

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND

SUMMARY DATED 8/20/76

PART # 1

FBI

~~SECRET~~

Classified by

Exempt from GDS, Category

Date of Declassification Indefinite

Date: 8/20/76

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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(Priority)

OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: ACTING SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)
FORMERLY WEATHERMAN
IS-WUO
OO: CHICAGO

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of
a LHM entitled FOREIGN INFLUENCE-WEATHER UNDERGROUND
ORGANIZATION. Enclosed for receiving offices is one copy of LHM.
Two copies of LHM are enclosed for New York.

The basic reference material utilized for this
document is contained within the quarterly reports of STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS, during the period
from 11/8/67 through 5/70 and 4/1/71 and 8/72.

Unless otherwise designated, all data contained
herein is unclassified. The document itself, however,
maintains the classification ~~TOP SECRET~~ because of similarly
classified data contained therein.

ENCLOSURE

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 10)
- 1-Baltimore (Enc. 1)
- 1-Boston (Enc. 1)
- 1-Cincinnati (Enc. 1)
- 1-Cleveland (Enc. 1)
- 1-Detroit (Enc. 1)
- 1-Los Angeles (Enc. 1)
- 2-New York (Enc. 2)
- 1-Portland (Enc. 1)
- 1-St. Louis (Enc. 1)
- 1-San Francisco (Enc. 1)
- 1-Seattle (Enc. 1)
- 1-Chicago

RRG:WED/meb

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SI 109

REC-60

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AUG 25 1976

9/3/76 3 copies
to ANG Pullinger CEO
(Hand delivered to
Narcotic Governor
by SA [redacted] See Bufile
9/10/76 [redacted] [redacted]

AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

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UNCLASSIFIED

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CG 100-40903

ADMINISTRATIVE

Comments of the Chicago Office

Knowledgeable analysts who have followed the growth of Weatherman or as it is now called, the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), are well aware of the foreign influences on the collective thoughts and actions of these revolutionaries who have consistently carried out the Marxist-Leninist conception of armed struggle in the U.S. The WUO investigation is an excellent example of the native born American who adopts the faith of an alien ideology and in behalf of his beliefs commits acts of armed violence, the purposes of which serve to acknowledge his revolutionary obligations to the international communist movement and at the same time create the conditions for revolution in the mother country. The revolutionary who has committed his destiny under the banner of Marxism-Leninism establishes his identity with a world center of revolution (in this instance Havana), develops his fraternal ties with that center and carries out in practice those actions which foster this international relationship. He ceases to be merely "domestic" when he adopts his international identity as a revolutionary. The examples of the leadership of the CPUSA in effectively carrying out the policies and purposes of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, are legion and the enclosed material shows no less the WUO carrying out the policies and purposes of the Vietnamese (DRV and PRG) and the Cuban government.

Foreign influence or control then is not simply a matter confined to those who engage in the tradecraft of gathering hard intelligence. Nor is the revolutionary acting in behalf of a foreign government in the political arena to be classified merely "domestic," the implication being a status of lesser dangerousness. "Witness" by WHITTAKER CHAMBERS provides sufficient evidence as a basis to judge the depth of allegiance between a native born American committed to a revolutionary ideology and his foreign principal--whether it be Moscow, Peking or Havana. It matters not what the target is for the revolutionary--whether gathering hard intelligence or setting bombs to further his international revolutionary commitments--the revolutionary whose actions flow from his faith (ideology) is not constrained by such limiting terminology as "domestic" intelligence. When the WUO initiated, planned and organized the Venceremos

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CG 100-40903

Brigade (VB) trips they did so with the encouragement and instructions of the Cuban government. The question of foreign influence can hardly be ignored when the purposes of the VB trips primarily served the national policy of the Cubans. Likewise when the WUO placed a bomb in the nation's Capitol and then politicalized their action with an underground communique which extolled their international revolutionary identity, the question of foreign influence was sharply brought into focus.

To adequately explain the foreign influences on the adherents of the WUO, this document considered the following questions:

1. What motivated the Weatherpeople? What did they believe in? What center of world revolution did they identify with?
2. What were their international travels and contacts? Did such contacts influence their actions in the U.S? How?
3. During their underground, how did they carry out their commitments? Were their actions international in character? Did they adopt tactics which flowed from the example of a foreign principal?
4. Who are the main adherents of the WUO? What international travel and/or contacts did they have? What did they say about their revolutionary commitment?

The above questions are answered in the enclosed document.



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CG 100-40903

Sources

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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Location

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NY100-155597-53
SF100-47439-49

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See Nonsymbol Source
Administrative Page(NSAP)

CG 100-40903

Sources

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CG T-14
NSAP

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CGT-18
NSAP

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NSAP

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CG100-42603-122
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NY100-156211-91
CG100-47954-40
CG100-47963-1-27
SF100-62217
NY100-168601-1

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CG100-48723-2

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CG100-40903-10958

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CG 100-40903

Sources

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CG100-45568-64p3

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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CG T-31

CG T-32

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CG 100-40903

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CG T-46
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CG 100-40903

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CG T-88

NSAP

CG100-40903

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CG T-101

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CG T-104

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CG 100-40903

Source

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[REDACTED]

CG T-110

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CG T-120
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SF100-47439-54

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CG 100-40903

Source

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NSAP

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CG T-167

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NSAP

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CG T-169

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CG 100-40903

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[redacted] Request)

NY100-148047-3724
NY100-163517
NY100-148047-3728

[redacted] nature of position)

CG100-40903-Sub C,192

[redacted] position)

CG100-45568-1B1

CG T-14
[redacted] CIA (position)

CG T-18
CIA (Nature of agency)

NY100-161843-13
NY105-82227
CG100-45686-458
NY100-165852-44
CG100-44398-158 p.6,7
PD88-6381-48
NY105-42122-638
CG100-50942-157
NY105-42122-638
SF100-57359-603
NY100-163844-16
CG100-47193

BT
B7D

[redacted] Request)

NY100-165681-53
CG100-40903-9094

[redacted] (request-
position)

PHreport SDS 12/18/68

[redacted] Columbus,
Ohio (request-volunteered info)

CIreport SDS 1/3/69

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NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

[REDACTED]

Detroit LHM SDS 3/13/69

Detroit, Michigan
(nature of position)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
(nature of position)

SF100-6432041

CG T-31
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WFO report SDS 3/31/69
SF100-64320-41

Capitol Police, Washington,
D.C. (nature of position)

CG T-32
Operations and Research
Department U.S. Army, Europe

Chicago report SDS 8/8/69

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
San Diego, California (request)

Instant LHM

[REDACTED]
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(request)

PD176-18

[REDACTED]
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(nature of position)

CG100-48751-56

[REDACTED]
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(nature of position)

DE100-35436-82

CG T-46
Daily Report, Latin American NY 100-162256-19
and Western Europe, published CG 100-48905-13
by Foreign Broadcast Informa-
tion Service (nature of report)

DE100-35436-81

[REDACTED]
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61
670

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(request)

NY100-47872-73

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[REDACTED] (Omaha) [REDACTED]

CG T-50
Local Board, Selective Service
System, Brookline, Mass.
(request)

[REDACTED] (Portland) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CG100-40903-10676
(request)

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

B1
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CG100-48030-162
(request)

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CG T-62 NY105-42122-28
Passport Office, U.S. Dept. CG100-40903-13870
of State, Washington, D.C. NY100-165681-42
(Nature of office)

[REDACTED] NY100-170212-46
(request)

[REDACTED] NY105-42122-270
(request)

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NY100-70193-10p3

[redacted] (request)

CG T-68

SF100-47439-54

[redacted] INS, Portland,
Maine (request-nature of position)

SF100-56930-516

[redacted] (request)

CG100-40903-13869

AL100-21108-17

[redacted] Plainfield, Vermont (request)

AL100-21072-30

CG100-48204-81

[redacted] (request)

AL100-21072-27

BS100-40357-2

[redacted] (request)

B1
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[redacted]
Bulet to NY 12/19/69, NY100-159513

CG T-88

CG100-48030-263

[redacted] US INS,
Calais, Maine (request-position)

CG100-40903-13868

[redacted] (request)

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NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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(request)

BS100-45332-7

CG T-108
U.S. Army Intelligence
(nature of position)

NY100-159711-22

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
(request)

[REDACTED]

CG T-110
[REDACTED] Alcohol,
Tobacco and Firearms, U.S.
Treasury Dept. Burlington,
Verlont (request)

BS100-21072-17

[REDACTED]
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New Hampshire (request)

BS100-21072-36

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[REDACTED]
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(request)

CG100-48723

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CG T-118
CIA [REDACTED]

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CG T-120
American Embassy

CG100-40903-13870

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(request)

CG 100-47954-40

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
(request)

NY100-167357-78

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[REDACTED] [REDACTED]
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CG100-40903-5103

[REDACTED]
Ann Arbor,
Michigan (who is affiliated
with another government agency)

[REDACTED] S
[REDACTED]

CG100-40903

[REDACTED]
Dallas, Texas (request)

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CG100-40903-13870

[REDACTED]
(request)

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SF100-57359

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(request)

CG T-150
CIA [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] (Request)

SF100-47439-10

[REDACTED] (request)

SF100-47439-15

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NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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SF100-47439-45

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CG T-162

NY100-163844-95

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CG100-40903-13870

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AL 100-21533-85

Marshfield, Vermont
(nature of position-request)

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B7D

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DN100-9068

(nature of assignment-request)

CG T-169

SF100-76004-2

U.S. Naval Investigative Service (nature of agency)

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[REDACTED]

New York (request)

[REDACTED] (request)

NY100-165681-223
PD100-12705-71

[REDACTED]

PD 100-12705-24

(request)

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
(request)

CG100-40903

[REDACTED]
(request)

CI100-18296-7

CG T-184
INS, Portland, Maine
(nature of agency)

CG100-48030-377

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[REDACTED]

(request)

NY105-45798-411

CG T-188
U.S. Postal
Inspectors Office, Europe
(request)

PD100-1715-111-277

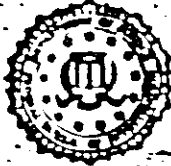
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(request)

CG100-50270-20

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

CG 100-40903

Chicago, Illinois
August 20, 1976

FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WEATHER
UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)

INTRODUCTION

From the moment in October, 1967, when Radio Hanoi announced the formation of the South Vietnamese Peoples Committee for Solidarity with American People (by the National Liberation Front (NLF), the political arm of the Viet Cong) with the objective of establishing relations with "progressive organizations and individuals in the United States," a political front was enjoined in behalf of the national interests of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam (DRV) (and the NLF), the purpose of which was to intensify the anti-war sentiment in the United States. From the initial meeting between the Vietnamese and leading anti-war activists held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in November, 1967, to the July, 1969, meeting with leading Weatherpeople held in Havana, Cuba, the influence of Vietnamese representatives on the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leadership became sharply pronounced. At the same time, the example of the Cuban revolution became the guide for the emerging American student revolutionary. With an increasing number of trips to Havana where the youthful revolutionary could learn at first hand how to create revolution, the influence of Cuba on the developing WUO was enormous.

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~~Exempt from GDS Category 1, 2, 3~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~

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~~Exempt from GDS Category 1, 2, 3~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
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Sources whose identities are
concealed herein have furnished
reliable information in the past
except where otherwise noted.

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ENCLOSURE: 1

FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

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The WUO obtained their revolutionary methodology from the Cubans and Vietnamese and, importantly, put into practice what they had learned from them. The Weathermen, of course, did not just happen to come about during the June, 1969, SDS National Convention. They fully admit their radical heritage began during experiences gained in SDS and as shown herein their international contacts with representatives of the DRV and NLF which began in 1967 increased their anti-imperialist consciousness so that by 1969 they had solidified their revolutionary commitment to include the maximum optimum of armed struggle. So, when Huynh Van Ba, representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam (PRG), instructed the WUO to "look for the person who fights hardest against the cops...Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights," the campus base was forgotten and the WUO began to recruit the greasers and assorted oddments who had displayed their hatred of authority in direct combat with police.

The WUO has existed since early 1970. Since then, their ideological statements have developed a more consistent Marxist-Leninist revolutionary stance, and along with their numerous "underground communiques" which have accompanied significant bombings throughout the country, their statements quite clearly show they continue to consider themselves revolutionaries of an international order. Their revolutionary duty lies side by side with the oppressed Third World peoples and the proletariat of the world. Hence, the international character of the WUO and the foreign influence which shaped that character was early defined and has been a constant frame of reference when considering the investigative problem inherent to the WUO.

A chronology of the WUO follows:

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CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS

1969-1976

(See Section III for Chronology
of Bombings and Underground
Communiques)

June, 1969

The "Action Faction" of the SDS releases a detailed statement of their political ideology in the official SDS newspaper "New Left Notes." This essay concluded with the quotation "You Dont Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows" which gave rise to its adherents being called "Weathermen." (Insofar as the organization founded on the "Weatherman Statement" is now called the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), the term WUO will be used interchangeably with Weatherman throughout this document.)

June 18-22,
1969

The SDS National Convention held in Chicago, Illinois, sees the organization collapse as a student group and the WUO seizing control of the SDS National Office. Henceforth any activity run from the SDS National Office is WUO controlled. (The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) members in SDS attempted to use the SDS name in setting up their own office in Massachusetts.)

July, 1969

BERNARDINE DOHRN, ELEANOR RASKIN, DIANNE DONGHI, PETER CLAPP, DAVID MILLSTONE and DIANA OUGHTON, all representing the WUO, travel to Cuba where they meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese and Cuban governments.

August, 1969

WUO member LINDA SUE EVANS travels to North Vietnam.
WUO activists meet in Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of making final plans for their "National Action" or "Days of Rage" protests scheduled to be held in Chicago in October, 1969.

September 4,
1969

WUO women members from various parts of the country converge on South Hills High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where they run through the school shouting anti-war slogans

FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

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and distributing literature promoting the "National Action." The term "Pittsburgh 26" refers to the 26 women arrested in connection with this incident.

**September 24,
1969**

A group of WUO members become involved in a confrontation with Chicago Police when they refuse to clear a street during a demonstration supporting the "National Action" and protesting the commencement of an Antiriot Act trial against eight individuals charged with initiating the riots in connection with the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

**October 8-11,
1969**

The "Days of Rage" riots occur in Chicago in which 287 WUO members from throughout the country were arrested and a large amount of property damage was done. The four day "National Action" was kicked off by a bombing of the Haymarket police statue on Chicago's nearnorth side. Some of the current underground WUO members became fugitives when they failed to appear for trial in connection with their arrests during these four days.

**December 6,
1969**

The WUO bombs several police vehicles in Chicago to retaliate for the killing of Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders MARK CLARK and FRED HAMPTON on December 4, 1969, by Chicago Police.

**November-
December, 1969**

The first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) departs for Cuba to harvest sugar cane. A small number of WUO members participate in this trip.

**December 27-
31, 1969**

The WUO holds a "War Council" meeting in Flint, Michigan, where they finalize their plans to submerge into an underground status from which they plan to commit strategic acts of sabotage against the government.

**February,
1970**

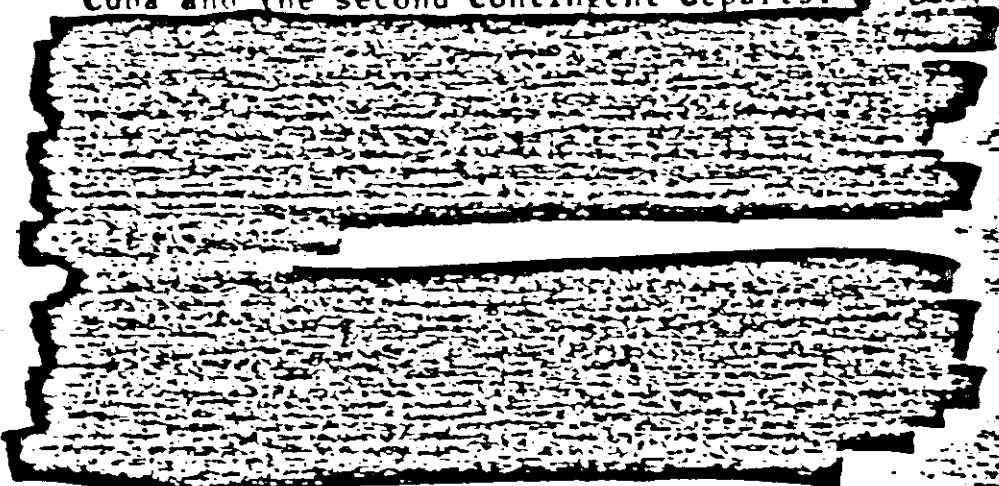
The WUO closed the SDS National Office in Chicago, thusly concluding the major campus based organization of the 1960s.

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FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

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The first contingent of the VB returns from Cuba and the second contingent departs.



By mid-February the bulk of the leading WUO members submerge into an underground status.

March 6, 1970

While one WUO "foco" is preparing to bomb a police facility in Detroit, Michigan, another group blows themselves up when their "bomb factory" located in New York's Greenwich Village accidentally explodes. WUO members THEODORE GOLD, DIANA OUGHTON and TERRY ROBBINS die in this incident.

March, 1970

Several underground WUO members become Federal fugitives when unlawful flight to avoid prosecution warrants are issued in connection with their failure to appear for trials in connection with local cases in Chicago.

March 30, 1970

Chicago Police discover a WUO "bomb factory" on Chicago's north side. A subsequent discovery of a WUO "weapons cache" in a south side Chicago apartment several days later ends WUO activity in the city.

April 2, 1970

A Federal Grand Jury in Chicago returns a number of indictments charging WUO members with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws. Also a number of additional federal warrants charging

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FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

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unlawful flight to avoid prosecution are returned in Chicago based on the failure of WUO members to appear for trial in local cases. (The Antiriot Law charges were later dropped in January, 1974.)

April, 1970

WUO members LINDA SUE EVANS and DIANNE DONGHI are arrested in New York by the FBI.

May 21, 1970

The WUO under BERNARDINE DOHRN's name releases its "Declaration of a State of War" communique. (See Section III)

July 23, 1970

A Federal Grand Jury in Detroit, Michigan, returns indictments against a number of underground WUO members and former WUO members charging violations of various explosives and firearms laws. (These indictments were later dropped in October, 1973.)

September 12, 1970

The WUO carries out the escape from prison in California of LSD promoter Dr. TIMOTHY FRANCIS LEARY. (See Section III)

December, 1970

Fugitive WUO member CAROLINE TANNER, who fled the country for Cuba, is arrested by the FBI in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Fugitive WUO member JUDITH ALICE CLARK is arrested by the FBI in New York.

April, 1971

FBI Agents discover an abandoned WUO "bomb factory" in San Francisco, California. Numerous fingerprints of WUO members are located in this apartment.

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FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

September 19, 1973 Underground WUO member HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER is arrested by the FBI in New York. Released on bond, MACHTINGER again submerges into the underground.

July, 1974 The WUO releases its book "Prairie Fire" in which they indicate the need for a unified Communist Party. They encourage the creation of study groups to discuss their ideology, but continue to stress the need for violent acts. The Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) arises from the teachings in this book and is organized by many former WUO members.

March, 1975 The WUO releases its first edition of a new magazine entitled "Osawatomis."

July 11-13, 1975 The PFOC holds its first national convention during which time they go through the formality of creating a new organization.

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**FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WEATHER
UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)**

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SECTION I

IDEOLOGY

This Section on Ideology deals with the ideas of Weatherman. What did they believe in? Were they influenced by a foreign ideology? What did internationalism mean to them? These questions, which are at the very heart of any understanding of the political revolutionary, are fully explored here.

In analyzing the actions and motivations of any political group, one must always examine the ideology behind the actions; for actions are guided by theory. The confusion inherent in the social fabric of the nation during the 1960s and early 1970s makes a treatment of the political thought which conditioned Weatherman actions difficult and perhaps overlong. Nonetheless, Weatherman (or subsequently the Weather Underground Organization) has struggled to define a revolutionary body of thought which has both the substance of traditional Marxist-Leninist-MAO Tse-tung thought and New Left exceptionalism as educed from their common experiences developed within the Students for a Democratic Society. The theoretician may well find severe contradictions in WUO logic and, of course, the changes in their stated dogma from June, 1969, to the present reveal almost complete reversals in certain aspects of Marxist theory. But two features have remained unchanged which are manifestations of their collective experiences: one, an unremitting commitment to armed struggle as the ultimate necessity to seize state power, and two, an unshakeable faith that imperialism will only be defeated through a world-wide linking up of the revolutionary process. "Revolutionaries," according to the WUO, "are internationalists."

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Contained in Section I is the following:

A. Major Political Statements of the WUO; 1969-1976 Page 3

This material documents the WUO's unchanging belief in armed struggle and the necessity of the international communist movement to guide their struggles to create revolution in the United States. Also included is a commentary on those specific aspects of Marxist-Leninist dogma which relates to their changes of political positions.

B. Internationalism - WUO Statements Which Support the International Communist Movement Page 31

This material sets forth WUO leadership statements relating to their commitment to the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism with a concluding statement showing the direct influence of the Cuban revolution on Weatherman.

C. Influence of the Cuban Revolution Page 46

This material reveals the depth of the influence of "Revolution in the Revolution?" by REGIS DE BRAY on the WUO. Included are statements by confidants of WUO leaders received immediately prior to WUO entering the underground, showing their commitment to DE BRAY's theses of guerrilla action.

D. Influence of Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung Thought Page 55

This material reflects the Weatherman acceptance of the primary contradiction facing the world as established by China; the situation during the 1969 SDS National Convention wherein MAO Tse-tung thought influenced Weatherman.

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IDEOLOGY

**A. MAJOR POLITICAL STATEMENTS OF THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)
Formerly Weatherman; 1969-1976**

Although Weatherman as an identifiable revolutionary group came into being with the issuance of their initial ideological statement in June, 1969, the totality of their experiences, politically and organizationally, are inextricably bound up with the social and political upheavals which faced the country in the late 1960s. Their ideology was formulated amid the confrontations they faced in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the influence upon them from world centers of revolution, Havana, Peking and Hanoi. The concluding days of SDS saw the New Left activist attempting to define a revolutionary youth movement conception, Marxist-Leninist in content, which would relate the experiences of the youth activist in a concrete way to their objective - the destruction of U.S. imperialism.

Among Marxist-Leninists the struggle for ideological clarity is a never ending process and the key political statements of the Weatherman show they are no different from other like minded revolutionary scientific socialists. Briefly, their primary ideological statements are:

- June, 1969: You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows
- May, 1974: Prairie Fire
- Spring, 1975-
Summer, 1976: Osawatomie
- Spring, 1976: Politics in Command

However, regardless of their continued seeking of ideological clarity, the WUO has maintained consistency on several key points. They are:

- 1) The understanding that the primary contradiction facing the world is that between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples of the world, especially Third World people.
- 2) That revolutionaries are internationalists and as such they have a duty and obligation to the international communist movement which "must guide it."
- 3) That armed struggle is the ultimate necessity of the political revolutionary which must be used in order to seize state power and defeat U.S. imperialism.

The WUO has undergone significant ideological changes from the Weatherman during the period from 1969 to 1976. Changes in the balance of forces in the world, the ending of the war in Vietnam, a less abrasive social fabric in the country, a general malaise of the revolutionary left coupled with their own maturing has affected their ideological outlook. These are:

Whereas in 1969 their ideological guide was synonymous with the Cuban revolutionary experience as chronicled by REGIS DE BRAY in "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1975 BERNARDINE DOHRN writes that the foco theory of revolution (DeBrayism) is wrong.

Whereas in 1969 the Weatherman extolled CASTRO's "The duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution," and CHE GUEVARA's "Two, Three, Many Vietnams," in 1976 their formulations relate more closely to the experiences of the Chinese revolution. (It is noted that the caption of their major ideological statement issued in 1974 is "Prairie Fire," which emanates from MAO Tse-tung's "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire.")

Whereas in 1969 the rationale for their activism was related directly to bringing about the cessation of the war in Vietnam and the forces to effectuate this objective in the United States were black, third world and cultural youth forces "outside" the system, in 1976 the WUO although not denying their sympathetic ties to oppressed sectors, now takes a more classical Marxist-Leninist position that the motive force for revolution is the working class.

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Whereas in 1969 the Weatherman denied the necessity for the building of a communist party before engaging in the revolutionary process (DE BRAY), in 1976 the WUO calls for "Politics in Command," and asserts that the building of a true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party is necessary in order to lead the masses. In line with this objective, the WUO in 1976 calls for unity among revolutionary forces as the necessary element in building a vanguard communist party. A further principal element in building a party is the developing of ties with the masses which the WUO now calls for but which in 1969 they denied.

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**You Don't Need a Weatherman To
Know Which Way The Wind Blows**

**"New Left Notes"
June 18, 1969**

This ideological statement, from which the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) derived its name Weatherman, was introduced during the chaotic atmosphere of the June, 1969, National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). At a time when internal struggles were fracturing the organization, Weatherman joined with the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II) (led by National Secretary MIKE KLONSKY) to oust the dogmatic Workers Student Alliance (WSA) faction of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). Weatherman took over leadership of the National Office of SDS through the electoral process at this National Convention: MARK RUDD as National Secretary, JEFF JONES as Inter-Organizational Secretary and BILL AYERS as Educational Secretary. The effective leadership of SDS (including BERNARDINE DOHRN who was elected to the National Interim Committee) from June, 1969, to the closing of its doors in February, 1970, when the Weathermen went underground, was totally Weatherman. Neither PL, who had opened its own "SDS" headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, nor RYM II, who initiated its own separate organization in November, 1969, had any over-all influence in the national policies in SDS after the June, 1969, convention.

The Weatherman ideological statement was never debated within SDS, simply because the Weatherman leadership were so overwhelmingly aggressive as to forestall any critical approach to their ideology. Then, too, the influence of the Cuban revolution and in particular the chronicle of the Cuban experience as revealed in "Revolution in the Revolution?" (see Section: Regis DeBray, "Revolution in the Revolution?") was at this time (1969) pervasive--the intent to go underground and to organize themselves into "focos" in order to carry out actions against the state apparatus was building. It is instructive to note that the initial caption of the Weatherman ideological statement concerns itself with the international character of the revolutionary process:

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*Submitted by Karin Ashley, Bill Avers,
Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs, Jeff Jones,
Gerry Long, Howie Machtinger, Jim Nellen,
Terry Robbins, Mark Rudd and Steve Tappis

I. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION

The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against US imperialism and its lackeys.

--Lin Piao, Long Live the Victory
of People's War!

People ask, what is the nature of the revolution that we talk about? Who will it be made by, and for, and what are its goals and strategy?

The overriding consideration in answering these questions is that the main struggle going on in the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it. This is essential in defining political matters in the whole world: because it is by far the most powerful, every other empire and petty dictator is in the long run dependent on US imperialism, which has unified, allied with, and defended all of the reactionary forces of the whole world. Thus, in considering every other force or phenomenon, from Soviet imperialism or Israeli imperialism to 'workers struggle' in France or Czechoslovakia, we determine who are our friends and who are our enemies according to whether they help US imperialism or fight to defeat it.

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So the very first question people in this country must ask in considering the question of revolution is where they stand in relation to the United States as an oppressor nation, and where they stand in relation to the masses of people throughout the world whom US imperialism is oppressing.

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....

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

VI. INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

What is the strategy of this international revolutionary movement? What are the strategic weaknesses of the imperialists which make it possible for us to win? Revolutionaries around the world are in general agreement on the answer, which Lin Piao describes in the following way:

US imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world,

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including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of domination over the whole world. US imperialism has further weakened itself by occupying so many places in the world, overreaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long.

--Long Live the Victory of
People's War

The strategy which flows from this is what Che called 'creating two, three, many Vietnams'--to mobilize the struggle so sharply in so many places that the imperialists cannot possibly deal with it all. Since it is essential to their interests, they will try to deal with it all, and will be defeated and destroyed in the process.

In defining and implementing this strategy, it is clear that the vanguard (that is, the section of the people who are in the forefront of the struggle and whose class interests and needs define the terms and tasks of the revolution) of the 'American Revolution' is the workers and oppressed peoples of the colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Because of the level of special oppression of black people as a colony, they reflect the interests of the oppressed people of the world from within the borders of the United States; they are part of the Third World and part of the international revolutionary vanguard.

The vanguard role of the Vietnamese and other Third World countries in defeating US imperialism has been clear to our movement for some time. What has not been so clear is the vanguard role black people have played, and

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continue to play, in the development of revolutionary consciousness and struggle within the United States. Criticisms of the black liberation struggle as being 'reactionary' or of black organizations on campus as being conservative or 'racist' very often express this lack of understanding. These ideas are incorrect and must be defeated if a revolutionary movement is going to be built among whites....

...The fact that the Vietnamese are winning weakens the enemy, advancing the possibilities for the black struggle, etc. But it is important for us to understand that the interrelationship is more than this. Black people do not simply 'choose' to intensify their struggle because they want to help the Vietnamese, or because they see that Vietnam heightens the possibilities for struggle here. The existence of any one Vietnam, especially a winning one, spurs on others not only through consciousness and choice, but through need, because it is a political and economic, as well as military, weakening of capitalism, and this means that to compensate, the imperialists are forced to intensify their oppression of other people....

VII. THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT: CLASS ANALYSIS

...We have pointed to the vanguard nature of the black struggle in this country as part of the international struggle against American imperialism, and the impossibility of anything but an international strategy for winning. Any attempt to put forth a strategy which, despite internationalist rhetoric, assumes a purely internal development to the class struggle in this country, is incorrect. The Vietnamese (and the Uruguayans and the Rhodesians) and the blacks and Third World peoples in this country will continue to set the terms for class struggle in America...

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VIII. WHY A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT?

...As imperialism struggles to hold together this decaying social fabric, it inevitably resorts to brute force and authoritarian ideology. People, especially young people, more and more find themselves in the iron grip of authoritarian institutions. Reaction against the pigs or teachers in the schools, welfare pigs or the army, is generalizable and extends beyond the particular repressive institution to the society and the State as a whole. The legitimacy of the State is called into question for the first time in at least 30 years, and the anti-authoritarianism which characterizes the youth rebellion turns into rejection of the State, a refusal to be socialized into American society. Kids used to try to beat the system from inside the army or from inside the schools; now they desert from the army and burn down the schools.

The crisis in imperialism has brought about a breakdown in bourgeois social forms, culture and ideology. The family falls apart, kids leave home, women begin to break out of traditional 'female' and 'mother' roles. There develops a 'generation gap' and a 'youth problem.' Our heroes are no longer struggling businessmen, and we also begin to reject the ideal career of the professional and look to Mao, Che, the Panthers, the Third World, for our models, for motion....

...The point of the revolutionary youth movement strategy is to move from a predominant student elite base to more oppressed (less privileged) working-class youth as a way of deepening and expanding the revolutionary youth movement--not of giving up what we have gained, not giving up our old car for a new Dodge. This is part of a strategy to reach the entire working class to engage in struggle against imperialism; moving from more privileged sections of white working-class youth to more oppressed sections to the

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entire working class as a whole, including importantly what has classically been called the industrial proletariat. But this should not be taken to mean that there is a magic moment, after we reach a certain percentage of the working class, when all of a sudden we become a working-class movement. We are already that if we put forward internationalist proletarian politics....

The above arguments make it clear that it is both important and possible to reach young people wherever they are--not only in the shops, but also in the schools, in the army and in the streets--so as to recruit them to fight on the side of the oppressed peoples of the world. Young people will be part of the International Liberation Army. The necessity to build this International Liberation Army in America leads to certain priorities in practice for the revolutionary youth movement which we should begin to apply this summer....

IX. IMPERIALISM IS THE ISSUE

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletariat of different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various states of development which the struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

--Communist Manifesto

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...In every case, our aim is to raise anti-imperialist and anti-racist consciousness and tie the struggles of working-class youth (and all working people) to the struggles of Third World people, rather than merely joining fights to improve material conditions, even though these fights are certainly justified. This is not to say that we don't take immediate fights seriously, or fight hard in them, but that we are always up front with our politics, knowing that people in the course of struggle are open to a class line, ready to move beyond narrow self-interest....

XIII. THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The RYM must also lead to the effective organization needed to survive and to create another battlefield of the revolution. A revolution is a war; when the Movement in this country can defend itself militarily against total repression it will be part of the revolutionary war.

This will require a cadre organization, effective secrecy, self-reliance among the cadres, and an integrated relationship with the active mass-based Movement. To win a war with an enemy as highly organized and centralized as the imperialists will require a (clandestine) organization of revolutionaries, having also a unified 'general staff' that is, combined at some point with discipline under one centralized leadership. Because war is political, political tasks--the international communist revolution--must guide it. Therefore the centralized organization of revolutionaries must be a political organization as well as military, what is generally called a 'Marxist-Leninist' party....

...These conditions for the development of a revolutionary party in this country are the main 'conditions' for winning. There are two kinds of tasks for us.

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One is the organization of revolutionary collectives within the Movement. Our theory must come from practice, but it can't be developed in isolation. Only a collective pooling of our experiences can develop a thorough understanding of the complex conditions in this country. In the same way, only our collective efforts toward a common plan can adequately test the ideas we develop. The development of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist collective formations which undertake this concrete evaluation and application of the lessons of our work is not just the task of specialists or leaders, but the responsibility of every revolutionary. Just as a collective is necessary to sum up experiences and apply them locally, equally the collective inter-relationship of groups all over the country is necessary to get an accurate view of the whole movement and to apply that in the whole country. Over time, those collectives which prove themselves in practice to have the correct understanding (by the results they get) will contribute toward the creation of a unified revolutionary party.

The most important task for us toward making the revolution, and the work our collectives should engage in, is the creation of a mass revolutionary movement, without which a clandestine revolutionary party will be impossible. A revolutionary mass movement is different from the traditional revisionist mass base of 'sympathizers.' Rather it is akin to the Red Guard in China, based on the full participation and involvement of masses of people in the practice of making revolution; a movement with a full willingness to participate in the violent and illegal struggle. It is a movement diametrically opposed to the elitist idea that only leaders are smart enough or interested enough to accept full revolutionary conclusions. It is a movement built on the basis of faith in the masses of people.

The task of collectives is to create this kind of movement. (The party is not a substitute for it, and in fact is totally dependent on it.) This will be done at this stage principally among youth, through implementing the Revolutionary Youth Movement strategy discussed in this paper. It is practice at this, and not political 'teachings' in the abstract, which will determine the relevance of the political collectives which are formed.

The strategy of the RYM for developing an active mass base, tying the city-wide fights to community and city-wide anti-pig movement, and for building a party eventually out of this motion, fits with the world strategy for winning the revolution, builds a movement oriented toward power, and will become one division of the International Liberation Army, while its battlefields are added to the many Vietnams which will dismember and dispose of US imperialism. Long Live the Victory of People's War!

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**Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary
Anti-Imperialism.**

In May, 1974, the Weather Underground published "Prairie Fire" (PF) which is self-described as the "Political Statement of the Weather Underground," a "strategy for anti-imperialism and revolution inside the U.S." In a letter dated May 9, 1974, which is set forth in the forward to PF, and which bears the names BERNARDINE DOHRN, JEFF JONES and BILL AYERS, the WUO restates their political ideology. In PF the Weatherpeople re-enforce their view that revolutionary violence is necessary; that armed struggle is the primary consideration for the revolutionary. DOHRN, JONES and AYERS call for a "revolutionary communist party" to "lead the struggle" to "give coherence and direction to the fight," to "seize power and build a new society." Expressing the commitment of their international obligations, PF reveals:

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

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

PF is particularly clear on the WUO stand on the need for armed struggle - and where this struggle is to take place:

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We believe that carrying out armed struggle will effect the people's consciousness of the nature of the struggle against the state. By beginning the armed struggle, the awareness of its necessity will be furthered. This is no less true in the U.S. than in other countries throughout the world. Revolutionary action generates revolutionary consciousness; growing consciousness develops revolutionary action. Action teaches the lessons of fighting, and demonstrates that armed struggle is possible.

At this early stage in the armed and clandestine struggle, our forms of combat and confrontation are few and precise. Our organized forces are small, the enemy's forces are huge. We live inside the oppressor nation, particularly suited to urban guerrilla warfare. We are strategically situated in the nerve centers of the international empire, where the institutions and symbols of imperial power are concentrated. The cities will be a major battleground, for the overwhelming majority of people live in the cities; the cities are our terrain.

Further, the necessity for a concrete political explanation of an armed action, e.g., an underground "communique" which accompanies a bombing will continue to be the practice of the WUO. PF states in this regard:

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

In defining their goals, the WUO constantly iterates an action-oriented theme in PF:

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- We have an urgent responsibility: to destroy imperialism from within in order to help free the world and ourselves from its grasp. Without underestimating the difficulties this is our position of strength. We use all the weapons available to us. This necessarily includes mass militant action and guerrilla action to lay the foundation for the decisive armed struggle.

This paper is a strategy for revolutionary anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism defines our struggle and direction, helps us correctly identify our enemy and our friends, and is the necessary basis for advancing our movement. The strategic weak point of empire today is its hold on its external and internal colonies, and it is here that imperialism receives the heaviest blows.

Our final goal is the destruction of imperialism, the seizure of power, and the creation of socialism.

Ideologically, PF internationally identifies the primary contradiction facing revolutionaries in the following light:

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.

PF pays special homage to black liberation struggles as the leading force to bring about revolution. Calling the black nation in the U.S. the "second largest Black nation in the world," PF decries racism as a weapon of the ruling class "deliberately fashioned" to oppress black people. PF envisions the cities of the U.S. as the Third World territory wherein

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urban guerrilla warfare will take place. PF also equates the women's movement in revolutionary terms, stating there is "particular importance in women learning to fight...Women fighters are frightening apparitions to the enemy and examples for us." The WUO continues its line extolling the militancy of women, a feature of the Weatherman from its initiation in 1969.

Finally, PF with its identification of U.S. imperialism as "the enemy of all humankind," restates the goals of the Weatherman Underground as:

Our goal is to attack imperialism's ability to exploit and wage war against all oppressed peoples. Our final goal is the complete destruction of imperialism, the seizure of the means of production and the building of socialism. To create the conditions in which we can take the offensive, destroy the old system and build a new life, we must weaken and at least partly destroy the empire. The weakest points of empire lie in its control of the colonies, and this is why Third World liberation is leading the struggle against imperialism.

Internationalism

Revolutionaries are internationalists. Our job is to build international class consciousness, to make connections among people. A good program must synthesize - not separate - the struggles of Third World peoples with our own: to uncover the relationship between Watergate and the Vietnam War, to nourish our identification with the struggle of Cuban women rather than our distinctness, to find the commonality between the white worker and the unemployed Puerto Rican. A good program mobilizes and teaches.

In their closing statement, the Weatherman Underground restates what they believe to be the key tactic in seizing state power - militant action - in the following way:

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A movement has no reason to exist if it doesn't fight. The system needs to be overthrown; revolutionaries must prepare for that necessity at all points along the way. Revolutionary movements must be contending for power, planning how to contend for power, or recovering from setbacks suffered in contending for power. Certainly every movement must learn to fight correctly, sometimes retreating, sometimes advancing. But fighting the enemy must be its reason for being. We build a fighting movement.

Militancy stirs the imagination and raises the vision of victory. Militancy in a street demonstration, in a courtroom, in a rally, in a prison takeover, is recognized and respected as an uncompromising statement. It is a confrontation with the opposing system. Involving people in militant action trains and teaches. It is both an example and a strategy. Militant action is related to the understanding that the struggle is not merely for separate issues but is ultimately for power - necessarily including armed struggle to defeat the oppressive forces of state.

Thusly, in May, 1974, the WUO emerged from anonymity in the form of "Prairie Fire," to restate their politics of revolution. In substance the line set forth in PF continues to be their basic ideological document: it promotes armed struggle as the necessity to defeat the State although it observes the requirement that mass organization is also a tactic to build the revolutionary movement; it calls for a revolutionary communist party to lead the struggle but fails to outline even minimal tasks which would lead to the formation of such a party; it neither uses the words proletariat or working class but rather once again addresses itself to the counter culture and oppressed sectors of society as the motive forces for revolution.

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"Osawatonic"
1975-1976

The WUO began the publication of "Osawatonic" in the spring of 1975; each issue carries the following self identification:

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in 'Subterranean Homesick Blues,' a popular song in the last decade: 'You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows,' for five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

Calling for unity among the left and asserting that U.S. imperialism has entered a state of decline, the Central Committee of the WUO makes an important assessment of the role of the revolutionary in society - that an identification with the masses is the task of the left and that the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism is essential. The Spring, 1975, issue of "Osawatonic" states:

The immediate task for the left is this:
organize the masses of people against imperialism and for revolution. Pull together friends and comrades, whether three or thirty. Explain the roots of the current economic and social crisis. Fight for jobs and for funds for urgent relief programs. Wealth should be taken from the Pentagon budget and used to rebuild our cities, schools and hospitals.

Revolutionaries must be organizers. Leftists who are uncomfortable on the unemployment line won't lead a march for jobs. Without the

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habit of revolutionary practice among the people, a generation of firebrands will slowly cool into positions of comfortable opposition.

Theory and ideology are important tools, and we should make study of Marxism-Leninism an important part of our work. Marxism-Leninism is a necessary guide for both understanding the contradictions of class society and developing correct revolutionary strategy. How will an organizer know if a particular theory is correct? Practice. Work among the people and learn from them. It is the oppressed and exploited people who understand the wretchedness of this system in detail, and it is the people who will create the ultimate solutions. Waiting to begin until the theory is fully worked out is to create the certainty of failure.

And in the Summer, 1975, issue of "Osawatimie," the Central Committee of the WUO concluded:

We see three urgent and immediate jobs for the revolutionary movement:

First, we must build a revolutionary anti-imperialist and antiracist base among the oppressed and exploited. We must join the struggles of the people, identify with their anger and suffering and develop the full potential of their fight against the state....

Second, we need unity among all the anti-imperialist forces. Without a broad alliance and coming together on a simple and revolutionary basis the anti-imperialist movement will be doomed in ineffectiveness, reapplication of effort, localism and isolation of each of the parts from the whole. Principled unity of revolutionary forces is past due....

Third, we must struggle to build principled working relationships with Black and Third World people and organizations. White revolutionaries have largely cut themselves off from these relationships. Great opportunities exist at this time, waiting to be seized....

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In order to accomplish all these things, we need breakthroughs in developing class analysis, an analysis capable of uniting the many to defeat the few. This is more difficult than repeating general understandings or making vague assertions. This means defining with precision every class and every sector within every class, and how each sector lines up at each stage in the struggle against imperialism. It means being able finally to develop a program which can unite all revolutionary classes and win over or neutralize other classes in order to isolate and defeat the ruling class.

**"Our Class Stand" by
BERNARDINE DOHRN**

The Autumn, 1975, issue of "Osawatonic," a publication of the WUO, carried a lead article by BERNARDINE DOHRN entitled "Our Class Stand." It is characterized as a speech given by DOHRN to a national meeting of WUO cadres on September 2, 1975. It is significant in that for the first time the WUO identifies its revolutionary mission in classical Marxist-Leninist terminology. Not only does DOHRN admit past errors in their collective failure to study Marxism-Leninism but most importantly their stereotyped view of the working class as pro-war, white, hard-hat mistakenly ignored the very class (proletariat) which could successfully overthrow the State apparatus. DOHRN states:

We are building a communist organization to be part of the forces which build a revolutionary communist party to lead the working class to seize power and build socialism. This involves taking responsibility for every aspect of the struggle. This is our direction.

We must further the study of Marxism-Leninism in the WUO. The struggle for Marxism-Leninism is the most significant development in our recent history. Two years ago, when we began organization-wide study of Marxism-Leninism, we were attempting to reorganize

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after a long period of dispersal and fragmentation. We were debilitated, like many forces in the movement, by an ideology of pragmatism....

...When the study finally started, we realized that most members had never studied Marxism-Leninism, and our study has liberated a new spirit in us, a hunger for knowledge and ideology....

The study furthered the unity of the WUO, and enabled us to push forward and write Prairie Fire. We discovered thru our own experiences what revolutionaries all over the world have found -- that Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution, the revolutionary ideology of the working class, our guide to the struggle....

Yet we have to recognize that we have also historically downplayed the role and potential of the US working class;...In seeing only potential errors, we have ignored the historic mission of the working class and failed to energetically pursue our task of forging it into a conscious class, prepared to fight for the interests of the class as a whole. This cautious, one-sided and incorrect view of class struggle is a major weakness. It is wrong.

With hard times gripping the people and crisis everywhere, now is the time to re-examine our political line and shatter some of the stereotypes which still hold us back from organizing the working class to fulfill its historic mission -- the total destruction of US imperialism, the seizure of power, and the building of socialism. The task of revolutionaries is to forge a conscious working class -- militant, dedicated to eradicating racism from its ranks, internationalist, conscious of its own responsibility and power. Organizers must examine their base and their practice. This is a healthy and necessary development. Organizers must be based in the working class and join the people's struggles to get the depression off our backs.

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"Our Class Stand" signified a dramatic departure from past WUO polemics. The developing commitment to Marxism-Leninism as the true science of the revolutionary with the understanding that the working class is the motive force which can bring about revolution placed the WUO in competition with other revolutionary organizations that proffer Marxist-Leninist political views. It also signified a politically deeper, less adventuristic role for the WUO which extolled study, education and propaganda work in cementing their ties to the working class.

In further defining the WUO political outlook, BERNARDINE DOHRN in "Osawatomie," Winter, 1975-76, admits that the "foco" theory of guerrilla warfare which they once embraced is wrong. This admission is, overall, the single most important statement by any WUO leader since they entered the underground in 1970. It rejects DEBRAY's thesis that biology not ideology is the primary factor for successful revolution and, importantly, rejects the Cuban revolution as their guide. In a commentary on the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), DOHRN writes in "Osawatomie," Winter 1975-76 issue:

The SLA and many other guerrilla groups place the military in command of the whole struggle. We once held this position, known as the foco theory, and we believe it is wrong. They hold that leadership of the movement is established through armed action alone, that guerrilla struggle itself politicizes and activates the people. In practice, they evaluate other forces primarily by their support or lack of support for armed struggle. This is wrong.

Armed struggle is an inevitable consequence of the violence of imperialism...The whole apparatus of official force and violence serves the interests of the capitalist class, by enforcing the brutal combat of daily life in class society. This is the nature of society based on exploitation. Armed struggle is necessary to overturn it. The people who suffer under these conditions and those who join them have a right and a duty to take up arms against US imperialism.

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The task of revolutionaries is to organize this spontaneous activity successfully: to organize the working class to seize power and establish socialism. Our goal is revolution, not armed struggle....

Putting politics in command means developing all activity to organize the working class and oppressed people, and to build organization....

Revolution is the work of the masses. Their consciousness and organization is decisive. Only in the practical work of building the class struggle can we develop the guerrilla struggle into popular armed struggle. The working class must be organized and prepared, as well as inspired and challenged. This requires intimate and active participation in peoples' struggles, and cannot be left to someone else or to example alone.

...Organization is the most powerful weapon of the working class. The party is the instrument which is capable of leading the whole fight of the people.

We would disagree with those who would have armed struggle wait for the creation of a leading proletarian party. Armed struggle is established, and as long as imperialism has a hold fighters will rise up against it. The task is to organize it and lead it politically in the service of revolution. Yet we also disagree with those whose strategy is to build an army instead of a party -- who see only armed struggle as strategic, who ridicule the process of developing political analysis and organization, and who abandon the process to the opportunists and dogmatists. We need unified organization, not by declaration, but by the difficult process of building it.

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The spring 1976 issue of "Osawatomic" reveals the continued development of the WUD as a Marxist-Leninist organization, wherein the Central Committee has accepted the tenet of MAO Tse-tung that the present epoch is one of socialist revolution throughout the world. In a much clearer light, they identify their main tasks which indicate their awareness that in order to implement their stated political commitment to Marxism-Leninism the necessity of a disciplined vanguard organization is essential. In the April-May, 1976, issue of "Osawatomic," the Central Committee reported:

The US is an imprisoner of nations, founded on the attempted genocide of Native American people and the theft of Native and Mexicano lands, enriched by the slave labor of Black people and the super-exploited labor of other peoples brought here to build the railroads, dig the mines, and work the fields. The struggles of the Black nation and other oppressed peoples in the US are part of the worldwide movement for national liberation. At the same time these struggles are intertwined with the US class struggle and push forward the working class movement.

This is the era of socialist revolution in the world. In the socialist countries, there is no unemployment, no inflation, no starvation. The entire capitalist world, however, is today shaken by a profound economic crisis, one which reveals all the irrationality and contradictions of capitalism. This is not just a 'business cycle' crisis, it is a crisis of imperialism in decline....

Today the two main tasks of our movement are: 1) To build an anti-imperialist working class movement that can join with the oppressed peoples, overthrow imperialism and establish socialism; and 2) To build a communist party to lead the struggle.

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No Marxist-Leninist denies the necessity of armed struggle. The centrality of the debate on this issue among revolutionaries is primarily that of timing. Should a revolutionary situation not exist, should the masses not be sufficiently antagonized by the ruling class, the carrying out of armed violence is, within the revolutionary left, adventurism. When Weatherman engaged in sabotage and bombings in their early years they were castigated by the communist left not for having engaged in confrontations against the state but rather for engaging in such activity at a time when they had no chance of encouraging a revolutionary situation. In 1976, however, a more mature WUO makes a similar criticism against the SLA, thusly coming to grips with their own early adventuristic failures. The WUO does not reject armed struggle, however. But the WUO of 1976 recognizes that politics comes first; that violence is subsumed within a recognizable revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Their view is summed up in the following document issued in the spring of 1976:

"Politics in Command" by CELIA SOJOURN and BILLY AYERS, Weather Underground Organization

The Necessity of Violent Revolution

There are many on the left who self-righteously condemn all violence of revolutionaries. They are keeping their own hands clean by avoiding the full consequences of revolutionary ideas. For these people, the revolution will happen only some day and hopefully be made by somebody else. But power concedes nothing without a demand. Armed struggle is an extension of political struggle, just as war is politics with bloodshed. Under certain historical conditions political struggle leads necessarily to armed conflict. When a small ruling class maintains itself in power by force and violence, when the masses of people are forced to work and live in brutalized and violent conditions, political struggle both peaceful and violent is the inevitable result.

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Reactionary capitalist violence is criminal: revolutionary violence will bring about the new society. Marxism-Leninism holds that 'the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power.' Marx considered violence as 'the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one.' The capitalist system of private property is protected forcibly by a group of violent, dangerous men. The development of mass revolutionary violence is essential to smash the state of the exploiters and to wrest power from the armed defenders of imperialism.

Politics in Command

'Our job is not only to carry out action -- that is comparatively simple. Our job is to succeed in making a revolution. The guerrillas, like all revolutionaries, bear the responsibility of developing full political strategy, and a mistake in military strategy can be deadly. The stakes are high, not only for the people and organizations carrying out military work, but for the course of the revolution. Ho Chi Minh said, 'a military without politics is like a tree without roots -- useless and dangerous.' That is why we use the slogan 'Politics in Command.'

Our goal is to build communist organization toward the stage where armed struggle becomes a mass phenomenon led by a Marxist-Leninist party: a revolutionary stage. Organization is the strongest resource of the people. Organization unites and builds and means that each day's efforts add up. Organization is made up of individuals but is bigger and longer lasting than any one individual. Individuals are precious but organization is decisive. Only organization allows continuity of experience and leadership, and carries the deeds of the individual fighters beyond themselves into the future....

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The strategic necessity for this period is to mobilize the oppressed and exploited people against US imperialism. Militarily this is the stage of armed propaganda; the test of action is primarily the ability to win the people....

...But revolutionary violence must be specific, comprehensible to the people, and humane. The violence of the revolution must be clearly distinguished to the oppressed and exploited people from the violence of capitalist society. People do not need us to be fearful, or to create chaos. Chaos prevails. Our task is to show the way out of the madness....

...We must never hesitate to fight, but we must never build any mystification about violence. We must be a force of armed militants, not militarists....

We do not condemn violence that originates from the left, just as we do not condemn violence against the state that originates from the working class. The oppressed peoples and the working class have a right and an obligation to develop armed struggle as a means to liberation.

It is a right wing error to argue that only legal forms of struggle are legitimate. For some, no level of mass struggle will justify armed struggle; these are naive and irresponsible people, never ready to raise the question of violence or of the need to fight and ultimately win state power....

...Our revolution will need both open and clandestine movements, legal and illegal struggle, peaceful and armed struggle -- and we will need harmony and organization among all levels of the struggle toward the goal of a revolutionized and fighting people....

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B. INTERNATIONALISM -- WUO STATEMENTS WHICH SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Meaning of Proletarian Internationalism and the Commitment of the WUO, formerly Weatherman, to the International Communist Movement

"Whatever else may be said of them the Weathermen (and women) are true believers. Unless you understand that, you will never understand Weathermen."

Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech
"CUBA: School for US Radicals"
October, 1970: "Chicago Sun Times"

"Because war is political, political tasks--the international communist revolution must guide it."

"You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows"
"New Left Notes," June 18, 1969

Proletarian internationalism is a bedrock concept of Marxism-Leninism which allows for the joining up of the fundamental commonality of the working class and oppressed of all countries regardless of the distinctiveness of their national cultures and traditions. The Leninist slogan "Workers of All Lands and Oppressed Peoples, Unite" embodies the true meaning of Marxism-Leninism. It establishes the universality of its character and, as such, transcends mere geographical borders of nation states. Marx and Engels observed in the "Communist Manifesto" that the national struggles of the proletariat in different countries brings to the fore "the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality." Proletarian internationalism thusly became the key principle of Marxism-Leninism which established its universality. Marxism-Leninism welds together internationalism and revolution, the aim of which is to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the world.

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"Revolutionaries are internationalists. Our job is to build international class consciousness, to make connections among people. A good program must synthesize - not separate - the struggles of Third World peoples with our own; to nourish our identification with the struggle of Cuban woman rather than our distinctness, to find the commonality between the white worker and the unemployed Puerto Rican. A good program mobilizes and teaches."

"Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism"
May, 1974

V. I. Lenin (Collected Works) on developing ties between fraternal revolutionaries called for "the creation of a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan." This feature of Marxism-Leninism teaches that the revolutionary approach is a class question which presupposes international solidarity of the proletariat and thusly merges naturally with national struggles.

"All our actions must flow from our identity as part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Bill Ayers-Michigan SDS

"Hot Town: Summer in the City:
Toward a Revolutionary Youth
Movement," March, 1969

The diversity of interpretation of Marxism-Leninism since the late 1950s led to the creation of three distinct centers of world revolution which were present for the emerging student-youth activist of the 1960s. (See Comments on Regis DeBray "Revolution in the Revolution?") But such diversity has not effected the imperative of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary to identify their national interests in an international sense nor to embrace one of the three centers. Hence, the Weatherman's early affiliation with the Cuban revolution and their continued regard for the Chinese revolution flowed from and enhanced the principle of

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proletarian internationalism even though the international communist movement had suffered a fracturing from a single center, Moscow, to three centers.

"Internationalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Proposal on the Cuban Revolution,"
by Julie Nichamin, Hearings Before
the Subcommittee to Investigate the
Administration of the Internal
Security Act and other Internal
Security Laws of the Committee of
the Judiciary, United States Senate,
Ninety-First Congress, Second
Session, Part 4, June 10, 1970

V. I. Lenin formulated the international and national revolutionary processes as: "Proletarian internationalism in the epoch of imperialism presupposes maximum utilization of the possibilities of revolutionary action opening up before every country." Hence, wherein the dialectics of the national brings about particular advances in the revolutionary process, the dialectics of the international reveals the universal aspects of the world-wide revolutionary process.

In a sense, internationalism is refracted through the lens of national struggles; the revolutionary when dealing with tactical problems in his daily struggles finds his meaning in his identification with international situations.

"Our enemy is U.S. imperialism, the enemy of all humankind. Our goal is to attack imperialism's ability to exploit and wage war against all oppressed peoples. Our final goal is the complete destruction of imperialism, the seizure of the means of production and the building of socialism. To create the conditions in which we can take the offensive, destroy the old system and build a new life, we must weaken and at least partly destroy the empire. The weakest points of empire lies in its control of the colonies, and this is why Third World liberation is leading the struggle against imperialism."

"Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism"
May, 1974

There are, therefore, no national boundaries which constrain the Marxist-Leninist drive toward revolution. By definition the revolutionary who embraces Marxism-Leninism owes his allegiance, loyalty if you will, to the international communist movement. V. I. Lenin said, "A true internationalist must not think of ones own nation, but place above it the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality...he must generally consider the whole and the general and subordinate the particular to the general interest."

The Weatherman move toward armed struggle was distinctly part of their internationalist approach to revolution firstly, because the Vietnamese needed such support and secondly, because they felt the revolutionary consciousness of the American masses would be heightened by the impending victory of the Third World over American imperialism. The National Action called for the fall of 1969 was deemed to be the major effort which would bring to youth a revolutionary class consciousness. The

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opening of another front in the international revolutionary struggle under the slogan "Bring The War Home" would both serve to defeat U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and create the conditions for real revolution in the heart of the "monster."

"I think that the national action has to be seen in the context of a strategy that's going to win, that's going to help the NLF concretely, that's going to build Weatherman, and that's going to build a fighting revolutionary youth movement....

I think people should push out this slogan 'Bring The War Home.' We're not just saying bring the troops home, bring the US troops home and deploy them some place some other time, we're saying bring the war home...

I think people understand how this kind of action at this time, given the whole thing in Paris and the situation the Vietnamese are in now, can concretely aid the Vietnamese. The other thing that people have to get confident about is that we can build a revolutionary youth movement."

Bill Ayers, Educational Secretary,
SDS; National Action Conference,
Cleveland, Ohio, August 29-
September 1, 1969
New Left Notes: September 22, 1969

"Political questions are questions of strategy. Strategy is about winning; about, in this case, smashing US imperialism. The reason white people in this country have to be internationalist is not that it makes us more moral to share our privilege with the people of the world, but it's how we're gonna win, how we will be part of the worldwide resolution of the worldwide contradictions between the oppressed nations and US imperialism.

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The strategy for winning is 'two, three, many Vietnams,' more and more wars of national liberation won by the oppressed peoples of the world.

The way Americans will aid the victory of the people of the world is to materially support these wars of national liberation by helping to create a front in support of black and brown liberation here, and by tearing up in the gut of the monster. Destroying the bureaucracy, the pig army, showing initially that the US not only can't hold together an empire, but can't even hold together white people.

So, in America, the central task of the left is the development of a detachment of the international army. Which primarily means winning the people to the side of the NLF, the black liberation struggle, and moving to armed struggle as soon as possible. For the world revolution is already happening, and every leap in the development of our struggle hastens incredibly the victory of the people of the world. It is in this light that we must look at questions of adventurism, beating the people, and blah blah blah...

The problem is not one of identifying 'political principles,' but one of answering strategic questions. The central question is how is American imperialism being smashed? And from that, where we are now, where do we have to go, how are we going to get there? On the worldwide level it's clear that we are not in a 'pre-revolutionary' stage; we are in the middle of a world war, escalating and opening new fronts every day. It is this world war which will smash

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