, MISS DEBBIE\* (probably identical to Dee Peterson, below). Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests."†

PETERSON, DEE\* (see Debbie Peterson above). Listed by Chicago News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October 1969, in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." Dee Peterson was described by Liberation News Service, March 10, 1971, as one of four female members of "Weatherman" who pleaded guilty to charges of "felonious mob action" in March 1971, growing out of an October 1969, battle with Chicago police, 16 months earlier, and who was sentenced to 3 years with probation [added to a previous sentence of 5 years probation].

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

† See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV, p. 131.

**PILKINGTON, JOHN.** Flint, Mich., police identified John Pilkington as "associated with the Revolutionary Youth Movement and . . . also Weatherman."

**PLACHA, JOYCE.** One of six persons described by police as members of the Weatherman organization who pleaded guilty on March 8, 1971, to charges of conspiracy to set fire to a group of six buildings in New York City. [The six buildings were: (1) 20 Broad Street, which houses the law offices of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, of which former President Nixon once was a member; (2) the East Fifth Street police station; (3) a new police station under construction off West 10th Street; (4) the Bolivian Consulate; (5) the mathematics and science building at New York University; and (6) the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st Street, where Placha and her coconspirators were arrested after being caught placing four 1-gallon containers of gasoline and benzene outside the building.]

**POWELL, JEFFREY DAVID, Weatherman Underground.** Attended Kent State University in Ohio but was suspended. On February 3, 1969, he was included in a roster of SDS members on the Kent State University campus.

On April 9, 1969, Jeffrey David Powell was arrested in Ravenna, Ohio, for assault and battery of a police officer and criminal trespass to property.

He was arrested on April 21, 1969, in Warren, Ohio, for inciting a riot. On May 7, 1969, he was a participant in a rally sponsored by the SDS at Toledo University protesting the presence of the ROTC on campus.<sup>14</sup>

As result of his arrest on April 9, 1969, a jury trial was scheduled for Jeff Powell in Ravenna Municipal Court, Ravenna, Ohio, beginning on August 4, 1969.<sup>15†</sup>

Jeffrey David Powell was arrested in Chicago on October 11, 1969, for mob action, aggravated battery, and resisting arrest. On December 1, 1969, he was indicted by a special grand jury in Chicago and his bond was set at \$50,000.<sup>16†</sup>

**POWER, KATHERINE ANN.** Described by the Washington Star-News, October 30, 1973, as "a senior at Brandeis University when she went on the FBI most-wanted list." Described by a confidential informant as one of "a small Weatherman group" at Brandeis.

**RASKIN, ELEANOR** (nee Stein), **Weatherman Underground.** Born March 16, 1946, Washington, D.C. Attended Columbia Law School, 1969, no degree. Employed SDS National Office, Chicago, 1969. Arrested April 1968, during riots at Columbia University and September 1969, during a riot in Pittsburgh. Attended SDS National Convention, June 1969. Traveled to Cuba, July 1969.

Among the 225 radical students who picketed eight Columbia University buildings on March 25, 1969. "We've effectively shut down the college and cut down attendance at the university by half." said Mrs. Eleanor Raskin, an SDS spokesman who is a second year law student at Columbia. "This strike is the opening gun. This strike is our first blow." <sup>17</sup>

† Powell was finally sentenced on November 20, 1969, to 1 year in jail and fined \$550 plus costs. Ten and one-half months of jail term was suspended.

<sup>1</sup> See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV, at p. 131.

<sup>14</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," part 4, page 479.

<sup>15</sup> Record-Courier (Kent-Ravenna, Ohio), June 25, 1969.

<sup>16</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," part 4, page 479.

<sup>17</sup> New York Times, Mar. 26, 1969.

The militant faction of the SDS—the Weathermen—met in Havana from July 9 through August 26, 1969. Eleanor Raskin accompanied Bernardine Dohrn at this meeting.

She was also known to have attended the "War council" in Flint, Mich. during the latter part of December 1969.

Eleanor Raskin, along with Kathy Boudin, Brian Glick and Gustin Reichbach, all militant members of the SDS, issued a book called the "Bust Book," in July 1969. It appeared in pamphlet form and sold for 50 cents. A number of copies were distributed free to high school students.

"The Bust Book" is couched in nitty-gritty language and offers advice on what to wear to a demonstration and what to do in case of arrest.

**REAL, MARK.\*\*** Described by the Washington Post, November 11, 1973, as "one of 15 defendants in the Detroit Weatherman conspiracy case."

**REEVES, JAMES H.** Described by Boston Record-American as one of two Cambridge, Mass., residents "both members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS" who were "sentenced to jail on December 16, 1969, for their part in a fracas outside the Cambridge, Mass., police headquarters on November 19, 1969, when Eric Mann, leader of the Weatherman, was arrested on charges stemming from the firing of two shots into headquarters a few weeks earlier." Mann later was cleared of the charges.

**REISER, RHONA.\*** Arrested, Chicago, October 11, 1969 (mob action, disorderly conduct); pleaded guilty October 30, 1969, sentenced to 18 days in jail, considered served. Identified by Illinois Crime Commission as having been one of 26 females arrested in Pittsburgh in connection with an SDS recruiting effort at South Hill School. This demonstration is known to have been a Weatherman operation.

**RIDDLE, NICK BRITT.\*** Arrested, Chicago, October 8, 1969, charged with mob action. Pled guilty November 17, 1969, sentenced to 9 days in the county jail, considered served, fined \$90. Described by Illinois Crime Commission in 1970 as a "known SDS organizer in Detroit and Grand Rapids, Mich."

**RILEY, MICHAEL.\*\*** Identified by a special investigator for the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service as "the chairman of the Weatherman faction in Fall River, Mass." <sup>18</sup>

**ROSENSTEIN, NATALEE.\*\*** Arrested Chicago, October 9, 1969 (mob action). Pled guilty to disorderly conduct on January 12, 1970, sentenced to 15 days in jail and fined \$500; mob action charge stricken with leave to reinstate. Natalee Rosenstein has been identified by the Illinois Crime Commission as "known to be an active member of the University of Chicago SDS chapter" who attended the SDS national council meeting at Austin, Tex., in late March 1969. Crime Commission reported in 1970 that Natalee Rosenstein

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>18</sup> Testimony of Clyde Curry, Jr., hearings, "Extent of Subversion in New Left," S188, pt. 5, June 11, 1970, page 774.

resides at 836 West Newport Ave., Chicago, Ill., and that Cathlyn P. Wilkerson and Kathy Boudin, also arrested during the Chicago riots, lived there with her.

**ROTH, ROBERT (Bobby). Weatherman Underground.** Was a spokesman for protesting group of over 200 members of the SDS who took over Philosophy Hall at Columbia University on April 17, 1969. He claimed that they were protesting to back the demands of black students for a greater voice in admission procedures for Negro applicants. Black students affiliated with the Afro-American society played no part in the demonstration and repeatedly emphasized they wanted no part of the SDS protests.<sup>18a</sup>

In regard to the above SDS takeover, the New York Daily News, of April 18, 1969, referred to Robert Roth as chairman of the SDS steering committee.

Five leaders of the SDS at Columbia University, including Robert Roth, who were believed to be active in the seizure of two Columbia buildings, surrendered on contempt-of-court charges on May 2, 1969, according to the New York Times, of May 3, 1969.

Though the surrender came on the heels of the occupation of Fayerweather and Mathematics Halls, the charge dated back to the occupation of Philosophy Hall on April 17 by SDS members and supporters.

Robert Roth was one of eight leaders of the Columbia University branch of the SDS who was found guilty of criminal contempt of court on June 10, 1969, and jailed for maximum terms of 30 days for defying a court order banning disruptions on the Morningside campus of the university. He was also fined \$100.

He and the others participated in taking over and barricading Mathematics and Fayerweather Halls, on April 30 and May 1, in direct violation of the specific terms of the restraining order. During the unlawful occupation, there was damage amounting to approximately \$12,000.

Six young men and two young women, seven of them members of the SDS, were arrested on September 15, after police said they refused an order to stop passing handbills to motorists. Among those arrested was Robert Roth, 19, of New York. They were charged with obstructing traffic and disorderly conduct. Date of court appearance was set for September 22. They were arrested at a north side intersection in Chicago.<sup>19</sup>

Robert Roth played an active part in the New University Conference at Indiana University on September 17, 1969. Most of the discussion concerned SDS plan in Chicago in early October.

Robert Roth is reported to have said, "The purpose of this demonstration is to be militant \* \* \* There will be blood in the streets."

"The revolution is already happening", Robert Roth, dressed in workingman's clothes, shouted in a style that sounded like a labor leader of the 1930's era. "Vietnam is the first victory here."

The Chicago demonstration will be the first step to "bring this system down," Roth said. "This will be about the most up-front politics this country has ever seen."<sup>20</sup>

The Chicago Sun-Times of September 23, 1969, reports SDS held a press conference outside city hall, after applying for permits for a

<sup>18a</sup> New York Times, Apr. 18, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Chicago, Ill. Sun-Times, Sept. 16, 1969.

<sup>20</sup> Courier & Tribune, Bloomington, Ind., Sept. 19, 1969.

protest march scheduled for October 11. Robert Roth, 19, of the organization's national action staff said that the deputy mayor was non-committal on whether permits would be issued. He said that they would march with or without the permits.

Robert Roth was one of 22 Weathermen indicted by a grand jury in Chicago in connection with the protests involving violence at a recent demonstration. The indictment is dated October 31, 1969.†

Police uncovered a "gun storage depot" in a South Side apartment believed to have been used by members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS.

Investigators learned that the apartment had apparently been used by Weatherman leaders until a month and a half ago. Among those reported to have used the apartment was Robert Roth, who is being sought on an unlawful flight warrant. He failed to appear in court to answer charges of aggravated battery against a policeman growing from disturbances near the Federal building, September 24.<sup>21</sup>

Robert Roth was named as coconspirator but not defendant in an indictment which charges members of the Weatherman organization of conspiring to build a nationwide network to bomb and kill. One bombing attempt was carried out—at the Detroit Police Officers Association building. A package of 10 sticks of dynamite was thrown through a rear window of the building March 6, but failed to explode.<sup>12†</sup>

According to the Washington Evening Star, dated January 9, 1972, Robert Roth, one of 16 Weatherman leaders, is being sought for questioning in connection with a Nationwide search by the FBI for the person who is responsible for making of bombs which were found in three Chicago banks, three banks in New York, and two banks in San Francisco.

**ROTHSTEIN, PAUL.\*** Identified by the Chicago Tribune, Nov. 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests." Paul Rothstein was identified by the Chicago Tribune November 1, 1969, as one of "five Weathermen" who "were fined and sentenced to jail on October 31, 1969 in mass arrests court in Chicago in connection with violence at recent demonstrations by the Weatherman faction of the SDS."<sup>†</sup>

Rothstein was a member of the W.E.B. DuBois at Brooklyn College in New York City. His record includes arrests for participation in demonstrations in Milwaukee, Wis., on July 16, 1968, in Chicago on August 29, 1968, for disorderly conduct in connection with draft board demonstration, and in Korvallis, Oreg., on June 24, 1969, for trespassing during a campus sit-in. He paid a \$50 fine.<sup>†</sup>

**RUDD, MARK WILLIAM** (aka Marc William Rudnitsky). Weatherman Underground. Born June 2, 1947 at Irvington, New Jersey, as Marc William Rudnitsky and his name was legally changed to Rudd on November 17, 1954.

He was graduated from Columbia High School, Maplewood, New Jersey, in June, 1965. He next attended Columbia University, New

\* Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

† See Chicago Indictments, Appendix IV, p. 131.

‡ Rothstein also has a record of arrests under the alias of Fred Schwartz.

<sup>21</sup> Chicago Tribune, Apr. 22, 1970, p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Washington Star, July 24, 1970, A-2.



York City, from September, 1966, until May 21, 1968, when he was suspended because of his refusal to appear before an associate dean of the university for possible disciplinary action for his role in the April, 1968, sit-ins.

The May 2, 1967 edition of "New Left Notes" (self-described publication of the Students for a Democratic Society) noted that Mark Rudd was a contributor to the newspaper.

On November 14, 1967, Mark Rudd was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and inciting to riot in connection with a demonstration on that date in the vicinity of the Hilton Hotel, New York City. The demonstration coincided with a speech given at the hotel by then Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. [Columbia Daily Spectator, [official publication of Columbia University in New York], Oct. 30, 1967.]

The "Florida Alligator," a daily campus newspaper of the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, carried an article in its February 20, 1968, issue stating that 20 members of the Students for a Democratic Society from throughout the United States, including Mark Rudd, were then in Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government. The group allegedly went to Cuba "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front (NLF) (Vietcong) of South Vietnam" and "to spend some time in Cuba working in Cuban fields".

On March 14, 1968, Mark Rudd was elected chairman of the Columbia University chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Mark Rudd was the leader and driving force during the highly publicized April 1968, sit-ins at Columbia University and was instrumental in taking Dean Harry S. Coleman as a hostage. The sit-ins resulted in the closing of the university. The May 11, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" contained an article—entitled "Activist Answers Columbia Prexy," in which Mark Rudd, in a letter dated April 12, 1968, answered the charge of nihilism attributed to "our young people" by Grayson Kirk, president of Columbia University. Mark Rudd's letter read in part as follows:

You are quite right in feeling that the situation is 'potentially dangerous'. For if we win, we will take control of your world, your corporation, your university, and attempt to mold a world in which we and other people can live as human beings. Your power is directly threatened, since we will have to destroy that power before we take over. We begin by fighting you about your support of the war in Vietnam and American imperialism—IDA and the School of International Affairs. We will fight you about your control of black people in Morningside Heights, Harlem and the campus itself. And we will fight you about the type of miseducation you are trying to channel us through. We will have to destroy at times, even violently, in order to end your power and your system—but that is a far cry from nihilism.

Mark Rudd wrote a glowing report of the Communist revolution in Cuba on April 16, 1968, describing life there as "extremely humanistic." He spoke highly of the fact that "Cuban police were not allowed to carry billy clubs."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> New York Daily News, May 1, 1968—p. 4.

On May 22, 1968, Mark Rudd was arrested at about 2:45 a.m. in Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York City, and charged with riot, inciting to riot, criminal trespass and criminal solicitation. Less than 8 hours later, after his arraignment before Criminal Court Judge Hyman Solniker, Mark Rudd was detained for a time before his father, Jacob Rudd of Maplewood, N.J., posted the \$2,500 bail ordered by the judge.<sup>24</sup>

Mark Rudd was interviewed by Francisco Portela of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency in New York, on June 11, 1968, on the motivations behind the spread of the student struggle in North American universities and the participation of the Students for a Democratic Society in that struggle. Excerpts of the interview follow:

For our part, we will continue the struggle through the entire summer, though many people will be away from New York on vacations \* \* \* we will use the summer for laying plans for autumn. We expect to continue our strike, increasing our forces, and attracting and obtaining the support of other study centers in the country.

Our opinion about the struggle of the people of the Third World is very closely linked to the point of view of the Cuban people about that struggle. In fact, we consider that the Cuban criterion on the struggle in America is perhaps the correct way in which the revolution will take place. After all, we sympathize with the liberation movements of the peoples of the third world. We are aware that our struggle cannot be isolated. We cannot act without taking into account the peoples of the Third World.

Historically, we are aloof from the so-called Black Power movement. We are for the most part white students and of another racial condition. We have as our function to organize the white communities of the country. For years we have been a fraternal organization of the SNCC and we support it when it needs our help \* \* \* Our aim is to organize the whites and to tell them to support Black Power, as well as to fight imperialism and also to try, as far as possible, to liberate the university.

As is known, we have taken from Che his slogan: Create two, three, many Vietnams. Thus, we have as our slogan: Create two, three, many Columbias.

Although I do not know much of the Latin American student movement—I am well acquainted only with the Cuban youth movement—I wish to tell the revolutionaries of the countries south of the Rio Grande that they must know that here, in the United States, there is a revolutionary movement, although many people do not believe it. And when the students and revolutionary people of Latin America begin to create two, three, and many Vietnams, there will be in the United States a movement which will work from within to combat aggressive imperialism.

<sup>24</sup>New York Times, May 23, 1968—p. 50.

A group of chanting students, mostly members of the Students for a Democratic Society and led by Mark Rudd, scuffled with campus police at Columbia University in New York City on the afternoon of September 18, 1968, during a demonstration to demand a group of suspended students be permitted to register. As a result of the confrontation with the police, registration of students was halted and resumed the next day.<sup>25</sup>

The International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, cosponsored by Students for a Democratic Society and by the Strike Coordinating Committee at Columbia University, was held September 18-24, 1968, at Columbia and New York Universities. The assembly was called to explore the ways and means of creating revolutions in the highly industrialized countries of the world and brought together many top people of the youth revolutionary movements in France, Germany, England, Italy, Sweden, Mexico, and Canada. In attendance were some top figures in the American revolutionary movement including Mark Rudd, chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society at Columbia University.

In a speech at Yale University's Woolsey Hall on Sunday afternoon, September 20, 1968, Mark Rudd stated his goal was to shut down capitalist universities.

Mark Rudd was in California on a fund-raising drive for the students arrested when police broke up the Columbia University sit-in the spring of 1968 and, while there, addressed the Boalt Hall chapter of the National Lawyers Guild at the University of California at Berkeley on October 10, 1968. It was his view that direct action is usually the best tactic, both for accomplishing the desired goals and for mobilizing student opinion behind an issue.<sup>26</sup>

Sneaking at American University, Washington, D.C., on October 16, 1968, Mark Rudd compared the Institute for Defense Analysis, which provided one of the immediate issues at Columbia University, with American University's Center for Research in Social Systems [CRESS]. Maintaining that universities functioned to put people in slots for corporations, for military research establishments like the Institute for Defense Analysis, like CRESS, he said the Columbia Students for a Democratic Society will not yield on a demand that the university sever all ties with IDA.

While speaking to a group of students at George Washington University, Washington, D.C., on October 17, 1968, Mark Rudd said they should be ready to fight the phony society and continued, "We decided at Columbia that we didn't want weapons research at Columbia for the American imperialist philosophy in the world." He went on to explain the country's conscious policy of imperialism using as examples—Kennedy's invasion of Cuba and Johnson's invasion of Santo Domingo.<sup>27</sup>

During his speech on October 24, 1968 at Kent State University in Ohio, Mark Rudd told approximately 1,000 students Americans must build a revolution \* \* \* More and more people must become radi-

<sup>25</sup> Washington Daily News, September 19, 1968; the New York Times, September 19, 1968, page 1; and the Washington Post, Sept. 19, 1968, p. A1.

<sup>26</sup> Californian, Berkeley, Calif., Oct. 11, 1968.

<sup>27</sup> The Evening Star, Oct. 18, 1968, p. A2.

calized and commit themselves in fighting and changing society. A new society will develop out of this revolutionary movement.<sup>28</sup>

Waving his hands for emphasis, Mark Rudd, called on students at California State College at Long Beach on November 4, 1968, to fight \* \* \* not just sit around here, smoke some pot, and go home. Continuing, he said, "This ruling class isn't going to fall by itself. They said demonstrations won't be tolerated \* \* \* the only thing possible for us to do is fight. There is reason to fight \* \* \* to free ourselves. We can't stop the war in Vietnam, we can't choose the goals for these educational factories. We can't choose a President. We can't have a say in this election. But we can get together for one purpose—to fight \* \* \* and fight now."<sup>29</sup>

In December 1968, Mark Rudd failed for the second time to pass his Armed Forces physical and did not have to enter the service. Officials at the Newark [N.J.] induction center stated his local draft board probably would reclassify him as 4-F.

Mark Rudd addressed students at Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas on January 7, 1969, and that evening also addressed approximately 1,500 students at the University of Kansas at Lawrence. At the University of Kansas, he warned them of an impending revolution that will vault the presently subjugated minorities into positions of power. According to Rudd, imperialism and racism loom as the two greatest enemies of the American system, but asserted they were inseparable from capitalism.<sup>30</sup>

On Friday, January 24, 1969, Clifford Day, chairman of the Draft Board in Irvington, N.J., announced a 1-Y classification for Mark Rudd and stated he would be examined again in June of 1969 and could be inducted if his disability were corrected.

Mark Rudd was among 200 boisterous sympathizers, preponderantly white, who interrupted the Supreme Court arraignment in New York City on April 8, 1969 of a suspect, Lonnie Epps, in an alleged Black Panther plot to terrorize the city with bombings.

Dissident Negro workers and members of the Students for a Democratic Society, led by Mark Rudd, forced a halt in night-shift production at the Ford Motor Company's plant in Mahwah, N.J., on April 28, 1969. A similar action on Friday night, April 28, 1969, also closed the plant.

On May 19, 1969, Mark W. Rudd, a national leader of the Students for a Democratic Society, and a companion were arrested at Niagara Falls, N.Y., on charges of possessing marihuana, after they entered this country from Canada. The two had driven into Ontario from Detroit and re-entered this country at the Rainbow Bridge.<sup>31</sup>

Mark Rudd was held in \$2,500 bail as a leader in the May 1968, uprising at Columbia University and was charged with riot in the second degree, inciting to riot, criminal solicitation and criminal trespass. On May 29, 1969, he appeared before Criminal Court Judge Dennis Edwards in New York and was informed a New York County grand jury had returned charges against him, which superseded the aforementioned charges, as follows: Unlawful assembly, obstructing

<sup>28</sup> Beacon Journal, Akron, Ohio, Oct. 28, 1968.

<sup>29</sup> Independent, Long Beach, Calif., Nov. 5, 1968.

<sup>30</sup> Star, Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 8, 1969.

<sup>31</sup> The Evening Star, May 20, 1969, page A2 and the Gazette, Niagara Falls, May 20, 1969.

government administration, criminal trespass and criminal solicitation. His bond of \$2,500 was continued and Judge Edwards set the trial for August 12, 1969.<sup>22</sup>

As a result of Mark Rudd's arrest on May 10, 1969, at Niagara Falls, N.Y., on charges of possessing marihuana, he and his companion were ordered held for action of the Niagara County grand jury after a preliminary hearing in city court, Niagara Falls, on June 8, 1969. Rudd and his companion were continued in \$2,500 bail, after Judge John T. DeSantis ruled there was enough evidence to present the case to the grand jury.

The Students for a Democratic Society held its national convention in Chicago beginning June 18, 1969. During the proceedings of the convention, there was a split between the regulars of the SDS and the rival Progressive Labor Party faction. On June 21, 1969, the regulars of the SDS voted to expel the Progressive Labor Party members from the organization attacking the PLP for an inability to relate to the black struggle and to the revolution of workers in America, and said the rival group was not a viable part of the meaning of SDS. The PLP faction was referred to as objectively racist, anti-Communist and reactionary. The regulars also criticized the PLP faction for failing to back North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and the socialist revolution in Cuba.<sup>23</sup>

In a letter, dated June 23, 1969, from the SDS national office, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612, and addressed to "Dear Sisters and Brothers", Mark Rudd was listed as national secretary of the SDS. The aforementioned letter was signed by Mark Rudd, national secretary; Jeff Jones, interorganizational secretary; Bill Ayers, educational secretary; Michael Klonsky, NIC member; and Bernardine Dohrn, NIC member. The letter read in part as follows:

By now the news of the Chicago convention has probably reached most of you. This letter is to let you know that despite any news you may hear to the contrary, SDS still lives and the national office is functioning as usual. . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

The split will create many problems. Anti-communists may interpret this split wrongly. We must be clear that we will never tolerate anti-communism in our movement. . . .

Our next task is to build major actions in the fall against the war in Vietnam and in support of the black liberation struggle. We are calling for people to come to Chicago in September, at the time of the conspiracy trial of the Chicago 8 and force the power structure to bring the war home. . . .

We welcome anyone who will join us. But we will not be turned around."

Mark Rudd spoke at a national antiwar conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, July 4-5, 1969.

The Black Panther Party called a "United Front Against Fascism Conference" which was held in Oakland, Calif., July 18-20, 1969. Mark Rudd attended the aforementioned conference.

<sup>22</sup> The New York Times, May 30, 1969, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> The Washington Post, June 22, 1969, p. A11; The Chicago Tribune, June 22, 1969, p. 3; The Washington Post, June 23, 1969, p. A1; and The New York Daily News, June 23, 1969, p. 66.

On July 30, 1969, Mark Rudd was in Columbus, Ohio, to help organize a defense for four members of the Students for a Democratic Society's "Columbus summer project" who were jailed on charges of inciting to riot. Rudd revealed the SDS was launching a drive to organize high school students and informing them "that the only way to freedom is through revolution, a revolution that's already started."<sup>34</sup>

The Fifth Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars was held at Hofstra University, Hempstead, N.Y., September 5-7, 1969. On September 5, 1969, Mark Rudd participated in a panel session on "The Student Response to the American Century."<sup>35</sup>

Mark Rudd made the following statement at a meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society: "Don't be timid about telling people we're Communists. Don't deny it, be proud of it."<sup>36</sup>

In a speech at City College in New York on September 25, 1969, Mark Rudd said that the revolutionary movement could best be advanced by closing schools and Government bureaus "in whatever manner is necessary". There is "nothing too strong," he said, adding that it was "good to be violent against the pigs"—which he identified as bureaucrats, members of the establishment, policemen and "even the workingmen who are drafted and fighting in Vietnam."<sup>37</sup>

Mark Rudd was one of the leaders of the "Days of Rage" held in Chicago, October 8-11, 1969. He was arrested in Chicago on October 11, 1969, and charged with mob action, aggravated battery, and resisting arrest and released on \$15,000 bond.

The week of October 20, 1969, a bench warrant for the arrest of Mark Rudd was issued in Manhattan Criminal Court, New York City, when he failed to appear for a hearing on unlawful assembly and trespass charges. Judge Thomas J. Weaver ordered forfeiture of Rudd's \$2,500 bail but stayed execution of the arrest order until November 10, 1969.

In Niagara County Court, Lockport, N.Y. on November 27, 1969, Mark W. Rudd pleaded not guilty to charges of possessing marihuana, as a result of his arrest at Niagara Falls, N.Y., on May 19, 1969. Judge Charles J. Hannigan of Niagara County Court permitted Rudd to remain free of \$2,500 bail to await trial at a date to be set.<sup>38</sup>

The Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society held a war council in Flint, Mich., from December 27-30, 1969. Mark Rudd was one of the principal speakers and forecast pitched battles between militant groups and the pigs on a scale that will make the 1960's look like a Sunday school picnic.<sup>39</sup>

The scheduled trial of Mark Rudd in Niagara County Court, Lockport, N.Y., on a drug charge was indefinitely postponed on March 2, 1970, because of the indictment against Rudd in Chicago on charges of aggravated assault and rioting.<sup>40</sup>

On April 2, 1970, a Federal grand jury in Chicago indicted 12 members of the Weatherman, including Mark W. Rudd, on charges of conspiracy to violate the antiriot act during the "Days of Rage," October 8-11, 1969, in Chicago.

<sup>34</sup> Beacon Journal, Akron, Ohio, July 31, 1969.

<sup>35</sup> U.S.A. Magazine, volume XVI, No. 10, Sept. 12, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> Observer Dunkirk-Fredonia, N.Y., Sept. 12, 1969.

<sup>37</sup> The New York Times, Sept. 26, 1969, p. 40.

<sup>38</sup> The Washington Evening Star, Nov. 28, 1969, p. A2.

<sup>39</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4, p. 481.

<sup>40</sup> Union Sun & Journal, Lockport, N.Y., Mar. 2, 1970.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation began a nationwide hunt on April 8, 1970, for the 12 Weathermen, including Mark W. Rudd, who were indicted in Chicago on April 2, 1970, on charges of conspiracy and violation of the Federal antiriot act.

Mark Rudd failed to appear in criminal court in New York City on April 6, 1970, to answer charges against him after the occupation of Hamilton Hall at Columbia University in May, 1968. A bench warrant was issued for his arrest.<sup>41</sup>

On July 23, 1970, a Federal grand jury in Detroit indicted 13 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Mark W. Rudd, and accused them of conspiring to build a nationwide revolutionary network to bomb and kill. Fifteen individuals were named as coconspirators, but not defendants, in the indictment.<sup>42</sup>

On October 15, 1973, the Government decided to drop the case against the Weatherman radicals, against whom an original indictment was handed down on July 23, 1970, and on December 7, 1972, a substitute indictment, charging four more persons, was handed down by a Federal grand jury in Detroit. U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith dismissed the case on the Government's own motion so as not to endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed.<sup>43</sup>

On January 3, 1974, U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman in Chicago dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Mark W. Rudd, charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in October 1969. Judge Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case.<sup>44</sup>

**RUSSELL, JUDITH** (nee Schlachman). **Weatherman Underground.** Born October 9, 1946, New York, N.Y. Attended City College, New York, N.Y., dates unknown. Attended SDS-sponsored protests against CIA and U.S. Army recruiters at City College, 1966. Attended rallies December 18, 1969, and February 2, 1970, in support of Black Panther Party. As of October 1964, Judith Russell was a member of W.E.B. DuBois Club.

**SACKS, WILLIAM KAHN.**\* Identified in testimony of an officer of the Michigan State Police, on September 25, 1970, as having attended the Weatherman "War Council" in Flint, Mich., in December of 1969; as having participated as a demonstrator in protesting a DuPont recruiter at the University of Michigan; and occupation of the ROTC building at the University of Michigan in May of 1970.

**SCHLOSSER, KENNETH.**\*\* Identified by Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "five Weathermen" members who "were fined and sentenced to jail on October 31, 1969, in mass arrests court in Chicago in connection with violence at recent demonstrations by Weatherman faction of the SDS."

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>41</sup>The New York Times, Apr. 7, 1970, p. 31 and The Evening Star, Apr. 7, 1970, p. A2.

<sup>42</sup>The Evening Star, July 24, 1970, p. A2; The Daily News (New York), July 24, 1970, p. 2; and The Washington Post, July 24, 1970, p. A1.

<sup>43</sup>The Washington Post, Oct. 16, 1973, p. A8; The New York Times, Oct. 17, 1973, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup>The Washington Post, Jan. 4, 1974, p. 4.

Schlosser was arrested (Chicago) October 11, 1969, charged with mob action and disorderly conduct. Found guilty and sentenced to 6 months in the county jail and fined \$500. Filed notice of appeal but withdrew it December 19, 1969, when his sentence was reduced to 47 days, considered served. Schlosser was arrested September 8, 1969, on disorderly conduct charges and charges of resisting arrest in a Brooklyn, N.Y., restaurant, along with 10 other SDS members. On September 30, 1969, he was arrested for malicious mischief in Times Square, New York City, after a street disturbance sponsored by SDS.

**SKARDIS, JOHN. Weatherman Underground.** During the Weatherman's rampage at the Severance Center in Cleveland Heights (a suburb of Cleveland, Ohio) on December 20, 1969, John Skardis, 19, son of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Skardis, 19320 South Lake Shore Boulevard, Euclid, Ohio, was shot in the leg when he started to club an officer with a pipe. Skardis and six other Weathermen, three men and three women, ranging in age from 18 to 26, were charged with malicious destruction of property, and Skardis was charged also with assault with intent to kill.<sup>4</sup> He is still wanted on a fugitive warrant.

**SKIRVIN, RICK.\*** Identified by Illinois Crime Commission as the individual to whom donations were to be forwarded after they had been solicited by a group of SDS members for the benefit of Cleveland members of Weatherman faction of SDS. Skirvin has been identified by the Illinois Crime Commission as having been a member of the Ohio State University Committee to End the War in Vietnam, having been in charge of the SDS literature table at the university, and having been secretary of the Ohio State University SDS chapter. The Crime Commission said Skirvin "assisted in planning the Ohio SDS regional convention that took place at Ohio State on February 7-9, 1969," that he had "been photographed as an SDS anti-ROTC protestor on May 8, 1969, at Ohio State," and that "2 weeks later on May 22, 1969, he was one of the hecklers and demonstrators during the ROTC awards ceremonies at Ohio State." The Crime Commission said Skirvin also "marched and protested the appearance of General Westmoreland at Ohio State's Mershon Auditorium" and "was involved in the protest of Vice President Agnew's appearance at Ohio State on June 7, 1969."

**SMITH, ROBERTA BRENT. Weatherman Underground.** A member of the Students for a Democratic Society at Case Western University in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1968, she worked for the Ohio Civil Rights Commission and attempted to recruit high school students into the SDS.

On May 27, 1969, she was arrested in Cleveland, Ohio, and charged with shoplifting. She was found guilty of stealing a \$8.99 article and was fined \$8.

Roberta Brent Smith attended a meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society held at Ohio State University on August 15, 1969.

She was one of 16 persons arrested for inciting to riot, during an anti-Vietnam war rally near the Davis Cup tennis matches held in Cleveland Heights, Ohio on September 20, 1969.

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

<sup>4</sup> Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 21, 1969; and the Evening Star, Dec. 21, 1969, p. A7.



On September 21, 1969, she held a press conference at the Unitarian Church, 8148 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, and stated: "We went to the Davis Cup matches because we wanted to attack the ruling class of this Nation. SDS wants to make it impossible for President Nixon to leave the White House without fear of harassment; the demonstrations were examples of what is necessary in white America to bring the war home to the people. I am not referring to the Vietnam war but to the war between the United States and the Third World."

Roberta Brent Smith, 28, of 740 Literary Road, Cleveland, Ohio, was arrested in Chicago on October 11, 1969, and charged with disorderly conduct. On November 4, 1969, she was found guilty by a grand jury and fined \$620.<sup>46</sup>

On June 2, 1971, a Federal grand jury in Tucson, Ariz., handed down an indictment for violation of the Federal Firearms Act against Roberta Smith. At the same time, John Fuerst was also indicted on the same charge. The indictment was in connection with Government charges that a group of people from Venice, Calif., purchased dynamite in Tucson without registering the purchase, and later transported it illegally to California. Roberta Smith is a fugitive.<sup>47</sup>

A Federal grand jury in Detroit handed down a substitute indictment on December 7, 1972, expanding the July 28, 1970, indictment against the Weatherman, charging four more persons, including Roberta Smith, 28, of Berkeley, Calif., with plotting to bomb a Cleveland policeman's home and police and military facilities in several cities.<sup>48</sup>

On October 15, 1978, the Government decided to drop the case against the Weatherman radicals, against whom an original indictment was handed down on July 28, 1970, and a substitute indictment on December 7, 1972, charging four more persons, was handed down by a Federal grand jury in Detroit. U.S. District Judge Damong J. Keith dismissed the case on the Government's own motion as the Government would not endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed.<sup>49</sup>

**SOKOLOW, JEKK.**\* Identified by confidential informant as one of a group of individuals "formerly associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS, who took part in the international party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1-4, 1971." Arrested October 11, 1969, Chicago (disorderly conduct); pleaded guilty November 12, 1969, fined \$200. Identified by a confidential informant (SISS), a former Cuban, as one of a number of members of the SDS Weatherman faction who visited Cuba as Venceremos Brigade members.

**SPIEGEL, MICHAEL LOUIS ("Mike").** Weatherman Underground. Usually known as "Mike," he was born in Portland, Oreg., on August 14, 1946. The Chicago Tribune on May 19, 1968, reported him as the national president of the Students for a Democratic Society, and a Harvard dropout.

At that time, SDS headquarters was in a building at 1608 W. Madison Street in a building owned by John Rossen, one-time candidate for

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

<sup>46</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4, p. 484.

<sup>47</sup> Liberation News Service, June 12, 1971.

<sup>48</sup> The Evening Star, Dec. 8, 1972, p. A18.

<sup>49</sup> Washington Post, Oct. 16, 1978, p. A8; New York Times, Oct. 16, 1978, p. 1.

the Communist Party for mayor of St. Louis. The SDS claimed at that time, a membership of 35,000 to 40,000 but it was believed to have a hard core strength of no more than 6,000. It had between 250 and 300 chapters.

The SISS hearing "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," part 4, June 10, 1970, reported that Mike Spiegel relinquished the position of national president at the June 9-15, 1968, SDS National Convention at Ann Arbor, Mich., but was elected one of eight national officers.

On August 1, 1969, 1,300 persons turned out at Lisner Auditorium, George Washington University campus, in support of speakers protesting police action in Chicago and the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigation of the disorders.

Michael Spiegel, former SDS national president, was moderator of the meeting, set up by the United Christian Fellowship at George Washington University.<sup>50</sup>

An article in the Guardian, of January 4, 1969, on the growth and objectives of the Students for a Democratic Society quotes Mike Spiegel of the Washington, D.C. regional staff: "The Washington SDS region perfectly reflects the growth of SDS this past year," "SDS chapters here started from scratch this year. By November 5 we had more than 2,000 people at a demonstration."

Michael L. Spiegel was arrested in Chicago on October 11, 1969, and charged with mob action and disorderly conduct. On February 4, 1970, he pleaded guilty and was fined \$450.

He was also arrested on September 24, 1969, for mob action in a demonstration at the Federal Building in Chicago. On March 30, 1970, he failed to appear in court. His bond was raised to \$75,000 and an arrest warrant was issued.

He rented an office in September 1969, in an old three-story building at 701 West Armitage Ave., Chicago. This was the National Action Committee, the name given by SDS for the coordination of planning efforts for the Chicago riots of October 8-11, 1969. Literature obtained by the police invariably referred to the Chicago riots as "The National Action." The office was vacated shortly after the riots. Among documents found in the office was an escape plan for the building.

There is a record of another arrest on August 27, 1969, for resisting arrest, and on September 28, 1969, for aggravated battery and aiding to escape.<sup>51</sup>

Spiegel was one of 12 Weathermen indicted in the 1969 Chicago disorders by a Federal grand jury for conspiring to cross State lines to incite riots in Chicago.

The 12 young men and women, some of whom are in hiding and possibly out of the country, are among the top leadership of the radical organization which led to window smashing rampages in Chicago during what they called "4 days of rage."

A nationwide hunt for the 12 Weathermen who were indicted in Chicago on charges of conspiracy and violation of the Federal Antiriot Act, is being conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Among those listed is Michael Spiegel, 23. A FBI agent said the search began immediately after the indictments were handed out. The organization is reported to have broken up in small groups and gone underground.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Washington Post, Oct. 2, 1968, A-6.

<sup>51</sup> Hearings Senate Internal Security Subcommittee "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," June 10, 1970, pt. 4.

<sup>52</sup> New York Times, Apr. 4, 1970, p. 12.

The Washington Daily News reported on May 8, 1970, that an intensive manhunt for the SDS suspects of the Chicago riots is underway for nine leaders of the Weatherman faction of the SDS who are wanted on charges growing out of the "4 days of rage" disorders in Chicago.

One of the nine is Michael Spiegel, 23, a slim 6-footer who occasionally worked as a laborer. He is wanted on riot and conspiracy charges in connection with the Chicago disorders.

In each case the FBI poster carried the warning that the wanted individual "has been associated with persons who advocate the use of explosives and may have acquired firearms. Consider dangerous."

On July 24, 1970, the Washington Star reports that Federal agents were still searching for 10 to 13 members of the radical Weatherman organization who were indicted of conspiring to build a nationwide revolutionary network to bomb and kill.

The indictment alleged that one defendant had purchased 100 pounds of dynamite, fuses and caps in New Hampshire on March 2. This was 4 days before the New York explosion. [A package containing 10 sticks of dynamite was thrown through a rear window of the Detroit Police Officers Association building March 6, but failed to explode.]

Among 15 persons who were named as co-conspirators was Michael Spiegel. The indictment claims that the Weathermen were told at a meeting of the "war council" in Flint, Mich. in December, that they "should participate in bombings of police stations and banks throughout the country and killing police to further the revolution."

FBI agents are seeking 16 Weathermen for questioning in connection with the placing of bombs in three Chicago banks, three banks in New York City and two banks in San Francisco. The name of Michael Spiegel is one on the list.

A young man was observed and heard discussing how to make bombs in three bars in Chicago and it is believed that he may be the same young man who rented safety deposit boxes in the banks for the purpose of planting the bombs in them. The name he allegedly used was Christopher C. Mohr.<sup>68</sup>

The Washington Post of January 4, 1974 reported that the Chicago Weatherman indictment was dismissed.

U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in 1969.

Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case. Among those affected is Michael Spiegel.

**SPIELMAN, JANE.**\*\* Identified by the Illinois Crime Commission as one of 26 female SDS members arrested in Pittsburgh, Pa., in connection with a demonstration at South Hill High school. (This demonstration is known to have been a Weatherman operation.)

**SPEISS, JOHN F.** Identified by Los Angeles Herald, Examiner, June 5, 1970, as one of five persons described as "members of the Chi-

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>68</sup> Washington Evening Star, Jan. 9, 1972.

cago Seven" and "suspected of being members of Weatherman" who "were convicted on misdemeanor charges."

**STARNES, CHRIS.** Identified by confidential informant (SISS) as "one of a group of individuals formerly associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS, who took part in the Youth International Party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1-4, 1971."

**STEIN, BARRY.** Former Weatherman Underground. Stein, 21 at the time, was one of a group of SDS members involved in a 1969 summer project in Columbus, Ohio. They were living in white working class neighborhoods getting jobs in factories and drive-ins, studying revolutionary theory, and trying to organize citywide radical movements among local youth.

A newspaper account (Citizen-Journal) of July 31 said he was one of four SDS members arraigned on vandalism and malicious destruction charges after painting slogans on buildings and sidewalks at West High School. School officials estimated it cost \$3,000 to remove the paint.

After bands of militant Negroes rioted in downtown Columbus on July 21, the SDS activists took to the streets and, according to police reports, started to distribute inflammatory leaflets urging persons to take part in rioting.<sup>54</sup>

Stein was among four persons charged with inciting to riot after being arrested July 24 for distributing the leaflets. He was bound over to the Grand Jury on \$25,000 bond after appearing in municipal court July 30, 1969. Stein was bailed out by his parents, of Broomall, Pa., according to a New York Times article of August 10, 1969. Commentator Fulton Lewis III said on August 15, 1969, that SDS leader Mark Rudd and attorney Gerald Lefcourt flew to Columbus to help arrange defense for the quartet.<sup>†</sup>

Stein was arrested in Chicago on October 11, 1969, during the "Days of Rage" demonstrations on charges of aggravated battery, mob action, and resisting arrest. He said he was a student at Pennsylvania State University. On December 1, 1969, he was indicted by the special SDS grand jury and his bond was increased to \$30,000.<sup>55</sup> Shortly thereafter, Stein went underground with other Weatherman activists.

On December 20, 1974, Stein became the first of the top Weatherman leaders to surface from the underground when he turned himself in to Judge Philip Romiti in Chicago at the Criminal Court Building. He said much of his time as a fugitive was spent under the assumed name of Daniel Wight, serving as director of the State-funded Green Mountain Health Center in Brattleboro, Vt., which is assigned to help establish child clinics and assist with family planning. An Associated Press dispatch published in the Washington Post on December 26, said that Stein's hearing was continued to January 24, 1975.

<sup>†</sup> Ohio State Highway Patrol reports that Stein is still wanted on a fugitive warrant.

<sup>54</sup> Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, Aug. 1, 1969.

<sup>55</sup> Testimony, SISS hearing titled "Extent of Subversion in the New Left" pt. 4, dated June 10, 1970, p. 468.

**STEINBERG, MARSHA RHODA.**\*\* Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969, in connection with the protests." Marsha Rhoda Steinberg was identified by a confidential informant [SISS] as one of several persons known, during the summer of 1971, "to have been associated with the Weatherman organization" who "were in Marin County, Calif., to visit Angela Davis or attend hearings." Marsha Steinberg was arrested October 11, 1969 [mob action] in Chicago; pleaded guilty December 17, 1969, sentenced to 6 days in jail and fined \$250. Subsequently [January 14, 1970] indicted on felony charges by Special SDS Grand Jury. Marsha Steinberg was one of 26 SDS female members arrested at Pittsburgh, Pa.,† in connection with a demonstration at South Hill's high school there. [This demonstration is known to have been a Weatherman operation.] [Marsha Steinberg's participation in various radical activities was reported and commented upon in the Congressional Record, Dec. 8, 1969, pp. S16001 and S16002.]

**STEINBERG, OLIVER.\*** Listed by Information Digest, April 16, 1971, page 9, as "one of a group of individuals formerly associated with the Weatherman faction of SDS, who took part in the Youth International Party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1-4, 1971." Oliver W. Steinberg of Madison, Wis., was arrested October 11, 1969, in Chicago, on charges of mob action and disorderly conduct. Pled guilty December 2, 1969, was fined \$500. Identified by Illinois Crime Commission in 1970 as "a student at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where his mother is employed by the administration."

**STERN, ROBERT.\*** Berkeley, Calif., Gazette, May 2, 1970, referred to "Robert Stern, 26, of San Francisco" as having been "described by police as a member of the Weatherman" and said he surrendered himself on May 2, 1970, on a warrant charging him with possession of a dangerous weapon. The paper said Stern "had been arrested with four other identified Weathermen on April 15, 1970, during anti-ROTC demonstrations at the University of California at Berkeley." It said "The other four, who also face weapons charges, were David Littman, Roger Lippman, David Elbaz, and Jeffery Blum of Baltimore, Md."

The news stories said that "the original charge against the five Weatherman at the time of their arrest was 'criminal conspiracy' at Berkeley, but the district attorney's office decided not to press charges."

**STERN, SUSAN ("SUE").\*** Listed by Chicago News December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." At the time of her arrest in Chicago on August 9, 1969, Susan Stern was charged with aggravated battery, mob action, and resisting arrest. Sue Stern was identified by Liberation News Service March 10,

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

† Marsha Steinberg was arrested in Pittsburgh on Sept. 4, 1969, for rioting and inciting to riot. On April 13, 1971, she was sentenced to a \$100 fine and 28 months probation.

1971, as one of four female members of "Weatherman" who pleaded guilty to charges of "felonious mob action" in March 1971.

STONE, HOWARD A. Identified by Los Angeles Herald Examiner, June 5, 1970, as one of five "members of the Chicago Seven and suspected of being members of Weatherman" who "were convicted on misdemeanor charges."

STOVER, ROBERT.\* Identified by the San Francisco Chronicle, May 30, 1970, as one of two men "captured after a highspeed chase by Oakland police intelligence agents who linked the two men with Weathermen." The news stories said chemicals were found in the car which purportedly had been taken during a chemical warehouse holdup."

TACK, MARSHALL S.\* Arrested Chicago October 11, 1969 (disorderly conduct and resisting arrest); pleaded guilty, November 26, 1969, fined \$400. (Illinois Crime Commission said Marshall Tack previously had been arrested by Ohio State Police in Warren, Ohio, on charges of disrupting a lawful assemblage.) The name of Marshall S. Tack was on the passenger manifest of the Cuban freighter "Luis Arcos Bergnes" that disembarked 219 persons at St. John's, New Brunswick, Canada, when it arrived there on February 13, 1970, from Cuba. Marshall Tack was identified by confidential informant, a former Cuban, as having been one of a number of members of the Weatherman faction of SDS who visited Cuba as Venceremos Brigade members.

TANNER, CAROLYN.\*\* Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests." †

TOMASHEVSKY, ROBERT.\*\* Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in violence and recent demonstrations by the Weatherman" who were "indicated by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969 in connection with the protests." At the time of his arrest, Tomashevsky was charged with mob action, aggravated battery, and resisting arrest.†

[The Illinois Crime Commission reported in January 1970, that Tomashevsky came to Chicago by air in the company of Samuel Karp and Joseph Kelly, both known SDS members, to work on arrangements for the Chicago demonstrations of October 8-11, 1969 (known as the Weatherman "Days of Rage.")]

TRENKLE, CHRISTOPHER. One of six persons described by police as members of the Weatherman organization who pleaded guilty on March 8, 1971, to charges of conspiracy to set fire to a group of six buildings in New York City. [The six buildings were: (1) 20 Broad Street, which houses the law offices of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander, of which former President Nixon once was a member; (2) the East Fifth Street police station; (3) a new police station under construction off West Tenth Street; (4) the Bolivian Consulate; (5) the mathematics and science building at New York Univer-

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

† See Chicago indictments, Appendix IV, p. 181.

sity; and, (6) the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st Street, where Trenkle and his coconspirators were arrested after being caught placing four 1-gallon containers of gasoline and benzine outside the building.]

**TRENKLE, JOHN.** Reported to have been one of a group of individuals formerly associated with the Weatherman factions of SDS, who took part in the Youth International Party's conference at the University of Wisconsin, April 1-4, 1971.

**TROUTMAN, TERRY LEE.\*** Arrested Chicago October 11, 1969, disorderly conduct charges. Returned under court order [on October 21, 1969] to the State juvenile detention center at Woodmore, Lake Mich., from which he had escaped on July 14, 1969, according to a January 1970 report of the Illinois Crime Commission, which stated it had been established that Terry Troutman drove from Grand Rapids, Mich., toward Chicago on October 8, 1969, in the company of Mark Elliott Leventer and Peter Clapp, described as "known SDS leaders" from Chicago.

**VAN VEENENDAAL, JOHN.\*** Listed by Chicago Daily News, December 19, 1969, as one of "35 more members of the militant Weatherman faction of SDS involved in street disorders in October [1969] in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 19, 1969." According to a January 1970 report of the Illinois Crime Commission, Van Veenendaal is "known by the police [at the University of Washington, Seattle] as "an extremely militant and violent member of the SDS Weatherman." †

**WEISS, LAWRENCE M. Weatherman Underground.** Weiss was one of three SDS officers who were arrested near the Federal building in Chicago where eight persons are on trial charged with conspiring to incite riots during the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

The police warrant charged Weiss and the others in taking part in a fracas with policemen on September 24, 1969, at Jackson and State. The SDS officers involved are Chicago area organizers for the SDS. They had scheduled a rally and a press conference in the courthouse plaza where they were arrested.<sup>56</sup>

Lawrence Weiss, 21, was 1 of 22 individuals involved in violence at October 1969 demonstrations by the Weatherman and was indicted by a grand jury in Chicago on October 31, 1969, in connection with the protests.

On April 2, 1970, Lawrence Weiss was indicted with 11 other Weathermen by a Federal grand jury for conspiring to cross State lines to incite riots in Chicago in October 1969.

According to the Chicago Daily News of April 3, 1970, Lawrence Weiss who was indicted with 11 other Weathermen for conspiring to cross State lines to incite riots, is reported to be a Detroit Weatherman who went underground last year after he was named in a State indictment charging him with beating an undercover police officer in an Evanston church, where the Weathermen were staying last October.

The New York Times reported on April 4, 1970, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had begun a nationwide hunt for the 12

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

†See Chicago indictments, Appendix IV, p. 131.

<sup>56</sup> Chicago Sun Times, Sept. 27, 1969.

Weathermen, including Lawrence Weiss, indicted in Chicago on charges of conspiracy and violation of the Federal Antiriot Act. An FBI agent said that the search began almost immediately after indictments were handed down to the young men and women who make up most of the central leadership of the violence-oriented faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, with planning and staging rioting in Chicago last October.

The Weathermen have virtually dropped out of sight for the last 8 months. The national office of the SDS is closed, and the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes*, renamed *Fire* by the Weathermen, is no longer published. The organization is reported to have broken up in small groups and gone underground.<sup>67</sup>

The Washington Daily News of May 3, 1970, reported the intensive manhunt for the SDS suspects of the Chicago riots, which took place soon after the Weathermen group had broken away from less militant elements of SDS, was an unprovoked rampage through downtown Chicago. They were apparently an attempt by the founders of the Weathermen to establish the reputation of the most violent—and hence the most deserving of support—of the fragments of SDS.

Lawrence Michael Weiss was listed as one of nine who are considered the ruling philosophers of the campus rebellion, and are regarded as particularly dangerous in the ferment now sweeping the U.S. universities.

Weiss, 22, called an escape risk in the FBI flyer, is wanted on the Chicago riot charges plus warrants for escape, mob action and aggravated battery.

The Washington Daily News on March 8, 1971, continues to write about the search for the 10 Weathermen who have eluded the FBI and the police. Among the names listed is Lawrence Weiss, 23, who is considered one of the major captains in the Weathermen.

These 10 Weathermen—the militant, bomb-prone offshoot of the Students for a Democratic Society that forms the hard core of revolutionary activists in the United States—now calls itself the Weather Underground—are reported in radical circles, to have fled to Canada.

The underground puts great store in the security afforded by living in "affinity groups"—small cells whose members are so well known to each other that they are virtually impossible to infiltrate.

On January 8, 1972, bombs were found and disarmed in three Chicago banks, three banks in New York City and two banks in San Francisco. The FBI immediately issued an alert for 16 Weathermen who are wanted for questioning in connection with the bombing. Lawrence Weiss is one of the 16 listed.

The FBI agents are seeking a young man who was observed and heard discussing the making of bombs. They apparently believe that this same man may have rented safety deposit boxes in these banks for the purpose of planting the bombs in them. The name given was Christopher C. Mohr.

U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman dismissed a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the SDS charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in 1969.

<sup>67</sup> New York Times, Apr. 4, 1970, p. 12.



Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case.

Among those who had been indicted was Lawrence Weiss, 25, of Detroit.<sup>58</sup>

**WHITEHORN, LAURA JANE.** \*\* Arrested October 7, 1969 [disorderly conduct]. Pled guilty January 10, 1970, sentenced to 7 days in jail, fined \$300. Previous arrests include one on a charge of conspiracy [Allegheny County, Pa., Detective Bureau, September 12, 1969], and another on charges of malicious mischief, malicious prowling and conspiracy to commit an unlawful act [Allegheny County, Pa., Detective Bureau, Sept. 23, 1969]. Disposition of prior arrests not shown] Arrested September 4, 1969, with 24 other females, SDS members, in Pittsburgh, Pa., in connection with a demonstration at South Hill High School. [This demonstration is known to have been a Weatherman operation.]

**WILKERSON, CATHLYN PLATT** (a.k.a. Cathy Wilkerson, Kathy Wilkerson and Kathy Wilkison). **Weatherman Underground.** Graduated from Abbott Academy, Andover, Mass., in June 1962. On June 6, 1966, she received a B.A. degree from Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

According to the February 5, 1964, issue of the "Delaware County Daily Times," Cathlyn Wilkerson was one of nine civil rights workers who were arrested and fined \$25 each for distributing handbills, advertising a mass meeting to be held to discuss the planned boycott of the public schools, to students leaving Chester High School, Chester, Pa.

Shortly after her graduation from college, she traveled to Cuba to witness the revolution there firsthand.

From January 1, 1967, to early September, 1967, Cathlyn Wilkerson was employed in the National Office of the Students for a Democratic Society in Chicago, Ill. She was editor of "New Left Notes," a weekly publication of the SDS.

At the national convention of the Students for a Democratic Society held in June 1967, she was elected to the National Interim Committee as an at-large member.<sup>59</sup>

According to the September 11, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes," the national office of the Students for a Democratic Society approved a \$200 loan to be sent to Cathy Wilkerson to pay rent for a District of Columbia regional office which she was then in the process of establishing.

Cathy Wilkerson was among a group of four individuals who visited Paris, France, and Cambodia in November, 1967. Their ultimate destination was Hanoi; however, due to heavy bombing of Hanoi, they were unable to visit North Vietnam and stayed in Cambodia for 10 days where they had discussions with Vietnamese officials and Cambodians.

While in Washington, D.C., Cathy Wilkerson, a national officer of the Students for a Democratic Society, was also director of the Washington Draft Resistance Union.<sup>60</sup>

\*\*Possibly part of Weatherman above-ground support at this time in some capacity.

<sup>58</sup> Washington Post, Jan. 4 1974, p. D4.

<sup>59</sup> New Left Notes, July 10, 1967.

<sup>60</sup> The Sunday Star, June 2, 1968.

On August 25, 1968, Cathy Wilkerson was arrested during the Democratic National Convention and charged with disorderly conduct, and posting handbills on private property without permission of the owners. The Assistant United States Attorney in Chicago declined to prosecute.

On April 10, 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society was incorporated as a nonprofit organization and Cathlyn Wilkerson was listed as one of the three incorporations.<sup>61</sup>

On the night of April 23, 1969, members of the Students for a Democratic Society led a takeover of Maury Hall, which houses the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies at George Washington University, Washington, D.C. On May 2, 1969, Kathy Wilkerson, 24, of 1779 Lanier Place NW., Washington, D.C., was among five persons arrested and charged with unlawful entry and destroying property. After appearing in General Sessions Court, Washington, D.C., they were released on personal bond pending a trial set for June 20, 1969.<sup>62</sup>

Cathlyn Wilkerson was arrested in Chicago on August 9, 1969, for interfering with the police and, again, on August 25, 1969, she was arrested in Chicago on charges of disorderly conduct.<sup>63</sup>

On September 4, 1969, Cathlyn Wilkerson was arrested with 25 other female members of the Students for a Democratic Society in Pittsburgh, Pa., who were trying to recruit students at the South Hills High School. She was charged with inciting to riot, rioting, and disorderly conduct. On September 12, 1969, an additional charge of conspiracy to commit an unlawful act was added to the above charges by the Allegheny County Bureau in Pennsylvania.<sup>64</sup>

Cathy Wilkerson was arrested in Chicago on October 9, 1969 and charged with mob action, aggravated battery and resisting arrest. On October 18, 1969, she was released from custody on \$5,000 bond.<sup>65</sup>

On December 19, 1969, a special Cook County grand jury in Chicago indicted 35 more members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Cathlyn P. Wilkerson, 24, of Washington, D.C., who were involved in the "Days of Rage" in October, 1969. She was charged with one count of resisting a peace officer, one count of mob action and two counts of aggravated battery and her bond was increased to \$40,000.

Cathy Wilkerson was known to have attended the "War Council" held by the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society in Flint, Mich.—December 27–30, 1969.<sup>66</sup>

On March 6, 1970, an explosion occurred in a townhouse at 18 West 11th Street in Greenwich Village, New York City, which was owned by John Platt Wilkerson, father of Cathy Wilkerson. At the time of the explosion, he and his wife were vacationing in the Caribbean and allegedly his daughter and friends of hers, associated with the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, were occupying the house in their absence. Bomb experts of the New York Police Department stated they believed nitroglycerin may have set off the series of blasts and, also, the group was making bombs for

<sup>61</sup> The Washington Post, May 2, 1969—p. D15.

<sup>62</sup> The Evening Star, May 3, 1969—p. A20 and the Washington Post, May 3, 1969—p. A10.

<sup>63</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4—p. 491.

<sup>64</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4—pp. 491 and 493. She forfeited bond on the charges.

<sup>65</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4—p. 491.

<sup>66</sup> Report—The Students for a Democratic Society in Flint—part II, received under date of April 17, 1970 from the chief of police of Flint, Mich.

possible use in terror tactics aimed at the Government. Sixty-six sticks of dynamite, four live bombs and 100 blasting caps were found by the New York City Police. Theodore Gold and Diana Oughton, identified members of the Weatherman, were killed in the explosion. Because of the condition of the third body found in the debris, authorities were unable to make a definite identification; however, in the first communique received from the Weatherman on May 21, 1970, one Terry Robbins was identified as the third victim. Cathy Wilkerson was believed to have fled the townhouse immediately after the explosion with Kathy Boudin and they were suspected of having gone to Canada.<sup>67</sup>

Cathy Wilkerson was scheduled to appear in Cook County Court, Chicago, Ill., on March 16, 1970, to face trial on various charges of mob action and assault during the 4 "Days of Rage" staged by the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society in Chicago in October 1969. She did not make an appearance and Cook County Judge Louis B. Garippa revoked her bail, set a new bond of \$75,000 and issued a warrant for her arrest.<sup>68</sup>

On April 2, 1970, a Federal grand jury in Chicago indicted 12 members of the Weatherman on charges of conspiracy to violate the anti-riot act during the "Days of Rage"—October 8–12, 1969—in Chicago. Although not included in the aforementioned indictment, Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson was named as a coconspirator.<sup>69</sup>

Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson was placed on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's "Wanted List" on April 23, 1970.

Thirteen members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson, were indicted on July 23, 1970, by a Federal grand jury in Detroit and charged with conspiring to build a nationwide revolutionary network to bomb and kill. Fifteen individuals were named as coconspirators, but not defendants, in the indictment.

On October 15, 1973, the Government decided to drop the case against the Weatherman radicals, against whom an original indictment was handed down on July 23, 1970, and on December 7, 1972, a substitute indictment, charging four more persons, was handed down by a Federal grand jury in Detroit. U.S. District Judge Damon J. Keith dismissed the case on the Government's own motion so as not to endanger foreign intelligence secrets by disclosing certain information the court had ordered disclosed. Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson was not included in the aforementioned indictments, but was named as a coconspirator in the original indictment on July 23, 1970.

U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman of Chicago dismissed on January 3, 1974, a 4-year-old indictment against 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, including Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson, charged with leading the riotous "Days of Rage" through Chicago streets in October, 1969. Judge Hoffman acted on a Government request which noted that a recent Supreme Court decision barring electronic surveillance without a court order would have hampered prosecution of the case.

<sup>67</sup> "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pt. 4—p. 492; copy of communique from the Weatherman, dated May 21, 1970 in Liberation News Service, May 27, 1970—p. 8 and 9; New York Sunday News, Mar. 8, 1970—p. 2; The New York Times, Mar. 9, 1970—p. 36; the Evening Star, Mar. 9, 1970—p. A7; the New York Daily News, Mar. 10, 1970—p. 3; The New York Times, Mar. 11, 1970—p. 37; the New York Times, Mar. 11, 1970—p. 1; The Washington Post, Mar. 11, 1970—p. A9; The New York Daily News, Mar. 14, 1970—p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> The New York Times, Mar. 17, 1970—p. 33 and the New York Daily News, Mar. 17, 1970—p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> The Washington Post, Apr. 3, 1970—p. A1.

**WILLETT, WILLIAM F.\*** Identified by Chicago Daily News, November 5, 1969, as one of two men giving their address as 1608 West Madison Street [site of national SDS office headquarters] who were indicted by the Cook County grand jury on November 5, 1969, "for allegedly trying to disrupt the Students for Democratic Society rally held at the University of Illinois Circle Campus by SDS members not affiliated with the Weatherman."

**WOLKIND, GEORGE.\*** Identified by the Wilmington, Del., News, October 24, 1969, as "one-time extension student at the University of Delaware and former head of the university's SDS chapter as well as leader of the Weatherman faction in Delaware" who "pleaded guilty in Chicago Circuit Court on October 12, 1969, to mob action." The paper says Wolkind was "sentenced to 12 days, given credit for time served before the trial."

Wolkind was arrested in Chicago October 11, 1969 [mob action and disorderly conduct] and pleaded guilty October 22, 1969. According to the Illinois Crime Commission, Wolkind was arrested in Wilmington, Del., June 15, 1963, on a charge of disorderly conduct and paid a \$10 fine; was arrested in Wilmington on May 26, 1967, for night prowling; was arrested in Newark, Del., on November 7, 1967, for disorderly conduct and interfering with police; and was arrested in Newark, Del., April 22, 1968, charged with possessing lewd literature and interfering with police. The Wilmington, Del., News, November 6, 1969, reported that "George Wolkind, 24, who lives at Elkheart Apartments, O'Daniel Avenue, Newark, and is a member of the Weatherman faction of the SDS in Delaware, was arrested on November 5, 1969, at the University of Delaware on a warrant charging trespassing. He had been warned in the spring of 1969 that the next time he appeared on school property he would be arrested."

**WOOD, LEE.** Arrested Chicago October 8, 1969, on a charge of mob action; pleaded guilty December 17, 1969, sentenced to 2 days in the House of Corrections, considered served. New York Times of May 31, 1970, reported that Lee Wood, 26, and his wife, Patricia, 23, had been held on bail [\$150,000] in criminal court after a police raid had uncovered a cache of weapons and drugs in their apartment. The Times reported Lee and Patricia Wood were "said by the police to have been members of the radical Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society." The paper said the couple "were also wanted for questioning in connection with bombing incidents and the beating of a landlord in Oakland Calif., and the burning of his house."

**WOOD, PATRICIA.** New York Times of May 31, 1970, reported that Patricia Wood, 23, and her husband, Lee Wood, 26, had been held on bail (\$150,000) in criminal court after a police raid had uncovered a cache of weapons and drugs in their apartment. The Times reported Lee and Patricia Wood were "said by the police to have been members of the radical Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society." The paper said the couple "were also wanted for questioning in connection with the bombing incidents and the beating of a landlord in Oakland, Calif., and the burning of his house."

**YONEMURA, JEAN.\*** Arrested Chicago October 9, 1969 (mob-

\*Recent information shows this individual may no longer be associated with the Weatherman movement.

action) pleaded guilty March 7, 1970, fined \$50. Identified by the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1969, as one of "22 individuals involved in street disorders in October (1969) in Chicago" who were "indicted by a county grand jury in Chicago on December 10, 1969." According to the Illinois Crime Commission, Jean Yonemura "in 1969 was reported to be the mistress of Mark Rudd, SDS national secretary." The Crime Commission identified Jean Yonemura as one of 26 female SDS militants arrested in Pittsburgh, Pa., when they demonstrated in front of the South Hill high school. (This demonstration is known to have been a Weatherman operation.)

**ZIEGLER, GREGORY M.** Identified by Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, June 11, 1970, as one of five members of the Chicago Seven, and suspected of being members of Weatherman who were convicted on misdemeanor charges. Investigation indicates Ziegler was not a member of Chicago Seven.

**ZILSEL, JOANNA. Weatherman Underground.** Born April 19, 1953, in Connecticut. Dropped out of high school in 11th grade. In 1969, while in 11th grade in high school, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, was an associate of SDS. Arrested at SDS disruptions of Davis Cup Match, Cleveland Heights, September 20, 1969. Left home in early 1970, joined Weatherman commune in Cleveland, and reportedly participated in pipebombings and firebombings in Cleveland. Disappeared when Weatherman commune went underground. Arrested as Jennifer Mary Price at Omaha, Nebr., July 11, 1970, at which time she did not disclose true identity and furnished only false information. Indicted in Cleveland, January 10, 1973, for violation, National Firearms Act. Residing in Canada but cannot be extradited.

## APPENDIX I

### "PRAIRIE FIRE"

To: Senator Eastland.

From: J. G. Sourwine.

Subject: Thoughts while reading the book "Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism."

"Prairie Fire" states on its last page it was printed in the United States by the Red Dragon Print Collective of the Weather Underground; but it bears no printer's "bug".

The cover page declares this a "political statement of the Weather Underground" and says it is "printed underground in the U.S. for the people." The book was published in July 1974.

The frontispiece carries pictures of Diana Oughton, Teddy Gold, and Terry Robbins, characterized as "three of our comrades who gave their lives in the struggle."

A dedication to "Harriet Tubman and John Brown, to all who continue to fight, to all political prisoners in the U.S." is set in a box within a page of hand-printed names, presumably of those to whom dedicated. (First name listed is "Ruchell Cinque Magee, and in the middle of the list appears the name Sirhan Sirhan.)

At the outset, the book is declared to be "a strategy for anti-imperialism and revolution inside the imperial U.S." The same paragraph asserts "Prairie Fire" was "rewritten four times and collectively adopted as the political statement of the Weather Underground".

"Prairie Fire" praises efforts of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) and such black militant groups as the Black Liberation Army.

(Names signed to a letter printed as a foreword, dated May 9, 1974, and addressed "Sisters and Brothers", were: "For the Weather Underground—Bernardine Dohrn, Billie Ayers, Jeff Jones, Seelie Sojourn.")

This letter contains the statement: "We need a revolutionary Communist party in order to lead the struggle, give coherence and direction to the fight, seize power and build the new society."

The next-to-last paragraph of this letter reads:

"'Prairie Fire' is based on a belief that the duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution. This is not an abstraction. It means that revolutionaries must make a profound commitment to the future of humanity, apply our limited knowledge and experience to understand an ever-changing situation, organize the masses of people and to build the fight. It means that struggle and risk and hard work and adversity will become a way of life, that the only certainty will be constant change, that the only possibilities are victory or death."

Apparently, "Prairie Fire" is what it purports to be: a revolutionary manifesto.

The Weatherman organization has been called "fruit of new radicalism". Harold Jacobs, in the book "Weatherman", published in 1970 by Ramparts Press, Inc., described the Weatherman organization as "nurtured by the sons and daughters of the affluent, rooted in the universities and emerging youth culture, inspired by the Cuban revolution, and pushed forward by the Black movement."

"Prairie Fire" contains, at bottom of the page ending the "Contents" section, a photograph and the caption "Sam Melville, murdered by Rockefeller, Attica, September 13, 1971."

Following the last "Contents" page is a page blank except for the words "A single spark can start a prairie fire." The next page contains a picture of Che Guevara.

"Prairie Fire" declares (*inter alia*) that "society is in social and economic crisis" and that these conditions are "hard . . . to live through" but are "favorable . . . for revolution."

"We are a guerrilla organization" the Weatherman book continues. "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 forge an underground . . . a clandestine political organization engaged in struggle, protected from the eyes and weapons of the state, a base against repression, to accumulate lessons, experience and constant practice, a base from which to attack."

"The path to the final defeat of imperialism and the building of socialism in revolutionary war. Revolution is the most powerful resource of the people. To wait, to not prepare people for the fight, is to seriously mislead about what kind of fierce struggle lies ahead."

"Revolutionary war will be complicated and protracted. It includes mass struggle and clandestine struggle, peaceful and violent, political and economic, cultural and military, where all forms are developed in harmony with the armed struggle . . .

"We are part of a wave of revolution sparked by the Black liberation struggle, by the death of Che (Guevara) in Bolivia in 1967, and by the people's war in Vietnam. *This period forged our belief in the revolutionary necessity of clandestine organization and armed struggle.*" (emphasis supplied)

"The development of guerrilla organization and armed activity against the state is most advanced in the Black community where the tradition and necessity is highest . . .

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

"At this early stage in the armed and clandestine struggle, our forms of combat and confrontation are few and precise. Our organized forces are small, the enemy's forces are huge. We live inside the oppressor nation, particularly suited to urban guerrilla warfare. We are strategically situated to the nerve centers of the international empire, where the institutions and symbols of imperial power are concentrated. The cities will be a major battleground, for the overwhelming majority of people live in the cities; the cities are our terrain."

The following excerpts from "Prairie Fire" seem important or significant:

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

\* \* \* \* \*

These bombings were carried out by the Weather Underground:

—to retaliate for the most savage criminal attacks against Black and Third World people especially by the police apparatus:

**\*\*Haymarket police statue, Chicago, October 1969 and October 1970;**

**\*\*Chicago police cars, following the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, December 1969;**

**\*\*New York City Police Headquarters, June 1970;**

**\*\*Marin County Courthouse, following the murder of Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain, August 1970;**

**\*\*Long Island City Courthouse, in Queens, in solidarity with prison revolts taking place in New York City, October 1970;**

**\*\*Department of Corrections in San Francisco and Office of California Prisons in Sacramento, for the murder of George Jackson in San Quentin, August 1971;**

**\*\*Department of Corrections in Albany, N.Y., for the murder and assault against the prisoners of Attica, September 1971;**

**\*\*103rd precinct of the New York City police, for the murder of 10-year-old Clifford Clover, May 1973 . . .**

—to disrupt and agitate against US aggression and terror against Vietnam and the Third World:

**\*\*Harvard war research Center for Internal Affairs, Proud Eagle Tribe (women's brigade) October 1970;**

**\*\*U.S. Capitol, after the invasion of Laos, March 1971;**

**\*\*MIT research center, William Bundy's office, Proud Eagle Tribe (women's brigade), October 1970;**

**\*\*The Pentagon, after the bombing of Hanoi and mining of the harbors of North Vietnam, May 1972;**

**\*\*Draft and recruiting centers;**

**\*\*ROTC buildings;**

**\*\*ITT Latin American Headquarters; following the fascist counter-revolution in Chile, September 1973 . . .**

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

**\*\*National Guard Headquarters, Washington, D.C., after the murders at Jackson State and Kent State, May 1970;**

**\*\*Presidio Army Base and MP Station, San Francisco, July 26, 1970;**

**\*\*Federal Offices of HEW (Health, Education, and Welfare), (women's brigade), San Francisco, March 1971;**

**\*\*Liberation of Timothy Leary from California Men's Colony, San Luis Obispo, September 1970 . . .'**

\* \* \* \* \*

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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

SDS was a leading anti-imperialist organization. Historically, students play an advanced and militant role in anti-imperialist struggle, opposing war and racial injustice. The revolt at Columbia University was a catalyst which exploded the previous era of resistance into a popular revolutionary movement of students and young people. The street battles at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago several months later led to further occupations and demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of militants. The demonstrations built on each other: each struggle was unique and beautiful. The vitality of SDS was rooted in its local experiences and the application of national programs to different regions and conditions—applying the lessons of Columbia, films of Cuba, building alliances with a Black Student Union. The taste of liberation, the intense struggles, transformed our identifications, our lives.

\* \* \* \* \*

Objective conditions do not produce revolution themselves. In times of crisis and change people's fears and discontents and hopes can be mobilized in different directions—toward opiates of all sorts, reform, right-wing movements and war. That is why revolutionary organization, leadership and example are required to call the discontent into life and action, to seize the time.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Vietnamese built international solidarity around their struggle. They organized a broad united front against imperialism throughout the world. This international front—of which the movement in the United States is an important part—consisted of many Third World nations, the socialist countries and opposition movements within the imperialist countries. Mass anti-war movements grew, not only in the U.S., but in Japan, France, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy and Sweden.

In an era of intense contradictions among the socialist countries, Vietnam fought for a strategic focus on US imperialism as the major enemy of the world's people—and united all socialist countries in support of its struggle.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (Viet Cong) is an internationally recognized government. It receives aid from many socialist



countries. In a beautiful and historic act of international solidarity, Fidel Castro visited Quang Tri Province last year, the first head of state to enter liberated South Vietnam. In the liberated zones, the foundation for socialism is being built. South Vietnam could possibly develop the next socialist revolution to occur in the world. Support for the PRG is a priority.

In US-built prisons in the Third World, women are tortured with the special methods developed by the CIA, AID, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. There are over 100,000 women in South Vietnamese prisons, thousands in Brazil and Uruguay. They are tortured by electric shock, beatings, drugs and sexual violence.

The Soviet Union has given substantial aid to liberation movements and to socialist countries like Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Soviet military aid to the Vietnamese was put to the best possible use—shooting down US bomber planes.

It is national chauvinism for US revolutionaries to attack a socialist country like Cuba for accepting Soviet aid. The same attack has been made in the past on the DRV. These "left-sounding" positions display arrogance toward the struggles of Third World nations.

The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to Mao and Ho Chi Minh—that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism—is the guiding strategic principle of this era.

Israel is a settler colony. After World War II, with the British driven out, the U.N. partitioned Palestine in favor of the Zionists. The Hagana and the Zionist terror organizations, initiated a campaign of violence against the Palestinian people to force them off their land and out of the cities; to create a state "clean of Arabs." At Deir Yassin, the Irgun killed every one of the 254 Palestinian inhabitants on April 9, 1948. Poorly armed, over a million Palestinians fled over the borders, leaving everything behind. Israel seized and confiscated their immense lands and their property under the Absentee Property Laws and justified this occupation with the lie that the Palestinians left of their own free will. The 12% of the Palestinian people who remained behind became hired labor on their own lands or in settlements, and lived under military control, treated as inferior people.

Israel is an expansionist country. In three successive wars since partition, they have conquered and occupied Egyptian land, Syrian land, and Jordanian land. Forty percent of the Israeli budget is taken up by war. During the October War, the US airlifted supplies of up to 800 tons of war equipment per day to Israel through the Portuguese-held Azores and Nixon got a \$2.2 billion request for military spending for Israel. Israeli government policy is periodic warfare. "... eternal war imposed by destiny."

Israel is a class society. Not only is it based on the special colonial relationship of super-exploitation of native Palestinians, but half the Jewish population are immigrants from Asia and Africa—"Oriental" Jews—who face particular exploitation doing unskilled labor, living in the worse housing, discriminated against by "European" Jews. In addition, because Israel is a religious state, non-Jews are denied basic rights. These conflicts have been submerged by Zionism, yet the tensions and contradictions have produced frustration and opposition among some sectors in Israel, particularly the young.

The Zionist government in Israel supported the US in Vietnam, supports the fascist junta in Chile and opposes all liberation movements in Africa. Since the 1967 war, 26 African nations have severed relations with Israel on the basis of Israeli occupation of Arab land. This is also a consequence of Israel's attempt to penetrate and dominate African development. South Africa and Rhodesia continue ties with Israel.

Zionist colonialism has cultivated a worldwide image as the beset victim, the heroic people holding off the barbarians, a semi-socialist state where strong and free sabras made the desert bloom, the refuge and guarantee against anti-semitism. The reality is very different:

—The Zionist state is clearly the aggressor, the source of violence and war in the Mideast, the occupier of stolen lands. The military solutions of periodic war and expansion, reprisal raids and constant preparation for war are the consequence of intransigent opposition to a politically cooperative future with the Palestinians and Arabs. It is racist and expansionist—the enemy of Palestinians, the Arab people, and the Jewish people.

—Israeli society internally reflects this imperialist reality: militarized, commercial and competitive.

—The myth of socialism on the kibbutz is a powerful one, but the kibbutzim never contained more than 5% of the Jewish population of Palestine or Israel, and are no evidence for Israel being a socialist country. Many of the kibbutzim are on land which Palestinian peasants were driven from, some directly exploit Palestinian labor, and they are all subsidized by Zionist funds.

\* \* \* \* \*

Stolen wealth—not Yankee ingenuity—is the basis of the tremendous concentration in the U.S. of productive forces—large factories with advanced machinery, elaborate computer systems, highly extended organization, the labor of women and men from many nations—all contributing to an astounding productive capability.

This accumulated productive power is used for the most selfish and backward purposes. Whereas this wealth is produced by the people of the world, it is used to enrich the idle handful that controls it, and to subjugate the dispossessed with the destructive power of economic control and war.

Monopoly capital/imperialism is an irrational system. It is not organized to meet human needs. It is run by a very small ruling class whose only morality is the morality of the maximum profit.

This handful of white men control the enormous concentrations of wealth, the means of production, the government. These are the imperialists, the common enemy. . . .

. . . Of all the imperial dynasties and major thieves of our time, the Rockefeller family stand out; the phenomenal growth of their clan's influence and riches parallels the development of US imperialism. They are the richest people in the world, richer than anyone has ever been before, and they are getting richer all the time. Their wealth is about as much as all the Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Puerto Ricans and forty million poor whites in the US have put together. Like the other imperial dynasties and families, their wealth has been dispersed into an invisible empire which has spread to every corner of the world. It is an empire which includes the world's largest banks and industrial corporations—aerospace, computers, oil, insurance, telephones and television. The Rockefellers control 20% of banking in the US and 20% of all its industry. This vast empire of wealth and power is built to grow, to self-perpetuate, to entangle everywhere on earth that it can. It feeds on domination over the people; its social policies are welfare cuts, stop and frisk, drug detention laws. It dislocates whole populations from our cities for the construction of huge monuments to the god profit, to commerce and world trade. It meets rebellion—as at Attica—with the iron heel. The Rockefellers' policies exist for the continued commiseration of most of humanity and the continued spiral of concentration of powers and wealth into their hands.

\* \* \* \* \*

Illiteracy is increasing in the U.S. Schools systematically refuse to teach Black and Third World children to read; millions of people in this country are illiterate. Schools are minimum security prisons, geared to repression and control of the young, to teaching the lessons of competition, self-hatred, fear and loneliness.

\* \* \* \* \*

—Old age, instead of being a mark of respect and value, is scary in our society. Old people are poor, many die in old-age homes as if age were a disease. This society discards those whose labor is no longer exploitable for market value.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Black Nation in the U.S. is huge—the second largest Black Nation in the world. It is a nation formed out of distinct common history. The Black revolution is rooted in the cultural identity, common oppression and resistance which

synthesizes two realities: the African who was stolen to this country, and the slave and descendents of slaves who built it.

The struggles of Black people in this generation have shaken racist power and culture to the heart of the empire, because the colonized status of Black and Third World peoples inside the heartland of imperialism is the foundation of the economy and cultural structure of the U.S.

The Black struggle for self-determination is the strategic leading force of the U.S. revolution, forged from a centuries-long tradition of resistance and revolt in the face of counterattack by the club, the cattle prod, the gun and the lynch rope.

From the clandestine organizations of the earliest slavery days, through mass uprisings, the open carrying of self-defense weapons, to guerrilla conduct, the Black movement has historically raised the level of the whole struggle.

The state has imposed the necessity, liberation movements in other countries have helped point the direction. By fighting for control over their communities, schools, jobs and their future as a people, Black people also push forward the overthrow of the existing power relations in the entire society.

Like any movement, the Black struggle grows by qualitative leaps and thru periods of building and regrouping of forces. Organized struggles in local areas and the ongoing day-to-day battles of Black people are often not as visible as the actions and rebellions of a high-tide period. But they are urgent and necessary in the development of a people's movement. The Black movement today embraces the bursting-forth of revolutionary Black art and literature, the battles for land and political power in the rural South, consistent organized support for African liberation, the ever-increasing organization and militancy of Black women, ideological debate and study. Black political conventions in Gary and Little Rock have attempted to develop unifying strategies and direction; Black prisoners have opened a determined front behind the bars; armed struggle against police power has continued in the cities. Always the Black movement persists, finding new forms to meet new conditions and new hardships—tenacious in the people's fight for liberation.

\* \* \* \* \*

Whatever decisions Black people and other oppressed peoples make in exercising this right to self-determination, white revolutionaries and anti-imperialists have a very clear-cut responsibility to support those decisions once they are arrived at. This does not mean to support only those choices one approves of, nor only those that can be worked out by reforms within the existing form of the U.S.—“one nation, under god, indivisible.” We support Black and Third World people's right to self-determination, including the right to secession. There is nothing sacred and certainly nothing historically just about the present fifty-state government or the national boundaries . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is a chief enemy of Indian people, a colonial administration which determines the lives of Native Americans.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our movement will be self-defeating if we reject militancy as “male” and “macho.” This detracts from the resistance of our sisters in the past, denies the necessarily violent nature of the struggle, and is blind to the courage of the wars for national liberation being waged against the U.S. Acceptance of the status quo of imperialism means acceptance of unprecedented violence.

\* \* \* \* \*

But imperialism will never, can never, free all women. Sexism will not be destroyed until imperialism is overthrown. It is in the collective interests of women to do this and take full part in building a socialist revolution. We need power. Socialist revolution lays the foundation for the liberation of women and begins dismantling the tenacious institutions of sexism. The revolutionary movement, on its part, must embrace and support the rising of women. There must be a solid and irrevocable commitment made to women's liberation. A revolution is not a moment in time. Old ideas reassert themselves and have to be fought against. Revolution is a continuing process.

\* \* \* \* \*

Youth oppression is organized and institutionalized. Young people are channeled and coerced in schools, misled, miseducated, misused. Schools have become alien from the real process of learning about the world or how to use things. Schools

are often huge minimum-security prisons where we are held and controlled for large parts of our lives. In schools we are taught to respect arbitrary authority, to follow orders, and to compete with sisters and brothers. The education industry plays the additional role of keeping huge numbers of young people out of the shrinking job market, thereby propping up the faltering system. Schools in many ways are the work places of youth. —

\* \* \* \* \*

The army is one of the central oppressive institutions of youth. Young men are forced into the armed forces because of lack of education and employment opportunities. Once in the army, we are faced with the crudest and most direct forms of discipline and class oppression.

The rebellion in the armed forces comes from the same causes that have led young Third World people and white youth to rebel in other institutions of US society. GIs have raised deep questions about the right of rulers to rule, of the armed forces to command, of the supposed right to torture and kill women, children and men in Vietnam. The realities of fighting such a vengeful yet totally unjust war as the war in Vietnam broke down many institutional and cultural forms that have kept the armed forces together as a so-called "proud fighting unit."

There has been GI rebellion within the armed forces during every U.S. war of expansion, but the defeat of U.S. forces in Vietnam combined with the growing Black rebellion at home accelerated the opposition into a full crisis. The justification for war grew thin; no one wanted to die in this war. We refused to fight and burned our draft cards, left the country, and demonstrated against the war. Instead of going on patrol, many units would head out a few hundred yards and sack out for the night. A generalized alienation from military discipline developed. Imperialism needs willing fighters, but fewer and fewer could be found.

\* \* \* \* \*

The U.S. people entered the 70's weary of war, skeptical of government leaders' uncertain about the future. We can foresee a time of food riots, unemployment councils, tenant's anti-eviction associations, neighborhood groups, anti-war organizations. The left must organize itself to understand the continuous crises of our time and mobilize the discontent into a force for freedom.

Organize poor and working people. Go to the neighborhoods, the schools, the social institutions, the work places. Agitate, create struggle. Link up the issues that describe the system. Tell the truth.

We believe that radical teachers should work in schools in working class neighborhoods, in community or junior colleges. Radicalize other teachers, organize the parents, teach and encourage your students. Health workers can choose hospitals and clinics in poor communities. Cultural activists, street players, artists, writers should propagandize and relate to poor and working people. Community-controlled and counter-institutions should be made into insurgent bases.

Organize among youth. Organize among women. Communists should play a big role in these movements, these popular upheavals which spawned us. This is our strength. Revolutionize existing projects and movements, analyze real situations, intervene with a revolutionary anti-imperialist perspective.

\* \* \* \* \*

**How to move?**

—Oppose nuclear war and U.S. threat of nuclear war. Defeat nuclear sabre-rattling.

—Oppose imperialist war and aggression wherever it occurs. Oppose U.S. armed intervention. Defend Indochina from future attacks. Get the U.S. out of the Mideast. Independence for Puerto Rico.

—Also, watch for the quiet but sinister ways warfare is waged on sisters and brothers in the Third World. Expose and oppose AID programs, cultural and economic penetration, the multinational corporations, population control. Don't let them sneak around.

—Win a base of support for prison struggles and oppose attacks by the state on Third World revolutionaries. The greater the resistance by the people, the more widespread and successful, the greater will be the repression from the state. We can prepare for future repression by planning the next stage of advance and attack.

Fascism in this country is not a challenge to those in power by some more reactionary gang on the outside. Fascism is perpetrated on Third World people from the seats of power. the Pentagon, the Congress, the White House, the

Supreme Court. In these places liberal and fascist tendencies compete, but they also connive and conspire. Our strategy must be unity against existing fascism for the liberation of all oppressed people. Imprisoned fighters face the brunt of fascist repression and are a center of our struggle. A solid bridge of communications, news, politics and support sustain sisters and brothers under brutal isolation and torture, makes a difference in the treatment of political prisoners and their chances of release. Connections maximize the impact of prison politics as an essential and leading part of our movement. Support Ruschell Magee, Defend the Attica brothers.

## WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

The women's movement has changed the consciousness of millions of women and the crises of US society are creating resistance and revolutionaries among women every day. This is a good time to do a lot of organizing among women, to bring the full scope of anti-imperialist and revolutionary politics into women's lives. Storm the institutions which oppress women. Direct our force against the men who control these institutions.

—Support Assata Shakur, Marilyn Buck, Lolita Lebron and other women in prisons. Demonstrate to free our sisters in the Saigon jails.

—It is our view that women working in revolutionary organizations with men should organize themselves into women's groups, sections, brigades, caucuses to build our solidarity, to oppose sexism, to reach out, involve, organize among women and to strive together for the full liberation of women.

—Sexism within the culture of the revolutionary movement denies the full contribution of women and distorts political direction. We need an anti-sexist revolution in this country to create the basis for a new society which genuinely empowers women. The revolution must be fought for women as well as by women.

—Sexism manifests itself in relationships among people, and must be fought on this level too. Men must make a continuing commitment to understanding and changing sexist ways. Criticism and self-criticism are our tools for this struggle: fanshen, the turning over, transformation.

## MILITANCY

A movement has no reason to exist if it doesn't fight. The system needs to be overthrown; revolutionaries must prepare for that necessity at all points along the way. Revolutionary movements must be contending for power, planning how to contend for power, or recovering from setbacks in contending for power. Certainly every movement must learn to fight correctly, sometimes retreating, sometimes advancing. But fighting the enemy must be its reason for being. We build a fighting movement.

Militancy stirs the imagination and raises the vision of victory. Militancy in a street demonstration, in a courtroom, in a rally, in a prison takeover, is recognized and respected as an uncompromising statement. It is a confrontation with the opposing system. Involving people in militant action trains and teaches. It is both an example and a strategy. Militant action is related to understanding that the struggle is not merely for separate issues but is ultimately for power—necessarily including armed struggle to defeat the oppressive forces of state. To leave people unprepared to fight the state is to seriously mislead about the inevitable nature of what lies ahead.

Some on the left dissociate mass struggle from revolutionary violence and condemn any act of public militancy or armed struggle as adventurist. This is characteristic of oppressor-nation movements where violence is raised to a question of abstract principle, and the illusion is fostered that imperialism will decay peacefully: "Violence turns people off," "It's too early," "Violence only brings down repression."

—The movement should argue for and explain armed action, develop parallel strategies, openly support the thrust and political control of revolutionary armed actions, claim and spread the message of struggle, help create the "sea" for the guerrillas to swim in. Don't talk to the FBI. Resist grand jury probes of revolutionary struggles. Laying the basis for armed struggle is also the responsibility of mass organizers.

—From the very beginning of guerrilla action, mass armed capability develops. Its spontaneity will be slowly transferred into the energy of a popular armed force.

—Many levels of clandestine propaganda action can be carried out which spread the consciousness of action and give people a way to learn. Spray-painting, rip offs of corporate files, blood on the murderers. We have done these types of action ourselves, including stinkbombing a Rockefeller appearance in N.Y.C. and doing

the same to the mouthpieces of the Chile junta when they travelled in the US after the murder of Allende. Build a people's militia.

—A successful movement needs to keep part of its organization away from the eyes of the state. This should be part of the practice of every revolutionary. The survival and continuity of the revolutionary movement, of the activists and the supporters over a long period of time, depends on having networks and resources not exposed to computer patterns, electronic surveillance and infiltration of the repressive apparatus. The continued existence of underground organizations shows this can be done.

—Building a capacity to survive over time is no substitute for militancy now in our daily work. An uncompromising, confrontational approach to political work is the best way to inspire the people, build organization, and learn to fight.

## REVOLUTION

This is a deathly culture. It beats its 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 the most politically and socially backward.

The quality of life of a Chinese peasant is better than ours. The Chinese have free and adequate health care, a meaningful political education, productive work, a place to live, something to eat and each has a sense of her or himself as part of a whole people's shared historical purpose. We may eat more and have more access to gadgets, but we are constantly driven by competition, insecurity, uncertainty, and fear. Work is wasteful and meaningless and other people are frightening and hateful. This is no way to live.

Stated simply, our strategy is to base ourselves on the trends of change, to revolutionize and push them on, and to intervene in everything.

Our movement must discard the baggage of the oppressor society and become new women and new men, as Che taught. All forms of racism, class prejudice, and male chauvinism must be torn out by the roots. For us, proletarianization means recognizing the urgency of revolution as the only solution to our own problems and the survival of all oppressed people. It means commitment, casting our lot with the collective interest and discarding the privileges of empire. It means recognizing that revolution is a lifetime of fighting and transformation, a risky business and ultimately a decisive struggle against the forces of death.

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.

The culture of our communities, the people we try to become, are forged in the process of revolutionary war—the struggle for liberation. We are called on to commit ourselves to this struggle, and time is pressing. People are already dying. Lives are wasted and worn. Life itself depends on our ability to deal a swift death blow to the monster.

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## APPENDIX II

### INDIVIDUALS ATTENDING FLINT "WAR COUNCIL"

Detective Gilmore of the Flint, Michigan, police department, testified that rental on the Weatherman "War Council" ballroom December 27-31, 1969, was paid in part by a number of personal checks drawn by individuals in attendance. He listed among the makers of such checks:

Avey, Michael L., Cincinnati, Ohio.	Hardiman, Karen, Boston, Mass.
Bennett, Margaret Grace, Seattle, Wash.	Hodges, Anner, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Bernhardt, Douglas C., Houston, Tex.	Maniscallo, Lanette, Flint, Mich.
Brightman, Carol McDermott, New York City, N.Y.	Meadows, L. R., Bartlesville, Okla.
Curtis, Theodore, Flint, Mich.	Raskin, Joanna, New York City, N.Y.
Flatley, David M., Milwaukee, Wis.	Schneider, Janet, Brookline, Mass.
Glasser, Mark, Stamford, Conn.	Sillars, Malcolm P., Flint, Mich.
	Sole, David, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Sgt. Gilmore of the Flint, Michigan, police department, gave the Internal Security Subcommittee a list of individuals identified as having attended the Weatherman "war council" convention in Flint. The list included the following:

#### INDIVIDUALS PERSONALLY IDENTIFIED

Avey, Michael	Lang, Bradford
Ayers, William	Lang, Stephen
Bennett, Margaret	Lattimer, Karen
Bernhardt, Douglas	Maki, Allen
Blume, Harvey	Mann, Eric
Braley, Scott	McDermott, Carol
Clapp, Peter	Meadows, L. R.
Dohrn, Bernardine	Mellen, James
Evans, Linda	Oughton, Diana
Flatley, David	Pilkington, John
Garvin, Lynn Ray	Purtz, Edward
Garskoff, Bertram	Raskin, Jonah
Garskoff, Michele	Roskamp, Dennis
Glasser, Mark	Selin, Karen
Hardiman, Karen	Shapiro, Mark
Hardy, Daniel	Snider, Janet
Hodges, Anner	Sole, David
Kohn, D. Anne	

#### LIST OF INDIVIDUALS NAMED BY POLICE INFORMANT AS HAVING ATTENDED THE "WAR COUNCIL" CONVENTION:

Agers, Bill	Latimer, Karen
Ashley, Karen	Lerner, John
Benedict, Edward	Lev, Naomi
Blum, Jeffery	Machtiger, Howard
Clapp, Peter	Mann, Eric
Clark, Judy	Melsel, Lisa
Dohrn, Bernardine	Melish, Jeff
Evans, Linda	Mellen, Jim
Flanigan, Brian	Millstone, David
Fuerst, John	Neufeld, Russ
Garvin, Lynn	Rosenstein, Natalie
Handlesman, Lenny	Rudd, Mark
Hirsch, Phoebe	Spiegel, Mike
Hochberg, Arthur	Spielman, Jane
Jacobs, John "JJ"	Steinberg, Marsha
Jones, Jeff	Stern, Susan
Karp, Sam	VanLydegraff, Clayton
Klafter, David	Wilkerson, Cathy
Kuttner, Peter	Wozniak, Mary

#### PERSONS IN CARS STOPPED AND CHECKED BY FLINT POLICE DURING WEATHERMAN "WAR COUNCIL"

Ford Mustang, 1968, black/red, Michigan license. Driver: Frederick Lee Miller, Huntington Woods, Michigan. Other occupants: Richard L. Feldman, Brooklyn, New York; K. Sacks, Westbury, New York; Bernard Riff, Chicago, Illinois.

Volkswagen Bus, 1960, white/grey, Wisconsin license. Driver: David Flatley, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Other occupants: Jerome J. Walsh, West Allis, Wisconsin; Gerald D. Mitchell, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Chevrolet, 1970, blue, Michigan license. Driver: Jon Frederic Frappier, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Other occupants: Nancy Gail Stein, Oakland, California.

Volkswagen Van, white/red, Illinois license. Driver: Allan J. Oberman, Teaneck, New Jersey. No other occupants.

Dodge Van (U-Haul), 1968, Maryland license. Driver: James K. Kilpatrick, Boston, Massachusetts. No other occupants.

Ford Van, 1965, no plates. Driver: Harfold R. Laden, Chicago, Illinois. Other occupants: George Crowley, Seattle, Washington.

- Chevrolet, 1962, lt. green, Ohio license. Driver: (Not specified). Occupants: John David Buttny, Denver, Colorado; Raymond Lee Moser, Uniontown, Pennsylvania; Ralph E. Ridgom, Baltimore, Maryland; Benjamin C. Isral, St. Louis, Missouri; Michael Wood, Cincinnati, Ohio; Richard D. Lee, Lookout Heights, Kentucky.
- Chevrolet Van, 1969, yellow, (Hertz truck) (Licensing state not specified). Driver: Frank Hubert Mather, East Lansing, Michigan. Other occupants: Bradley Brent Conners, New York, New York; Robert Bruce Mackowsky, Fort Lee, New Jersey; Dennis Howland, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Mike Ross Camp, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
- Pontiac, 1964, Michigan license. Driver: Bahram Sallmi, Bay City, Michigan. Other occupants: Gregory Albert Jaynes, Essexville, Michigan; Hamayoun Dehehan, Houghton, Michigan; Dehgan, Allreza, Washington, D.C.
- Volkswagen, blue, Illinois license. Driver: Natasha Burd, Califon, New Jersey. Other occupants: Janet Rae Austin, Berkeley, California; Sherri Ann Whitehead, Berkeley, California; Andrew Julian Truskior, Berkeley, California; Nancy Kurshan, East Williston, New Jersey; Lendal B. Harris, New York, New York; Stuart Bishop, New York New York.
- Chevrolet, 1962, lt. green, Ohio license. Driver: Daniel Hardy, Detroit, Michigan. Other occupants: Steven Abbot, Columbus, Ohio; Cookie Roby, Warren, Ohio; Edward J. Benedict (car owner), Cleveland, Ohio (note: source lists Benedict but states he was not in car when checked).
- Ford Falcon, blue, Oregon license. Driver: Christopher Bowe Miller, Chicago, Illinois. Other occupants: Eleanor Stein, New York, New York; Janet Press, Irvington, New York; Sheldon Rosenbaum, Manhattan, New York; Michael Josefowicz, Queens, New York; Kathryn (sic) M. Kehan, Amber, Pennsylvania; Laura Foner, New York.
- Chevrolet, 1960, green, Michigan license. Driver: Terry Leo Daley, Flint, Michigan (minister). Other occupants: Richard James Roehik, Midland, Michigan; Scott Addy Braley, Detroit, Michigan; Norman George Delisle, Midland, Michigan.
- Ford Mustang, 1965, red, Massachusetts license. Driver: Lynda N. Josefowicz, Franklin Lakes, New Jersey. Other occupants: Ann Hathaway, Cleveland, Ohio; Jane Ann White, Stratford, New Jersey; Laura W. Stang, Chicago, Illinois; Debbie Stern, Cleveland, Ohio; Marie Smith, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Porsche, 1962, red, Illinois license. Driver: Robert D. Miller, Terre Haute, Indiana. Other occupants: Mark W. Pennington, Terre Haute, Indiana; Marilyn F. Pennington, Terre Haute, Indiana; Mariane Pennington, Indianapolis, Indiana (car owner); Donald R. Catterson, Terre Haute, Indiana.
- Chevrolet II, 1970, green, no plates. Driver: William Charles Ayers, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Other occupants: Linda Sue Evans, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Bernardine Dohrn, no address; James Mellon, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Note: source states car was rented by Donald Stang, but Stang was not in car when checked).
- Volvo, blue, Maryland license. Driver: Jeffrey Carl Jones, Sylmar, California. Other occupants: Mark W. Rudd, Maplewood, New Jersey; John G. Jacobs, Detroit, Michigan; Howard Machtinger, Chicago, Illinois (Note: source states car's owner, Jeffrey David Blum, was not in car when checked).
- Ford U-Haul, Maryland license. Driver: Richard W. Edelman, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Other occupants: Samuel Fuchs, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Judith E. Somberg, Maplewood, New Jersey.
- Volkswagen, green, Illinois license. Driver: Lawrence John Lombard, Seattle, Washington. Other occupants: Alvin Ira Katz, New York, New York; Joseph Oliveri, East Boston, Massachusetts; James C. Porowski, Cincinnati, Ohio; Ralph Ridgway, Cincinnati, Ohio; Raymond R. Munchel, Cincinnati, Ohio (Note: source identifies owner of car as Donna Karl but does not make clear whether she was in car when checked).
- Chevrolet Van, 1967, Ohio license. Driver: Lynda N. Josefowicz, Franklin, New Jersey. Other occupants: Laura Foner, New York; John Fuerst, no address; Cary Claxton, no address; William Alexander Cleveland, no address; David Elbaz, no address; Richard K. Mansfield, no address; David F. Pugh, no address; Nigel G. Dickens, no address; Brian Thomas Lavelle, no address; Theodore L. Soares, no address; Lawrence David Barber, no address; Michael Marotta, no address; Morris Allan Older, no address; Nicholas Albrecht Freudenberg, no address; Frank Spinelli, no address.



**FLINT POLICE LISTED THE FOLLOWING AS REGISTERED OWNERS OF AUTOMOBILES AT THE BALLROOM OR AT SACRED HEART' CONVENT DURING THE "WAR COUNCIL":**

Abfelt, Ronald, Jr., Ann Arbor, Michigan (lessee of car)  
 Arnold, Lawrence, Mt. Morris, Michigan  
 Avey, Michael J., Columbus, Ohio  
 Benedict, Jennifer, Cleveland Heights, Ohio  
 Benedict, Leonard, Amhurst, Ohio  
 Bennett, G., Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
 Bissell, Silas Trim, Lake Terrace, Washington  
 Bissell, Hillary, Middleville, Michigan  
 Bissell, Wadsworth, Middleville, Michigan  
 Blum, Jeffry, Baltimore, Maryland  
 Boccacelo, Leopold, Mt. Clemens, Michigan  
 Bouse, George M., Detroit, Michigan  
 Caswell, Michael I., Saginaw, Michigan  
 Catterson, Donald R., Terre Haute, Indiana  
 Cavalletto, G. A., Bronx, New York  
 Chain, Lillian, Corvallis, Oregon  
 Church, Dorothy, Jackson, Michigan  
 Church, Elmer, Jackson, Michigan  
 Clark, Ralph O., Midland, Michigan  
 Coffman, Malcolm, Bowling Green, Ohio  
 Coleson, Edward P., Spring Arbor, Michigan  
 Conkwright, Aldred, Jr., Grand Rapids, Michigan  
 Cook, Thomas B., Johnson, Vermont  
 Cortes, William, Ohio  
 Cox, Charles, Middleville, Michigan  
 Cunningham, Dennis D., Chicago, Illinois  
 Curtis, Theodore, Flint, Michigan  
 Daly, Terry L., Flint, Michigan  
 Dandy, Riley T., Detroit, Michigan  
 Dean, Max, Flint, Michigan  
 Dehghaml, Alireza, Bay City, Michigan  
 Dickerson, Carol, Buffalo, New York  
 Dickerson, Gloria, Mt. Vernon, New York  
 Dworkin, Jeannette, New York  
 Emery, Virginia H., Cincinnati, Ohio  
 Epps, Gerald I., Brooklyn, New York  
 Felong, Cynthia, Detroit, Michigan  
 Finesteln, Mark, New York, New York  
 Fonville, Terry W., Champaign, Illinois  
 Frappier, John F., Ann Arbor, Michigan (lessee of car)  
 Frutig, William A., Grosse Pointe, Michigan  
 Gaerlan, Val D., Brookfield, Illinois  
 Garvin, Elizabeth, Washington, D.C. (lessee of car)  
 Gaus, L. C., Middletown, Delaware  
 Gendell, Julian, Ann Arbor, Michigan  
 Haas, Jeffry, Chicago, Illinois  
 Hansen, Edwin, Chicago, Illinois  
 Hanser, Ruth, Florence, Kentucky  
 Hardy, Daniel, Grand Rapids, Michigan  
 Hendrickson, Carl P., Atlanta, Georgia  
 Herda, Albert, New Buffalo, Michigan  
 Herda, Craig, New Buffalo, Michigan  
 Hicock, Larry, Albany, New York  
 Holt, Edgar R., Flint, Michigan  
 Hope, Margarite J., Portland, Oregon  
 Hornstein, Jacob, Brookline, Massachusetts  
 Irwin, Paul J., Mt. Morris, Michigan  
 Jacobson, Arnold, Grand Rapids, Michigan  
 Johnson, Richard J., Grand Rapids, Michigan  
 Justesen, Margaret, Seattle, Washington  
 Karl, Donna J., Chicago, Illinois  
 Katz, Mortimer, Bronx, New York  
 Kegel, Frank, Wickliffe, Ohio  
 Killam, Melody, Vancouver, British Columbia

Killam, Richard, Vancouver, British Columbia  
 Klukkert, Jack B., Flossmoor, Illinois  
 Knopf, Edwin L., Flint, Michigan  
 Kopkind, Andrew D., Washington, D.C. (lessee of car)  
 Kupersmith, Daniel, Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
 Landen, Harold R., Chicago, Illinois  
 Lane, Benjamin P., Lansing, Michigan  
 Lee, Richard D., Covington, Kentucky  
 Leltson, Morton, Flint, Michigan  
 Lent, Mearl, Columbus, Ohio  
 Lowry, John R., Hillside, New Jersey  
 Lukaszek, Marian, Flint, Michigan  
 Martin, Barbara S., Detroit, Michigan  
 Miller, Sidney, Huntington Woods, Michigan  
 Murdock, Peter J., Ypsilanti, Michigan  
 Myers, Rose, Chicago, Illinois  
 Norton, Robert, Chicago, Illinois  
 Oakwood, Gastin, Niles, Illinois  
 Parker, Dorothy L., Detroit, Michigan  
 Parks, F. E., East Lansing, Michigan  
 Parks, Sue Ann, Flint, Michigan  
 Pennington, Lyle, Rockford, Michigan  
 Pohrt, Richard A., Flint, Michigan  
 Pollack, Lorna Jean, Detroit, Michigan  
 Reye, Gail, Holly, Michigan (lessee of car)  
 Rosengard, M. H., Owosso, Michigan  
 Rothwell, Barbara Jean, Grove, Florida  
 Salimi, Bahrar, Bay City, Michigan  
 Sams, George, Washington, Pennsylvania  
 Sears, Debra M., Redwood, California  
 Shultz, Susan, Chicago, Illinois  
 Small, Gerald, Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
 Smith, L. C., Mt. Morris, Michigan  
 Snook, Edith F., Royal Oak, Michigan  
 Sompollinsky, Dorothy, Greenville, Michigan  
 Stang, Donald J., Chicago, Illinois  
 Stedron, Raymond, Clio, Michigan  
 Stollinack, Steven, Columbus, Ohio  
 Symon, Barry S., Flint, Michigan  
 Turorner, Linda, Chicago, Illinois  
 Uren, James, Royal Oak, Michigan  
 VanGunther, Floyd, Toledo, Ohio  
 Vine, Edward, Grosse Pointe, Michigan  
 Wheller, Paul I., Chalot, Michigan  
 White, Brian, Denver, Colorado  
 White, Larry, Flint, Michigan  
 White, Sam, Flint, Michigan  
 Witherspoon, Frank, Flint, Michigan

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### APPENDIX III

[From FBI Annual Report for 1970]

#### NEW LEFT TERRORISM

Primary responsibility for protecting our Nation's internal security rests with the FBI. Authorized under legislative enactments, Presidential directives, and instructions of the Attorney General, this heavy responsibility, which does not extend to foreign countries, includes investigative jurisdiction over matters relating to such activities as espionage, counterespionage, subversion, treason, and sedition. In carrying out these duties, the FBI gathers both intelligence data and evidence which can be used in legal proceedings. The FBI also has the responsibility of promptly disseminating the data it has secured in this field to appropriate officials of the Government.

## NEW LEFT TERRORISM

Fiscal year 1970 reflected a rapid escalation in New Left extremism which presented a distinct danger to our national security. This extremism manifested itself in actual violence such as physical riots and confrontations in the streets, the explosion of bombs, and terror attacks against governmental facilities such as Reserve Officers' Training Corps buildings. The key group in New Left extremism and violence was a minority wing of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) known as the Weatherman.

SDS at its national convention in Chicago [June, 1969], split into three hostile segments. These segments were: the Weatherman, the Revolutionary Youth Movement II, and the Worker Student Alliance.

The Weatherman, under the leadership of such well-known New Leftists as Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, and Bernardine Dohrn, quickly developed into a highly militant group advocating violence. In July, 1969, Rudd called for militant action in Chicago in support of the Conspiracy Seven [a group of seven individuals being tried in Federal Court in Chicago for violation of Federal Antiriot Laws]. In August in Cleveland, Ohio, Ayers described the Weatherman as we're revolutionary Communists.

From October 8-11, 1969, the Weatherman staged the Days of Rage in Chicago. Actually, this was a street demonstration by Weatherman in which they attempted to break windows, overturn cars, and confront the police. Over 270 Weatherman members and followers were arrested. The real purpose of the Chicago demonstration, which had been purposely planned by the Weatherman, was to gain experience in revolutionary tactics.

The Weatherman, led by Ayers, joined other groups in Washington, D.C., in mid-November, 1969, to protest the Vietnam War. Demonstrators urged on by Weatherman hurled rocks, sticks, and bottles at the Department of Justice Building and also were involved in inflicting severe damage to other areas of the Capital City.

In December, 1969, the Weatherman held a national council meeting in Flint, Mich., at which time a decision was made to convert Weatherman into a small, tough, paramilitary organization to carry out urban guerrilla warfare for the purpose of bringing about a revolution in the United States. The necessity of killing police and self-instruction in the use of firearms and bombs were stressed.

Shortly after the beginning of 1970, many Weatherman members disappeared and went underground. They planned to set up communes and direct attention to guerrilla warfare.

Within a short time, evidence of Weatherman terrorism unfolded. A series of dynamite explosions occurred in a fashionable Greenwich Village townhouse in New York City on March 6, 1970, in which Weatherman Ted Gold and Diana Oughton were killed. The townhouse was owned by the father of Weatherman leader Cathlyn Wilkerson. In Chicago on March 30, 1970, 50 sticks of dynamite and other explosives were found in an apartment rented to a Weatherman activist under an assumed name. This dynamite matched that found in an unexploded condition in two Detroit police installations on March 6, 1970.

In July, 1969, a group of Weatherman leaders including Dohrn, Gold, and Oughton traveled to Cuba where they met with representatives from North Vietnam.

In a three-page typed statement to the press on May 25, 1970, said to be a transcript of a tape recording by Bernardine Dohrn, it was noted that the Weatherman group was declaring a state of war against the United States and called for revolutionaries and youth to join in the Weatherman revolution. As the fiscal year closed, a number of Weatherman leaders were being sought as fugitives by the FBI.

The Revolutionary Youth Movement II faction of SDS set up headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., however, the group has remained rather insignificant. The Worker Student Alliance [WSA] faction was dominated by the pro-Red Chinese Progressive Labor Party and since the June, 1969, Chicago SDS convention has considered itself the true SDS. The WSA faction consists of about 63 chapters and has headquarters in Boston, Mass. This group aims to build a worker-student movement in keeping with the Progressive Labor Party's goal of developing a broad worker-based revolutionary movement in the United States.

Though the fiscal year witnessed an organizational fragmentation of SDS, its component elements, though hostile to each other, all agree in their hatred of and hostility to the American system of government.

The rise of extremist activities, especially directed against the war in Vietnam, has manifested itself in a number of bombings, arsons, and fire bombings which in many cases have constituted violations of the Federal Sabotage Statute. The FBI has conducted a number of such sabotage-type investigations.

## APPENDIX IV

### CHICAGO AND DETROIT WEATHERMAN INDICTMENTS

A 15-count indictment charging 12 members of the Weatherman group with conspiracy and interstate travel to incite riots during the "Days of Rage" in Chicago, October 8-11, 1969, was handed down by a Chicago grand jury on April 2, 1970. Named in the indictment were Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, William Ayers, Jeffrey Jones, Kathy Boudin, Terry Robbins, Michael Spiegel, Linda Evans, Howard Machtlinger, Judy Clark, John Jacobs, and Lawrence Weiss.<sup>1</sup>

The Department of Justice issued the following release on April 2, 1970:

"A federal grand jury indicted 12 members of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society today on charges of conspiracy and interstate travel to incite the 1969 riot in Chicago.

"Attorney General John N. Mitchell announced that an indictment, containing 15 separate counts, was returned in U.S. district court in Chicago in connection with the rioting last October 8-11.

"Each of the defendants was charged with one count of conspiracy, a violation of section 371, title 18, United States Code, which carries a maximum penalty of 5 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

"In addition, each of the defendants also was charged with at least one count of violation of the 1968 Antiriot Act, section 2101, title 18, United States Code, which carries the same maximum penalty.

"Named as defendants were:

"Mark Rudd, 22, national secretary of SDS and a leader of the Weatherman faction, three counts.

"Bernadine Dohrn, 27, former interorganizational secretary, member of the national interim committee of SDS, and a leader of the Weatherman, faction, three counts.

"William Ayers, 25, educational secretary of SDS, three counts.

"Jeffrey Jones, 22, interorganizational secretary of SDS, four counts.

"Kathy Boudin, 28, two counts.

"Terry Robbins, 22, three counts.

"Michael Spiegel, 23, three counts.

"Linda Evans, 22, member of the national interim committee of SDS, two counts.

"Howard Machtlinger, 23, member of the national interim committee of SDS, two counts.

"Judy Clark, 21, two counts.

"John Jacobs, 22, two counts.

"Lawrence Weiss, two counts.

"The indictment said the defendants conspired between June 30 and October 11, 1969, to travel in and use the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent to incite, organize, promote, encourage, participate in, and carry on a riot.

"The conspiracy, the indictment said, included aiding and abetting persons in inciting, organizing, participating in, and carrying on a riot, and committing acts of violence in furtherance of a riot.

"Rudd, Ayers, Jones, Robbins, Dohrn, Jacobs, Evans, Machtlinger, Boudin, Spiegel, Weiss and Clark were charged with conspiring to organize meetings, to travel between States to attend meetings, to publish articles, and to make long-distance telephone calls 'for the purpose of and in order to encourage and induce persons to travel to Chicago, Ill., to participate in massive, violent riots and other activities.'

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the Federal indictments, a special Cook County Grand Jury was convened on Nov. 17, 1969. When it completed its deliberations on December 19, 1969, the Grand Jury had returned 37 indictments involving 64 defendants. Twenty true bills involving 25 defendants were issued on the day the Grand Jury presented its final report. Many of those named in the Federal indictments were also subjects of State indictments.

"The indictment said the 12 defendants further conspired to maintain two offices of the Students for a Democratic Society in Chicago; to maintain 'movement centers' to be used for organizing and training for the activities in Chicago; to conduct training sessions at which instructions would be given in techniques of resisting and obstructing police, karate, and methods of freeing arrested persons; and organizing and directing small groups called 'affinity groups for the purpose of committing acts of violence against policemen, other persons and property.'

"The indictment said the actions included:

"Gathering of large numbers of persons in Lincoln Park, Chicago, marching on the Drake Hotel, and creating destruction of cars and business establishments en route.

"Marching through Chicago streets breaking windows, disabling automobiles, and committing acts of vandalism against public property and business establishments, and acts of violence against policemen and other persons."

In addition to the 12 members of the Weatherman organization indicted by the Chicago Federal grand jury, 28 persons were named as coconspirators but not defendants: Corky Benedict, John Buttney, David Chase, Peter Clapp, Karen Daenzer, Dianne Donghi, Howie Emmer, Courtney Esposito, Brian Flanagan, Lynn Garvin, Ted Gold, Ann Hathaway, Lenore Kalom, Samuel Karp, Mark Laventer, Karen Latimer, Jonathan Lerner, Chip Marshall, Celeste McCullogh, Brain McQuerry, Jeff Melish, Jim Mellen, David Millstone, Diana Oughton, John Pilkington, Roberta Smith, Susan Stern, and Cathy Wilkerson.

The Chicago indictment was dismissed in 1974, on motion of the Government, for the protection of foreign intelligence sources. [The Government had been, by the court, put on its election to disclose what it had learned about the defendants or any of them through "foreign intelligence" wiretaps, or to dismiss the action.]

The 18 members of Weatherman indicted by the Detroit Federal grand jury July 23, 1970, were Bill Ayers, Kathy Boudin, Bo Burlinghan, Bernardine Dohrn, Dianne Donghi, Linda Evans, Ronald Fliegelman, Larry Grathwohl, Naomi Jaffe, Russ Neufeld, Mark Rudd, Jane Spielman, Cathryn Platt Wilkerson. Of these, five had already been named defendants in the Chicago indictments (Ayers, Boudin, Dohrn, Evans, and Rudd); and one (Grathwohl) was actually an informer for the FBI.

Eleven of the original "Detroit 18" (all but Grathwohl and Spielman), along with four others, were charged with conspiracy in a second Detroit indictment handed down December 7, 1972, superceding the earlier indictment. The four new names on this second indictment were John Fuerst, Leonard Handelsman, Mark Real, and Roberta Smith. [Handelsman was a Cleveland Weatherman, Real was from Kent State, Roberta Smith from California.] The second Detroit indictment named as unindicted coconspirators: Karen Ashley, Kirk Augustine, Paul Augustine, Peter Clapp, David Flatley, Judith Cohen Flatley, David Gilbert, Ted Gold, Linda Josefowicz, Michael Justesen, Mark Laventer, Mark Lenc, Howie Machtinger, Peter Neufeld, Diane Oughton, Wendy Panken, Terry Robins, Deborah Schneller, Pat Small, Michael Spiegel, Marsha Steinberg, Robert Swarthout, and Joanna Zilsel.

The Detroit Weatherman conspiracy case comprised charges of a bombing plot hatched in Flint, Mich., in December 1969 and allegedly continued for 8 years, involving activities in 15 cities in 10 States, from northern Vermont to southern California. Forty-four separate conspiratorial acts were charged specifically by Government prosecutors, including various acts of constructing or transporting bombs [in Cleveland, Ohio, San Francisco, Calif., Tucson, Ariz., and St. Louis Mo.] and with firebombing the home of a Cleveland policeman on March 2, 1970. [Washington Post, Nov. 11, 1973.]

The new Detroit indictment of December 1972, naming 15 persons, was dismissed against all defendants October 15, 1973, for the sake of preserving foreign intelligence sources [as in the case of the Chicago indictment referred to above].

## APPENDIX V

## SOURCE OF EXPLOSIVES IN TOWNHOUSE BLAST

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee asked the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms of the Department of Treasury for a summary of its information on the unexploded dynamite and other bomb-making materials recovered from a New York townhouse damaged heavily by an explosion on March 6, 1970. Three members of Weatherman were killed and several others who survived fled shortly afterward.

The BATF said bomb components recovered included 57 sticks of dynamite, a seven-pound package of unwrapped dynamite, 40 electric blasting caps, and two 100-foot rolls of safety fuse.

Markings on the dynamite and the non-electric blasting caps were traced to the New England Explosives Corporation, Keene, New Hampshire, through the records of the American Cyanamid Company, Wayne, New Jersey.

New York City detectives interviewed an employee of New England Explosives, Mrs. Ella Fulwood, on March 12, 1970. She told them the traced explosives were sold to a young man who gave his name as David Beller. The purchaser telephoned Mrs. Fulwood at 9 a.m., March 2, 1970, saying that he wanted to order materials for his father, John Beller, who was on a construction job in Shelburne, Vermont. Mrs. Fulwood said she assumed the order was for Shelburne Limestone, Inc., a regular customer for many years.

The order was for 100 pounds of dynamite, 100 non-electric blasting caps, 50 electric blasting caps, and two rolls of safety fuse. (A photocopy of the order follows:)

# NEW ENGLAND EXPLOSIVES CORP.

### DISTRIBUTION OF

**EXPLOSIVES • COMPRESSORS • DRILLS • W. & ROPE  
CONTRACTORS AND MINING SUPPLIES**

**349 WASHINGTON ST.**

**852-1666**

**KEENE, N. H.**

**352-0471**

**Customer's  
Order No.**

Date March 2, 1970

Name John Beller

Address 351 East 71st St. - New York City

**Ship To**

100	60% Std. Gel. 1 1/2 x 8 ✓		31	75
100	#6 Fuse Caps ✓		7	00
75	ft. Orange Wax Fuse ✓	5.00/c	3	75
50	8 ft. 0-Delay Caps ✓	27.80/c	13	90
<p><i>3rd Cash</i>  <i>conv/dec</i></p>				
TERMS OF SALE		TOTAL	56	40

(1) Seller makes no warranty of any kind, expressed or implied, except that the materials sold hereunder shall be of Seller's standard quality, and Buyer assumes all risk and liability whatsoever resulting from the use of such materials, whether used singly or in combination with other substances.

(2) Seller shall not be liable for any statement, information or instruction given by its agents or employees in connection with the use, handling or storage of the materials sold hereunder unless given in writing by the Seller.

**№ 2726**

ABOVE GOODS RECEIVED IN GOOD ORDER

Received By.

**OFFICE COPY**

The young man who said his name was Beller arrived at New England Explosives at 12:30 p.m. that same day. He gave an address in Shelburne Center, Vermont, and asked that the bill be made out to his father. He paid the total of \$56.40 in cash. Later investigation showed the address given was on a non-existent street, that no one by the name of Beller was employed by the Limestone company, and that there was no telephone listing for the name Beller in the area directory.

Mrs. Fulwood said Beller was a white male, in his later 20's, five feet ten inches tall, and weighed about 165 pounds. He had long black hair and "a sloppy appearance." She said Beller was accompanied by another white male with dark shoulder length hair. They left in a Volkswagen.

Mrs. Fulwood said that another young man attempted to buy dynamite on March 9 for "removal of boulders and stumps in Middlebury, Vermont." The president of the firm, Bentley Key, refused to sell him the dynamite. The man then bought a copy of "The Blaster's Handbook" for \$7.50 and left the office. He was described as a white male with long stringy black hair, just under six feet tall, and wearing wire rim glasses. Outside, he was joined by another white male with shoulder length black hair, beard, and mustache. They drove off in a red Volkswagen bearing New Jersey license plates. Mrs. Fulwood was shown photographs of known SDS members but could not make identifications.

It was later learned that someone who identified himself as David Beller from Rutland, Vermont, called the Vermont Explosives Company on March 2, 1970, and ordered 75 pounds of dynamite and caps. The next day he called and cancelled the order.

On March 6 (the date of the explosion in Manhattan), a man who identified himself as Henry Skirball of Middlebury, Vermont, called Vermont Explosives Company, Barre, Vermont, in the early afternoon and ordered a quantity of explosives roughly equal to that purchased earlier by "Beller". He picked the order up about 6:15 p.m., using a social security card for identification. He paid \$61.95 in cash and loaded the materials in a red Volkswagen bearing New York license number P04739. When a company employee asked if he intended to take the explosives to New York, Skirball said the car belonged to his girl friend and that he was building a house in Rutland, Vermont, and intended to use the dynamite to remove stones and stumps. M. L. Goodwin, Jr., acting Regional Director in New York of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, said "It is believed that these were the explosives found later in the (Vermont) woods and were probably abandoned by the man who purchased them upon learning of the explosion at West 11th St."

Later investigation showed Skirball's address was false and that the social security card he used had been issued to a much older man. However, the automobile was traced to a New York man whose daughter, Joan Zimmerman, was using it while enrolled at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont. Miss Zimmerman refused to tell who was using the car on March 6, 1970, Goodwin said.

Also on March 6, 1970, Ronald Fliegelman bought a .38 cal. automatic pistol and nine boxes of ammunition from Barteaus Gun Shop, Berlin, Vermont. In filling out the form required, he listed his address as Goddard College and said he was born June 27, 1944 in Philadelphia, Pa. he described himself as five feet, four inches tall, and 175 pounds in weight. Further investigation showed that in May and June of 1969 Fliegelman had bought two other guns from Sheppard's in North Montpelier, Vermont, and that on September 5, 1969, a Ronald Fliegelman had called the Vermont Explosives Company and ordered six sticks of dynamite. It was picked up later that same day by Andrew Higgins. Both gave social security card numbers as identification.

Fliegelman was identified as a friend of Steve Rappaport, a graduate of Goddard College and reportedly a boy friend of Joan Zimmerman.

When Fliegelman purchased the gun on March 6, 1970, he was accompanied by a tall, blond young man who authorities believe may possibly have been Russ Neufeld, a former student at Goddard College. Fliegelman, Higgins, Rappaport, and Neufeld reportedly were all members of the SDS at Goddard.

Acting Regional Director Goodwin said "The possibility exists that the same Volkswagen was used on all three occasions and that Beller, Skirball, and Fliegelman are one and the same person, but no direct connection has been made and efforts to clarify this theory were met with a stiff lack of cooperation by friends and associates of the people involved."

It is known that several telephone calls were made from the house on West 11th Street to Goddard College on February 28, 1970 but there is no information as to the recipient of the calls or the nature of the conversation, except that Ernest Boaten, an instructor and counselor at Goddard, received one of the calls from someone who said, "I'm a friend of Tom's" and then they were disconnected.

Goodwin said the files of his office show no information indicating that explosive materials were transported from Flint, Michigan.



## APPENDIX VI

## WEATHERMAN HELPS LEARY ESCAPE PRISON

In September 1970, Dr. Timothy Leary, spiritual leader of the drug subculture, escaped from a California state prison. The preceding March he had begun serving a term of from 1 to 10 years for possession of marihuana.

The escape was engineered by Weatherman, Leary revealed later in his book, "Confessions of a Hope Fiend." In the book, Leary told of sitting in a camper after the escape while one Weatherman member was dying his hair as a disguise: "I began to laugh. It all figures. The maniac reckless guerrilla tribe. Scourge of the FBI. . . . I suddenly flashed on the meshing of the underground energy systems. Dope dealers raise \$25,000 to finance the breakout. And the bread goes to the maniac guerrillas."

A former member of Leary's organization, the Brotherhood of Eternal Love, now cooperating with the Drug Enforcement Administration, claims the amount paid to Weatherman was \$50,000. At any rate, it is obvious that a large sum was paid to effect the escape, provide Leary and his wife with false papers, and arrange for his flight abroad.

Leary went to Algeria and became an associate of Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther leader. Ultimately, Leary left Algeria and successfully fought an extradition order in Switzerland. After being asked to leave Switzerland in December 1972, he eventually went to Afghanistan, where he was arrested January 14, 1973 and returned to the United States on January 18, 1973. Subsequently he was returned to prison to complete serving his term.

While in Algeria and Switzerland, Leary shared quarters with Dennis Martino, whose brother is married to Leary's daughter, according to Ernest Donald Strange, a Special Agent of the DEA, testifying before the Internal Security Subcommittee on October 3, 1973. Martino, now a government witness, said Leary told him one of the Weatherman members in the car the night of his escape was Bernardino Dohrn.

Leary does not mention Dohrn being in the car in his book, "Confessions of a Hope Fiend," but it is conceivable he may have given this information in confidence to Dennis Martino, and then decided for security reasons to leave it out of his book.

## APPENDIX VII

## DOCUMENTS FROM VACATED APARTMENT

Here are excerpts from the Illinois Crime Investigating Commission description of its acquisition of documents after high-ranking Weatherman members vacated a Chicago apartment.

"On January 15, 1970, we obtained a large quantity of material left behind by S.D.S. leaders from the National Office in Chicago. This material was given to us by the landlord of the building located at 4943 North Winthrop Street, Chicago, who had rented a third floor apartment to S.D.S. member, Gerald Long. Long was one of the 284 persons arrested on October 8-11, 1969, during the Chicago riots.

"The apartment . . . was first rented to Long on February 1, 1969, with the stipulation it was to be used by his wife, child, brother-in-law and himself. . . later the landlord discovered the apartment was being used, possibly, as a meeting place and not as living quarters. . . . Long on October 3, 1969, (was) advised that the apartment was being used by more than six persons in violation of a provision of the lease (and) that unless the violations ceased, the (landlord's) attorney would commence eviction proceedings. The latter part of October, 1969, the apartment was vacated by Long, leaving behind a collection of personal property, including the material mentioned above and a .22 caliber, nine shot, pistol and two boxes of ammunition. . . .

"Since this material was not claimed by Long or anyone else until January 13, 1970, the landlord furnished them to us.

"It was apparent from the documentary material that Long occupied the apartment with Robert C. Tomashevsky, Bernardine Dohrn, Jeffrey D. Blum, John G. Jacobs and Peter W. Clapp. Another possible tenant was Mike Klonsky who broke away from the S.D.S. after the National Conference in Chicago during the summer of 1969 and subsequently, became the leader of the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II).

"The landlord of the building told us that there was a heavy flow of people to and from the apartment, especially at night. . . .

"We found mail from the Communist Viet Cong government, including official news releases; mail from the Communist regime in Cuba; from militant persons in West Germany. Colored and black wall posters, some of them originating in Red China were revolutionary, and espoused Communist and Racist doctrines.

"There were many booklets, brochures and leaflets indicating organizational preparations for the Chicago riots of October 8-11, 1969. Most of them advocated violence as a continuing necessity for revolution both within the United States and throughout the world. 'United States imperialism,' outright support for the victory of the Communist regimes in North and South Vietnam, attacks on the educational, social and economic structure of the United States were some of the other militant themes.

"Documents were found establishing the presence of . . . Bernardine Dohrn in Budapest, Hungary. An address book listed S.D.S. leaders, members and factions throughout the United States, including those of other militant groups.

"Longhand notes, dated February 10, 1969, included suggested strategy and tactics for the defense of the "Conspiracy 7" defendants, in anticipation of their indictment and prosecution. There were many books on militant philosophies, and militant newspapers throughout the United States, and in Cuba. Revolutionary buttons of the S.D.S. and other militant groups were also found."\*

## APPENDIX VIII

### CUBA MEETING WITH VIETNAMESE

Most of the 34 radical activists who traveled to Cuba on July 4 and 7, 1969, to meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong were members of the "Weatherman" faction of SDS. The group returned via Canada on August 16, 1969.

The meeting had been called at the express request of the Vietnamese, who had also insisted that the composition of the group be different from previous delegations that had met with them. The Vietnamese, wise to the fragmentation of the American New Left, which they considered weak because of doctrinal differences and internal fighting, asked that this delegation be composed by local and regional organizers from hard-core left groups such as the SDS and particularly the "Weatherman".

Known members of the group which made the trip were:

Aponte, Carlos Antonio  
Barano, Robert Jay  
Bakke, Christopher  
Bell, Thomas Wilson  
Benedict, Edward (Corky)  
Bristol, Cristina  
Brown, Aubrey  
Burlingham, Robert  
Cavalletto, George Jr.  
Clapp, Peter W.  
Cuza, Luis John  
Daumont, Lucas  
Davidson, Carl Alfred  
Donghi, Dianne  
Dohrn, Bernardine Rae  
Faber, Diane Westbrook  
Fagen, Richard Rees  
Gold, Theodore  
Hechter, Kenneth Alan  
James, Frank Petras  
Jeronimo, Nino  
Landau, Gregory  
Landau, Nina  
Landau, Saul Irwin

Landau, Valerie  
Levinson, Sandra Hale  
Long, Gerald William  
Love, Robert Schenk  
Lyons, Beth Susan  
Marquez, John (Shorty)  
Martinez, Albert  
Melish, Howard Jefferson  
Millstone, David  
Norton, Robert Edward  
Ortiz, Orlando  
Oughton, Diana  
Paull, Rose  
Pedrin, Verna Elinor Richey  
Ramirez, Jesus Maria  
Ramirez, Jose  
Rankin, Elnor Evelyn  
Shea, Patricia Ellen  
Spielman, Jane  
Ulpiano, Jeronimo  
Washington, Joanne  
Wetzler, Robert  
Wood, Myrna Ann  
Woznick, Mary

\* Part 4, "Extent of Subversion in the New Left," pp. 575, 576.

Members of the South Vietnamese delegation were: Le Thi Tranh Tra, Doan Chau Tranh, Nguyen Thai, Nguyen Thi Quy, Huynh Van Ba, Hoang Van Dinh, Dinh Thi Tru, Nguyen Phuc, and Pham Van Chuong.

Members of the North Vietnamese delegation were: Nguyen Van Trong, Vu Quang Chuyen, Tran Duc Tien, Ngo Qui Du, Le Tuan, Dao Cong Doan, Nguyen Thi Van, Le Thanh, and Le Thi Thanh Mai.

A copy of the program of the meeting follows:

# PROGRAM

**JULY, 1969**

**WEDNESDAY 9**

- Morning:** 9:00 to 11:00 Opening session.  
 11:30 to 1:00 Work session:  
 Reports by the North American  
 and Vietnamese delegations.
- Afternoon:** 1:00 to 2:30 Lunch.  
 3:00 to 7:00 Reports by the North American  
 and Vietnamese delegations:
- Evening:** 8:00 Reception given by Mr. Hoang  
 Bich Son, Vice-Minister of the  
 Provisional Revolutionary Gov-  
 ernment of the Republic of South  
 Viet Nam, at the R.S.V.N. Em-  
 bassy.

**THURSDAY 10**

- Morning:** 9:00 to 1:00 Reading of papers.
- Afternoon:** 1:00 to 2:30 Lunch.  
 3:00 to 7:00 Discussions in groups.
- Evening:** 8:00 to 9:00 Dinner.  
 9:30 Showing of North American and  
 South Viet Nam N.F.L. films.

**FRIDAY 11**

- Morning:** 9:00 to 1:00 Discussions in groups (cont.)
- Afternoon:** 1:00 to 2:30 Lunch.  
 3:00 to 7:00 Visit to the **Universidad de  
 Occidente.**
- Evening:** 8:00 to 9:00 Dinner.  
 9:30 Showing of films of the Demo-  
 cratic Republic of Viet Nam.

**SATURDAY 12**

- Morning:** 9:00 to 1:00 Plenary Session: complementary reports.
- Afternoon:** 1:00 to 2:30 Lunch.  
 3:00 to 6:00 Visit to the **Maurín** Genetic Plan and the town of Ben-Tre.
- Evening:** 8:00 to 9:00 Dinner.  
 9:30 Showing of Cuban documentary films.

**SUNDAY 13**

- Morning:** 9:00 to 1:00 Discussions in groups (cont.)
- Afternoon:** 1:00 to 2:30 Lunch.  
 3:00 Visit to the **Arroyo Bermejo** Beach.
- Evening:** Dinner at the Beach.

**MONDAY 14**

- Morning:** 9:00 to 1:00 Reports on specific subjects for discussion in groups
- Afternoon:** 1:00 to 2:30 Lunch.  
 3:00 to 6:00 Reports on specific subjects for discussion in groups.
- Evening:** 7:00 to 8:30 Dinner.  
 9:00 Cultural activity by Vietnamese students in Cuba and North American delegates.

**TUESDAY 15**

- Morning:** 9:00 to 12:00 Closing session.
- Afternoon:** 1:00 to 2:30 Lunch.  
 3:00 to 6:00 Free time in Havana.
- Evening:** 7:00 to 8:30 Dinner at the **Habana Libre** Hotel.  
 9:00 Cultural activity by Cuba.

Notes in Bernardine Dohrn's handwriting listing the names of the participants of the July 10, 1969, workshop (in Cuba) on "U.S. Policy in Vietnam" follow:

July 10      Workshop

Interd.      US policy in Vietnam

DRV - Nguyen Van Trong <sup>journalist</sup> CSPP  
 Vu Quang Chuyen <sup>youth stud. movement</sup> - teacher  
 TRAN Duc Tien - student

PRG - Le Thi Thanh <sup>student in liberation army</sup> -  
 Nguyen Thi Thanh - student  
 Ngao Chau

US      Kit Bakke  
 Aubrey Brown  
 Duane Jager  
 Jeff Melish  
 Sharty Marquon  
 Carl Davidson  
 Carcky Benedict  
 Carlos Ojonte  
 Bernardine Dohrn

[Notes and a speech by Bernardine Dohrn on the workshops will be found on p. 142.]

#### VIETNAMESE DELEGATIONS EXPERIENCED IN MASS ORGANIZATION AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

The Vietnamese delegations were composed of hand-picked cadres, experienced in mass organization and guerrilla warfare, and included officers of the Vietcong forces.\*

The Vietnamese were emphatic from the beginning that the struggle in Southeast Asia was of paramount importance and it was essential for the U.S. radicals to generate concrete action in order to hasten a political victory of their side.

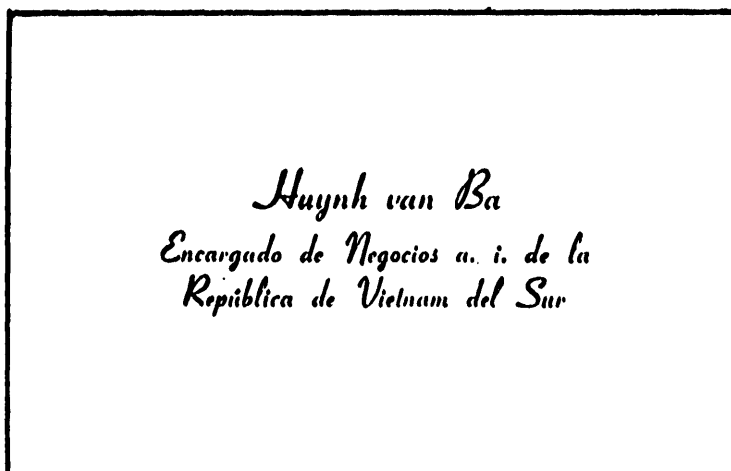
\*There is strong evidence not yet fully confirmed that one of the Vietcong delegates may have been a former interrogator of U.S. prisoners of war.

In their presentations they managed to convince the Americans that the war in Indochina was total defeat of the U.S. and that active "hard fighting" military-type urban guerrilla warfare here was necessary to present the United States Government with the alternative of giving up in Indochina or fighting a war at home in addition to that in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese directives can be summarized in the advice offered by Huynh Van Ba, on recruiting cadres in the United States:

"When you go into a city look for the person who fights the hardest against the cops. That's the one you want to talk all night with. Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights."

#### BUSINESS CARD OF HUYNH VAN BA



Following these guidelines, the Weathermen came back to the United States and set about to recruit the necessary elements to "Bring the War Home". The SDS immediately called a Midwest National Action conference (Cleveland, August 29 through September 1, 1969) where a bitter fight took place (over policies and procedures) which the Weatherman faction won.

Weatherman's course of action posited that it was a revolutionary necessity to engage in a class war in urban areas.

Continuing along the line of action to which its Cuban delegates had been committed, the Weatherman organized a mass demonstration for Chicago, to take place October 8-11, to coincide with the second anniversary of Che Guevara's death in Bolivia.

Holding stubbornly to their thesis of essential militancy, the Weatherman leadership rejected alternative proposals.

Disruption of high school classes for recruiting purposes was part of Weatherman's "increased militancy" program. So was a series of attacks on the court where the trial of the "Chicago 8" was being held.

Preparing the "Days of Rage" that laid waste Chicago's "Loop", Weatherman instituted a training program which involved mass demonstration tactics, karate, use of staves and other street-fighting weapons, and "action dress" including helmets, and heavy protective clothing.

One aftermath of the Chicago riots was almost complete isolation of the Weathermen, which contributed to their decision, late in 1969 to go underground and specialize in guerrilla tactics.

Some Weatherman leaders free on bond after the Chicago riots returned (with the "Venceremos Brigade") to Cuba where it is believed they discussed their tactics with the Vietnamese, very probably with Van Ba himself. (This would explain absences of certain Weathermen leaders from regular activities of the Brigade due to alleged "illness.")

#### NOTES ON VIETNAMESE MEETING

The following notes on the July 1969 meeting with Vietnamese in Cuba and a speech given by Bernardine Dohrn were in her own handwriting, but in the interest of conserving space, have been set in type for this publication.

WEDNESDAY JULY 9

## FORMAL OPENING SESSION

Me: chair.

On Presidium: Hoang Bich Son, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Provisional Revolutionary Gov't. of SVN, Ambassador of Rep. of SVN in Cuba.

NGO-MAU, Ambassador of DRV.

Pedro Lobaina, Repres. of Comm. Union of Stud. &amp; Youth of Cuba.

Nguyen Van Trong, head of DRV del.

Van Ba, head of NLF del.; Luis Cuza, me, US delegation.

Remarks by Bich Son, Pedro Lobaina, me, Luiz Cuza.

## PLENARY WORKING SESSION

US report:

Carl Davidson—Nixon's policy, ruling class response.

Ken Hector—US public opinion, man in street.

Jerry Long—state of white movement.

Rafael Ramirez—Latin movement.

## 3:00 AFTERNOON SESSION

NLF-PRG Report—Van Ba.

DRV Report—Van Trong.

NFL Complementary Report—Nguyen Thai: Lib. Army; 1st death: 1960; 540,000 US troops; 68% of US infantry; 32% of marines; 42% tactical air force; 36% navy's air force; 66% of navy's transport ships; 19.5% strategic air force.

GIs not military being stabbed in back by political. VN is great strain on US world wide military force. Morale and spirit can't be replaced by technology. Morale directly results from imperialism. Brutality of US troops. GIs' fooled by VN being "neutral." Drugs. Training: Not trained for close-in fighting.

Concentration and dispersal. Eliminate PLAF main force and int. blot. 1st dry season—'65-66. 5 prongs search and destroy. 200,000 troops in 3 areas.

'66-67: 2nd Junction City/Iron Triangle. Tay Ninh. E. Vam Bo nr. Cambodian border and Saigon. Attleboro, Gadston and Tuscon to draw in PLAF main forces—then encircle Horseshoe to close in. 140,000 US troops wiped out. Then draped units—search and destroy.

Now air forces and artillery have become main force—troops just try to find VN troops and call in artillery.

*Suggestions to US—Van Trong*

VN Experiences during French Resistance.

1. French people must be made to understand true nature of war—imperialism always tries to beautify its wars; is highly appraise articles in progressive journals; organizers must go deep into masses; many diff forms of organizations; if we put forward a slogan which is too high for people, will not have broadest possibility of unity; must carefully study situation.

*VN is to us:*

1. "De-Americanization" strategy—do US people know about it? 10 pt. program v PRG—US response.

2. Impression of Amer. women—esp. who have had husbands and sons in VN.

3. Capacity of US Gov't to force conscription to draft replacement to those in VN.

4. Amer. opinion of 10 Pt. Program and PRG—also ruling circles.

*US is*

1. Explain how de-americanize will be implemented.

2. US plans in Thailand Laos Camb.

3. Extent of attacks on DRV—expect change.

4. Effect of 500,000 US troops on So. econ.

5. How long will war last.

*De-Americanization Policy—Van Trong*

Contradictions between US gov't and Thieu-Ky puppet regime.

US could only withdraw troops in symbolic way—only to certain degree.

Strategy is to permanently to occupy VN—must have US troops present.

Imperialism requires markets. That is neo-colonialism: ex Diem.

Plan to use natives to fight natives.

To pull out troops, must bolster puppet regimes and troops.



Would have to leave US support troops—Same as in So. Korea.

Must prolong time of troop withdrawal in order to beef up puppets, but then meets anger of public opinion in US and abroad. Withdraw bit by bit.

If Nixon must delay withdrawal is because Thieu-Ky oppose it totally.

VN victories force withdrawal, altho Nixon does not want to leave.

Puppet admin and army have no political prestige—even people in non-liberated areas belong to the revolution—middle classes in towns were formally wavering—now have sided with revolt.

Puppet army is large in numbers but that is only because US troops are still in VN—morale would shatter if US pullout.

US must both withdraw and stay—policy represents failure in S. VN.

Puppet army is like man in agony. No competent doctor could save him.

Provide with modern weapons, cannot even use these means to bolster army because puppet regime is too weak.

#### *US Strategy in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand—Van Trong.*

After Fr defeat and Geneva agreements—US feared Comm spread from China thruout SE Asia.

Established SEATO to set up band to encircle SE area.

Failure in So VN plan to consolidate Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Malaysia.

Imp. directly interfered in Laos—US is backing reactionaries to defeat revolutionaries. US troops participate in battles—planes bomb Laos every day—Large number US forces in Laos but are afraid of another VN.

US controls reactionary govt. Liberated zones in Laos are big. Mao Lao Hot Sa forces are big. If no US backing, revolutionaries would win immediately. US must consolidate reactionary forces if ever to withdraw from VN.

#### *Cambodia:*

Sianouk is pro-French and US forces have not yet won his sympathy.

US incites puppet VN army to make provokation vs Cambodian border—also incite Thais vs. Cambodian border.

US now seeks plan to neutralize all of S.E. Asia—trys to consolidate front west of Mekong River. after defeat in VN, US will try to consolidate 2nd front in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia—building up troops.

#### *Thailand*

Armed struggle movement began—esp. in North. Guerillas have attacked US buses and planes for Vietnam.

Thai gov't does not want US to send more troops to VN—need them as revolutionaries—[prospects for guerillas are good (!)]

US is also setting up 3rd front—So Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, India and Burma.

So when victory in VN, Laos and Cambodia, revolution in SE Asia will be boiling!

NB armed struggle in So. Korea has begun.

#### WEDNESDAY

wt Van Ba and Jerry to NLF embassy.

Jesus to beach—Brigade and Cuba.

night—meeting—self-criticism.

SOS meeting wt DRV.

#### FRIDAY—JULY 11—SOLUTION TO VN PROGRAM

#### *VN Questions to US*

1. How do the Amer people understand fundamental rts. of VN people in 10 Pt. Program?

2. Self-determination.

3. Do we think that setting up of PRG is new stage of success in struggle in VN?

4. Do we think PRG is embodiment of policy unifying diff nationalities for solution of VN? And of natl concord?

5. Do we think correct solution is total and unconditional withdrawal is only solution? Do they think withdrawal-surrender?

6. Did 10 Pts. raise any opinion among people in ruling circles? What are main concerns?

*NLF 10 Pt. Overall Solution—Van Trong*

10th Pt.—internat'l supervision of U.S. withdrawal and satellite troops— to be discussed among diff. parties.

6th Pt.—neutrality: Used to understand neutrality to mean middle position— not on side of either socialist camp or capitalist camp. We mean our respect of sovereignty and territ integrity w/Cambodia & neighboring countries—good neighborhood. Will set up diplomatic relations w/all countries on basis of 5 principles. Econ aid even from US. If US accepts 10 Pts, withdraws troops and do not interfere in internal affairs, we will carry out policy of peaceful coexistence; therefore would accept aid if unconditional if US respects equality of other countries—mutual benefit.

96 pt—Reparations are meant but will be discussed by parties later on.

*PRG—Thanh Tra*

Necessity of establishing PRG at this stage.

Since Tet many new forces support struggle and NLF—Alliance formed.

Composition of PRG includes both NLF & Alliance—it will be still more enlarged to include patriotic forces.

*Composition of Alliance—Process of Formation of NLF—Van Trong*

Result of experiences in North and practical reality in South.

When US aggression came, popular uprisings resulted. Through uprisings, people feel need to organizing people according to needs of class, nationalities and religion—also mass organizing such as students, women, youth.

Political programs are different, but similar basis; they develop to stage of needing common organiz to coordinate struggle. NLF is organiz which allied many other organiz and parties—NLF is common staff which leads those organizs.

Every organiz which supports political program of NLF can become member. Other forces may set up their own front, such as Alliance, if 2 fronts have similar aims could unite with each other in common struggle.

*Political Parties within NLF—Radical Socialist, Democ, & PRP*

Rad Soc organizes intellectuals. Democ. organizes businessmen, trade. PRP organizes and unites laboring people—workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, students and youth. All people also have mass organizations but cream of them are in PRP. All parties are independent.

Principle in leadership of NLF is deliberation among parties, work together equally.

Every member of NLF puts forward their ideas, programs, policy.

If PRP program is adopted, is because it meets needs of all sectors.

Cannot appraise strength of parties because altho their programs are public, their organizations are underground.

In liberated zones, these programs are being carried out. Ex-land reform can realize programs now.

PRG is based on political programs of NLF and Alliance when gov't is in hands of people, will implement these policies.

Aim of revolution is to take power from reactionaries and give to people. Process is long and difficult.

In liberated zones, people need to have gov't-local administration. NLF is popular mass organiz—not the function of an administration.

Every hamlet and village have administr in liberated areas.

After recent military victories, need central admin. to unify and coordinate.

Future government—coalition.

"Peace cabinet" is motto we have set up to direct struggle. Gov't of Thieu-Ky is obdurate.

Peace cabinet means people want to overthrow puppet gov't and set up cabinet which will negotiate a settlement.

*Coalition Gov't—in future*

Will represent all social strata in VN-wide composition. Will be set up only when puppet gov't will be overthrown and U.S. troops defeated.

SUNDAY, JULY 13

How the U.S. struggle movement can support VN struggle?

*VN Questions*

1. Number of US organizations vs. war and what is their coordination.
2. Women's organizations and their relationship.

3. Analysis of reasons why different social strata and classes have diff attitudes to war.
4. How do organizations coordinate programs or activities.
5. Relationship between mass struggles and inner circle of ruling class. How does mass struggle influence ruling class contradict.
6. Influence of struggle movement on revolutionary movement.

**JULY 14, MONDAY—GI ORGANIZING WORKSHOP—ADO, CORKY, ME, GEORGE, ORRIS, THAI, DZU, CHUONG, DOAN, BRUCE**

#### *Questions to U.S. Thai*

1. Why do young men volunteer to join Army and volunteer to go to Vietnam given inevitable failure and defeat of U.S.
2. GI movement must meet greater difficulties than rest of movement for antiwar activities.
3. Evaluate morale of GI's in S. Vietnam.
4. How do we settle problem of unity given diff. background of movement GI's. What are differences?
5. Attitude of returned Vietnam GI's to war—compare to situation a few years ago.

**MONDAY, JULY 14**

#### *Econ. and Polit. in DRV*

During heavy U.S. bombing of North, esp. communications, dams and dikes—will of people to fight back; great antiartillery weapons losses not significant; ex Hanoi tried to reach electrical and water plants, but have many decentralized industry in each province and each has defense system; primarily agric. country war didn't affect people's lives; no lack of food etc.; industry was very new and developing it in decent way was possible.

**TUESDAY, JULY 15**

Thai has view from only 1 province.  
Clashes between white and black GI's.

#### *Concept behind work w/Gis:*

Armed forces are important tool in revolution—must build up own armed forces and weaken that of enemy.

2 types among enemy forces:

1. Mercenaries who are loyal to ruling class—a minority—mainly high officers.
2. Noncoms and privates do not really want war—long range interests do not correspond to interests of ruling class—victims of propaganda or forced conscription—financial reasons—possibility for them to return to own people and revolutionary struggle.

#### **LISTA DE LOS MIEMBROS DE LA DELAGACION JUVENIL ESTUDIANTEL DE VIET NAM DEL SUR**

Huynh Van Ba: Jefe de la delegacion.

Nguyen Phue: Miembro del comito de solidaridad con el pueblo norteamericano.

Dinh Thi Tu: Delegado de la union de la juventud por la liberacion de Viet nam del sur en la region central.

Le Thi Thanh Tra: Delegado de la union de los estudiantes por la liberacion.

Nguyen Thai: Delegado de los jovenes del ejercito de liberacion de THUA THIEN.

Pham Van Chuong: Periodista.

**AUGUST 26-27—HELSINKI**

World Campaign IUS/WFDY and others.

Mainly Europe—Capitalist Country.

Internat'l Gathering Youth and Stud. to Support VN.

VN of No.-So. 50—50 People.

Dellinger, Black and Latin organiz.

Peoples War has been the major contribution of colonial semi-feudal countries in the worldwide struggles against U.S. imperialism. In China, people's war was formulated and carried out against the Japanese invaders under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung. Now, in Vietnam, the focal point of the struggle against U.S.

imperialism people's war has developed to the highest stage—the ability to defeat the most technically advanced and powerfully armed nation in the world today.

In order to bring about this defeat the entire Vietnamese population has mobilized, and politically and militarily itself to fight a long-lasting war for their national liberation. This is a people's war. The Vietnamese have been fighting this kind of war since 1946 when France insisted on trying to re-establish control over Vietnam. This was the 1st war of Resistance of the Vietnamese people led by the Viet Minh (Vietnam League for Independence). The Viet Minh reorganized that although the fight for self-determination was most important at the time, the semi-feudal character of Vietnam would also have to be changed. Vietnam is basically an agrarian country—the peasants being the majority of the population. Most of the land was controlled by large landowners who sided with the imperialists.

To show the peasants that the fight for national liberation, also meant their liberation from the landlords, the Viet Minh put forth the slogan "land to the tiller." For example, while the French were escalating the war against the people, the Viet Minh was giving plots of land to the peasants in liberated areas, thereby increasing the patriotism and political consciousness of the peasants. Thousands volunteered to go to the front and help in anyway they could. The agrarian policy played an important role in the victories of 1953 and 1954, particularly at Dien Bien Pu, the most highly fortified entrenched French base in Vietnam. At Dien Bien Pu all the people in the surrounding areas volunteered to help the regular army do everything it could to solve the tactical problems of attacking the fortress. Everyone worked together to build mortar roads and clear tracks for artillery pieces. People set up food and supply lines for those on the front. The battle went on for 55 days and despite the superior military strength of the French army they could not defeat the "determination to win" of the Vietnamese people.

After this crushing defeat the French were forced to negotiate and sign the Geneva Agreements. This treaty set up a military demarcation line at the 17th parallel. The Viet Minh would go north and the French would go south until they could be evacuated. In 1956 general elections to reunify the country would be held. Instead of this the U.S. moved into the southern half of Vietnam and set up the puppet Diem regime. It was clear that U.S. had no intention of following the Geneva agreements to re-unify the country. Little by little everything that the people had won in the 1st War of Resistance against the French was being taken away by the U.S. and their puppet government.

The Vietnamese struggle has continued to broaden as the purpose of the American presence became clearer to more and more sectors of the population, and more resources became necessary to combat the continued escalation of the U.S. Support of the people has increased as the contrast between life in the liberated zones and the U.S.-occupied zones became more dramatic. The sides are well defined. The movement in the U.S. must make clear which side we are on: the side of the Vietnamese people, for self-determination. Perhaps the most important lesson we can learn from the Vietnamese is the most important invention of modern times: not the atomic bomb, but people's war. Liberation through struggle.

Long Live The Victory of People's War.  
Vietnam Will Win.



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(NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or organization in this index.)

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