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imperialism for all the peoples of the world, including white Americans."

"Principles Schminiciples" by  
Howard Nachtinger,  
"New Left Notes," November 21, 1969

The "domestic" revolutionary then sees his obligation, responsibility and duty not with a narrow nationalism but rather with an international outlook. His destiny is intertwined with the developing ties made with fraternal international contacts and, over-all he ensures his revolutionary destiny, e.g., the seizure of state power, through the support given and received by the international revolutionary movement. For Weatherman, his meaning came directly from his identification with the North Vietnamese and Cubans. The syndicated series by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech more nearly describes what the Cuban revolution and Castro meant to the Weathermen and other New Left revolutionaries than any other article of its time.

Portions of the series reflecting this influence are as follows:

Fidel Castro's Cuba has become a revolutionary factory for the processing and refining of American radicals for export back to the United States.

The pattern is clear:

Mark Rudd, fugitive leader of America's violent left, visited Cuba in February and March of 1968 with 20 other activists of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Two months later, with Rudd at the helm, Columbia University was reduced to chaos.

Bernardine Dohrn, mini-skirted Weatherwoman and 30 fellow activists, met with Vietnamese Communists in Havana in July, 1969.

Three months later, with the fiery 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.

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...Beyond any doubt, Cuba has shaped, supplied technical training to, given political indoctrination for and, perhaps most important of all, served as the inspiration for the American radical movement in its avowed aim to bring down the American system that it so fiercely despises.

It is their Mecca, their Yennan, their shrine, the 'first liberation territory in the Western Hemisphere,' where they can see the model of the new society to which they aspire.

Experts in the field regard Mark Rudd as the first of the really violent white student radicals. And they look upon his offensive against Columbia as a masterpiece of its kind, far more important than the earlier student riots at Berkeley, Calif.

'There's no doubt that Mark was greatly influenced by his Cuban experience,' said a young New Left journalist.

The ubiquitous Miss Dohrn, a brilliant University of Chicago law school graduate, mapped her antiwar campaign during an eight-day seminar with representatives of Hanoi and the Viet Cong. She journeyed to Havana at their request.

Now a fugitive sought by the FBI, Bernardine was heard from last week when she claimed credit for blowing up for the second time within a year, a police memorial statue in Chicago's Haymarket Square.

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

...While Bernardine and her friends were busy taking notes from the Vietnamese Communists, the Castro regime was entertaining another distinguished visitor, Angela Davis.

...What should now be clear is that the raw material for Castro's revolutionary factory was readily available in the form of embittered black and alienated white student radicals who look upon Cuba as their spiritual home and the United States as an 'imperialist monster.'

Reliable estimates on the number of American radicals who have journeyed to Cuba are hard to come by, even for U.S. intelligence agencies. But a fair estimate is that approximately 4,000 Americans have visited Cuba for varying lengths of time during the last decade.

The visitors cover the whole spectrum of the American New Left: bomb-throwing, hard-core radicals bent on overthrowing the U.S. government; left-wing professors; cop-killing blacks, and starry-eyed teen-agers who go down to help Castro cut sugar cane or pick oranges.

...A doctrinaire testimonial to the solidarity of the friendship between Cuba and the American left was written by Julie Nichamin, a University of Michigan anthropology student, in an open letter to Verde Olivo, official publication of the Cuban armed forces.

Published Dec. 21, 1969, after a meeting with Cuban and Vietnamese Communists, the letter read:

'The meeting we had today with the Cuban and Vietnamese people has shown us the true meaning of internationalism: "All of us are involved in the same struggle against Yanqui imperialism.... We know that we will leave here with a new dedication to bring back to our brothers and sisters, a dedication to destroy the imperialist monster from within, just as the rest of the peoples of the world are destroying imperialism from without."'

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...But action, as the young revolutionaries would be first to agree, speaks louder than words. Action is what it's all about. And as any newspaper reader or television watcher can attest, the American scene has not been lacking in action these last few years.

Part of the action is killing policemen. Such killings are always widely applauded in the Cuban press.

Or take the bombing of the University of Wisconsin Army math center, an event clearly related to the Cuban revolution. The 'communique' left behind by the four young fugitives charged with the crime was addressed to the mysterious 'Marion Delgado Collective.'

It acknowledged that 'revolutionary cadres of our organization were responsible for the bombing.' Destruction of the math center, the note went on, was not an isolated act by a 'lunatic.'

Rather, the note stated, it was a 'conscious action taken in solidarity with the Viet Cong, the Tupamaros and the Cuban people and all other heroic fighters against U.S. imperialism.'

...During the last 18 months there has been a spectacular increase in the number of politically motivated police slayings and bombings. At least 20 policemen have been killed and 100 wounded in apparently unprovoked attacks.

Seven were Chicago policemen, four of whom were gunned down without warning.

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...One of the most carefully watched buildings in the United States is an elegant five-story graystone mansion at 6 E. 67th St., just off Fifth Av. in New York City.

At the turn of the century it was the home of American millionaires. Today, it houses the Cuban mission to the United Nations, the major Cuban source of influence, ideology and funds for American radicals.

...On a clandestine level, activity is just as bustling. Secret meetings are held, and funds, advice and influence are dispensed under the huge picture of Che Guevara that hangs amid the antique Chinese vases upstairs in the mansion.

...At the convention of Students for a Democratic Society in Austin, Tex., in March, 1969, several phone calls a day were made to the mission.

...In August, 1969, mission intelligence personnel (everyone except the regular representative to the United Nations is a member of Cuban intelligence) counseled Mark Rudd and Jeff Jones of SDS concerning slogans to be used by SDS in demonstrations planned for that fall.

...Radical leaders admit privately they see the Cuban mission officials "very often." One, after saying so, added, "But please don't print that. They're not supposed to do that, you know."

What becomes clear from the consistent evidence of such contacts is that the love affair between Communist Cuba and the American radicals now has gone beyond curiosity and empathy.

It has now reached the stage of hard-core indoctrination and even collaboration.

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...By 1965 and 1966, Havana was filled with posters honoring the 'heroic Vietnamese people.' The Cubans believed that they were 'in the waiting room,' that if America won the Vietnam War, it 'might just turn around and invade us.'

Havana soon was filled with Vietnamese delegations, Vietnamese 'heroines,' Vietnamese orphans. Cuba opened an embassy to the Viet Cong, and Havana newspapers proudly showed pictures of it - a thatched roof but somewhere behind the battle lines in South Vietnam.

This, too, helped the Cubans with the burgeoning American radical movement, for the war in Vietnam had become their most emotional, overweening issue. Soon U.S. radicals were meeting with North Vietnamese in Havana, and even getting pointed suggestions on antiwar activities in the United States.

...By 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society had split up into radical, violent groups like the Weatherman.

...The trips were well organized and every radical leader came, usually several times. Most came before they were leaders, which gives added credibility to the idea that Cuba was a major, if not THE, radicalizing factor.

'SDS was the group we concentrated on in those days,' says a Cuban who was in the government then. 'Oh, we didn't start it. But we radicalized it, we gave it form. Every leader came and left with new ideas.'

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...Allen Young, a soft-spoken, attractive young man who until recently was editor of Liberation News Service, answers as well as anyone.

'Fidel, Che Guevara and Regis DeBray are really THE influences on our movements,' he said recently in New York. 'Much of the influence is romantic. Sure, there's romance to it.'

'Maybe the kids don't know a thing about it, as some critics say, but that doesn't negate the serious link (between American radicals and Cuba). It IS a serious linkup.'

'The thing that was exciting about the Cuban revolution was that it first made the break with the Old Left. Castro was one of the fathers of the New Left, in things like his use of armed struggle in place of parliamentary procedures of the Old Left....'

...The young Americans who go to Cuba or are influenced by its magnetic appeal are not only thereby brought into contact with Cuban techniques and ideas, they are also brought into contact with revolutionary styles and influences from all of Latin America.

Recently American radicals have been copying more and more the Latin urban guerrilla techniques of sniping, crowd direction, assassination, political kidnapping and even bank robbery.

...The young French intellectual, Regis DeBray, who codified Castro's ideas about action and about the rural guerrillas, is another hero of U.S. radicals. His book, 'Revolution in the Revolution?' has become a handbook for the American Revolution.

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When the Weathermen began using in their literature the term 'foco' - which is Spanish for 'focus' or 'core' - the FBI at first had no idea what they were talking about.

Later they discovered it was straight out of DeBray - and it became of prime importance when the Weathermen, to avoid capture, broke up into five-man 'focos' or, as they call them now, 'affinity groups.'

"Cuba: School for U.S. Radicals"  
by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech,  
"Chicago Daily News," October, 1970

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### C. INFLUENCE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

#### The Emergence of Havana as a Major Center of World Revolution

The international revolutionary movement from World War I through World War II was completely dominated by the Soviet Union. There was only one center of world revolution - Moscow and with this mecca all revolutionaries who embraced the ideology of Marxism-Leninism identified. The success of the Bolshevik revolution conferred upon Moscow an authority among world-wide revolutionary parties which was unprecedented; the model of successful revolution was embodied in the Communist Party, Soviet Union (CPSU) and all communist parties in the world emulated this success in theory and organization. To solidify their interests, the world communist parties joined together to found the Communist International (Comintern) which existed from 1919 to 1943. And although the Comintern ran the international communist movement, in fact the center of that control was Moscow. (Subsequently, the Cominform existed from 1947 to 1956 and presently the Editorial Staff of the World Marxist Review functions as the organizational body which oversees communist parties aligned with Moscow.)

The balance of world forces changed remarkably after World War II which caused fissures in the relationships among some principal communist parties, notably China and the Soviet Union. China's emergence as a product of successful communist revolution saw her reluctance to follow the Soviet Union; historical and personal differences occasioned the rupture between MAO Tse-tung and Moscow's KHRUSHCHEV. The result was another center of world revolution, Peking, which rivaled Moscow and sought adherents from the militant sections of existing world communist parties. The ideological debate between China and the Soviet Union consumed the interests of Marxist-Leninists during the mid 1950-mid 1960 period. But with the introduction of DE BRAY's "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1967, the true importance of the example of the Cuban revolution came into being. For the youthful revolutionary a new model of successful revolution existed - Havana.

So, in the late 1960s three centers of world revolution existed: Moscow, Peking and Havana. Each had wrought revolution successfully against the ruling class

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forces which "oppressed" the peoples of their respective countries and it was to China (for theory) and Cuba (for practice) that the emerging revolutionary turned. Hence, the importance of what DE BRAY said.

The influence of the Cuban revolution on the Weatherman was consummated when the WUO adopted the foco method of underground organization and subscribed enthusiastically to the armed struggle principles of the Cuban revolution as detailed by REGIS DE BRAY. Their contacts with the Cubans, revealed in another section of this paper, provided for the Weathermen a true reading of a successful revolutionary process, a new model which was to be admired, emulated and ultimately put into practice in the United States. Guerrilla warfare as codified by DE BRAY was realizable and along with the tactics of the "Peoples War" of the North Vietnamese, the WUO concluded that FIDEL CASTRO was absolutely right when he declared:

**"The Duty of a Revolutionary is to Create Revolution"**

Hence, when REGIS DE BRAY published "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1967, the Cuban revolution had placed in print their prescription for successful revolution. A product of discussions with FIDEL CASTRO, "Revolution in the Revolution?" had a tremendous impact on the theoreticians of Marxist-Leninist revolution in that it denied the necessity of a vanguard communist party in the making of revolution, it placed the military before the political and paid only lip service to the developing of mass political action. DE BRAY's theses were extremely important to the emerging revolutionary of the 1960s simply because they provided for them a "new" ideological rationale for their action-oriented confrontations with the State.

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**REGIS DE BRAY - Theoretician  
of Guerrilla Warfare**

The 1967 book "Revolution in the Revolution?" by the youthful French Marxist REGIS DE BRAY outlined in detail the methodology of the Cuban revolution. It romanticized the principal figures of the Cuban success, FIDEL CASTRO and CHE GUEVARA, and appealed directly to the instinctive but primitive revolutionary tendencies within the New Left. At the same time its major thesis was in direct conflict with the organizational formulations of the Old Left, hence DEBRAY occasioned world-wide debate among Marxist-Leninist Parties. In denying the premise that a Communist Party was necessary to bring about a revolutionary situation, DE BRAY contradicted the main tenet of the Soviet, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions wherein politics before the gun was held sacrosanct.

The appeal to the New Left was instantaneous; their rejection of Old Left inertia had been proven correct, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party BEFORE engaging in acts against the State was obsolete, guerrilla action was the answer. DEBRAY's chronicle of the Cuban revolution reinforced the outlook of the emerging revolutionary of the New Left that a unique method must be formulated to deal with the unprecedented era in which they lived. DEBRAY offered for revolutionaries of the world another center of world revolution, Havana, that would rival Moscow and Peking.

Understandably his formulation that action not theory was the necessary prerequisite to evolving revolution was assailed by Soviet (and to a lesser degree Chinese) Marxist scholars. The attitude that politics would grow out of the guerrilla experience was dubbed adventuristic by the Marxist critic and in the final analysis the attempt of the Weatherman to similarly effectuate revolution without building a mass base was doomed to failure.

What then did DE BRAY say that was so important to the New Left activist of the late 1960s?

Under certain conditions, the political and the military are not separate, but form one organic whole, consisting of the people's army.

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whose nucleus is the guerrilla army. The vanguard party can exist in the form of the guerrilla foco itself. The guerrilla force is the party in embryo.

This is, according to DE BRAY, the "staggering novelty" introduced by the Cuban revolution; one which has made a decisive contribution to international revolutionary experience and to Marxism-Leninism.

DE BRAY presented an incisive but bitter attack on the debilitating effects of internal Party organizational work on revolutionary fervor. His commentary led to the belief that the creation of the organizational framework of a Marxist Party would only obscure its revolutionary intent. For the New Left activist, DE BRAY expressed his innate perception of existing Communist Parties wherein the constant debating of the Old Left, that favorable revolutionary "objective conditions" were the precursor for action, dulled the activists' sense of emergency. The revolution could well pass them by; this was the activists' fear. Party building, if necessary, was reserved for a later day.

DE BRAY says that the effective leadership of an armed revolutionary struggle requires:

A new style of leadership, one which accepts a full share of the risks and joins the guerrilla foco. Hence, biology and ideology are joined with only the young leader being able to cope with the rigors of guerrilla life.

A new organization equal to its historic task where party democracy (democratic centralism) is abolished in favor of military discipline.

A new ideological reflex to overcome outright political behavior patterns by dealing concretely with military necessities which in this sense are political.

In expounding on the theme of the armed struggle, DEBRAY outlines the most likely stages of development of guerrilla warfare. They are: firstly, the stage of establishment; second, the stage of development, marked by the enemy offensive, and finally the stage of revolutionary

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offensive, at once political and military. He observes that the hardest stage is the first one wherein the group is exposed to all sorts of accidents from an initial period of absolute nomadism to a longer period of hardening and seasoning. Experience has taught the revolutionary that the guerrilla force is clandestine; it acts independently of the civilian population both to protect the population and to protect itself. "Constant vigilance, constant mistrust, constant mobility" are the three golden rules of survival revealed in "Revolution in the Revolution?" They were brought to ultimate practice by the Weatherman Underground; "fascist repression" evolved into paranoid secrecy utilizing similar rules.

Again, in sharp denial of Leninist agit-prop (agitation-propaganda) formulations of struggle, DE BRAY pays lip service to the necessity for armed propaganda reflecting that advertisement of the revolutionaries wares is largely internal to the guerrilla front and in any case propaganda follows the military rather than preceding it. "The main point is that under present conditions the most important form of propaganda is successful military action." So, although he posits that the guerrilla struggle must have the support of the masses "or disappear," the thrust of his formulation disavows the central format, propaganda, which would insure the mass support necessary to the continuance of the revolutionary. For the Weatherman activist it meant less and less reliance on publications through which to derive mass support and foreordained the discontinuance of "New Left Notes," the major paper of student-youth.

In presenting this unique revolutionary solution created by the necessity of its time (and arena), DE BRAY finalizes his action-not-theory argument in the following way:

...At the present juncture, the principal stress must be laid on the development of guerrilla warfare and not on the strengthening of existing parties or the creation of new parties...That is why insurrectional activity is today the number one political activity.

So, to the Weatherman, DE BRAY provided the ideological and organizational rationale which more nearly than any other body of thought meshed with their own experiences. Their considerable travel to Cuba wherein

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Weathermen saw the results of the revolution at firsthand (and for many of them their trips to Hanoi wherein they saw the ongoing tactics of the "peoples war") influenced their commitment to join with the oppressed peoples of the world to fight the "monster" - U.S. imperialism.

When Weathermen went underground in early 1970, they organized themselves into small guerrilla bands, using DE BRAY's terminology - the "foco" in order to carry out acts of violence against the State. ALLEN YOUNG, Editor of the leftist Liberation News Service, in October, 1970, commented on the influence of the Cuban revolution on Weathermen:

FIDEL, CHE GUEVERA and REGIS DEBRAY are really THE influence on our movements....

Maybe the kids don't know a thing about it, as some critics say, but that doesn't negate the serious link (between American radicals and Cuba). It is a serious link up.

The thing that was exciting about the Cuban revolution was that it first made the break with the Old Left. Castro was one of the fathers of the New Left, in things like his use of armed struggle in place of parliamentary procedures of the Old Left.

DE BRAY, the primary theoretician of guerrilla warfare, had an impact on the incipient Weatherman revolution; his thesis encouraged the militant sectors of student activism to carry out "actions," e.g., acts of violence. "Scanlans" magazine of January, 1971, entitled "Suppressed Issue: Guerrilla War in the USA" compiled data from the legitimate media which related to all forms of violence conducted in the country during the 1965-1970 period. What "Scanlans" characterizes as acts of Sabotage and Terrorism (each act is detailed in the issue) reveals that 1391 specific acts of violence happened during this period from a low of 16 in 1965 to the high of 546 in 1970. "Scanlans" broke the acts down which revealed 85 against the government, 248 against corporations, 192 against high schools, 62 against homes, 280 against colleges, 101 against the military and 423 against police.

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The WUO acts of violence (see section on Bombings) flow from the ideological influence of DE BRAY's foco theory of guerrilla action and their own personal experiences.

The following statements best represent the ideological posture of the Weatherman immediately prior to their entering underground status. They are firsthand reports of the WUO affinity for the Cuban example of the revolutionary process and underscore their intention to promote armed struggle as the means to create revolution in the United States, at that time:

The political line of SDS continues to be represented in their ideological statement "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows." ("New Left Notes," June 18, 1969). It essentially expresses the view that action, not theory, is the proper vehicle through which revolution is realized; that revolutionary conditions presently exist in America; that youth, not the working class, will play the vanguard role in the revolution.

Of more recent date, excerpts from REGIS DE BRAY's "Revolution in the Revolution?" have appeared in the SDS paper, and at the December, 1969, National Council meeting an educational packet was distributed which also contained excerpts from this book which details the tactics utilized by FIDEL CASTRO and CHE GUEVARA in bringing about the Cuban revolution. The rhetoric and actions of the SDS leadership reflect an ever closer identification with Cuba and the Cuban revolution. They regard Cuba as the example of successful revolution applicable to the United States but with the exception that the cities not the countryside will be the place for revolutionary practice.

The current line of SDS holds the thesis of DE BRAY that practice not theory is instrumental in bringing about revolution. To be designated as an armchair revolutionary is to be scorned by Weatherman leaders. And although the leadership upholds the Cuban example and DE BRAY's theses they refuse to be sidetracked into ideological debate. At the December, 1969, "War Council" there was no discussion on Marxist-Leninism nor did any leader pay any service to MAO Tse-tung.

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The December, 1969, War Council carried through that which began at the Cleveland, Ohio, National Action Conference held in September, 1969; ideological debate was out--action-oriented discussion was the theme. In this respect the leaders of SDS believe they are in the highest form of political practice when they promote the line of armed struggle. The duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution, not to talk about it.

As reflected in the statements of BILL AYERS and JEFF JONES, both National Officers of SDS, the present ideological posture of SDS is based on that presented by REGIS DE BRAY who gave to the Cuban revolution an ideological base in his book "Revolution in the Revolution." DE BRAY places the army above the party or military action above revolutionary politics and differs fundamentally from orthodox Marxism-Leninism in that it advocates skipping stages in the revolutionary process. Debrayism seeks to free the revolutionary process from the Marxist strait jacket in order to get on with the revolution. A Debrayist is unwilling to wait for objective conditions before engaging in revolutionary practice.

JONES and AYERS defended DE BRAY's theses because they "lead to a making of history where one is not a spectator but a participant." They stated that SDS "makes plans and we carry them out."

JONES and AYERS said SDS had only one disagreement with DE BRAY, that being the arena of combat. Whereas DE BRAY's revolutionary heroes fought their battles in rural Cuba, SDS sees the area of armed conflict in this country in the urban areas. The essence of the SDS strategy is to build a white, para-military organization designed to carry out guerrilla warfare in the urban areas of America--they are totally committed to revolution.

JONES and AYERS stated SDS believes a revolution in this country can be made without the working class, but "we cannot build socialism without the worker." They noted that after the revolution "our work really begins, that of building socialism."

While SDS is not actively seeking alliances from other sectors of the white population, and while they see no prospects in the immediate future of organizational ties with the Third World forces in this country, SDS believes that as

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the crisis of capitalism becomes more acute and the white workers feel the impact of the crisis in terms of lower living standards, large sectors of white workers will eventually join with them. They emphasized, however, that they are unwilling to wait for history to accelerate the crisis of capitalism and are determined to accelerate that crisis with a program of action which will be urban guerrilla warfare. [REDACTED]

SDS does not believe that the goal is unity between black and white youth. SDS views the black people of the U.S. as a nation which is colonized by the white oppressor nation. The goal for blacks is revolutionary black nationalist struggle against the white oppressor nation, U.S. imperialism. White youth must be organized to fight for the right of self-determination for the black nation. There can be no real liberation for black people until U.S. imperialism is destroyed. This will come about through the successful liberation struggles of all peoples who are colonized by U.S. imperialism. The blacks must carry out their struggle alone. To merge their struggles with the whites only blunts the black struggle because of the "white privilege" enjoyed by those of the white oppressor nation. The only peoples blacks can unite with are Third World peoples (at home Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, etc., and abroad the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.) The blacks can only fight around their own issues because they are a part of the Third World revolutionary vanguard. [REDACTED]

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**D. INFLUENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM-  
MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT**

China

Weatherman from its inception and continuing through to the present time has ideologically identified its major strategical thesis in line with the Chinese. In their initial ideological statement, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," their understanding of the primary contradiction facing the world was stated in this fashion:

The overriding consideration in answering the question is that the main struggle going on the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it.

The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world. It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world. It is in this context that we must examine the revolutionary struggles in the United States.

And in "Prairie Fire," issued in May, 1974, the WUO again identified its primary strategy on the side of Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought in the following way:

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.

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Historical Note

What began in Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962 as a movement designed to involve the largest possible number of American students in the democratic processes had become, by 1969, an organization totally dedicated to the destruction of American society. The June, 1969, SDS Convention closed the door completely on the democratic traditions associated with the early history of the organization. In the span of seven years, SDS had evolved into a hard line Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization dedicated to the destruction of Western democratic traditions and ideals.

But ideological unity in a Marxian revolutionary group has historically been difficult to achieve. And so it was with SDS at the 1969 convention. The convention was racked with factionalism resulting from hair-splitting differences around theoretical concepts of how each group conceived the role to be played by SDS in destroying the capitalist United States, and the methodology to be employed in carrying out this mission. All factions present at the convention adhered to the general over-all line of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in that each agreed with the Chinese world view that called the primary global contradiction that which existed between the colonial and former colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism led by United States imperialism on the other hand.

In the Chinese communist view, political and military struggle bringing about the resolution of the primary world contradiction would spell the doom of western capitalism and launch the world upon the road to Marxian socialism leading eventually to pure communism.

The focal point of struggle of these two broad antagonistic forces was Vietnam where the forces for national liberation united under communist ideology were dealing heavy blows to the forces of United States imperialism and its puppet regime in Saigon, thereby setting an example to be followed by all the peoples of the Third World.

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This world outlook of the CPC declared that the peoples of the world who were and are most severely subjected to the exploitation of the world-wide system of capitalism (imperialism), that is, the peoples of the colonies and the former colonies of the imperialistic states, are the most militantly dedicated to the destruction of the system of imperialism. These peoples, according to Chinese theory, constitute the "countryside of the world," while capitalist Europe and North America constitute the "city of the world."

Chinese communist strategy for world revolution is based on a global version of the strategy employed by the CPC in China which led to a communist victory there in 1949. The analogy went this way: through "peoples war" the communist forces who controlled the countryside of China encircled the cities of China, isolated the foe, and destroyed it piecemeal. The logic followed that the countryside of the world as a reaction to the super-exploitation suffered at the hands of the city of the world would become united and defeat the latter, and in the process establish a world socialist order.

This grand design would come about not through the struggles of working classes in revolutionary fervor inside the advanced capitalist countries as prescribed by Marx, but through the vehicle of national liberation struggles of the colonial and former colonial peoples of the Third World.

This view of the CPC contrasted sharply with the view of Moscow whose ideology was in line with the orthodoxy of historical materialism of Marxism's early prophets. That is, socialist societies must be preceded by capitalist societies, which would provide the material basis for a socialist economy. This orthodox theory of Marxism relied heavily on a dialectical "force of history" which would inevitably bring about the "objective conditions" necessary for a proletarian revolution to succeed. Any ideological concepts running counter to this thesis, that is, any formulations which called for skipping stages of historic development were considered in the orthodox view as adventuristic and counter-revolutionary.

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**MAO Tse-tung Influence on SDS  
Factions at the June, 1969,  
National Convention**

The June, 1969, National Convention of SDS held in Chicago, Illinois, was rife with internal struggle. The three major factions were:

1. **Weatherman:** Known as the "Action Faction," it was led by SDS National Officer BERNARDINE DOHREN, with MARK RUDD, Columbia University; JEFF JONES, New York City Region; BILL AYERS and JIM MELLEN, Michigan SDS; JOHN "JJ" JACOBS and HOWARD MACITINGER, Chicago Region.
2. **RYN II:** Known as the "Running Dogs No Action Faction," RYN II was led by MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, SDS; LES COLEMAN, Chicago Region; LYNN WELLS, Southern Region; and BOB AVAKIAN and MARVIN TREIGER, West Coast leaders of the newly-formed Revolutionary Union (RU).
3. **Worker Student Alliance (WSA) Faction:** Dominated by the Marxist-Leninist Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the PLP line was presented mainly by JEFF GORDON, New York City; JARED ISRAEL, New England; and FRED GORDON, Educational Secretary of SDS.

During this National Convention, the Weatherman and RYN II forces joined to oust the WSA/PLP Faction from SDS. And although RYN II did elect three members, including KLONSKY, to the new National Interim Committee of SDS, RYN II never became a factor in running SDS after this Convention. Hence, after June, 1969, and until SDS closed its doors in February, 1970, Weatherman and the SDS National Office are synonymous. So the 1969 National Convention was extremely important and the main ideological debate therein was reported in the following light.

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The main storm of the convention controversy centered on the question of the role of black Americans in the revolutionary processes in this country.

If black Americans constituted a separate nation or a built-in colony of American capitalism, as some concluded, then black struggles would take the form of a national liberation struggle with the extreme consequence of black secession from the United States. If, on the other hand, blacks did not constitute a separate nation, then they were a part of the general working class of the United States and their drive for revolution would be in unison with the general white working class. But the controversy was not this simple. In spite of their stated strict adherence to a materialist philosophy, many Marxists often hold views which border on the metaphysical. For example, the black peoples drive for full equality constituted a struggle which was working class "in essence and nationalist in form," according to some revolutionary elements in this country. Others held the view that the black struggle was both nationalist and class in content, and still others were fond of quoting MAO Tse-tung who wrote, "In the final analysis a national struggle is a class struggle." Of course, the problem with these formulations is that they lack preciseness of meaning; consequently, they lead directly into the thicket of endless debate.

It should also be pointed out that inherent in the blacks-for-a-separate-nation-concept held by many at the SDS convention was the conclusion that a Vietnam style war within the United States between the black "colony" and the white imperialist super-structure was inevitable.

Others in SDS took a more moderate view of the black liberation movement while continuing to maintain that this movement was, in fact, the revolutionary vanguard in the United States with close affiliation with national liberation movements abroad.

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As was expected, this national gathering of SDS met in a highly charged atmosphere of extreme tension with rival factions hurling charges and counter-charges, each claiming for themselves the role of bearers of revolutionary truth. There was also a great deal of competition among the warring factions to portray themselves as the main purveyors of MAO Tse-tung Thought in the United States revolutionary movement.

At another session of the convention NIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary of SDS, representing the RYM II faction aligned with RU, addressed the convention calling for support of black nationalism in the United States while at the same time giving support to the white working class as an important element in making the revolution in this country. He also emphasized that conditions in United States society were such at this stage that revolutionaries should concentrate on building a base rather than advocating adventuristic commitments to action before the masses of the American people are ready for revolution. KLONSKY then read a letter from ANNA LOUISE STRONG, veteran American communist then residing in the Peoples Republic of China. KLONSKY alleged that STRONG's position was that the Black Panther Party (BPP) constituted the main force for revolution among the American workers and that all possible should be done to assist the Panthers in their "nationalist struggle."

JARED ISRAEL, representing the PLP faction, said that he, too, had many letters from China and he attacked KLONSKY personally as a reactionary racist. ISRAEL noted that the political line of PLP rejected the nationalism of American blacks as a negative expression, while at the same time he gave credit to the black liberation movement as the force in the forefront of the United States revolutionary struggles. But he denied that the black people of the United States constituted a "colony" of United States imperialism, therefore, they had no right to secede. This is tantamount to stating that blacks in the United States were not an organic part of the Third World liberation forces, but an integral part of the American proletariat.

HOWARD MACHTINGER, representing the BERNARDINE DOHRN faction of the National Office SDS, criticized both KLONSKY and ISRAEL in his remarks. MACHTINGER called for a program of "action" as opposed to KLONSKY's adherence to a line of base building, and he expressed a view that black Americans, in fact, constitute a built-in United States

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colony. But on the question of the right to secession for American blacks, he noted that this was a question to be decided by blacks themselves.

MARVIN TREIGER of the RU introduced CHRIS MILTON to the convention, stating that MILTON had joined the Red Guards when he resided in China a few years earlier. MILTON's presentation was laced with pro-Chinese communist sentiment, and in closing he called on all present to show solidarity with the CPC by displaying red arm bands. All except the PLP forces responded to this request. The PLP objected on the grounds that MILTON was attempting to upstage the PLP forces.

A representative from the BPP was the next speaker who claimed the BPP was in the vanguard of the revolution in the United States and the Chinese communists had accepted the BPP in such a role. The RYM II contingent led a number of chants including "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," and "MAO, MAO, MAO Tse-tung." The speaker from the BPP interjected into the convention the explosive issue of male supremacy which in turn touched off fierce debates on women's liberation, imperialism and racism.

During the course of the debate ROBERT AVAKIAN of the RU, who supported the MIKE KLONSKY RYM II faction, attacked PLP on the issue of black nationalism, calling blacks in the United States a colony and calling on the convention to support black struggles. He noted that the main task for United States revolutionaries was to make revolution in the mother country (United States) now.

The emotionalism attached to the debates set the stage for a threat of widespread physical violence among the members of the warring factions. However, with the exception of isolated incidents, physical violence was avoided with the temporary unity of two SDS National office factions coming together to defeat a PLP attempt to take over the convention. The two groups then physically separated, with Weathermen and RYM II forces moving their caucus to a separate part of the convention hall.

During the continuing debate within the SDS caucus, BERNARDINE DOWRN opposed a proposal calling for a revolutionary youth movement caucus as a substitute for SDS, explaining

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"We are the SDS" and she added "We should go into the convention and fight like hell" to take it over from the PLP forces. DOHRN noted that the National Office of SDS was responsible for the development of a correct Marxist-Leninist line and called for the future exclusion of deviationist forces such as PLP and Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) from the SDS.

PLP forces, known as the WSA, were now severed from the rest of the group but the debate within the SDS national leadership between the KLONSKY and DOHRN factions was far from over. Both factions were committed to a socialist revolution through the vehicle of armed struggle against the power structure of United States capitalism. Their differences centered on strategy and tactics resulting from ideological differences. Weatherman called for a program of confrontation and action by white students in the style of Castroite guerrillas in a supportive role to black revolution without regard to the role of the white working class. The position of Weatherman was that armed struggle of blacks for self-determination would result in the victory of socialism in the United States without any reliance on white workers. Weatherman saw their role as supportive to the black liberation struggle and one which involved direct confrontation with the authority of the capitalist state.

RYN II, like Weatherman, also believed that armed struggle was the key to black liberation. But they held the view that black self-determination, the establishment of a black nation-state in several states in the South, would constitute only a first stage of the socialist revolution to be followed by a white working class alliance with black Americans and together blacks and whites would complete the second stage, the socialist revolution. RYN II saw their role as that of raising the revolutionary consciousness of the broad masses of white workers to oppose capitalism and support black liberation.

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SECTION II

FOREIGN TRAVEL AND CONTACTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES  
OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS WHICH INFLUENCED THE WUO

This section covers foreign travel and contacts from the period 1967 to 1969 of leading SDS activists with emphasis on those who eventually became Weathermen. This historical continuum is necessary even though some of the travel predates the actual formation of Weatherman simply because their politicalization from single issue anti-war activity to that of revolutionary armed struggle can only be appreciated in light of their building intensity to direct action induced by the representatives of foreign governments. The WUO presently identifies its historical antecedents in the following fashion:

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist men and women. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular, Students for a Democratic Society....

So, from CATHY WILKERSON and JEFF JONES's trip to Cambodia in November, 1967, through MARK RUDD's Cuban trip in February, 1968, which preceded the Columbia University riots; through the July, 1969, meeting between Weathermen BERNARDINE DOHRN, et al, where Vietnamese demands to intensify the anti-war effort led to the infamous "National Action" in Chicago, the foreign travel shown herein reveals the growing fervor of the Weathermen to carry out their ideology in practice. "Two, Three, Many Vietnams" in the words of Che Guevara was not mere rhetoric but the modus operandi of the Weathermen. The following major trips are to be considered then as a series of events which had a cumulative effect on the growing presence of Weathermen as revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who had made a commitment to armed struggle in behalf of the international communist movement:

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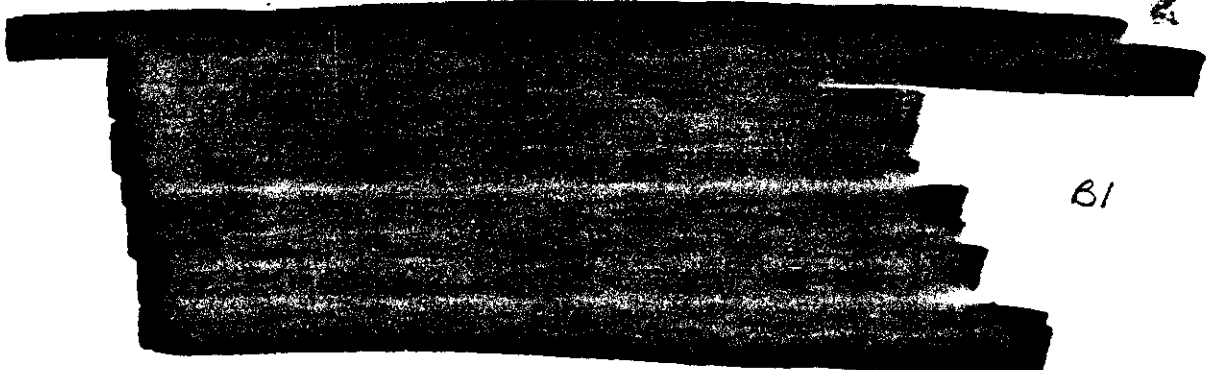


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- A. Influence of Vietnamese and Cubans Page 66
1. Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, September, 1967 Page 66  
The first major anti-war activist meeting with the Vietnamese. Nine leading SDS figures went on this trip after which seven individuals traveled to Hanoi.
  2. Phnom Phen, Cambodia, November, 1967 Page 72  
Four leading SDS figures, three of whom became Weatherman met with the Vietnamese.
  3. Havana, Cuba, January/February, 1968 Page 85  
The first major travel of SDS people to Havana where meetings took place with the Vietnamese. The principal figure was MARK RUDD who upon his return led the Columbia University riots in the Spring of 1968. Coming together of the "action faction," the genesis of Weatherman.
  4. Havana, Cuba, July/August, 1968 Page 85  
SDS delegation to Cuba to honor the July 26th celebration; three SDS leaders who became Weathermen led the delegation. In August the second major SDS trip.
  5. Budapest, Hungary, September, 1968 Page 92  
This trip contained major anti-war activists, the most important of whom was BERNARDINE DOHRN, the Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS. ~~DOHRN~~ also traveled to Yugoslavia, Sweden and contacted the German SDS. ~~XX~~
  6. Havana, Cuba, July, 1969 Page 96  
The single most important meeting of SDS (Weatherman) leaders with the DRV and PRG. ~~X~~ HUYNH Van Ba, PRG representative, instructed the Weathermen on whom to recruit upon their return to the U.S.; Van Ba continued his contacts with the Weathermen after their return. ~~XX~~ Weathermen set up the "National Action" in Chicago under the slogan "Bring The War Home" under direct urgings of the Vietnamese.

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8. Contacts with the CMUN, 1968-1969 Page 138

Material sets forth contacts of leading Weathermen with CMUN officials and Cuban intelligence officers attached to the CMUN and Cuban Embassy in Canada.

B. Influence of China Page 143

Material restates continuing influence of MAO Tse-tung on Weathermen from the SDS National Convention held in June, 1969, to present. Set forth is letter from Weathermen to ANNA LOUISE STRONG sent after June, 1969, National Convention.

C. Other International Contacts Page 146

Material shows thrust of SDS leaders to establish international contacts with New Left activists from other countries. ~~X~~Included is contact by BERNARDINE DOHRN with the German SDS and subsequent travel of German student activists to the U.S. which was sponsored by SDS. ~~X~~Also travel of Weatherman MIKE JUSTESEN to Japan in August, September, 1969, where contacts made with the "Red Army" student activists.

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A. Influence of Vietnamese and Cubans

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia  
September 6-13, 1967

The contents of a press release from the Prague  
GTK International Service datelined at Bratislava,  
Czechoslovakia, stated:

A total of 23 representatives from various  
mass organizations of the Democratic Republic  
of Vietnam (DRV) and South Vietnam met here  
September 6-12, 1967, with a large group of  
United States citizens who are active in antiwar  
and radical movements. The meeting was arranged  
by representatives of the three groups in order  
to exchange views and standpoints on the war in  
Vietnam and to intensify mutual understanding.

The representatives of the people of South  
Vietnam and the DRV reported on the political,  
military and economic situation in the respective  
parts of the country. The standpoint of the DRV  
as well as the political program of the National  
Liberation Front (NLF) of September 1, 1967, which  
were discussed in detail, are evidence of the  
Vietnamese people's confidence in the final  
victory of their struggle against United States  
aggression for independence and peace.

Members of the U.S. group reported on the  
attitude of the various groups in the U.S. to  
the war, and discussed development of the anti-  
war movement--presenting an analysis of the  
whole spectrum of political views in the United  
States.

Nguyen Hing Vy, Director of the fort-  
nightly 'THONG NIAT' headed the DRV group.  
The group included twelve representatives of  
special-interest and mass organizations. The  
South Vietnamese delegation was headed by Mrs.  
Nguyen Thi Vinh, member of the National  
Liberation Front, South Vietnam, Central Committee,  
and Deputy Chairman of the Women's Federation  
for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

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The American Embassy, Prague, Czechoslovakia, by telegram marked "limited official use," advised it had learned the following individuals from the United States were participants in the meeting at Bratislava:

ROBERT ALLEN, National Guardian  
MALCOLM BOYD, Clergyman, writer, Washington, D.C.  
CAROL BRIGHTMAN, Vietnam Report  
JACK BROWN, Clergyman, San Francisco  
BRONSON CLARK, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)  
ROBERT COOK, Yale University Faculty  
STANLEY COOKS, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)  
RENNIE DAVIS, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Chicago  
DAVID DELLINGER, Delegation leader, Editor "Liberation"  
BETTY DELLINGER, DAVID DELLINGER's wife  
THORNE DREYER, Organizer, SDS  
NICK EGELSON, SDS President, 1966-1967  
DICK FLACKS, SDS, Chicago  
ROSS FLANAGAN, Quaker Medical Aid Program  
NORM FRUCHTER, movie writer  
TOM GARDNER, Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)  
CAROL GLASSMAN, SDS Community Organizer, Newark  
TOM HAYDEN, SDS President, 1962-1963  
STEVE HALLINELL, SDS National Office  
CHRISTOPHER JENCKS, New Republic  
RUSS JOHNSON, Southeast Asia Representative, SFSC  
CAROL KING, Community Organizer, Cleveland  
ANDREW KOPKIND, New Republic  
BOB KRANER, writer, New York City  
CAROL MC ELDONEY, Community Organizer, Cleveland  
LEON MOORE, AAA  
LINDA MOORE, National Student Mobilization Committee, New York City  
RAY MUNGO, Student, Harvard or Howard  
DOUG NORBERG, Field Staff, SDS  
VIVIAN ROTHSTEIN, SDS Organizer, Chicago  
STEVEN SCHWARZCHILD (Rabbi)  
SOL STERN, Editor, "Ramparts"  
DENNIS SWEENEY, Anti-Draft Organizer, Palo Alto, California  
JOHN TILLMAN, SNCC  
BARBARA WEBSTER, Liberation  
ERIC WEINBERGER, National Secretary, Committee for Non-Violent Action

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HANK WERNER, Coordinator, Vietnam Summer  
JOHN WILSON, SNCC National Office  
WILLIE WRIGHT, President, African American  
Association (AAA)  
RON YOUNG, Youth Secretary, Fellowship of  
Reconciliation

The above were still in Prague on September 16,  
1967. The below listed individuals were planning to travel  
on to Hanoi:

NORM FRUCHTER	TOM HAYDEN
VIVIAN ROTHSTEIN	CAROL MC ELDFOWNEY
RENNIE DAVIS	JACK BROWN
ROBERT ALLEN	

A radio broadcast from North Vietnam on October 6,  
1967, intercepted by the Foreign Broadcast Information  
Service, stated in part as follows:

7 Americans Visiting DRV (Democratic Republic  
of Vietnam), Urge End to War. Text-Hanoi; Bernard  
Joseph Cabanes dispatch.

7 youth Americans on a ten-day 'see for our-  
selves' visit to North Vietnam today called for  
an end to the escalation of the war and moves  
for peace.

The group, two of them girls, came to North  
Vietnam to 'learn for ourselves' about the war  
the United States is waging against Vietnam and  
to testify to the losses American bombing is  
inflicting on the civilian population. The seven  
are from no specific organizations, and are most  
intellectuals from various widely differing  
professions....

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"SDS" by KIRKPATRICK SALE, Chapter 19 titled "Fall 1967," page 392, sets forth a footnote as follows:

There were other contacts between SDSers and Third-World revolutionaries at this time - Carl Oglesby spent part of the summer at Bertrand Russells' war crimes tribunal, Cathy Wilkerson and Carol McEldowney spent some time with NLG people in Cambodia in November, a meeting of North Americans and NLF students was held in Montreal, and Davidson, Tom Hayden, Todd Gitlin and others traveled to Cuba at the end of the year. But the Bratislava meeting - which attracted such SDSers as Rennie Davis, Thorne Dreyer, Nick Egelson, Dick Flacks, Norm Fruchter, Carol Glassman, Hayden, Halliwell, Andy Kopkind, Robert Kramer, Carol McEldowney, Doug Norberg, and Wilkerson - was the most formative; Christopher Jencks noted in the 'New Republic' (October 7, 1967) that 'the most striking fact about the young radicals was the extent to which they identified with the Viet Cong.'

"New Left Notes," Volume 2, Number 34, October 2, 1967, page one, sets forth an article titled "New Leftists Meet with the NFL-A Society in Revolution" by STEVE HALLIWELL, Columbia SDS. He wrote, in part, as follows:

The first large meeting between Americans of the anti-war movement and delegations from the DRV and the NLF took place in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia the week of September 6-13. For the 41 Americans present, there is now the responsibility of communicating to their varied constituencies-peace groups, organizations of the poor

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students, magazine audiences--the information covered by the Vietnamese including the military situation in the South, the nature of the bombings in the North, the role of women, life in the liberated zones (the NLF speaks of 'liberated' zones and 'occupied' zones), the value of the press and propaganda, and the role of Buddhism (the so-called 'third force' in the South).

But now that the conference is over, I'm afraid that all the information and the perspective forged by American radicals in a week of constant discussions large, small and intimate will roll like so much water off the well-oiled back of the American anti-war movement unless we communicate to some degree the feeling that emerged in that conference and the context that shapes the work of those who were present. After all, most of us have been active in the anti-war movement for two and a half years now and know that the war is a tremendously brutal affair.... Further explanation of how real those facts are, greater documentation, etc., just seem of little consequence.

But for those present, the manner of the people from both the North and South who presented that information is of crucial importance, for their manner is that of men and women struggling in a society in revolution... It was only as the conference progressed (in the true sense of the word) only as we developed a sense of how revolutionaries live and talk and work, that these incredible facts became first credible and then understandable.

...The NLF is the instrument of a society which has had to organize itself against more than one foreign aggressor and in which the base of that struggle has been widespread for a long time. As a political mechanism, the Front has created both local administrative structures and a Central Committee of leaders of mass organizations and different social areas (such as military, education and health). As a military force, it is a

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system of interlocking forces--there is a guerrilla unit for each hamlet (the 'fighting village'), a district force (10 villages together), a provincial force and a zonal army...

In order to grasp the level of organization that a sustained resistance like the Front represents, it is important to understand how comprehensive the Front now becomes. The new political program of the Front, adopted September 1, 1967, presents a picture of a society in which every social element outside the direct interests of the Saigon government has become mobilized against the American occupation -- small shop keepers and even the smaller landlords who have deserted the Front, are treated in the new program....

It is that total endeavour by a society in revolution that came across in the course of our conversations. Against a society demanding freedom and independence from an imperialist force, there is no weapon save destruction of every individual in revolt that will bring about any end other than victory for the liberation forces.

It is a form of life that American radicals find hard to understand at first because they have been conditioned by the nonsense in our newspapers....

But there is another reason why talking to people to a revolutionary society is at first incredulous. We don't believe they are possible because we don't believe in ourselves.... But we have yet to develop in ourselves the confidence that is so evident in the Vietnamese. We realize that our society is not a stable one--there are fissures deep into the system that only deepen as the war continues and national politics grow more hypocritical and banal. And yet we have not learned how to move with confidence in that society. We believe that every room is bugged, every phone tapped, not as a principle of security, but because we believe in the power of the police, the stability and the efficiency of the powers of the state.

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Furthermore, in place of that confidence we have established an over burdened belief in our own sanctity. We assume that unless other elements in the society speak our language and share our responses, they are worthless. The NFL has managed to put together an all-nation coalition on the basis of a deep sense of the movement of a whole society, not by isolating themselves in language, thought or purity of principle....

Phnom Penh, Cambodia,  
November, 1967

The "New York Post," November 17, 1967, page two, sets forth a photograph of four individuals captioned "Bound for North Vietnam." The sub-caption reflected four members of SDS, STEVE HALLIWELL and JEFFREY JONES of New York City, KAREN KOONAN of San Francisco, and CATHY WILKERSON of Washington were boarding a plane for Paris at Kennedy Airport; that their eventual destination was North Vietnam by invitation.

"New Left Notes," December 18, 1967, page one, sets forth an article titled "Delegation to Hanoi Returns," by CATHY WILKERSON. In part, it reflects:

On Nov. \_\_\_\_\_ four people set off for Paris with the final destination of Hanoi.... This was the first 'student delegation' to go. Karin Koonan of the Movement, a member of the Steering Committee for the Oakland Stop the Draft Week; Steve Halliwell, N.Y. SDS; Jeff Jones, N.Y. SDS; and myself were invited by the Association of Youth of the D.R.V. This group is the umbrella organization for a number of student and youth groups....

The youth of the D.R.V. had invited a student delegation from the United States to discuss the experiences of the youth in both countries, especially their experiences as important vanguard forces in building a revolutionary movement. In addition, we expected the youth of the D.R.V. to help us understand more about their lives as youths and students of a country being attacked by American imperialism, in a nation mobilized for armed struggle.

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Unlike most of the previous trips which had been arranged by groups in Hanoi, and which had remained in Hanoi....we were to spend most of our time traveling to a number of different provinces. This was essential for a student delegation since the intensive bombings have forced a total decentralization of the educational system....

We arrived in Cambodia on Wednesday. The only flights to Hanoi are those of the International Control Commission, arranged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.... However, due to heavy American bombing, it is not unusual for flights to be trapped back unexpectedly....

Early morning, we were informed that we would not be able to take the ICC flight the next morning. The Committee of Working Youth had sent a telegram to Phnom Penh explaining that the bombing had become so heavy that any travel outside Hanoi would be extremely dangerous, especially for those untrained in self-defense.... We were told that almost all foreign visits had been cancelled, probably until February....

Despite our inability to finally get to North Vietnam, we all felt that the trip was well worth while. During our ten-day stay in Cambodia, we had many long conversations with a number of Vietnamese officials and Cambodians....

An article which appeared in the "Hartford Courant" on October 11, 1967 was headed "Activist Scoffs At Talk of Communist Conspiracy." It reflected that NICK EGELSON, past president of the national Students for a Democratic Society, spoke before a small gathering of the Trinity chapter of SDS on the previous day. It stated that he had spent two weeks last spring as a guest of the North Vietnam Government and termed "international communism conspiracy as a myth." He stated that this trip convinced him that "Our political movement in this country must change to recognize insurgency as a legitimate path to democracy." He noted that insurgency is not necessarily an armed struggle.

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EGELSON stated that the harder this country makes it for people to free themselves, the more "military" will be the revolution. He predicted that if the United States submits to increased international and national opinion and calls a halt to its bombing raids, HO Chi Minh will not necessarily relax the war in the south. EGELSON stated that the aims of the Viet Cong were democracy, neutrality, and land reform. He predicted that if the United States leaves Vietnam, the National Liberation Front will probably take over the country and bring about a drift toward socialism.

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February, 1968  
Havana, Cuba

To further cement the relationships established with the representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam (DRV), during the fall of 1967, the national leadership of SDS through their then Inter-Organizational Secretary, CARL DAVIDSON, organized the first major travel to Cuba where discussions were held with the NLF.

"New Left Notes" in the following articles reported on the initiation of the February trip in the following manner:

"New Left Notes," October 9, 1967, page three, sets forth an article titled "Cubans Invite SDS to Anniversary Celebration" by CARL DAVIDSON, Inter-Organizational Secretary. In part it reflects:

"The Cuban government has extended an invitation to SDS to send 10 to 20 people to Cuba from December 21 to January 10, the anniversary of the revolution. The trip is scheduled to include...meetings with various government officials and attendance at anniversary celebrations. A resolution of the National Council mandated the National Interim Committee to select people to attend...

"Viva Che! Viva la Revolucion!  
Venceremos!"

"New Left Notes," November 20, 1967, page five, sets forth an article titled "Selections Made for Cuba Trip" by JEFF SMERG, National Interim Committee-New York. In part it reflects:

"...The current plans are to send Carl Davidson to Cuba to the Third World Intellectual's Conference in early January as an SDS observer and to finalize arrangements for the two week tour. The NIC will also select one other person, along with Davidson, to attend the conference, although Carl will be the only official observer.

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"The tour itself will take place in the early part of February. The SDS members will journey to Cuba via Mexico City if State Department travel permits can be obtained, or through Prague if they can't..."

"New Left Notes" subsequently reported that TODD GITLIN (SDS President 1963-1964) accompanied DAVIDSON to the International Cultural Congress held in January, 1968, in Havana. Also at the meeting were TOM HAYDEN, former President of SDS in 1962-1963, and DAVE DELLINGER, but neither of these individuals represented SDS in any official capacity.

The following twenty individuals traveled to Cuba in February, 1968, as guests of the Cuban government:

- KAREN LYNN ASHLEY
- DINA MARIE CLANAGE
- ALICE ENRREE
- NICHIAEL HERIAN GOLDFIELD
- THOMAS MARK HARDESTY
- WILLY MAUREEN HART
- JOSEPH RICHARD HORTON
- EDWARD JOHN JENNINGS
- ALAN THOMAS LEVIN
- JOSEPH SHARON MICHAEL
- MARY JANE NELSON
- DICK JOHNSON REAVIS
- JOAN MARIE ROCKWELL
- MARK RUDD
- PHILIP LOW RUSSELL
- SHEILA PATRICIA RYAN
- PAUL HUGH SHINOFF
- WYMC BEN STEINER
- ROBERT SAMUEL TUMPOSKY
- JEAN BARBARA WEISSMAN

The "Florida Alligator," daily campus newspaper, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in its issue dated February 20, 1968, carried on page one a copyright

["New Left Notes" dated January 15, 1969, contained an article by CONNIE ULLMAN and GERRY LONG, "Cuban Youth Pour Into Fields," which states that ULLMAN and LONG had "returned from Cuba last February."] )

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article by STEVE HULL, Editor, and HARVEY ALPER, Managing Editor. This article states that the "Alligator" learned on February 19, 1968, that ALAN LEVIN and 19 other members of the SDS from throughout the United States are in Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government. According to the article, the group is in Cuba "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front of North Vietnam" and "to spend some time in Cuba working in Cuban fields."

The article states that JOE HORTON, a member of the visiting group and a Chicago SDS member, was quoted as saying in an interview over communist radio "I will not go to Vietnam to defend the interests of the Rusks, the Rockefellers, and the Imperialists of my country. I would rather go to prison or die."

According to the article, the group left from O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, on February 6, 1968, for Mexico City and a connecting flight to Havana on Cuba's Cubana Airline. The article states the group is reported to be in Cuba for about 2 1/2 weeks and will return to the United States by freighter with a connection in Canada. The article listed the following as members of the group:

KAREN ASHLEY  
National Office SDS  
Chicago

MARC STEINER and SHEILA RYAN  
Washington, D.C.  
SDS Chapter

BOB JUNPOSKY and JAMES ROCKWELL  
Syracuse, New York

ALAN LEVIN, Southern Student  
Organizing Committee (SSOC)  
Gainesville

PAUL SHINOFF  
Los Angeles Regional Office SDS

MARY ELSON and NIKE GOLDFIELD  
University of Chicago

ALICE EHRKEE and PHIL RUSSELL  
North American Congress on  
Latin America, New York

MARK RUDD, Columbia University  
New York

JEAN WEISSMAN, Westside  
Draft Project, New York City

DENA CLAMAGE, Detroit

ED JENNINGS, Chicago

NIKE SHARON, Join Community  
Union, Chicago

HOLLY HART, 49th Ward  
Committee for Independent  
Political Action, Chicago

JOE HORTON, Chicago Region  
of SDS

MARK HARDESTY, Home and  
affiliation unknown

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The New York Region of SDS has been holding a Series of Commentaries about SDS on radio station WBAI FM, 99.5 on the dial, each Wednesday, beginning March 6, 1968, after the evening news at about 7:00 PM.

JEFF JONES was the master of ceremonies for the third broadcast of the series on the evening of March 20, 1968. JONES began by stating that a brother of theirs on the Lower East Side has a publication called "Guerrilla" - the theme of the most recent issue being that "youth will make the revolution and youth will keep it." He stated they wanted to talk a bit about that as they talk about the trip of 20 of their brothers and sisters who have just returned from Cuba.

JONES asked KAREN ASHLEY of SDS to discuss the feelings she had during her three weeks in Cuba. ASHLEY spoke of her general over-all impressions of Cuba as she walked through the streets there talking to officials and the people. The thing that struck her the most was the way the people have a pride in being a part of the revolution. Everyone there feels that they are contributing to a growing revolution and a growing country.

She stated it was a revolution made by youth and carried on by youth. The average age of the Central Committee is 35. Whole sections of the country are controlled by people under 30. There is a feeling of youthfulness and ties with the rest of the world as well as with struggles in all parts of the world. The liberation struggles are everywhere aiding in revolutionary struggles in whatever way they possibly can.

For her last point, she stated there is a general flexibility in the government, seemingly undogmatic. They do not go by strict Marxist lines and they change their minds if they find they are wrong. It is most flexible to criticism and change.

MARK RUDD of the Columbia University (CU) SDS Chapter, was asked by JONES to mention how some people happened to take the trip, because a lot of times people tire of the New Left for the fact that they often go off to talk with the National Liberation Front in Southeast Asia or the Cubans in Cuba.

RUDD stated the reason the Cubans invited them was probably because they wanted to make contact with SDS. In general, someone has said they (Cubans) view SDS as the group with the most potential and the least well organized. The Cubans wanted them to go down to Cuba to gain some of the

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consciousness and spirit of the country in order to tell the Americans what is happening there.

RUDD stated that one of the big reasons why the Cuban people feel they are part of the revolution was because of their experiences with the American embargo, American opposition to the revolution, and specifically, the mercenary invasion in 1961 of the Bay of Pigs..

The SDS group visited the Bay of Pigs and was moved when they saw a monument dedicated to the militiamen killed there. He stated there is a famous picture of FIDEL CASTRO taken before the Bay of Pigs, in which he was addressing a crowd of 1,000 people with their guns raised in the air. These are the people of Cuba and in a real sense the basic democracy in Cuba.

JONES introduced ALICE EMBREE of the North American Congress on Latin America. EMBREE stated that they had stayed at the Havana Riviera Hotel. She spoke of the cleanliness of the streets and country though the buildings are run down; and their visits to the sugar cane fields.

JONES stated that he did not go to Cuba, but was able to go to Southeast Asia and talk with the NLF and North Vietnamese people last November. He recently went on a speaking tour around New England talking about it. His tour took place just after General HERSHEY's statement that graduate students and college seniors would no longer be exempt from the draft. The point he was trying to make to the students protected by the 3-S classification was that conditions would probably lead them to join their movement to try to change the society.

JONES stated that everything that was stated that evening was very good about Cuba, but he understood there is a draft there.

KAREN ASHLEY stated they were really upset when they heard that universal military training will be instituted in the Cuban schools for all boys and girls. She stated it is against everything SDS was doing in the United States and they talked to a lot of people in Cuba about it.

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A guide told them that everyone wants to be trained. Those who do not are the counterrevolutionaries and most of them are leaving Cuba. They look upon military training as desirable in that it will happen while they are in school and they will not have to interrupt their life later on. It is part of their daily life that they must know how to defend themselves. They are in a sense a paranoid nation, but with good reason, with the United States only 90 miles away.

She stated there was not anyone they met who found military training a bad thing. They were all involved in building up the country and saw this as another way to do it.

JONES then inquired about the use of drugs in Cuba. RUDD stated the drug situation was simple to define since drugs are illegal there. Most people feel they do not want or need them, and that included the artists and students with whom they spent their last week. He stated the artists are free to publish their poems and have their paintings exhibited.

ALICE EMBREE spoke of their visit to the Isle of Pines, also called the Isle of Youth, where the political prisons are located. She stated the prisons are now being converted into technological institutions, and they are trying to figure out a way to construct the buildings to look less like prisons. EMBREE related the group found the Isle to be an exciting place with 50,000 kids there. Young people come there to do voluntary work for 45 days to two years, reshaping the island. They are trying to create communism there which they say is creating a socialist-revolutionary consciousness. They found it exciting to see young people controlling the island.

JONES concluded the program by thanking "Fidel Castro for his part in tonight's program." He also stated that the individuals on the program were working with SDS and are available for discussion groups.

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**Columbia University Student Strike  
April, 1968, New York City, New York**

The largest student strike in the history of the United States took place at Columbia University, New York, in April, 1968. CARL DAVIDSON saw it as a major turning point in SDS history:

Since the Columbia Rebellion, SDS has been thrust onto a new plateau as a national political force. The importance of that event in our history should not be underestimated. More than any other event in our recent political past, Columbia has successfully summed up and expressed the best aspects of the main thrust of our national political efforts in the last two years.

The SDS strike at Columbia was important because it occurred at a prestigious university in the media capital of the country and resulted in a complete victory for SDS over the university administration.

The most profound and lasting effect of the Columbia strike was in the development and use of the new SDS tactic of disruptive confrontation.

According to JERRY I. AVRON in his book "Up Against The Ivy Wall" (Atheneum, New York, 1969), "a relatively sedate tactical approach had marked the early days of the Columbia chapter of SDS. It centered on dramatization and politicization; change could be brought about by drawing attention of members of the community to a given problem, awakening them to the need for change. This emphasis on politicization became known as the 'praxis' theory, advocated by those radicals who felt that the best means of converting others to the radical view of the world was through education, propaganda and discussion. Disruptive actions on the part of radicals would, they feared, in many cases only alienate those who might otherwise be persuaded to help work toward the radical reconstruction of society."

The Columbia SDS chapter was growing disillusioned with "praxis" tactics in the Spring of 1968 when MARK RUDD returned from Cuba and was elected chairman of the chapter. There was an immediate change in SDS tactics.

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On March 20, the New York City director of the Selective Service System appeared on campus to discuss strict new draft regulations with students. During a question and answer session, an unidentified assailant pushed a lemon meringue pie in the director's face.

A week later RUDD led more than 100 students into Low Library in a noisy, intentionally disruptive confrontation with the administration in defiance of Columbia's ban on indoor demonstrations. The target of the demonstration was the Institute of Defense Analysis (IDA).

AVRON reported "By the time of the IDA demonstration a new sub-group had come to dominate SDS. It became known as the 'action faction,' and advocated a new tactical approach-- confrontation politics--to replace the dramatization-- politicization style of the 'praxis axis.' The superficial dynamic of the tactic was simple: a physical confrontation-- a sit in, a blockade, the take over of a building--is set up to discomfit the adversary who holds the power, in this case the University administration. He can respond by giving in to the substantive demands of the radicals or by crushing them with coercion of his own....

"The use of coercive force on the part of the adversary--whether it came in the form of University discipline or police violence--could be a powerful force to 'radicalize' liberal or moderate students. For the crucial part of the SDS view is that while escalated tactics are necessary to bring pressure for change on substantive issues, the 'radicalization' of large segments of the population is far more important. As Rudd said later:

"Confrontation politics puts the enemy up against the wall and forces him to define himself. In addition, it puts the individual up against the wall. He has to make a choice. Radicalization of the individual means that he must commit himself to the struggle to change society as well as share the radical view of what is wrong with society."

On April 23, 1968, the student uprising began in earnest and during the next 30 days a number of the University's buildings were occupied and held by students, the Acting Dean of Columbia College was held hostage and the files of the University's President were looted.

On April 30, 1968, the President of the University made an official complaint to the New York City Police

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Department and police officers arrested approximately 700 students and other persons who were trespassing in various buildings of the University. At least 17 police were injured while making these arrests.

KIRKPATRICK SALE wrote "When one professor on the third day of the takeovers asked Rudd whether he really wanted to destroy the university--'Doesn't the university have any redeeming features that merit your saving it?'-- the SDS chairman was at a loss for an answer; he hadn't really thought about what he really wanted out of the university....But during the next day and weeks....it became clear to many SDSers in a very direct way that it was not the reform of the university that they really wanted, not the limiting of complicity (between government and university) not the restructuring of the evil complex, but something much vaster, more significant, more, well, revolutionary....By commencement time neither Rudd nor most of the other SDSers had much doubt about how to answer the question of the university's 'redeeming features.' The seeds of Weatherman are planted here."

Among the students identified by JERRY L. AVRON as participants in the Columbia student strike, the following later became active in the Weatherman organization:

NICK FREUDENBERG, Vice Chairman of SDS  
DAVE GILBERT, member of Strike Coordinating Committee  
TED GOLD, former Vice Chairman of SDS  
MORRIS GROSSNER, member of SDS Steering Committee  
JOHN JACOBS, member of SDS  
ROBBY ROTH, member of SDS and negotiator for Low  
Library strikers  
MARK RUDD, Chairman of SDS

The following individuals were arrested by the New York City Police Department at Columbia during the strike and later became active in Weatherman:

NANCY CANTELMO  
ANDREA BOROFF ZAGAN  
STEWART MARK GEDAL  
MARTIN HERNAN KENNER  
SHINYA ONO  
JONAH RASKIN  
STEPHEN JOSEPH TAPPIS

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MARK RUDD was interviewed by FRANCISCO PORTELA of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency in New York City, on June 11, 1968, on the motivations behind the spread of the student struggle in North American universities and the participation of the SDS in that struggle. Among other comments RUDD stated "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....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...."

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July, 1968  
Havana, Cuba

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"New Left Notes," issue of September 9, 1968, under the caption "NIC Discusses Chicago, Elections, Eitism," in part reveals:

Four of the five people who attended the July 26th celebrations in Cuba have returned and will be available at the NC....

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The August 18-31, 1968, issue of the "New Patriot" contained an article captioned "Whither Cuba?" written by CHIP MARSHALL. ("New Patriot" is identified on its masthead as "an independent newsweekly of the movement," published by the Glad Day Press, 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York.)

An Editor's note indicated that MARSHALL had returned this week from a one month visit to Cuba. MARSHALL is a national officer of the SDS and co-chairman of the Cornell Chapter. He went to Cuba with five other national SDS leaders to attend the July 26th celebrations as honored guests of the Cuban people.

In the article MARSHALL gives an account of his Cuba trip. He went via Mexico City. In Cuba the group visited such places as farms, garages, the University of Havana, rope factory, the National Art Institute and the Bay of Pigs, and talked to laborers, mechanics, farmers, soldiers and seamen. They attended FIDEL CASTRO's speech given at Santa Clara in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the start of the Cuban Revolution. They also visited the North Korean Embassy where they were "treated to several hours of film."

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MARSHALL generally praised Cuba and the Cuban people and their leaders in this account of his visit. In a concluding paragraph MARSHALL stated the following:

But the most shocking evidence of our war against the Cubans came when I visited the Bay of Pigs. 'Imperialism' is a phrase we have read and thrown around a lot, but looking at the bombed out houses and the photos of the families that had died in them brought home the full implications of the phrase. I was disgusted.

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August, 1968  
Havana, Cuba

A letter from the SDS National Office was sent over the signature of BERNARDINE MOIRN, SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary. This letter read in part as follows:

1) The date has not been fixed with the Cuba Mission, but the trip will be around the last ten days of August and the first two weeks of Sept.

Venceremos!

Your cruise director, in struggle.

BERNARDINE MOIRN  
Inter-organizational Secretary  
SDS

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A letter dated August 5, 1968, addressed to "Cuba Trippers-Frothers and Sisters" and sent over the name of BERNARDINE MOIRN, Inter-Organizational Secretary, read in part as follows:

We have arranged with the Cubans for the group to leave Mexico City for Cuba on August 25. Recent events in Mexico may complicate that, but we'll assume travel access until otherwise certain. The trip will be from 2-3 weeks in length; freighters leave Cuba frequently, but irregularly, and all 50 cannot be accommodated in one trip. So anyone who must be back before four weeks should not go....

The briefing session will begin in Texas on August 21. More on location there and coordination of rides going to Texas in the next mailing.

Cheers.

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[REDACTED] American Airlines. [REDACTED] on August 28, 1968, advised that DOUGLAS BERNHARDT had contacted American Airlines August 23, 1968, and made reservations for 32 coach seats on American Airlines Flight 45 from Dallas to Mexico City on August 26, 1968. [REDACTED] furnished names as follows:

- |                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| DANIEL FRIEDLANDER | CLIF TAYLOR      |
| WILLIAM BERNHARDT  | BILL YATES       |
| RUSSELL SMITH      | JIM MURRAY       |
| MARK WEISCHEL      | STEVE MOORE      |
| HOLLY MOORE        | THOMAS GOOD      |
| FRED HALPER        | LOUISE HALPER    |
| LARRY LEVNER       | SUE ORRIN        |
| ROSS DANIELSON     | MARK SHAPIRO     |
| PAUL HENRIQUES     | JIM KULK         |
| MARRIS OLDER       | NICK FREUDENBERG |
| MARCY FIDELMAN     | JIM MITCHELL     |
| GEORGE GRUNTI-AL   | HILDA IGNATIN    |
| JOSEPH WEBB        | MARILYN WEBB     |
| THOMAS FISHER      | JEFFREY SWANSON  |
| ERICARD ESCOBAR    | HELEN SHILLER    |
| NICHOLLE CLARK     | MARY MALCOLM     |

"Radio Progreso," Havana, Cuba, broadcast the following announcement on August 27, 1968: "Fortytwo members of the SDS traveled from Mexico to Cuba on a regular Cubana Airlines flight. The members of the group were from most of the states in the United States and among them were included professors, students, and post-graduate students as well as newspapermen." The broadcast stated they would remain in Cuba for three weeks in order to observe the advances of the Cuban revolution. Later it was indicated they will inform the American public in the United States regarding their findings.

[REDACTED]

Subsequent to the SDS travel group's arrival in Cuba, they visited numerous places of interest such as an electric plant, a sugar mill plantation, the Bay of Pigs and the Isle of Youth and Pines, where the SDS travel group spent several days doing volunteer labor of cutting sugar cane.

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During their trips to Cuba and Havana everyone in the travel group was permitted free access to the people and could go anywhere they pleased, talking with the local citizenry.

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NIKE KLONSKY was interviewed on Radio Havana, Cuba broadcast on August 29, 1968.

He described the riots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago and indicated SDS would continue the battle in Chicago until the end of the Democratic Convention. He repudiated the platform approved by the Democratic Convention. Radio Havana broadcast read to KLONSKY part of a message of the American student delegation which had arrived recently in Cuba urging the continuation of the battle and creation of "many Chicagos" throughout the United States. KLONSKY replied "It is a beautiful message, very beautiful. This message encourages us; we will continue to fight in the states."

Radio Havana is a shortwave broadcast station in Havana, Cuba, operating 24 hours a day under the complete control and direction of the FIDEL CASTRO communist government of Cuba. It transmits violent anti-U.S. propaganda throughout the world in many languages.

[REDACTED]  
"New Left Notes" issue of September 9, 1968, page three, contained an article captioned "NIC Discusses Chicago, Elections, Elitism:"

The discussion on international began with a report from KEN CLOKE on his trip to Japan and another by SIGRID FROMIUS from West Berlin SDS who spoke about her organization. The rest of the time was spent on a discussion of Cuba trips as they relate to the development of an international consciousness within SDS.

Four of the five people who attended the July 26th celebrations in Cuba have returned and will be available at the NC. The large trip (thirty-three people) left for Cuba Monday, August 26th, after a three-day training conference.

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The NIC felt that the Cuba trips should continue, but that they are valuable to us at this point only when the people who go are as prepared as possible, making them able to learn information that will be of value to our development. Small groups (no more than ten to a group) with comprehensive training in Spanish and study of the Cuban Revolution will be more effective than large groups.

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The January 15, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes" contained the following:

# VENEZUELA

This resolution was written for the December NC, but lack of time prevented its presentation. A NIC meeting, held after the NC, passed it.

January 1969 marks the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. In solidarity with that defeat of U.S. imperialism and with the ten years of struggle by the Cuban people to build a revolutionary socialist society, ENL calls for a Cuba Week of education and action.

ENL will sponsor the Cuban struggle during Cuba Week, as a beginning of continuing programs which will carry these lessons to all of our organizations.

1) To learn and explain about the Cuban victory as a part of the international struggle between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed people of the world.

2) To direct attention and programs to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Although we say imperialism is a system and the war in Vietnam is but one manifestation of that system, our understanding and programs on imperialism have largely been limited to Vietnam. Cuba is a case study of imperialism in this hemisphere.

3) To educate about the revolutionary principles underlying a socialist society: planning for people's needs, abolition of a money economy, more democracy, the relationship between workers and mental labor, the development of the New Man, Cuba Week provides the context for rapping about the real struggles being fought for daily since the revolution: ill conditions, racism and anti-communism; it requires an understanding of communist principles.

ENL will educate and agitate with programs:

a) Distribute pamphlets, literature, posters, T-shirts, and buttons;

b) presenting Cuban film festivals and speakers who have traveled to Cuba;

c) offering exhibits of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, such as Latin American hospitals, counter-insurrenary research center, sugar ex-slaves, dried fruit, etc.

### Participants:

Bernardine Dineen  
Nick Freundenberg  
Jim Mitchell

Helen Schiller  
Jim Murray  
Doug Bernhart

It is noted that NICK FREUNDENBERG, JIM MITCHELL, HELEN SCHILLER, JIM MURRAY and DOUG BERNHART traveled to Cuba for the August, 1968, trip.

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Budapest, Hungary,  
September, 1968

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C., newspaper, issue of September 21, 1968, contains an item captioned "U.S. War Foes Meet with Hanoi Group," which states that a group of 28 American war foes traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF) to discuss strategy on United States campuses.

According to the above article, the meeting reportedly was held in Budapest, Hungary, September 5-9, 1968, by DAVID DELLINGER, Head of the National Mobilization Committee and coalition of anti-war advocates. The article stated that nine of the above-mentioned 28 individuals took part in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention.

According to the above article, VERNON GRIZZARD, 24, former national vice president of SDS, was one of the above travel group and had visited Hanoi earlier to bring back three pilots released by North Vietnam. As outlined by GRIZZARD, the Budapest meetings centered on Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest and furthering draft unrest among GIs. GRIZZARD said the North Vietnamese gave no directions for activities in the United States but were pleased and interested in "our" plans.

The North Vietnamese were told of plans for a National GI week just before the November 3, 1968, elections, when ministers will be asked to preach anti-war sermons. The article also stated that "they" were also to try to stir up GIs in coffee houses.

On September 23, 1968, BERNARDINE DOHRN, national functionary of the SDS, spoke at an assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, sponsored by the Columbia University SDS and Columbia University Strike Committee, in New York City. DOHRN stated she had returned from Europe three days ago after she and 27 other American student leaders met in Budapest with five members of the NLF of South Vietnam. DOHRN added that after her group left Budapest, the five NLF members were flying to Moscow, Peking, Hanoi and thence to South Vietnam. She said two of the five specialized in working in with American GIs in Saigon in attempting to obtain information.

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Twenty individuals traveled at a group rate to Budapest, Hungary, departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York, on September 3, 1968, on Pan American Airlines (Pan Am) Flight #90, via Vienna. The group departed Vienna, via Austrian Airlines Flight #621, on September 4, 1968, for Budapest, where they remained until September 10, 1968. VERNON GRIZZARD was the leader of the group.

The arrangements were made and fares were paid through SDS, New York City. The following were the names of the individuals in this travel group: ~~SDS~~

GERALD BORENSTEIN  
THOMPSON BRADLEY  
PERRY CANNON  
BRUCE DANCIS  
JOHN DAVIS  
RAY DELLINGER  
FRANK DINON  
Mrs. SHARIE FITE DIRCKY  
FRANK DUBINSKAS  
HOWARD EMMER

PAUL GOLDEN  
VERNON GRIZZARD  
HAROLD HECHTER  
DANIEL JAFFEE  
DAVID KOMATSU  
DAVID LANDAU  
ELINOR LANGER  
VICKI ANN MITTFELD  
WILLIAM SPIRA  
FINLEY SCHAEF

~~SDS~~

The book "SDS" by Kirkpatrick Sale, page 316, reflected that BERNARDINE DOHRN had struck up several close friendships with Vietnamese women during a trip to Europe in the fall (1968) giving one a ring from her own finger as a gesture of comradeship.

On October 29, 1968, at an open forum at the University of Wisconsin, Madison campus, DANIEL DEAN SWINNEY, III, talked about his trip to the countries of Yugoslavia, Hungary, West Germany and France. He spoke of a five-day conference in Yugoslavia, with representatives of the North Vietnamese NLF, at which he was told the NLF was very optimistic about the eventual outcome of the war in Vietnam. He further related that 11 of the Americans on this SDS-sponsored trip burned their draft cards at a reception given for the Americans by the NLF Mission in Yugoslavia. SWINNEY did not identify himself as one of the 11. SWINNEY also spoke about SDS in West Germany.

HELEN RUTH SHILLER, SDS representative, spoke of her recent trip to Cuba. She said that while there she was very

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impressed with the large consensus of the population behind the Cuban leader FIDEL CASTRO's reform program and that because of this large consensus elections in Cuba are unnecessary. She also reported on several movies seen by her in Cuba. When asked how she traveled to Cuba, SHILLER said she traveled to this country by way of Mexico City and returned by way of Madrid, Spain.

Both SHILLER and SWINNEY said that their trips were sponsored by the National SDS Office. The individual who went to Mexico said nothing of the reason or the mode of transportation for his travel to this country. SHILLER made it clear that when she was in Cuba she attended, in person, a speech made by CASTRO and she let it be known that it would be difficult to travel to Cuba unless a person had a good connection, such as being affiliated with SDS. SHILLER did not mention the number of others who may have been in the SDS group that she traveled with.

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The May 21, 1969, issue of "The Post," an Ohio University student newspaper, published at Athens, Ohio, on page three, contained an article captioned "Student Suggests Military SDS," which reported that JOHN DAVIS, brother of RENNIE DAVIS, had stated he had tried to enlist at Berryville, Virginia, but that authorities there classified him 1-Y as being politically unfit since he had told them he wanted to form an organization called "Soldiers for a Democratic Society."

The article noted DAVIS, a sophomore at Marietta College, "will leave school in June to work with the regional and national SDS organization." The article noted DAVIS had traveled to Europe last summer "at the invitation of National SDS founder TOM HAYDEN, and met with student organizers of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam."

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The article reported DAVIS as saying "SDS confronts imperialists, capitalists, and institutionalists that are within the system."

"SDS also believes in destroying the institution."

Another article appeared in the same issue of "The Marcolian" captioned "SDS Anti-Military Ball Called a 'Big Success'" which reported that the SDS group at Marietta College had held an "anti-military ball" at Das Stein Haus on Front Street "to dance and protest against the war, military and draft." JOHN DAVIS, spokesman for the Marietta SDS, termed the event a "big success." The article noted about 250 students and two faculty members attended the event.

"A large flag of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) was hung on the side wall with a sign entitled 'Front on the Politics of Death' adorned the area immediately behind the band.

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July, 1969  
Havana, Cuba

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Preface

Immediately following the SDS National Convention held in Chicago, a group of thirty anti-war activists led by BERNARDINE DOHRN, traveled to Cuba where they met with and received instructions from representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. Having received an "immediate" appeal from Hanoi to take measures to prevent the war, the effective leadership of SDS, all of whom were Weathermen conducted their meetings with the Vietnamese under conditions described by CARL DAVIDSON, in the "Guardian" as of "special importance." X HSYNH Van Ba, the Viet Cong's chief representative in Havana, told the Weathermen to look for the person who fights hardest against the cops when recruiting; his intimacy with Weathermen continued after the July meetings with a series of phone calls to the SDS National Office X. The July, 1969 meetings intensified the revolutionary commitment of the Weathermen to "Bring the War Home." The influence of the Cubans and the North Vietnamese on the future direction of Weatherman was compelling; their actions during the infamous "Days of Rage" held in Chicago in October, 1969, wherein upwards of 300 Weathermen activists were arrested, flowed from their internationalist revolutionary duty.

The July, 1969 meetings in Cuba marked a definitive line of demarcation on the question of armed struggle for the Weatherman. Hereinafter they were not simply theoretical revolutionaries but in adopting the Cuban experience as their guide placed armed struggle in the forefront. On the necessity for armed struggle, the WUO has never varied, hence, the importance of the influence of the DRV, PRG and the Cubans.

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KIRKPATRICK SALE in "SDS" commenting on the attitude of the Weathermen in the summer of 1969 said:

...The final determinant of Weathermen's character over the summer was its contact with the Cubans and Vietnamese, concrete experience of the Third World revolution it had been so highly touting. NICer Liada Evans made a journey to Hanoi in July, along with six other antiwar activists, in order to bring home three captured U.S. pilots whom the North Vietnamese had released in honor of America's Independence Day. The experience of being in a country resisting American imperialism - 'to see how they are carrying out a people's war,' as companion Norm Fruchter said afterward - was as profound on Evans as it had been on every other previous traveler, and she returned to Chicago full of enthusiasm for the way the Vietnamese were 'winning total victory.'

Influence of the Vietnamese  
On Weathermen - July, 1969  
Meeting In Havana Cuba

The following Weathermen traveled to Havana, Cuba for an eight day series of meetings with representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam in July, 1969:

BERNARDINE DOERN  
PETER CLAPP  
ROBERT "BO" BURLINGHAM  
HOWARD "JEFF" MELISH  
ELEANOR RASKIN  
DIONE DONGHI  
TED GOLD  
DIANA OUGHTON  
GERRY LONG  
CHRISTOPHER "KITT" BAKER  
DAVID MILLSTONE  
EDWARD "CORKY" BENEDICT  
JANE SPIELMAN  
MARY WOZNIAK

(KIRKPATRICK SALE: "SDS")

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CARL DAVIDSON, former Vice-President of SDS in 1966-1967 and Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS in 1967-68 traveled to Cuba with DOERN, et al, and reported the essence of the meetings with the Vietnamese in the "Guardian", August 30, 1969. Pertinent portions of DAVIDSON's article are:

Early in July, about 30 young American radicals, including this reporter, quietly left the U.S. for a meeting in Havana with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Individuals and groups from the U.S. movement have met with the Vietnamese many times before, but this time, both the Americans and Vietnamese agreed, the meeting was of special importance.

First, the meeting was longer than any previous meeting - eight full days. The composition of the American delegation was also different, at Vietnamese request. Rather than national representatives of a broad range of liberal and radical organizations, the political make-up of the group was mainly local and regional organizers from groups at the hard core of the new left, mostly SDS.

As for the Vietnamese, their two delegations, North and South - were somewhat different as well. There were 14 Vietnamese in all, seven in each delegation. Representatives had come from the minority peoples of both North and South Vietnam, women's organizations, journalists, teachers and committees of solidarity with the American people.

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There were also official representatives from the DRV and ICG, as well as leaders from the Workers party in North Vietnam, the Peoples Revolutionary party in South Vietnam - both communist - and finally an officer from the Peoples Liberation Armed Forces in South Vietnam.

But the real importance of the meeting lies outside of the composition of the groups and was made clear by the Vietnamese description of the current state of the liberation struggle in Vietnam itself.

What the Vietnamese clearly and convincingly presented, in all the workshops, speeches and discussions, was a picture of the total defeat of U.S. military and political strategy in Vietnam. In the opening presentation, the PLAF military official explained the history of U.S. defeats as well as the current situation....

But the Vietnamese never speak of victory in purely military terms. The political fruit of each success has always been the dominant factor in all of their considerations; and the most important political victory of all the fighting up till now and especially since Tet had been the total isolation of the puppet regime concurrent with the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government....

On the strategic level, the Vietnamese see their struggle being waged on three fronts: in Vietnam, in Paris and in international public opinion, particularly within the United States. They believe that they have essentially won in Vietnam by defeating the U.S. political and military strategy. They believe they have won diplomatically in Paris with the presentation of the NFL 10-point program and the total bankruptcy of the U.S. negotiating position.

What remains and what the Vietnamese believed could play an almost decisive role in bringing the war to an early end at this point is the antiwar movement within the U.S. The Vietnamese were well aware that more Americans than ever opposed the war, but were

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curious as to why the massive antiwar mobilizations had gone downhill since the spring of 1967. They understood the differences between and among the liberals and the radicals but asked pointedly, why they could not unite around the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The message was clear: Now, more than ever, Vietnam must be a central issue taken to the American people. Hundreds of thousands, even millions must be moved to understand and act in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

And on the July meetings between Weathermen and representatives of the DRV and PRG, KIRKPATRICK SALES in "SDS" comments:

A week later a contingent of Weathermen returned from an intensive eight-day meeting in Cuba with representatives of North Vietnam and the New Provisional Government of South Vietnam full of the same enthusiasm, only coupled with the additional elation of seeing the Cuban society at work. The messages from the Vietnamese were two, both grist for the weathmill: first, in the words of a man from the People's Liberation Armed Forces, that 'the U.S. can never escape from the labyrinth and sea of fire of peoples' war' and was suffering total defeat in Vietnam; second, that American revolutionaries had the job of building the American movement to the point where it could put invincible pressure upon the government for withdrawal. To the Weathermen, this meant that the collapse of the U.S. government was imminent, perhaps a matter of months rather than years, that the 'duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution,' and that Americans had to go back and fight in the 'mother country' as vigorously as the Vietnamese and the Cubans in the Third World. People from other sections of the movement who made the trip with the Weathermen (and for the most part ended up in bitter disputes with them) recall that on the boat going back the Weathermen were going around promising to 'kick ass' once they got back - which could hardly have been what their hosts had in mind in urging the expansion of the American movement. But the Weathermen were not

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to be swayed from their vision; as Ted Gold put it, in an article for 'Liberation News Service' which apparently reflected the passions of all the Weathermen who had made the trip:

'As people who are located inside the monster, revolutionary Americans are in a position to do decisive damage to the U.S. ruling class's plans to continue and expand its world role. The upcoming defeat in Vietnam will be a vital blow to those plans; we must aim to do everything we can to speed up that effect.'

'And in every Weatherman collective that message was taken to heart....'

To further emphasize the importance of what Cuba and Vietnam meant to the Weathermen, Georgie Anne Geyer and Foyes Beech in their nationally syndicated series of articles captioned, "Cuba: School for U.S. Radicals" written in October, 1970 had the following report pertaining to the July, 1969 meetings:

...From the start, Hanoi has waged a two-front war - one on the battlefields of South Vietnam, the other for the 'hearts and minds' of the American people. A third, less important, front opened with the Paris peace talks in 1968.

Obviously Hanoi did not create antiwar dissent in the United States. What the Vietnamese Communists did do, however, was to exploit that dissent for their own purposes. In this endeavor they found ready-made collaborators in the young American radicals.

As is the case with so many love affairs, it is difficult to say with precision when the U.S. New Left and the Viet Cong first became enamored of each other.

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But the courtship appears to have become serious about four years ago when more young U.S. radicals began to trickle into Castro's Cuba in search of a new world to replace the 'rotten, corrupt, fascist pig state' they lived in.

The climate hardly could have been more salubrious, the atmosphere more heady. In Cuba the Americans could meet, talk with and learn from real, live revolutionaries - Cubans, Vietnamese, North Koreans, Chinese, black Africans and an occasional Palestinian commando.

The central identification was with Cuba and Communist Vietnam. Cuba already had defeated the 'imperialist monster,' the United States, and Vietnamese Communists were engaged in a valiant struggle against the same foe.

Cuba's commitment to North Vietnam was a deeply felt thing. Both peoples felt they were being persecuted by the United States, and many Cubans felt Cuba would be attacked by America, next after Vietnam.

...If Castro couldn't supply troops to fight alongside the Vietnamese Communists, the least he could do was provide Hanoi with a base in the Western Hemisphere where its agents could link up with sympathetic Americans.

As the trickle of U.S. radicals arriving in Cuba became a flood and antiwar dissent mounted at home, the romance between the young Americans and the Viet Cong grew in intensity. By 1968 they had joined hands in a common effort to end the bombing of North Vietnam and have all U.S. troops withdrawn from the south.

The Americans were instructed to organize more antiwar demonstrations, emphasize the number of American casualties, the number of planes being shot down and the high cost of the war.

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The man who gave these "orders," all of which the Americans subsequently carried out, was Huynh Van Ba, the Viet Cong's chief representative in Havana.

The Viet Cong also encouraged organized draft resistance. And Van Ba suggested that it would be useful to have some radicals volunteer for service to foment antiviet sentiment within the armed forces. (Earlier, an American black nationalist in Cuba had urged black soldiers to kill white soldiers.)

**8-Day seminar with Vietnamese**

Van Ba was very insistent on one point: The Americans should be careful not to use the word "communism," just as the revolutionary movements in Cuba and Vietnam avoided it during the first stages of the revolution, because the word has a bad name in some circles.

It was far better, he said, to talk about the new life after the revolution, and in terms that everybody could understand such as free medical care and better living conditions.

By 1969 the young Americans and the Vietnamese Communists had been going steady, as it were, long enough to become engaged. More and more Americans returned from Cuba proudly wearing rings made from the metal of U.S. planes shot down over North Vietnam.

In some cases they claimed to have met the young "heroes and heroines" who shot down the planes.

The formal marriage took place in July, 1969, when a group of 30 young SDSers led by Bernardine Dohrn, the miniskirted Weatherwoman, journeyed to Havana via Mexico for an eight-day seminar with the Vietnamese.

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...A more intimate view of the exchange between the Vietnamese and the Americans was supplied by Huynh Van Ba in his advice on recruiting guerrillas in the United States:

"When you go into a city, look for the person who fights 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."

Conference notes  
detail agenda

Another view of what went on inside the Hanoi conference was provided in notes taken by Bernardine Dohra. Later found in a Chicago apartment that she and other Weathermen had converted into a bomb factory, the notes covered the agenda of the eight-day meeting.

...Her report on the conference included the names of all the Vietnamese delegates; a Communist analysis of 'Vietnamization' of the war and why it was doomed to fail; an analysis of the weakness of the 'Thieu-Ky puppet regime,' a breakdown of U.S. casualties according to branch of service; Hanoi's view of U.S. strategy for all Southeast Asia and the Far East and how it was to be countered; plans for a Communist insurgency in Thailand; a statement that the 'armed struggle in South Korea has begun,' and a detailed report on Communist political activities in South Vietnam.

One of the more interesting entries, in Bernardine's own 'shorthand,' was dated July 11. Under the heading, 'VN (Vietnam questions to us)' Bernardine wrote:

'1. How do the American people understand fundamental pts (points) of VN people in 10 pt. program (a reference to the Communists' 10-point program for peace)?

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'2. Self-determination (how self-determination for the South Vietnamese was to be achieved).

'3. Do we think that setting up of PRG (provisional revolutionary government) is new stage of success in struggle in VN?

'4. Do we think PRG is embodiment of policy unifying different nationalities for salvation of VN?

'5. Do we think correct solution is total and unconditional withdrawal? Is (it) only solution? Do they think withdrawal equals surrender?

'6. Did 10 pts. raise any opinion among people in ruling circles? What are main concerns?'

The contacts of HUYNH Van Ba, head of the PRG in Havana, Cuba, did not cease with the meetings with DOHRN and other Weathermen in Havana in July, 1969. CG T-11 during September, 1969, reported Van Ba attempted a number of telephonic contacts with DOHRN with various requests. X

On one occasion, according to CG T-11, Van Ba spoke with MARK RUDD where RUDD said that they would propagate Van Ba's position in their literature and referred Van Ba to the forthcoming supplement to appear in "New Left Notes." X

"New Left Notes," in its issue of August 29, 1969, contained an eight page Special Supplement entitled, "Vietnam Has Won." The Supplement sets forth the Ten Point Peace Program of the NLF and the Twelve Point Program of Action of the PRG. The supplement on page three sets forth an article titled "Bring The War Home" which reflects:

Five weeks in Cuba, two of them meeting and traveling around with the Vietnamese. One more week working, planning, and writing on a Cuban ship as we returned to socialism.

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The people who met with the Vietcong in Cuba tried to bring back more than 'a feeling I can't express in words' (the only result of so many trips in the past). We understood that the reason the Vietnamese called the meeting was to get us moving against the war again. The Vietcong were giving us a kick in the ass at a time when they've defeated the U.S. militarily, but when the Nixon administration is trying to cling to its bases, bombing South Vietnam and bullshitting in Paris more and more intensively. Kicking us in the ass when the revolutionary movement in the United States could be making its internationalism real by getting the U.S. out of Vietnam once and for all. Kicking us in the ass because for the first time we're really strong enough TO END THE WAR, and we've hardly mentioned it for a year. Kicking us in the ass so we could start kicking ass inside the monster.

Kick ass is the main message we brought back from the meeting. Some people are saying that now we should be fighting to end the war; kicking ass is for later. Building a revolutionary movement is for later. Bullshit. Fighting to end the war, to bring it home, is the same as building a revolutionary movement. It involves the same things; reaching out to more oppressed sectors of youth, militant struggles with a clear internationalist focus, building cadre into a real fighting force. That's what we need to do to organize white people to help smash imperialism.

At the meeting in Cuba with the PRG; Van Ba (head of the PRG delegation) told us: '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.'

That's the way the Vietnamese built the PLA. Right now the only way we're going to build a white fighting force is if we become one ourselves. Then the white kids across the country who've been way ahead of us - the kids who've been fighting - will know what we want them to join.

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**Direct Effect of Vietnamese and  
Cuban Influence on Weathermen After  
July, 1969, Meetings in Cuba**

**Preface**

The distinguishing characteristic of the Weathermen group after the July meetings with the DRV and PRG in Havana was the intensity of their buildup to the coming "National Action" under the slogan of "Bring The War Home." Their commitment in practice flowed from their obligation as revolutionaries who were part of the international communist movement, specifically identified with the Cuban center of world revolution. The "National Action" was, therefore, not merely another anti-war demonstration nor was it a single issue matter. It was carried out to further the communist anti-imperialist struggle and to create in Guevara's words, "Two, Three, Many Vietnams."

Hence, the recounting here of the October, 1969, "Days of Rage," is germane to any understanding of the foreign influence on Weathermen.

**"National Action"  
October 8-11, 1969  
Chicago, Illinois**

[REDACTED] <sup>B1</sup> on August 19, 1969, advised that a press conference had been held that date in New York City at the Diplomat Hotel by BERNARDINE DOHRN, TED GOLD, DIONNE DONGHII, JEFF NELSON and ELEANOR RASKIN, all of whom had been part of an SDS delegation that had just returned from Cuba. KATHY BOUNDIN also was a part of the press conference but she had not traveled to Cuba with the other representatives. The official statement issued by DOHRN was as follows:

**QUYET CHIEN QUYET THANG  
(DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN)**

We are members of a delegation of white American revolutionaries who have just returned from a meeting with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). The meeting took place in Cuba, free territory of the Americas.

The PRG delegates to the meeting explained to us the actual political and military situation

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in Vietnam which has been systematically hidden from the American people by the Nixon administration and the press. United States imperialism is being completely defeated in Vietnam. Militarily, the United States has been reduced to the desperate defense of its bases in the cities, combined with constant and indiscriminate bombings of the entire population. But the U.S. bases are being successfully attacked and even inside the cities there are large sections where U.S. troops cannot go.

Over 11 million out of South Vietnam's 14 million people are living in the liberated areas administered by the PRG. Because their war for self determination is a people's war, there are 11 million soldiers fighting against U.S. imperialism. Representing the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people the Provisional Revolutionary Government is the legitimate government of South Vietnam.

No matter how long U.S. imperialism tries to hang on to South Vietnam, it will lose. Every day the war goes on means the death of more Vietnamese and more American GIs who have no interest in continuing the war. We are committing ourselves to intensifying the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and in support of the Vietnamese people until all U.S. troops leave Vietnam. As people who are located inside the imperialist monster, we are in a position to do decisive damage to the American ruling class's plans to continue and expand its world rule. The upcoming U.S. defeat in Vietnam will be a vital blow to those plans; we aim to do everything we can to speed up that defeat.

As part of that struggle, Students for a Democratic Society has called a demonstration in Chicago which will take place from October 8th to October 11th. The demonstration in support of the PRG will demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and all other occupied areas, immediate release of all black and brown prisoners and all other political prisoners, independence for Puerto Rico, and an end to the

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