



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

May 21, 2021

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.
SUITE 1203
27305 WEST LIVE OAK ROAD
CASTAIC, CA 91384

FOIPA Request No.: 1496188-000
Subject: The Venceremos Brigade

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

The enclosed 776 pages of records were determined to be responsive to your subject and were previously processed and released pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Please see the selected paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request as well as the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- ☒ In an effort to provide you with responsive records as expeditiously as possible, we are releasing documents from previous requests regarding your subject. We consider your request fulfilled. Since we relied on previous results, additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may request an additional search for records. Submit your request by mail to **Initial Processing Operations Unit, 200 Constitution Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, or by fax to (540) 868-4997**. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence.
- ☐ Please be advised that additional records responsive to your subject exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you must advise us that you want the additional records processed. Please submit your response within thirty (30) days by mail to **Initial Processing Operations Unit, 200 Constitution Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, or by fax to (540) 868-4997**. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence. **If we do not receive your decision within thirty (30) days of the date of this notification, your request will be closed.**
- ☒ One or more of the enclosed records were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession.

If this release of the previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may file a FOIPA request with NARA at the following address:

National Archives and Records Administration
Special Access and FOIA
8601 Adelphi Road, Room 5500
College Park, MD 20740-6001

Reference file number 100-HQ-462905 in your correspondence.

- ☐ Records potentially responsive to your request were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), and they were not previously processed pursuant to the FOIA. You may file a request with NARA using the address above.

- ☐ One or more of the enclosed records were destroyed. Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) , Title 44, United States Code, Section 3301 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1228; Title 44, United States Code, Section 3310 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1229.10.
- ☐ Records potentially responsive to your request were destroyed. Since this material could not be reviewed, it is not known if it was responsive to your request. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) according to Title 44 United States Code Section 3301, Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Chapter 12 Sub-chapter B Part 1228, and 36 CFR 1229.10.
- ☐ Documents or information referred to other Government agencies were not included in this release.

Please be advised that "unusual circumstances" apply to the processing of your request. See 5 U.S.C. § 552 (a)(6)(B)(iii). "Unusual circumstances" include one or more of the following scenarios:

There is a need to search for and collect records from field offices and/or other offices that are separate from the FBI Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS).

There is a need to search for, collect, and examine a voluminous amount of separate and distinct records.

There is a need for consultation with another agency or two or more DOJ components.

These "unusual circumstances" will delay our ability to make a determination on your request within 20 days (excluding weekend and legal public holidays). Additionally, the payment of pertinent fees may apply to your request. See 5 U.S.C. § 552 (a)(4)(A)(viii).

The application of "unusual circumstances" is not a determination of how the FBI will respond to your substantive request, this letter provides notice that these "unusual circumstances" apply to processing and delay the determination of your request. See 5 U.S.C. §§ 552 (a)(6)(A)(viii); (a)(6)(B).

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **"Part 1"** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **"Part 2"** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records about yourself or any third party individuals. **"Part 3"** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the www.fbi.gov/foia website under "Contact Us." The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

If you are not satisfied with the Federal Bureau of Investigation's determination in response to this request, you may administratively appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP's website: <https://www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of my response to your request. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at ogis@nara.gov; telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing foipaquestions@fbi.gov. If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Sincerely,


A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "M. G. Seidel", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Michael G. Seidel
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

This document is made available through the declassification efforts
and research of John Greenewald, Jr., creator of:

The Black Vault



The Black Vault is the largest online Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)
document clearinghouse in the world. The research efforts here are
responsible for the declassification of hundreds of thousands of pages
released by the U.S. Government & Military.

Discover the Truth at: **<http://www.theblackvault.com>**

FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.
- (ii) **Intelligence Records.** To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.
- (iii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A standard search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include references, administrative records of previous FOIPA requests, or civil litigation files. For additional information about our record searches, visit www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records.
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private Citizens cannot request a name check.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

5-28-03

DATE: 1/18/71

CLASSIFIED BY SP2 MIT/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-68932) (#970470)

SUBJECT:

VENCEREMOS

IS - RU

OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM 12/22/70 "Revolutionary Union, IS-RU."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies and for recipient offices two copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. Copies of the LHM are being furnished locally to Secret Service, 115th MIG, NISO, 12ND, and OSI, Travis AFB.

b2 Sources in LHM are [redacted] and the b7D has been classified "~~Secret~~" to protect the sensitive identities of these invaluable RU informants. *Not to be used*

As Bureau and recipients will note, the [redacted] group which split from the RU has adopted the name "Venceremos" and it would appear that this group has or will merge with the Chicano Venceremos College in Redwood City. Since the [redacted] group continues to claim adherence to the RU principles as set out in Red Papers I, II and III, this matter will be carried as IS-RU until such time as the new organization has jelled and has developed its own line. b7C

As Bureau will recall in the RU matter, [redacted] and [redacted] advised [redacted] that the [redacted] and San Francisco [redacted]

- ENCLOSURE
- 1 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM) (RRR) (1-100-184369) (RU)
 - 2 - Baltimore (100-27321) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - Boston (100-39275) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - Chicago (105-27305) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - Cleveland (100-29733) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - Detroit (100-35108) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - Jacksonville (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (100-72077) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - New Orleans (100-18491) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - New York (105-100707) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
 - 2 - Philadelphia (100-50645) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
- (CONT. PAGE 2)

1 CC LHM TO RAO, SS, DIA

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SF 100-68932
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- 2 - Portland (105-2834 (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
- 2 - Sacramento (100-1382) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
- 2 - San Diego (100-14321) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
- 2 - Seattle (100-29338) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
- 2 - WFO (100-47757) (Encls. 2) (RM) (RRR)
- 4 - San Francisco
 - (1-100-61281) (RU)
 - (1-100-65241) (VENCEREMOS COLLEGE)

BW/dp
(37)

believes that such a membership warrants opening a separate investigation of Venceremos, to be run in conjunction with RU and Venceremos College investigations. 2
u

For information of Bureau and recipients, Venceremos College is a two-year, accredited college, and is part of the Nairobi College of East Palo Alto, which was established in 1969, following the confrontation of Third World students with the College of San Mateo. [REDACTED]

Venceremos College, [REDACTED] San Mateo College as a [REDACTED] This college, which is primarily for young chicano students, has the stated goal of producing "revolutionary technologists - doctors, lawyers, teachers." It has approximately 100 members composed of students, teachers, staff and administrators. It is located in Redwood City, California, and its activities are primarily in that area. Its members are drawn from throughout the Bay area. [REDACTED] has stated the directors are Marxist-Leninists, and the class which is stressed is the Political Education Class, on Marxism-Leninism. That class is presently studying the book "Five Articles" by Chairman MAO TSE-TUNG. No information has been developed concerning the accumulation of weapons, but one of the courses listed was on "Weaponry." Venceremos College has publicly aligned itself with the RU and they are in contact with the Black Panther Party.

San Francisco will continue to follow this matter and Bureau will be furnished pertinent information as developed.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

January 18, 1971

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP
ON 2/19/85 declass 12/1/84

~~SECRET~~

VENCEREMOS

Retain
6-29-79
CLASS. BY 9803 RDD/ci
EXACER-1000
DATE OF REVIEW 1-18-91

Reference is made to memoranda dated December 22, 1970, at San Francisco and January 7, 1971, at Washington, D.C. captioned "Revolutionary Union."

An article appearing on page 4 of the "Stanford Daily" issue of January 4, 1971, reflects that the group which split from the Revolutionary Union (RU) in the last month has formed a new group called "Venceremos." The text of this article appears hereinafter.

Information concerning the RU is set forth in the appendix. [redacted] b7C

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on [redacted] that on [redacted] b7C b7D

This same source advised on [redacted]

A second source who has provided reliable information in the past, advised on [redacted] that at a meeting [redacted] b7C b7D

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1 - EXCLUDED

FROM AUTOMATIC

DOWNGRADING AND

DECLASSIFICATION

AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 8/31/77

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 2-26-80

~~SECRET~~

VENCEREMOS

This second source advised on [redacted] that

b7C

b7D

[redacted]

This second source advised on [redacted]
[redacted] stated that [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted]

[redacted] according to
this source, that [redacted] Venceremos for
[redacted] the
organization will [redacted] and
advise [redacted]

Revolution

The first source advised on [redacted] that
at a meeting of [redacted] on
the previous day, RU [redacted]

b7C

b7D

[redacted]

On [redacted] the first source made available
a paper captioned, "Against The Brainwash, Part 2; What is
Happening To The United Front Against Imperialism Strategy
For Proletarian Revolution?," which paper source described as
the announcement and explanation of the groupsplitting from
the RU.

b7C

b7D

The following are pertinent excerpts from this paper:

"... the primary contradiction within the
boundaries of the U.S. is the contradiction
between the imperialist mother country and
the internal colonies..."

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VENCEREMOS

"...In the political committee, theory has become primary. Never again will those of us who have learned from this experience allow that situation to go unchecked. Practice is primary. Theory is only primary when practice is being summed up in order to move practice to a higher level. Marxists hold that our social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of our knowledge of the external world."

"The RU has always had a weakness in the matter of summing up practice. Our practice was our main strength (and still is), but recently the failure to sum up practice has become a major problem, especially as the organization became national..."

"...Our main mistake as members of the RU was not recognizing and bringing to the attention of the whole organization the seriousness of some political tendencies long ago. For at this point these tendencies or weaknesses have become primary in the political committee. Look at these tendencies in relation to the five spearheads of struggle and our three principles of unity--dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism, and armed struggle..."

"What happens when we ignore one of the principles of unity? What does that mean in practice? We have paid a lot of attention to the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the principle of democratic centralism, but we have ignored until now the principle of armed struggle."

"The earliest struggle in the history of the RU, back at the time when it was being formed in 1968, was over whether or not being armed should be a condition of membership. The opposition to the policy of everyone owning a gun and knowing how to use it was led by some of the same people who led the opposition to our developing a military strategy now. They raised the same argument then as now: such a policy 'would lead to the early destruction of our organization.' They backed this up with the argument that since the majority of white workers were not in a revolutionary situation, there was no need for such a policy anyhow."

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S E C R E T

VENCEREMOS

We argued that we should be educating the people around the right to keep and bear arms and the need for armed and organized self-defense. The struggle was settled when we pointed out that if the black people already using guns (in Detroit the previous summer, for example) were white, we would not be saying that the situation is not one in which we should be armed. It was agreed that such a view is racist. And in Red Papers 2, which came out in 1969, we wrote:

"A primary manifestation of which chauvinism among revolutionaries is the marked tendency to consider armed struggle the domain of blacks and ideological struggle the domain of whites. Somehow, white skins are assumed to be too valuable to sacrifice to a pig's bullet, while black and brown minds are seen as unable to cope with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. In building the United Front Against Imperialism, white communists must listen to, learn from and engage in struggle with the theoretical contributions of black and brown communists in order that unity will be achieved and leadership of the United Front be consolidated. Further, white revolutionaries must join now with black and brown revolutionaries in armed self-defense and other forms of armed struggle, and to help prepare the masses of people for the eventual culmination of the United Front; armed struggle that will topple once and for all the monopoly capitalists and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"We had the theory, but we didn't as an organization put it into practice. By the time Red Papers 2 came out, we were too large for plenary meetings; so we had an Executive Committee. Its meetings never dealt with the theory of military strategy although we dealt with theory about almost any other aspect of struggle you could think of. Discussions of military strategy were put off on the grounds of security..."

"...Once again (July this year) the comrades who believe in the importance of both theory and practice in the area of armed struggle pushed the issue in the political committee. We argued that the entire organization should be studying Marxist-Leninist

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VENCEREMOS

theory on military questions, and that the upcoming Central Committee meeting should take up the question as a main subject on the agenda. (Rather than the student and youth movement for which we have developed some theory and need summation of practice before developing more theory. In practice, of course, it did turn out that there is more necessity to discuss armed struggle than to discuss the youth and student movement--as anybody at the Central Committee can tell).."

"We believe that armed struggle is always part of the overall political struggle, that the military strategy is part of the political strategy, not separate from it. We believe that politics is always primary. The strategy of armed struggle for state power is also part of the overall political struggle; at the time when we are ready to seize state power, the difference will be that we will have reached the highest form of mass struggle, the period when the masses will be able to seize power through armed struggle.

"Throughout the paper, 'Revolutionary Adventurism or Proletarian Revolution,' Avakian and the other author separate political and military, with ideas like '...the major aspect of our work for some time will still be political, not military.' If they mean legal, not illegal, then we can understand their separation. But the major aspect is never military and not political. The military work of Marxist-Leninists is always extremely political. Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, but Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought always controls the other end of the gun..."

"What we wanted to avoid has happened. Slowly, a bureaucracy has replaced democratic centralism. There has been a process of creeping bureaucratic centralism. Some of us feel that the first outright sign of it was in June at the Central Committee when the Central Committee voted overwhelmingly not to take the struggle about the Panthers 'Marxism-Leninism' back to the collectives. But none of us understood precisely how serious that was, for that vote set a precedent for secrecy.

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S E C R E T

VENCEREMOS

"More and more within the political committee there were discussions which were not to be reported to the local executives, much less to the collectives. At the same time, more and more votes began to be voted by exactly the same group and number. There developed a definite 'majority group' and a definite 'minority group.'

"It is fortunate that the deep differences are being brought out clearly by the dispute around armed struggle. For this is clearly only one part of larger differences and is forcing clarity on all the issues and teaching us all a lot that we will surely never forget!

"Revisionism, we have learned, is clearest on the question of armed struggle, but the differences there lead to differences on the national question, the multinational question, the women question, the question of do we or do we not mean to put into practice the United Front Against Imperialism Strategy..."

"We want to make it clear that we are not leaving the RU over the issue of armed struggle. We are leaving because our practice is blocked. We cannot spend weeks and months submitting to decisions that will make us a counter-revolutionary group. We are leaving because this struggle has made it clear to us that within the RU there is bureaucratic centralism not democratic centralism, that a majority of the political committee cannot bring themselves to recognize the fact that the struggle cannot be controlled by them. They are willing to spend their time expelling, suspending, censuring, talking and writing and talking and writing without serving the people..."

1. Just now the Nixon administration is threatening full-scale resumption of bombing which means a full-scale escalation of the war. We refuse to be a part of an organization that does not respond energetically, at a gut level, to the escalation of a war against the peoples of Southeast Asia. We want to be free to spend our time dealing with the enemy instead of arguing with revisionists and defending ourselves within the RU.

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VENCEREMOS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2. The Black Panther Party is under increasing repression. Bobby Seale needs our work. Ericka Huggins needs our work. Angela Davis needs our work. George Jackson needs our work. We refuse to remain in an organization where the leadership makes criticism of the Black Panther Party primary over support of the Black Panther Party. We want to unite in every possible way with the Black Panther Party.

"...We refuse to be a part of an organization where every single member does not feel that the black people are a nation with all the rights of a nation if they so desire. We believe that Red Papers 2 has the correct line on the national question, and we want to apply that in practice, not PL's line..."

"What We Have Learned..."

"Don't recruit people who do not understand that the black people are a nation. Because if they don't understand that, they really don't understand Aztlan, Puerto Rico, and native Americans either..."

"POWER TO THE PEOPLE! AND DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!

Revolutionary Union of South San Francisco, Redwood City, Menlo Park, Palo Alto, Stanford, Mountain View-Sunnyvale."

Following is the text of the "Stanford Daily" article mentioned previously:

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Best copy available

Revolutionary Union Splits Over Differences In Ideology, Tactics

By BILL EVERS

Lenin told his comrades to "split, split and split again." In the course of the last month, members of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, (RU), a communist group which has been prominent in radical activities in the Stanford area, have followed his advice. Where once there was one RU, there now are two.

The name Revolutionary Union will be retained by the group whose most prominent member is East Bay radical Bob Avakian. A new group called "Venceremos" has been formed which will include the members of the old RU from Stanford, Palo Alto, Redwood City and some from San Francisco, San Jose, and elsewhere. Both groups will be multi-racial, including both whites and non-whites as members.

The differences between the two factions first manifested themselves in a significant way in a debate over the appropriate military strategy for a successful revolution in America. The Venceremos people drafted a position paper which argued that the political consciousness of workers and "Third World" people in America now is similar to that of the Russian proletariat at the time of the 1905 Revolution.

The Avakian group, with the support of the RU collectives in Richmond, Berkeley, and some of the RU membership in San Francisco, San Jose, and other parts of the country, wrote a reply stating that the position adopted by the Venceremos people—that "armed struggle is an actuality now"—is incorrect. The Venceremos group was an intensifying urban guerrilla group ahead in America. The Avakian group was the tail behind for it

as the building of a mass base, which will create an insurrection.

• Revolution When?

Along with these differences on the ripeness of the revolution in America come differing emphases on the condition of ethnic minorities in the U.S. Both groups say "The Black liberation struggle is both a national and a class question." That is, they argue that blacks and other ethnic minorities are oppressed both as members of their race and as members of the working class. But the Venceremos people emphasize the racism aspect.

In the December 30 issue of the Free You, Janet Weiss of Venceremos maintains that "the majority of the top RU leadership in the Bay Area... is saying that if the struggle of Black people is not basically a class struggle, it is not 'correct,' and that Black people must hold off until the majority of white Americans are ready to pick up the gun and fight for socialist revolution."

The Avakian group is less enthusiastic in its support of the Black Panther Party and is reported to have questioned the efficacy of incidents like the Marin County courthouse shoot-out. A member of the Avakian group described the Venceremos people as viewing "black people as a nation almost in a state of total revolt."

Black Nationalism

Members of Venceremos have charged that the Avakian group has been moving away from full support of the right of the black nation to self-determination. This refers to the blacks' right of free secession to form

their own independent government. One member of Venceremos maintains that a member of the Avakian group has questioned "the economic feasibility of a black nation."

In the heat of the dispute, charges of one faction against the other emerged which were not directly related to the original question of military strategy. People in the Avakian group reminded Bruce Franklin of Venceremos of his old job with the Strategic Air Command; Venceremos people pointed out that their group had more women in positions of leadership than the Avakian group did.

Charges and counter-charges arose about the disciplining and purging of an RU collective in San Francisco and of an RU journalist in San Jose. Also, a good deal of antagonism was generated by a decision of the RU leadership (Avakian group) to make Roxanne Dunbar, a nationally prominent figure in the Women's Liberation movement, a secret rather than an open member of the RU. She had been recruited for the RU by the Venceremos faction in Cuba and had intended to go on a recruiting drive in the South to bring collectives into the RU.

A Stanford radical who was with the Worker-Student Alliance and the Progressive Labor Party last year described the split in the RU as a left-right split with the Venceremos people on the right-wing. He considers the Avakian group to have a greater working class orientation. A member of the New Left Project commented that "anti-authoritarian theory leads one to expect that centralized parties will split. It's now two, three, many vanguards."

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The following appeared on page 5 of the December 16, 1970, issue of "Free You", radical weekly newspaper published in Palo Alto, California:

the



right to rebel

Local Cadre Leave the Revolutionary Union

We know that the program of a revolutionary organization at any time is less important than conscientious application to serving the people; to practicing criticism and self-criticism in summing up its work; and to developing a thorough struggle against bourgeois self-interest in membership and leadership, and against opportunism in organizational affairs.

Red Papers 1

Many members of the Revolutionary Union, including the entire membership in the area between San Francisco and San Jose, want to carry out these ideas in our work. We want to advance the line we took in Red Papers 1, 2, and 3. We will not retreat from that line; we will only advance from it.

We support the Black Panther Party and recognize it as the vanguard of the American revolution. We want to unite with the Black Panther Party in every way possible. We recognize that Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans form nations just as much as the Vietnamese do, and we support their national liberation struggles. We consider attacks on them to be attacks on us, and intend to respond to them with guns and our lives. We intend to join with our comrades in Vietnam in response to any escalation of the genocidal war against their people.

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We realize that the U.S. is in a state of developing fascism, and that the only way to keep fascism from being consolidated is to fight it and destroy it.

We believe that armed struggle is an actuality now, not an eventuality.

We believe that the only way to unite the proletariat, the poor and working people, is around the struggles of the most oppressed people, that is, around national liberation struggles.

We base ourselves on the needs of the most oppressed people.

We believe that anybody who's not a pig can be a revolutionary. We will work with anybody and respect them equally.

We believe the militant struggle of women for liberation is one of the main spearheads of the united front against imperialism. We want to participate fully in it. We believe that women's leadership is necessary in a revolutionary organization not just for the sake of mechanical equality, but because women have a quick and material understanding of oppression through their own experience of oppression.

We believe in democratic centralism, not bureaucratic centralism. A revolutionary organization must serve the people; whenever there is any retreat from serving the people, it becomes bureaucratic.

We are Marxist-Leninists because that is the tool through which all oppressed people will win their freedom.

But the RU leadership in some areas has consolidated a revisionist line in the organization. They do not support the Black Panther Party. They base themselves not on the needs of the most oppressed, but on the fully employed factory workers. They believe the U.S. is a "bourgeois democracy," not a developing fascist state. They deny the national liberation struggles of Black and Chicano people, and back off from supporting them concretely. They believe white revolutionaries can wait for armed struggle. They put down the women's movement, and don't develop women's leadership. They don't see Marxism-Leninism as a living tool to serve the people, but as an abstract dogma.

We want to be free to spend our time dealing with the enemy instead of arguing with revisionists and defending ourselves within the RU. Therefore, we have left the RU so we can hold onto the principles of Red Papers 1, 2, and 3, and serve the people, learn from the people, become one with the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!

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The following appeared on page 20 of the December 30, 1970, issue of "Free You", radical weekly newspaper published in Palo Alto, California:

it is

right to rebel

SELF-CRITICISM



by Janet Weiss

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people.

Mao, "Serve the People"

The December 16 issue of the FREE YOU newspaper carried an article which I wrote explaining why the entire Revolutionary Union between San Francisco and San Jose has become an independent organization. After the story appeared, many comrades criticized me for it, pointing out several serious errors. The most basic of these is that the article almost completely leaves out the working class. It only mentions the working class in terms of support for national liberation struggles, and implies that the new organization does not consider "regularly employed factory workers" a part of the proletariat. One would hardly know from this article that the organization exists to serve the needs of the proletariat and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of poor and working people. I think it's important not only to clarify what our position actually is, but to understand why I would write an article with such basic mistakes.

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I became a revolutionary because of the national liberation struggles of the Vietnamese people and the Black nation. As I tried to oppose the Vietnam war, I learned that the problem was the economic system of imperialism, in which capitalism oppresses whole nations. As I tried to fight against racism, I learned that Black people are not just "discriminated against," but are a nation oppressed in the same way Vietnam is.

But as I began to understand imperialism through Marxism-Leninism, what I learned was that the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations of the world is based on the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the owning class, the bourgeoisie, and the working class, the proletariat. That was when I really began to understand the situation within the United States, who the enemy was, who the friends were, and how we could win. I realized that a revolution is necessary before I became a Marxist-Leninist, but Marxism-Leninism showed me that the only form that revolution can take is proletarian revolution. I joined the RU because I agreed with its analysis that the way the American revolution will take place is through the United Front Against Imperialism, by uniting all the people from all classes whose interests are opposed to imperialism, under the leadership of the proletariat. And this means, more particularly, under the leadership of the most advanced sections of the proletariat, which are from the oppressed internal colonies, because they experience a dual form of oppression, national oppression and class oppression.

When we say that national liberation struggles unfold into proletarian revolution, I can see that in a pretty basic way, because that's how my own development took place.

For the last several months, we have been struggling within the RU against the development of a line which is opposed to that analysis. The new line, which is now held by the majority of the top RU leadership in the Bay Area, sees the class question, not the national question, as primary within the U.S. They are developing toward saying that Black people are not a nation; some have already said that "it's an open question." They are saying that for Black people, the class question should be primary, and their struggle must be a part of a proletarian revolution in the U.S. as a whole, instead of supporting the right of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native American people to decide at any time that they want their own nation-state, and organizing people in the mother country to fight for that right. They are saying that if the struggle of Black people is not basically a class struggle, it is not "correct," and that

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Black people must hold off until the majority of white Americans are ready to pick up the gun and fight for socialist revolution. To do this, of course, they must say that the Black people who are already fighting for liberation are not proletarian.

When people say that the class question, not the national question, is primary, they not only don't understand the world situation today, they also don't understand the class question within the U.S. The proponents of the line we were fighting are saying that the proletariat consists only of the employed workers in basic industry. They say these workers are in a different class from the "unemployed masses," who "lack the largeness of mind of the proletariat" and tend to be "destructive." They say revolutionaries must base themselves on the forms of struggle developed by what they understand as the proletariat. What this means is that they refuse to be a part of what are now the most advanced struggles of the proletariat.

We understand the proletariat to consist of the poor and working people in this country. Our job is to unite the proletariat around its class interests--and this means uniting the proletariat from all the nations within the geographical borders of the U.S., uniting the employed proletariat with the unemployed proletariat, uniting women in the proletariat with men in the proletariat, and uniting the proletariat with its class allies. It means uniting them around all the five main spearheads of anti-imperialist struggle in the country now, against imperialist wars of aggression, in support of national liberation struggles within the U.S., against fascism, for the liberation of women, and for the right to a decent standard of living for all people. And it means being willing to fight around all of those spearheads. It certainly does not mean basing an organization only on one section of the proletariat, the regularly employed workers in basic industry, and fighting mainly or only around their immediate economic interests. But to say that doesn't mean we don't base ourselves on those workers; we do.

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The consolidation of this revisionist line within the RU will mean that it is no longer a revolutionary organization. Already the people holding that line are backing off on the commitment to armed struggle now, the RU's firm statement of support for the Black Panther Party, giving concrete support to national liberation struggles, the need to fight against the consolidation of fascism (they say this is unnecessary because the U.S. is not a developing fascist state), and the importance of the liberation of women and the women's movement. This is why we left, because we wanted to be part of a revolutionary organization developing the line of Red Papers 1,2, and 3, and willing to fight around all these issues until the people have all the power.

But the mistake I made would be equally dangerous, and it is one that people from the student movement are very prone to make. In firmly supporting the right of self-determination for oppressed nations, we must never lose sight of the fact that only the united proletariat can lead the fight to liberate all people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE, OFF THE PIG!

the [redacted] the first source advised that at [redacted] during the period [redacted]

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REVOLUTIONARY UNION,
Also Known As
Red Union, Bay Area
Revolutionary Union

In September, 1968, a source advised that the Revolutionary Union, commonly known to its membership as the Red Union (RU), was formed in early 1968 as a covert, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist organization ideologically oriented toward Communist China, which it views as the model of the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line as developed through MAO Tse-tung. The RU advocates the necessity of violent revolution and open guerrilla warfare to overthrow the existing political system in the United States and effect radical changes in this nation, and some members are collecting firearms, explosives, and other weapons and have engaged in guerrilla warfare and firearms training.

b7D [redacted] a second source advised that the RU partially surfaced in April, 1969, through advertisements in select "New Left" periodicals, offering for sale select writings of the RU, including a "Statement of Principles", in the form of "The Red Papers". In "The Red Papers 3", published in April, 1970, the RU publicly identified five members of the Central Committee. With the exception of these five publicly identified members, [redacted]

b7D [redacted] the second source stated the RU [redacted]

The RU's published "Statement of Principles" calls for the smashing of the existing state apparatus by the United States working class and the establishment of communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat; recognizes the necessity of violent revolution and organized armed struggle to achieve those ends and calls for the creation of a revolutionary party based upon Marxism-Leninism as developed through MAO Tse-tung.

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APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

January 18, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title VENCEREMOS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - REVOLUTIONARY UNION

Reference San Francisco letterhead memorandum
dated and captioned as above at San
Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

1 - Mr. A. Rosen
1 - Mr. I.W. Conrad

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Mohr _____
Bishop _____
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Tel _____
Holb2 _____
Gar _____

DATE: 11/4/71

FROM : W. R. Wannall *WRW*

CONF. INFT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-28-03 BY SP2 MLE/HL

SUBJECT: *b2*

SECURITY MAT *b7D* VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO)

1 - Mr. E.S. Miller
1 - Mr. W.R. Wannall
1 - *b7C*

This is to summarize incident whereby *b2*

b7D Venceremos
Organization (VO), California-based, violence-prone
Marxist-Leninist organization.

1 - 100-462905 (VO)

DR:dgo (7) *dgo*
NOV 22 1971

100-462905-34-02201-
NOT RECORDED
98 NOV 18 1971

CONTINUED - OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b2

Memorandum. W.R. Wannall to Mr. E.S. Miller

Re: [redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

b7D

FBI Laboratory has [redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted] anticipates developing a prosecutable case against the VO.

ACTION:

For information.

This matter is being carefully followed, and you will be advised of pertinent developments.

SD/GCM

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

FROM : W. R. Wannall *Wannall*

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO)
IS - VO

1 - Mr. A. Rosen
1 - Mr. C. W. Bates

DATE: 3/28/72

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
1 -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-22-03 BY SP2 mBT/EHL

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CAMPBELL

This is to advise of illegal use of transceivers by violence-prone VO, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization and of our instructions to field relating to evidence of a violation of Federal law.

On 2/29/72 at a VO-sponsored demonstration against former Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard at Palo Alto, California, Special Agents observed VO directing demonstrators by monitoring activities of police radios and relaying instructions to crowd with surplus Government transceivers. Three street units, a mobile unit and a headquarters unit were used. It is anticipated VO may again use radio equipment in connection with scheduled demonstration against Vice President Agnew and Packard, who are scheduled to speak in Palo Alto on 4/8/72 at the California Republican Convention.

Use of this equipment without license is in violation of licensing law under Federal Communications Commission (FCC) jurisdiction, and FCC is investigating. To intercept and divulge to unauthorized parties police broadcasts is violation of Title 47, Section 605, U. S. Code, within jurisdiction of FBI. United States Attorney (USA), San Francisco, has suggested Special Agents witnessing such a violation may arrest on the scene on the basis of probable cause. Because of extreme difficulty in obtaining prosecutive evidence under Section 605, we are requiring field to develop and evaluate evidence and to obtain Bureau authority before referring to USA. This procedure will allow us to make any necessary inquiries of Department and also to obtain warrants or an indictment if a prosecutable violation is developed. It will also avoid a possible incident during a militant demonstration and enable evaluation of evidence under calmer circumstances (coordinated with General Investigative Division).

Enclosure *sent 3-29-72*

100-462905

REC-110

DR:tlp
(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

51 APR 10 1972

6 APR 4 1972

5- Hoffman

Memorandum W. R. Wannall to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Venceremos Organization (VO)
100-462905

ACTION:

That attached airtel be sent to San Francisco advising evidence of violation of Title 47, Section 605, U. S. Code, should be referred to Bureau prior to referring to USA and that arrests should be made only upon the issuance of warrants or an indictment.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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Page 30 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 48 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 49 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 50 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 57 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 78 ~ b2; b7C; b7D;
Page 111 ~ b7D;
Page 112 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 125 ~ b7C; b7D;
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Conrad _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM/DEM*

FROM : A. J. Decker *AD*

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO)
IS - VO

DATE: 5/11/72

1 - Mr. A. Rosen
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
1 - Mr. A. J. Decker
1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

b7C

This is to advise of plans of the violence-prone pro-Chinese Communist VO to "intensify the struggle" through the use of stink bombs, Molotov cocktails, incendiaries and other devices of violence and disruption.

At a demonstration, the Stanford University, Pab Alto, California, on 4/21/72, VO members passed out a leaflet (attached) urging protestors to "pick up the tools of peoples war: the gun, the firebomb, etc. and use them" in response to renewed U. S. action in North Vietnam. The leaflet spells out instructions on devising "spiders" (contruction staples taped together) to puncture the "pigs tires"; stink bombs and liquid to be vaporized with firecrackers or shot with squirt guns; Molotov cocktails to hurl at a "piece of the Empire." With the use of obsenity, additional instructions are detailed forcrippling door locks on the "farm" (campus). University and "pig " cars, and plumbing.

ACTION:

For information. Extensive investigation of this violence-prone Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization is continuing.

Enclosure

100-462905

DR:emj
(6)

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EX-114

REC-37

970470

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/22-03 BY SP2 MET/EHL

MAY 31 1972

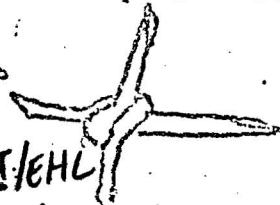
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ENCLOSURE

57 JUN 2 1972

In response to the renewed offensives of the forces of liberation in Indochina, the U.S. Empire has renewed its genocidal bombings of North Vietnam. In fact, the bombings have now reached the highest level in the war. At home, the Man broken up peaceful demonstrations and arrested hundreds of people protesting the renewed bombing. WE MUST INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE. We must pick up the tools of people's war: the gun, the firebomb, etc. and use them. Here are a few tips for intensifying the struggle at Stanford.

SPIDERS: These neat little devices will puncture any pig's tire (or foot). They'll also do in your own tires, so be careful where you use them. To make one, get some heavy construction staples at a hardware store. Hook two together and hold it straight up. Take a pair of Vice Grips and squeeze the upper staple together where its curved real hard. Then pry the ends apart again. Then do the same thing with the other staple. When you're through, it should look like this:
Do whatever re-bending you need to do so that the spider will always have one prong pointing straight up, no matter which way it lands when thrown.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-22-03 BY SP2 MJS/EHL



STINK BOMBS: The easiest is one of those sulphur candles sold by exterminators. But its no hard to cook up a far greater stench on your own with simple, safe ingredients that can all be bought in a garden store: Mix four ounces of sulphur with eight ounces of hydrated lime in a stewpot. Add a quart of water, heat, and stir until sulphur is completely dissolved in the lime. Take it off the fire and let set for a couple of hours. The sulphur and lime will sink to the bottom; pour off the yellow liquid on top and carry it outside, where you add one pound of sulphate of ammonia. Hold your nose, stir for half a minute, cover with Saran wrap and let set for about half an hour. Then pour off the liquid through a cloth filter into a bottle. This brew is a guaranteed hit at any CJP hearing, Academic Council meeting, etc. Just smash a bottle of it, vaporize it with a firecracker, shoot it at Mickey with your sad squirt gun, etc.

INCENDIARIES: Mix the following ingredients and let stand for at least 24 hours in airtight container: gasoline (36 parts by volume), ethyl alcohol (one part by vol.--you can use whiskey or rubbing alcohol perfectly well too), powdered (flake) laundry soap (20 parts for powdered soap, 28 for flake). Don't use detergents; it must say "soap" on the label, like Ivory, Lux, etc. What you're making is primitive jellied gasoline; a match will ignite it (it will NOT explode), and it will stick to anything its thrown against.

Fucking up LOCKS: Here's a foolproof exercise to get your rehab squad into shape for things to come: Run to your local hardware store and get a tube of liquid steel, liquid aluminum, etc. Run back to the Farm and squirt the shit into all the locks in Aero & Astro, for instance. Once the stuff hardens, the lock must be replaced.

FUCKING UP FIG CARS: Once you've slashed the tires, why not put a cup of sugar in the gas tank? When it hits the carburetor, the motor's thoroughly messed up. Many pigs have locked gas caps, but there is still a whole fleet of University vehicles waiting to be hit.

Molotov Cocktails: To make the most famous people's weapon of them all, get a bottle that will break relatively easily when thrown (like, do not use coke bottles!). Fill it with two thirds gasoline and one third oil (which makes it impossible to put out with water, etc.) Twist a piece of cloth real tight and force it into the bottle as stopper-fuse. When the cloth is saturated, ignite and hurl it at the nearest combustible piece of the Empire.

PEOPLE'S FUSE: A beautiful and simple little delay fuse is made by tucking a burning cigarette into a matchbook next to the tips of the matches. Cigarette burns down, matches ignite, and BAMB! Another Dempster Dumpster goes up in flames.

FUCKING UP PLUMBING: Safe, easy and effective: flush a couple of cherry bombs down the toilet.

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

1 - [redacted]

DATE: 6/23/72

1 - Mr. A. J. Decker

1 - [redacted]

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Mr. Armstrong _____
Ms. Herwig _____
Mrs. Neenan _____

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-22-03 BY SP2 MDE/HL

970470

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : A. J. Decker

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO)
INTERNAL SECURITY - VO

This is to secure authority for San Francisco Office to interview members of the pro-Chinese communist VO, as opportunities present, in an effort to deter violent activities of the militant group and also with the objective of developing vitally needed informant coverage.

The VO, a semicovert Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary organization, was formed in December, 1970, when the more violence-prone members of the Revolutionary Union split to form a new organization advocating immediate violence against the establishment. [redacted]

[redacted] the VO advocates immediate attacks upon the "pigs" and the establishment and to this end, its members engage in urban guerrilla warfare and firearms training while accumulating weapons and explosives. The VO is estimated to have a membership of 300 concentrated in northern California.

San Francisco has advised that planned interviews of VO members are difficult to accomplish and time-consuming because of the subculture life style of the members. As the VO has considerable concern regarding informant penetration, interviews of members will lead them to believe they have been infiltrated and thus deter their participation in VO rallies and demonstrations which have erupted into violence.

[redacted] increased interviews will not jeopardize his security. San Francisco anticipates interviews will result in potential security informant development which is vitally needed.

This authority for San Francisco Office to interview VO members, as the opportunity presents, can be accomplished without jeopardy to our investigative and

Enclosure

100-462905

DR: aeh
(5)

REC-26

CONTINUED - OVER

92

Memorandum A. J. Decker to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO)
100-462905

intelligence interests providing the authority excludes faculty members, teachers, high school students and members under age 18. Although by letter dated 5/18/72 San Francisco Office indicated it did not contemplate interviewing VO members who are students at Stanford University, by subsequent telephone call it indicated these interviews would be of value, and we strongly concur. All interviews will be conducted away from campuses and individuals being interviewed will be advised at the outset of the interview that the Bureau has no interest in legitimate campus and academic activities.

ACTION:

That attached letter be sent to San Francisco authorizing it to conduct interviews of VO members, as opportunities present, with the exclusion and provisions noted above. This authority will be for 90 days, at which time San Francisco will be asked to analyze results and to resubmit recommendations.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	CONFIDENTIAL 6/28/72	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/20/71 - 6/13/72
TITLE OF CASE EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION, aka.		REPORT MADE BY [redacted] b7C 710470	TYPED BY kah
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S)		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - VO CLASSIFIED BY SP2MT/LEH DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 5-23-03	
DATE <u>9/22/78</u> REFERENCE: San Francisco report of SA [redacted] dated 7/20/71 at San Francisco		DATE OF REVIEW <u>9/22/78</u> REVIEWED BY <u>ADP CH 212 154</u> TO <u>192-6280-3</u> ACCORDING	
CLASSIFIED BY SP8 BTJ/Buy DECLASSIFY ON: OADR #265,413 ADMINISTRATIVE 7/3/87		b7C CLASS. BY 6383 URT/DP REASON: 1-2.4.2 DATE OF REVIEW <u>6-28-92</u> Reviewed by <u>AC, B, 6-13, 41-50, 65, 99-102, 107, 108 only</u> for appeal <u>85-1883</u>	

This report is classified "Confidential" inasmuch as it contains information from [redacted] and (u) [redacted] the unwarranted disclosure of whose identities would jeopardize the identities of sources of continuing value and would adversely affect national defense interests.

All individuals mentioned in this report as members of Venceremos are under current active investigation by [redacted] office.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
						PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

RECEIVED
MADE
100-462905 (RM)
1-Portland (Info) (RM)
2-115th MIG (RM)
1-NISO, 12ND (RM)
1-OSI, 19D (RM)
1-Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)
3-San Francisco (100-68932)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

EO JUL 3 1972

ST-105

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	1RAO	SS	DIA	State
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				

Notations

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS by 3832
Date of Declassification Indefinite
6/21/78 LLS/KJ NAT

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BW:kah

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Although VO Central Committee members place VO membership as slightly over 300, divided about 50-50 between Caucasian and Third World, it is the general consensus of Special Agents working Venceremos matters and the Intelligence Units of Police Departments on the San Francisco Peninsula that the Third World participation in Venceremos is minimal and that Third World VO membership does not come anywhere near 150 members (u)

Despite the claims that membership is open, it is obvious that there are a goodly number of closed VO members. Bureau will note that with this report, approximately 92 individuals have been publicly identified as members of Venceremos. (u)

The most significant thing developing during the past several months in connection with demonstrations, both at Stanford University (SU) in Palo Alto, and in the Bay Area in general, has been the singular inability of Venceremos to turn out masses of people. Those demonstrations sponsored by the VO, itself, have been small, and despite the violent language of VO, have been remarkably free of violent incidents. (u)

A certain disenchantment with VO has been apparent in the "Stanford Daily" and over KZSU, the Stanford FM radio station. Bureau will note in the details of the report the disenchantment with VO expressed by [redacted]

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Despite its obvious ineffectiveness, to date, in making any real inroads in radicalizing the Peninsula area, there can be no doubt but that Venceremos will continue its efforts in the field of social agitation and its anti-war effort.

It is noted that [redacted] has identified an individual, believed to be [redacted] of the VO,

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During this period, no information has come to the attention of this office indicating subversive activity on the part of [redacted] (u)

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b7C San Francisco is currently engaged in an intensified investigation of [redacted] with the view of determining whether or not [redacted] the VO, and whether or not [redacted], and the Bureau will be kept fully advised of the results of this investigation. (S)(u)

In connection with Venceremos' radio communications network, coverage of demonstrations on the Peninsula have verified the use of handy talkie radios by Venceremos in order to be aware of the activity of the police and in order to direct the demonstrators. In coverage of these demonstrations, the FCC, San Francisco, has cooperated fully and has offered valuable advice to this office in efforts to obtain evidence of Venceremos violations of laws governing radio communications. (S)(u)

b2 It is noted that [redacted]
b7C [redacted] (S)(u)
b7D [redacted]

On 6/5/72 [redacted]
b7C [redacted]
b7D [redacted]

- C -
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INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[redacted] (S)
[redacted] (S) u
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[redacted] utilized to
better conceal this valuable source

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See Nonsymbol Source
Administrative Page

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NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to:

2-115th MIG (RM)
1-NISO, 12ND (RM)
1-OSI, 19D (RM)
1-Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

Report of: b7C

Date: 6/28/72

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #: 100-68932

Bureau File #: 100-462905

Title: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Classified by SP8 BTJ/Bury
Declassify on OADR
7/31/88 # 265,413.

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Synopsis:

The Venceremos Organization (VO) continues to operate on the San Francisco Peninsula. Venceremos headquarters are located at 1969 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, Calif. Identities of members of VO Central Committee set forth. [VO membership at present slightly exceeds 300. Identity of 55 publicly identified members set forth.] VO continues to publish a bi-weekly official newspaper, "Pamoja Venceremos", and the publication of this newspaper is the function of the Ministry of Information. Venceremos organized into collectives and such collectives are located in Mountain View, San Jose, Palo Alto, Stanford University, Menlo Park, Redwood City, South San Francisco, and Oakland, California. No VO collective exists in San Francisco, [redacted] VO [redacted] VO has no organization outside Bay Area, however, VO [redacted] VO continues to espouse Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. Details of [redacted] of VO set forth. Evidence of VO continued belief in the necessity of violent revolution set forth. VO activities in the areas of social agitation set forth.

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Group 1 - Excluded from
automatic downgrading and
declassification

Classified by 3832 2
Exempt from GDS
Date of Declassification 12/11/78 LLS/KJ

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CLASS. BY SP-8 BTJ/Bury
6-13-91-50, 65, 99-100, 107, 108

DATE OF REVIEW

AND

ALL PAGES EXCEPT

RE

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970470
DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 BTJ/Bury
ON 5-23-03

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]
DATE 6/22/78

GSK/SMM

DETAILS:

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I. ORGANIZATION

Formed in December, 1970, the Venceremos Organization (VO), also known as Venceremos, is a militant Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization composed of third world and white revolutionaries operating in the San Francisco Peninsula area. The publicly stated goal of the VO is to build a united front against the imperialist United States Government by force and violence, armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare. The VO has publicly stated that all members must know how to operate and service weapons and have weapons available. (u)

A booklet, "Venceremos Principles of Unity" (hereafter referred to as the VO Red Book), published in December, 1971, by Venceremos Publications, carries in its centerfold a picture of the VO Central Committee (CC), identifying the following individuals as members of the CC: (u)

AARON MANGANIELLO, Chairman
JUAN FLORES, Secretary
KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE, Minister of Information
SAL SIMINEZ
LINDA LOPEZ
JEAN HOBSON
BRUCE FRANKLIN (u)

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According to [redacted]
organizationally outside of the San Francisco Bay Area, [redacted]

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At the present time, the VO is [redacted]

In connection with [redacted]

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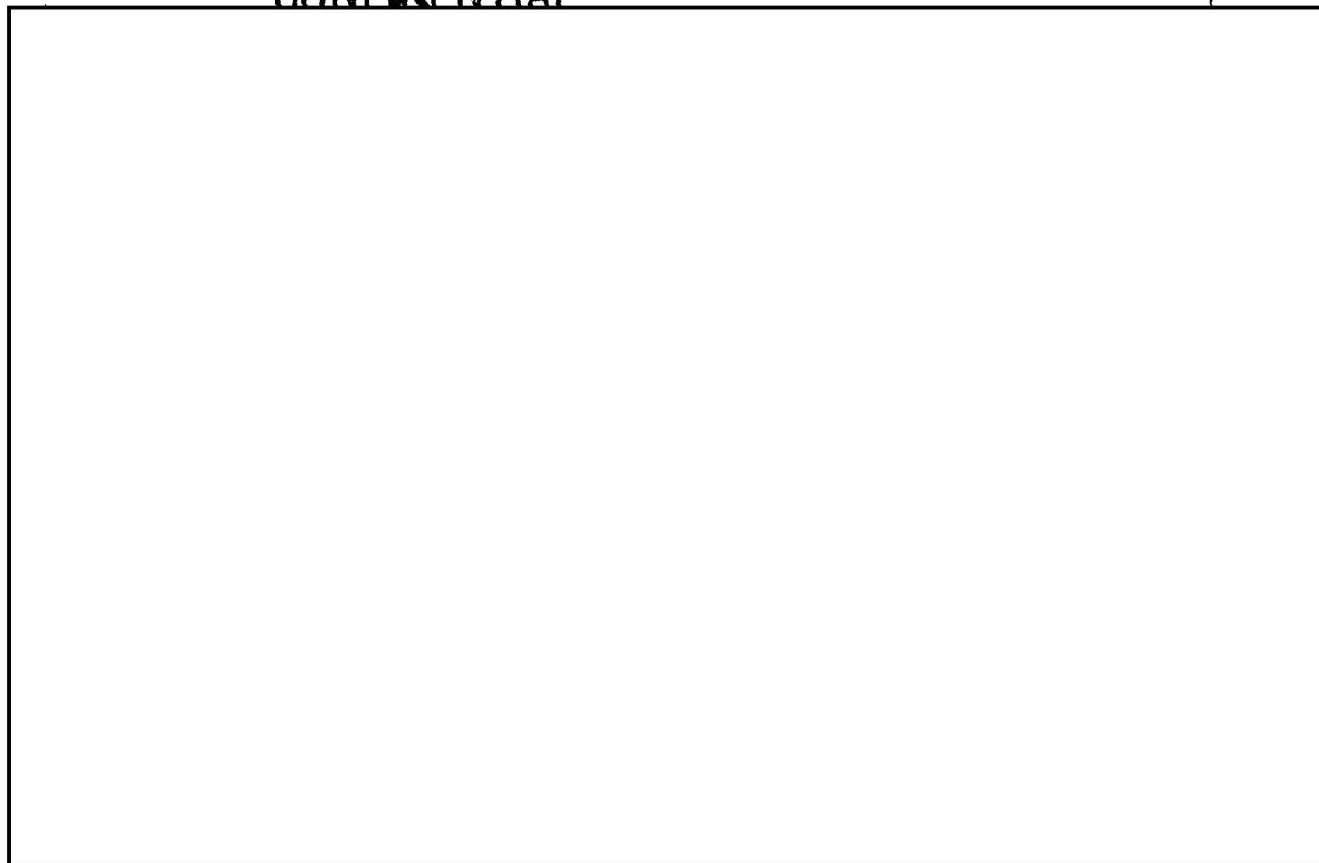
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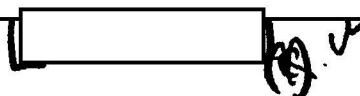
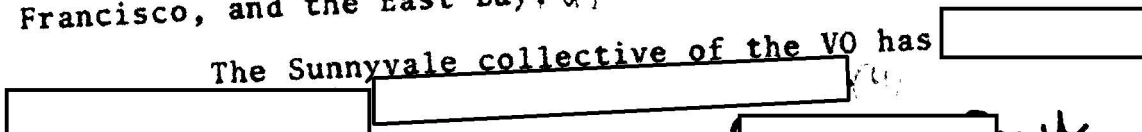
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Articles appearing in the bi-weekly official organ of the VO, "Pamoja Venceremos" ("PV"), reflect that the VO exists organizationally in San Jose, Sunnyvale, Mountain View, Palo Alto, Stanford, Menlo Park, Redwood City, South San Francisco, and the East Bay. (u)

The Sunnyvale collective of the VO has



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At a meeting of the

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[redacted] (S) u

The following individuals are known to be members of the
the [redacted]

[redacted] (u)



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[redacted] (S) u



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At a meeting of the [redacted]

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At this same meeting, [redacted]

[redacted] (S)(u)

At this meeting were [redacted]

[redacted] (u)

[redacted] (S)(u)

As of May 31, 1972, the following individuals have been identified as relating to [redacted] the location of the Oakland collective of the VO: (u)

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[redacted]

II. MEMBERSHIP

[redacted] (u)

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(u) (S)(u) [redacted]

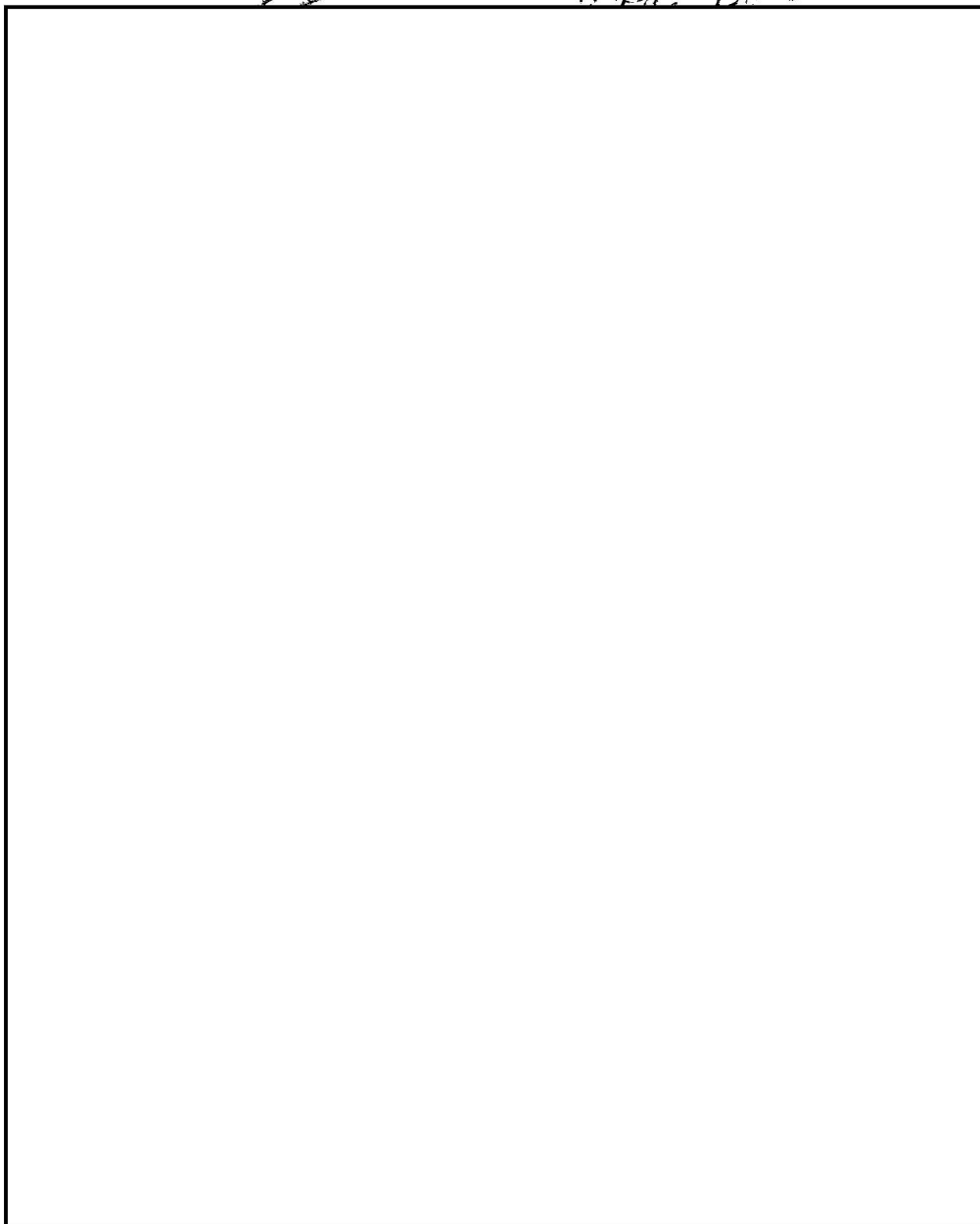
A review of public source materials from July 13, 1971, through May 25, 1972, reflects that the following 55 individuals have been publicly identified as members of the VO. Identifying (u)

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data as determined through investigation has been supplied.
The citation in parenthesis after each name denotes the source: (u)
aka. D.D.

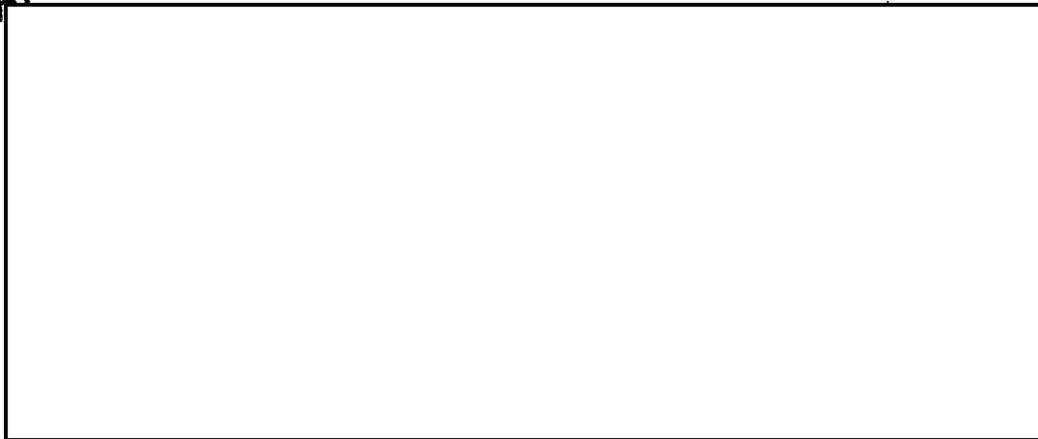


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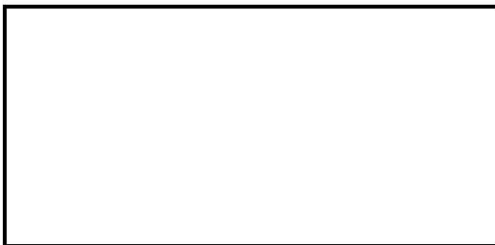


The following individuals are members of the [redacted]
[redacted] collective of the VO. (X)u

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The RU was founded in early 1968 and is a militant, semiclandestine organization. Its objectives, as set out in its publications, are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working-class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. (u)

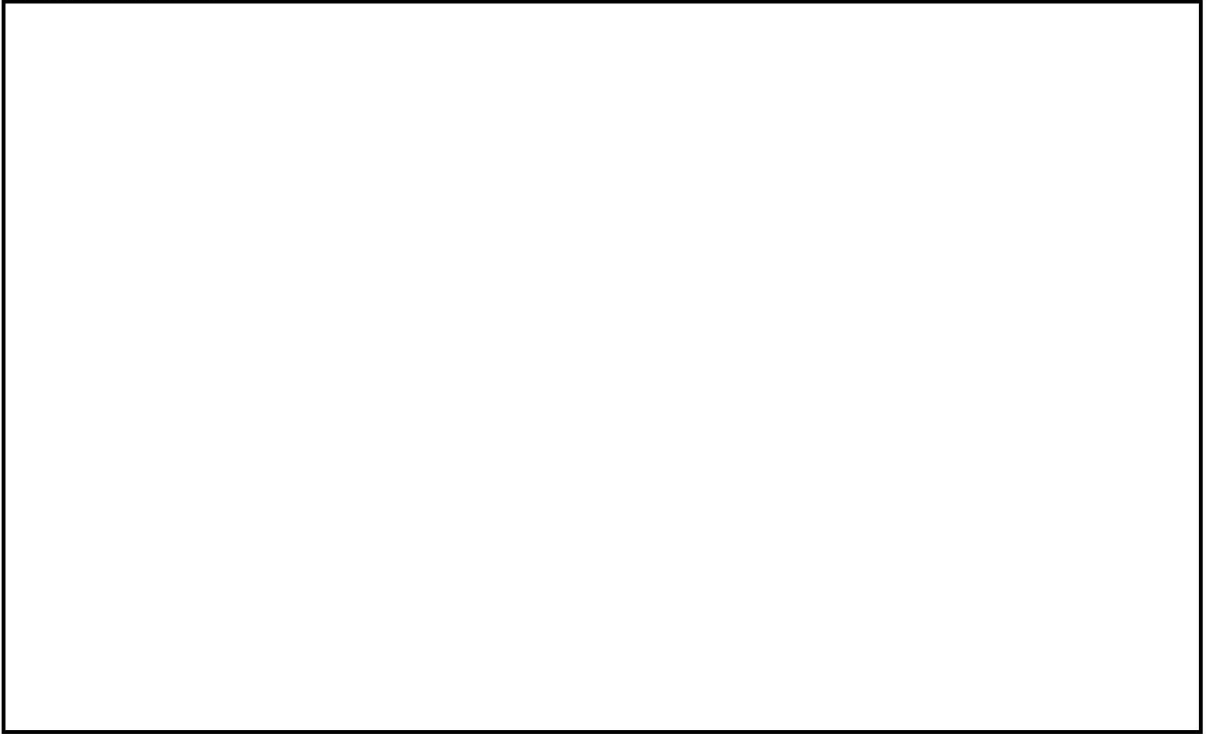
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III. FINANCES



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* [redacted] (S) u

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[REDACTED]

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Additional information concerning VO finances
is set forth below under publications. (u)

IV. PUBLICATIONS

The VO continues to publish the bi-weekly newspaper,

"PV". [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S) u

At an anti-war demonstration held in San Francisco,
California, on April 22, 1972, a pamphlet was distributed
captioned "Our Right to Self Defense; The Case of the Chester
Street Four". This pamphlet deals with four members of the
VO who were arrested in Menlo Park, California. (u)

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[REDACTED] (S) u

[REDACTED] has been publicly identified
in "PV" as a member of the Ministry of
Information of the VO. (u)

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The "Venceremos Principles of Unity" mentioned above reflect that the following additional publications can be ordered from Venceremos Publications, 1969 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, California: (u)

"Guns & Politics"; the revolutionary's gun book

"Against Revisionism; A Defense of the Black Panther Party 1966-1970"

"Free Billy Smith"; the case of a brother in the military accused of fragging an officer.

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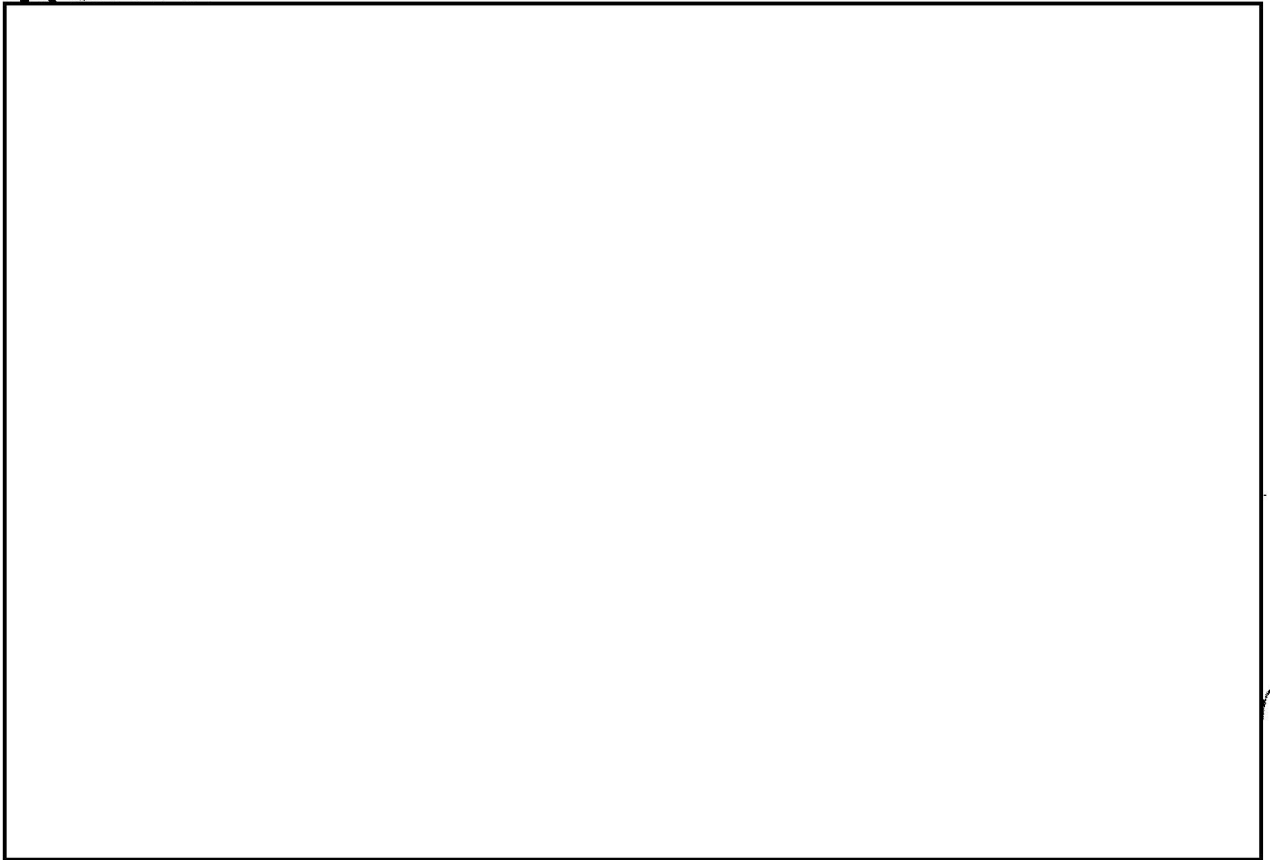
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The above report contains the following:

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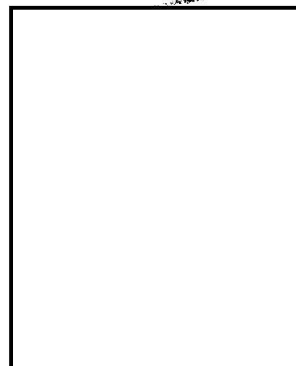
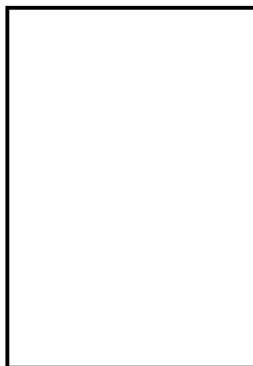


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The following individuals are listed in this report

as



(U) *[Handwritten signature]*
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V. AIMS AND PURPOSES

Set forth on the following pages is the text of the
"Venceremos Principles of Unity":

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VENCEREMOS

Principles of Unity

VENCEREMOS PUBLICATIONS

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PRINTED BY POLICE PUBLICATIONS

(u)

Table of Contents

Introduction

I. National Liberation and International Revolution

II. Power to the People (Dictatorship of the Proletariat)

III. Democratic Centralism

IV. The Liberation of Women

V. Armed Struggle

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Introduction

This booklet contains the Principles of Unity of VENCEREMOS. We believe in these principles and constantly struggle to put them into practice. This takes a continual remoulding of our beings, from victims of U.S. imperialism and all its horrors, to communist women and men.

We are a small organization in the embryonic stages of a protracted war, waged by the peoples of the world, against a monstrous enemy. We have no long history with mounds of experience to speak from, but the significance of VENCEREMOS is that it is a multi-national organization, collectively engaged in day-to-day practice and struggles, bounded by these Principles of Unity. Multi-nationality does not mean that our white comrades from the exploited masses of the oppressor empire represent a separate nation-state, but they are united with and follow the Third World leadership that is guaranteed by our organizational structure.

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We know that the people of the world face a common enemy in U.S. imperialism, and we must use this communion, born from the belly of the oppressor empire, in order to gain final victory and realize the right to self-determination. Particularly here in the mother-country this struggle must begin now because of the thorough bombardment of racism, individualism and chauvinism in all its forms.

"We stand for government by the poor and working people. The revolution and the new socialist society will be led by the proletariat." We feel that the VENCEREMOS Principles of Unity is a working class document. With the experience we do have, we know that poor and working people desire and need a well-disciplined organization, capable of leading the masses to victory. The five Principles (1) National Liberation and International Revolution (2) Dictatorship of the Proletariat (3) Democratic Centralism (4) The Liberation of Women and (5) Armed Struggle,

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together with the five basic demands and ten rules of discipline will help build communist women and men equal to just such a task. And hopefully, they will steer us away from the pitfalls of revisionism which seem to plague the revolution at this time and is our greatest internal enemy.

VENCEREMOS hopes that people reading this booklet will share with us their comments and criticisms in a non-liberal manner. We hope that this booklet is of benefit to the revolution. We realize that conditions are changing constantly and that theories will change as different contradictions arise.

We say love to our revolutionary comrades and All Power to the People. (u)

A. J. Manganiello

Aaron Manganiello
Chairman of the Central Committee
Venceremos
December 3, 1971

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Aaron Manganiello, Chairman of the Central
Committee, Venceremos

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I. National Liberation And International Revolution

We live in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and the oppressed peoples of the world are advancing toward final victory. Today the world proletarian revolution is led by the masses of the Third World -- Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the internal colonies of the U.S. By waging wars of national liberation, the peoples of the Third World advance wave on wave against the imperialist powers, led by the U.S. These anti-imperialist struggles are objectively revolutionary whenever they fight against the main enemies of the people, even if they are not led by the proletariat and do not have socialism as their goal. But they can win liberation for the people only if the proletariat is in firm leadership and only by establishing socialism. (u)

We who live inside the belly of the beast are part of this world revolution against a common enemy: U.S. imperialism. Our duties are fundamentally the same as those of our revolutionary comrades throughout the world. We must engage in any and all forms of struggle against the enemy, we must support all those people engaged in this fight, we must strive for proletarian leadership within the battle and in the establishment of socialism.

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Within the boundaries of the so-called United States, the vanguard force is the peoples of the Third World--Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, Hawaiian, Latino and Native American. The national liberation struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Native Americans are every bit as vital to the victory of the world revolution as the wars of national liberation being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Every oppressed nation within the boundaries of the so-called United States has the absolute right of self-determination. This means simply that they have the right at any time to secede and form a separate nation-state with a government of their own choosing. All revolutionaries, particularly those of the oppressor empire, must lead their own peoples to support this right.

On the other hand, the Third World people within the U.S. are the very heart of the proletariat. They make up by far the largest concentrated groups within the industrial proletariat, the reserve army of the unemployed, and the permanently unemployed masses. So they are not only nations oppressed by the U.S., but also the most exploited sections of the U.S. proletariat. As such they have the ability to lead all the poor and working people of the U.S. in a proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism.

The strategy for the U.S. revolution is basically

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this: U.S. imperialism, surrounded by the peoples of the world, is battered from all sides. In the early stages of its collapse, national liberation struggles emerge within its boundaries. As the collapse speeds up, these national liberation struggles unfold into an overall revolution of poor and working people led by the people of the oppressed internal colonies.

Within the boundaries of the so-called United States, the revolution will be made by an alliance of the oppressed nations and the exploited peoples, bound to each other and to the peoples of the world by their hatred of the common enemy and love for each other. Therefore it is absolutely vital that there be a revolutionary organization representing this unity and capable of providing unified revolutionary leadership. The revolutionary party of the U.S. must be truly **multi-national**, for in fact it will be **inter-national**. It must have real and not fake Third World leadership and it must absolutely guarantee to all oppressed nations the right to self-determination.

VENCEREMOS, as a multi-national organization made up of people representing the oppressed nations and the exploited masses of the oppressor empire, pledges itself to serve as an example of international revolutionary dedication. Third World leadership is guaranteed within our leading body and throughout the organization. We are

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committed, with our lives, to revolution and political power for the poor and working people.

**¡TODO PODER AL PUEBLO!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
¡UNIDOS VENCEREMOS!**

II. Power To The People (Dictatorship of the Proletariat)

We stand for government by the poor and working people. The revolution and the new socialist society will be led by the proletariat, the most oppressed people--Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, poor whites, people on the street, all those who must either sell their labor to live, live off unemployment or welfare, or end up in jail or the army.

The proletariat must lead the rest of the working class and all other people oppressed by U.S. imperialism to overthrow the rich, who now own and control all the institutions of the so-called United States of America, and seize these in-

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stitutions for the people.

Only the dictatorship of the proletariat and its allies can fully satisfy our five basic demands, but we will work to achieve each and every one of them through the day to day struggles of the people:

1. DECENT FOOD, CLOTHING, HOUSING, WORK, FREE MEDICAL CARE, AND GOOD EDUCATION FOR EVERY PERSON IN THE U.S. AND THROUGHOUT ALL THE WORLD.

As the wealthiest country in the world, the U.S. has the resources and capability right now to provide a decent standard of living for all its citizens. The rip-off of the world must end and be replaced by true international solidarity based on restitution of the people's stolen property. Everybody has a right to decent, safe, meaningful work. We will not tolerate a medical system based on profit. We demand an education which exposes the lies and oppression created by this corrupt system, teaches the true heroic history of the oppressed people, and allows each person to develop their full potential. (u)

2. EQUAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN. AN END TO ALL FORMS OF SEXUAL OPPRESSION.

We demand equal pay for equal work, free 24-hour-a-day child care centers, free and non-dis-

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criminatorial education that teaches our true history and the skills we need to determine our own destinies, control of our own bodies, including birth control and free abortion if desired but **excluding** involuntary abortion and compulsory sterilization (genocide).

There must be an end to discrimination within industry, educational institutions, the home, the mass media, and in everyday social life. All forms of sexual oppression must end, including all laws governing sexual practice among consenting people.

3. PEOPLE'S JUSTICE. AN END TO THE TYRANNY BY THE RICH MINORITY OVER THE OPPRESSED MAJORITY OF COLOR AND POOR AND WORKING WHITE PEOPLE.

We believe that trial by a jury of peers means that all trials must be held in the immediate community, and judges and juries be people who live in the community directly.

We want direct community control of police, meaning all police live in the community they patrol and be chosen by the community itself.

We want the mass of people to bear arms, and the police, as servants of the people, not be allowed to bear arms.

We want all Third World, working class people, and youth now imprisoned, to be set free because the overwhelming majority of them have

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not been tried by their peers. They have received only INjustice from this system. Free All Political Prisoners.

The people must smash all the forms of developing fascism, including the gestapo tactical squads, no-knock and conspiracy laws, wiretaps, injunctions, grand juries, Red squads, state and federal anti-subversive committees, and the various brands and varieties of secret police.

4. AN END TO THE DRAFT AND AN END TO A PROFESSIONAL STANDING MILITARY IN THE U.S.

No one should be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not kill other poor and oppressed peoples who, like us, are the victims of U.S. imperialism.

We support the just struggles of American servicemen who are struggling within the military against the oppressor. (u)

To assure freedom and justice in the U.S. and the rest of the world, the revolution must abolish the standing army in the U.S. and create a People's Liberation Army that serves the people.

5. SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLES.

Within the U.S., the Black people, Chicano people, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and the

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people of Hawaii each constitutes an oppressed nation. As such, each of these peoples has the right to self-determination. This includes the right to form a separate nation-state, if they so desire, and to have any and all kinds of self-government that nation-states are entitled to. If any of these peoples chooses to secede from the U.S. empire, we will support their secessionist struggle by all necessary means and with our lives.

There are other oppressed minority peoples-- including Chinese-Americans, Japanese-Americans, Latinos, Eskimos, Filipinos, etc. -- who have the right to control their own communities and are entitled to regional autonomy and full democratic rights. We pledge to support their struggles by all necessary means and with our lives.

III. Democratic Centralism

In order to defeat the dictatorship of the U.S. imperialists and establish the rule of the oppressed masses, the proletariat must have a disciplined fighting organization, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and made up of people who have dedicated their lives to serving the people and making the revolution.

We believe that democratic centralism is the

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most sensible way (and the best way) to insure freedom, while maintaining strong and principled leadership. Under democratic centralism, when a decision is made after struggle and discussion, all cadre must implement it. All cadre, even those who at the point of discussion took the opposing view, must strive to understand, accept, and carry out all decisions made by the organization. This implies that we have more faith and trust in the organization as a whole to reach a correct position than in each of our own individual selves, and it gives the organization the ability to test decisions scientifically.

We accept Chairman Mao's statement on discipline:

(1) the individual is subordinate to the organization.

(2) the minority is subordinate to the majority.

(3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level.

(4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

All cadre must promote unity through principled struggle, not factionalism. It is a violation of democratic centralism to bad mouth an organizational decision, refuse to carry it out, or seek to win over others in an unprincipled manner to oppose the decision. It is essential to the decision-making process to struggle and do criticism within the organization. But cadre must always be

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aware that the organization is endangered if we do not present a strong and unified will to the public and the pigs.

Some situations will call for decisions to be made by those in leadership without consulting cadre ahead of time. Cadre must put trust in leadership and carry out these decisions on the spot. Criticize leadership later, not in the middle of a tense situation.

The leading body of our organization is the Central Committee, which at all times is to have a majority of Third World membership. The Chairman of the Central Committee is Chairman of the whole organization. The Chairman and all members of the Central Committee are subject to recall at any time necessary. Recruitment to the Central Committee is to be based on commitment out of necessity and love to serve the people. Central Committee members must continually show exceptional:

Discipline-- Willingness to accept criticisms and do self-criticism for the betterment of the people, the organization, and one's self. The willingness to give up personal preferences or gratifications for the fulfillment of organizational duties.

Leadership-- Ability and capability to struggle in the position of leading and learning from the people.

Practice (Correct Methods of Work)-- Without

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revolutionary practice, theory becomes invalid. In order to understand which theories are correct, we must apply these theories into practice.

All leading bodies throughout the organization must have a majority of Third World people. If they do not, they cannot make political-policy decisions (this does not refer to day to day work in the various communities).

Ideally, every VENCEREMOS cadre would be so entirely at the service of the people that there would be no need for rules to guide and control our behavior. In reality we are not at that place yet. Already our most advanced comrades have enough self-discipline not to need rules to make sure they are not drunk, drugged, stealing from the people, etc. The time comes in the development of a revolutionary when we don't need weed, we don't need to get drunk at parties, etc. Comrades, we need committed, daring fighters, motivated by a great love for the people. To help develop all cadre in that direction, all cadre are bound by the following rules:

(1) No member will commit any crime against the people and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.

(2) No member will use, point, or fire a weapon unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.

(3) When arrested, VENCEREMOS cadre will

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make no statement, except for name, address, and the information required to fill out the basic arrest form. Legal first aid must be understood by all members.

(4) Members must avoid all non-political arrests--such as for unpaid traffic tickets--because they endanger the organization.

(5) No member can have narcotics or weed in his possession or be under the influence or be drunk while doing political work.

(6) No member may take acid or any psychedelic drug at any time. No member can use speed, downers, cocaine, or any opium derivative unless medically prescribed or authorized. Any member found shooting narcotics will be expelled.

(7) No member can keep any illegal drug in his or her home or car.

(8) Every member will pay dues every month.

(9) VENCEREMOS cadre are always on political assignment to serve the people. Members will be expected to accept dangerous and difficult assignments, such as joining the U.S. military or a local police department, or working in the most miserable conditions that our peoples are subject to.

(10) Every member will be familiar with these Principles of Unity, Program and Rules of VENCEREMOS.

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IV. The Liberation Of Women

Women are rising up all around the world. They are rising up as fighters against U.S. imperialism and against their own oppression as women. Women are a marginal work force, the last hired and some of the first to be fired, especially Third World sisters. They are paid less for doing the same work, and in addition have to spend endless unpaid hours in household drudgery. No matter how hard capitalism forces women to work, they are supposed to appear as weak, emotional, irrational sex objects. This ideal is imposed on all classes.

The men of the ruling class run this society. Within each class, men dominate. This male supremacy exists on all levels of society. Male chauvinism is the attitudes and beliefs that make this male supremacy seem reasonable and natural, even desirable. Male supremacy and male chauvinism can be completely wiped out only after we seize power for all the people. But we can and must overthrow both male chauvinism and male supremacy within our own ranks NOW. We need women to be strong, and we need the leadership of women, who have learned about imperialism through their own oppression. Therefore men should not try to force women back into weaker

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V. Armed Struggle

roles, and if they do they are only aiding the enemy. Women who are not prepared to engage in armed struggle are weak revolutionaries. Men who are not prepared to engage in housework are weak revolutionaries. Men are weak revolutionaries if they do not know how to follow the directives of women leaders. We cannot allow any liberalism toward the examples of male chauvinism and male supremacy we see every day. We can not let them slide by.

The success of this revolution will depend on equal efforts. Women are one half and men the other half. Neither can win without the other. Our Vietnamese sisters have set a vanguard example of women's role in the revolution. They have shown that a strong women's movement is a vital part of the overall struggle towards socialism.

In this country, proletarian women are oppressed both as women and as members of the proletariat. On top of all this, Third World women receive all the same shit that their brothers get in racist amerikkka. So they are becoming the most dedicated fighters leading the struggle against U.S. imperialism right in the belly of the beast.

The right of the people to defend themselves cannot be taken away by anybody. The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution says that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. We believe that an unarmed people are slaves or subject to slavery at any time. Therefore every VENCEREMOS member must learn to operate and service weapons correctly, must have arms available, and must actively teach the oppressed people the importance and methods of armed and organized self-defense.

Furthermore we recognize the right of revolution stated in the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness--That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to

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them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is **their duty, to throw off such government**, and to provide new guards for their future security."

The oppressed people will have power by any means necessary. And every day our rulers teach us one lesson very clearly: Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

We are part of a single world revolution against a common enemy. We do not see that our duties are fundamentally any different from those of our revolutionary sisters and brothers throughout the world.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!
¡LA HORA YA LLEGO!

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Other Publications Include:

PAMOJA VENCEREMOS; a bi-monthly revolutionary newspaper
25¢ per issue; bulk orders available on request

GUNS & POLITICS; the revolutionary's gun book
50¢ per copy; 10-100 copies, 25¢; over 100, 25¢

AGAINST REVISIONISM; A DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY 1966-1970
1-100 copies, 10¢; over 100, 5¢

FREE BILLY SMITH; the case of a brother in the military accused of fragging an officer
postage only

Venceremos Publications
1969 University Avenue
East Palo Alto, California
94303 328-4941

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The following article appeared on page one of the "Stanford Daily", official student newspaper of Stanford University, on November 10, 1971:

Venceremos Stresses 'Centralism'

By KEVIN SMITH

First of a series

(Editor's Note: This article is the beginning of a series detailing certain campus organizations: how they operate, who operates them, who participates in them, and what they do.

Today's article deals with Venceremos—the revolutionary organization whose name in Spanish means "We Will Win!")

Venceremos was formed in the summer of 1970 as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary group. Before that, most of the Venceremos membership had been in the Brown Berets, a militant Chicano organization, fairly inactive now, which operated somewhat along the lines of the Black Panthers.

Aaron Manganiello, now Chairman of the Venceremos Central Committee, was one of the founders of the Brown Berets. Manganiello explained the split by saying, "We began taking a more Marxist, multi-nationalist position. The Brown Berets were becoming anti-Marxist and anti-Third World. They threw us out."

Almost all of the Northern California Brown Beret membership joined Manganiello in the split. Manganiello said that the Brown Berets were not "Third World" because "they said they didn't want anything to do with 'niggers' or even Latins, only with Mexican-born Americans."

Third World

The term "Third World" began chiefly in the writings of Franz Fanon, a black author, who used the term for the underdeveloped countries of the world—those in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—in a book about Third World revolution entitled *The Wretched of the Earth*. Manganiello said that "Third World" as applied inside the United States means "people of color."

Manganiello said that he could not give the size of Venceremos' membership for "security reasons," but did say that Venceremos has grown to one and

one-half times its original size. As of now, Venceremos is a Bay Area organization with branches from San Francisco to San Jose.

A segment of Venceremos used to be a part of a national organization called the Revolutionary Union (RU). This faction thought that the RU was becoming "racist" and "revisionist."

According to senior Don Lee, "They didn't want to struggle. They weren't willing to fight for what they believed in." There was a split with the RU last Christmas. At that time, Venceremos was an all-Chicano organization centered in the Redwood City area which asked the former RU members to join.

Local Section

Bruce Franklin was one of the founders of the RU when, in the fall of 1967, Franklin, his wife Jane, and a few others saw the need for a Communist revolutionary organization. Franklin said, "Our idea was to start a local group which would be a local section of what a party would be if there were a party."

They encountered people from the Richmond area who had similar ideas. The RU started in California and became national in 1970 "when a lot of internal contradictions became much more extreme," according to Franklin.

"The split occurred because," said Franklin, "there was a contradiction on the question of Third World leadership. All had the original agreement that the national liberation struggle would unfold into a proletarian revolution. We felt that they were lowering the importance of nationalism and directing themselves toward white workers."

Principal Contradiction

"Third World people are principal members of the main contradiction. We don't believe that the principal contradiction is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat under the capitalist system. We

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believe that the contradiction is between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations. The white working class is not in the same position . . . there's no real pressure on the white working class to go above the economic relationship."

The people of Franklin's viewpoint became more and more upset that the emphasis within the RU was being placed on white working class leadership rather than Third World leadership. The split came because "it was more and more like two organizations pasted together," said Franklin.

The nationalizing of the organization hastened the split. According to Franklin, "Decisions affecting a small number of people began affecting the whole revolutionary movement."

The RU had been working with Venceremos people for a long time. The RU faction favoring Third World leadership felt that their connection with RU was inhibiting relations with Venceremos. "There were a lot of tensions," Franklin said.

Thus the group that split off from the Revolutionary Union joined Venceremos less than a month after the split.

Venceremos Splits

There was also a split within the Stanford branch of Venceremos last summer. According to an article in the Daily of September 27, "About half of the Stanford campus contingent . . . left the organization this summer and re-emerged as an 'intercommunal' subgroup of the Oakland Black Panther Party." This group is known as the Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) of the Black Panther Party.

The split was between those people (the ISC) who wanted to concentrate on community service projects along the lines of Huey Newton's Black Panthers and those members who felt that the resistance or military aspects of the "fight against imperialism" were primary.

One of the manifestations of this split was that ISC members did not spend time working on behalf of Bruce Franklin during the suspended professor's hearing. They felt that there were more important things to be done, such as fighting to free people on death row.

Central Committee

Two-thirds of the Venceremos Central Committee is Chicano. Venceremos is a Democratic Centralist organization, which means that the members must follow the instructions of the Central Committee, which in turn must be responsive to the people who elect it.

The most important function of the Central Committee is solving problems, the solutions of which lie in correct applications of Marxist, Leninist, and Maoist thought.

The Central Committee's second task is generating the "correct" political position. At a later time, Manganiello feels this will take primary importance.

Manganiello explained that he feels Democratic Centralism is a better system than the most frequently used alternatives: complete dictatorship or complete democracy.

Mao, in an essay entitled "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," explains the concept of a Central Committee further: "(1) The individual is subordinate to the organization; (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority; (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee."

The Committee's followers implement its decision immediately and mandatorily. The people have a form of redress in that they can question and criticize a directive, but it still must be carried out unless the Central Committee decides that the criticisms are valid. Manganiello felt, however, that one of the Black Panthers' faults is that one or two people from above tell everybody what "the line" is.

Unity Principles

There has been some Central Committee turnover. Six to eight people have come and gone from the Committee. Manganiello explained that the Central Committee is not necessarily comprised of the best leaders. It might be more important to have the best leaders in one's own geographic area on the Committee. Each area is represented by at least one member. All of the Committee members are known (open), but there are unknown (closed) members in the organization.

Venceremos has five principles of unity: (1) The dictatorship of the proletariat; (2) Democratic Centralism; (3) Liberation of women; (4) The need for an armed struggle; (5) National liberation and the right of self-determination.

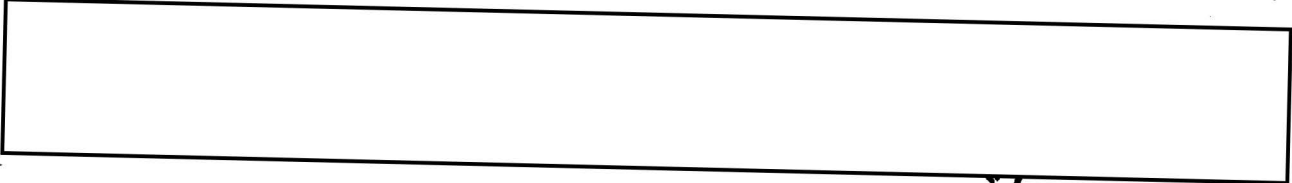
The Venceremos philosophy is perhaps best summed up in the phrase "Power to the People." Members believe that revolution is vital in this country because, in Lee's words, "In this country, there is a ruling class who hold power over not only the people of this country, but also over the people of the world. Russia is also an imperialist country. The People's Republic of China is in fact a People's Republic. We believe that Mao has done a lot to inform the peoples of the world a great deal about conducting a revolution.

"Venceremos and the whole revolutionary movement are growing incredibly rapidly. People are getting more and more tired of the shit they have to put up with every day. The people are realizing that the channels of change held out to them by the ruling class in this country are a joke, a hoax, a fraud. They're saying that it's gonna take a revolution to straighten things out."

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VI. EDUCATION



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1. "On Commitment -- Students and the Revolution" by NILO TAYAG, dated 10-11/71

TAYAG is identified as an imprisoned Filipino revolutionary. In this article "Commitment" is defined as "A form of awakened consciousness,, not simply given to words, but **also** to a continuous and whole-hearted struggle in order to realize our principles".

"Let us reflect on whether we are prepared to sacrifice all our time, not only Saturdays and Sundays, but also the whole 24 hours of the day and the 7 days of the week in order to accomplish our aims. Are we ready to sacrifice our property, and above all, our lives? It is indeed surprising if we would refuse our time and property, while at the same time declining our readiness to sacrifice our lives for the revolution."

2. An 18 page article, "Let Us Uphold the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Proletariat Democracy" -- "Korea Today", Pyongyang #157, 1971 Foreign Languages Publishing House, Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

3. "U. S. Economic Crisis Grows Deeper", Peking Review #51, 12/18/70.

4. "One Divides Into Two" -- "China Reconstructs", Volume 20, #4, 4/19/71, page 27

This article shows that "the law of contradiction in things, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics".

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5. A four page document "Communist League Position on the Lumpen Proletariat"
6. "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" -- Selected works of MAO Tse-tung, Volume 1, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1967
7. "On the Question of Stalin" -- "Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CP SU (II)", Foreign Languages Press, Peking
8. "Revolution Means Solving Contradictions" by LI Kuo-tsai, Peking Review #16, April 16, 1971
9. "Factory Courts" -- V. I. LENIN, Collected Works, Volume IV, 1898 - April, 1901 Second Impression, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964
10. "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)" -- Short course (conclusion) International Publishers, New York, 1939 (S)(u)
11. "The National Question", GEORGE THOMPSON, China Policy Study Group, "Broadsheet", Volume 7, #12, dated 12/70, London
12. "Resolution on the Negro Question in the U. S.", CPUSA, 10/30
13. "Correct Programme for Building a Contingent of Proletariat Intellectuals", Peking Review #12, 3/20/70
14. "Democratic Centralism: Basis of Relations Within the Revolutionary Party", Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Amman, 1969
15. "Theory of 'Combine Two into One' is Reactionary Philosophy for Restoring Capitalism", Peking Review #17, 4/23/71

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16. "On Strikes", V. I. LENIN (Op.Cit.)
17. "Who Transforms Whom? A Comment on Kairov's 'Pedagogy'", Peking Review #10, 3/6/70

This work deals with the class character of education and states in part, "...After seizing political power, the proletariat must turn education, which is an instrument for bourgeois rule, into an instrument for demolishing this rule and for completely eliminating the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes...."

18. "The Proletariat and the Peasantry", GEORGE THOMPSON, Op.Cit.

Set forth on the following pages is the

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VII. EVIDENCE OF BELIEF IN
FORCE AND VIOLENCE

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Armed struggle as one of the Venceremos Principles of Unity has been set forth previously in this report. (u)

[redacted] is a self-admitted former member

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[redacted] in a discussion of Venceremos, stated that the Venceremos is now quite large. He stated that Venceremos advocates armed revolution and guerrilla warfare and believes in eliminating "pigs". In further discussing the violence-prone RU, he described the RU as being pacifists in connection with the VO. (X) (u)

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In connection with the raid on the VO pad at 107 Chester Street, Menlo Park, an article in the "San Mateo Times", a San Mateo, California daily newspaper, on September 22, 1971, reflected that two weeks previously AARON MANGANIELLO, leader, had attended a meeting of the Menlo Park City Council, at which time MANGANIELLO was quoted as saying, "If the Menlo Park City Council and the police want a war here in your backyard, you'll have it." (u)

The "Palo Alto Times", a daily newspaper published in Palo Alto, California, on September 3, 1971, page 1, published an article entitled, "Guns, Bomb Device, Menlo Police Seize Arsenal", which declared in part as follows: (u)

"A bomb timing-triggering device, 10 guns, several thousand rounds of ammunition and reams of revolutionary literature were seized by police at 1 a.m. today at 107 Chester St. in Menlo Park.

"Menlo Park police also arrested Morton Newman, 28, a laborer for a food-liquor manufacturer, and Mrs. Eleanor Kaplan, 29, an assistant professor of psychology at California State College at Hayward.

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"Both were booked for investigation of possessing a bomb triggering device. Newman also was booked for investigation of brandishing a weapon and obstructing an officer.

"Both were to be arraigned this afternoon in San Mateo County Municipal Court in Redwood City.

"Cizanckas gave this account of the seizure and events leading to it:

"On Wednesday at midnight a middleaged couple was walking on the 100 block of Chester and was confronted by four black males who came from 107 Chester. They demanded \$25 from the couple. One of the men threatened the couple with a knife. The two people were released unharmed when it was found they had no money. They reported the attempted robbery.

"Shortly afterward two Menlo Park police officers went to 107 Chester St. to investigate. They were met at the door by a woman who said she was Mrs. Flores. She said she knew the black men but would not discuss the case. A man who identified himself as Newman joined her, armed himself with a shotgun, refused to let police enter and threatened to shoot police if they did.

"Franklin arrived on the scene with 25 persons and demanded an accounting by the officers. The officers left.

CHARGES

"On Thursday, the San Mateo County District Attorney issued misdemeanor warrants against Newman and Mrs. Flores. Both were charged with interfering with an officer. Newman also was charged with brandishing a weapon.

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"Newman was arrested Thursday at 4:30 p.m. at the Menlo Park Police Department when he appeared there to discuss the investigation with police. Franklin and 25 supporters appeared at the station again to demand that police give an accounting.

"On Thursday at 5:30 p.m. police and two deputy district attorneys returned with a search warrant for the shotgun brandished by Newman. At that time they saw the bomb timing device.

"After obtaining another search warrant for the timing device and other possible weapons, police returned at 1 o'clock this morning and seized the arsenal, located in closets.

THREE OTHERS

"Police said they would seek complaints against three other persons who live at the Chester Street address with Mrs. Kaplan and Newman. They are Susan Flores, 27; Geraldine Foote, 20; and Bruce Pollock, 25. —

"Police Chief Victor Cizanckas said he is working closely with state and federal authorities to determine if the group and their associates belong to a paramilitary organization and are in violation of state laws.

"Cizanckas said he has evidence that the residents of the house are either members or supporters of the Black Panther Party and Venceremos, a revolutionary organization in Redwood City and Palo Alto.

"An attempted street holdup of a middle-aged couple triggered a series of events which eventually led to the arms raid, police reported.

"During the investigation leading to the seizure, H. Bruce Franklin and about 25 supporters appeared once at the Chester Street address and again at the Menlo Park Police Department to demand an accounting of the case by police, Cizanckas said.

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"Franklin, an avowed Maoist revolutionary, is an associate professor of English at Stanford University. He was been suspended and the university is seeking to fire him for alleged leadership in campus disruptions last year.

"Police said they seized a sawed-off 12-gauge shotgun, an M-1 carbine, a 22 caliber rifle and two, 30 caliber rifles, four 45 automatic hand guns and a 38 automatic handgun. Also seized were several thousand rounds of ammunition for the guns, telescopic sights, and gun maintenance equipment.

"Thirty books and pamphlets about guerrilla warfare and gun maintenance were seized. They included "Encounter Ambush", published by the Black Panther Party; "Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques" by the Department of the Army and "Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism," by William Pomeroy.

"The bomb detonation device consisted primarily of a battery wired to an alarm clock."

The "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily newspaper published in San Francisco, on September 5, 1971, reported "Gun Cache Suspects Accuse Police" as follows:

"Members of a Menlo Park group arrested during a police search for weapons admitted yesterday they are a well-armed but circumspect revolutionary organization.

"The group, according to an attorney spokesman, will ask San Mateo County District Attorney Keith Sorenson this week to charge police raiders with felony counts of 'malicious procurement of search warrants, armed robbery, and theft.'

"Yesterday, Newman and Aaron Manganiello, chairman of the Menlo Park based Venceremos, left no doubt police were correct in a belief that

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Newman, Mrs. Kaplan, and Mrs. Susan Flores, another resident of the house, are Venceremos members.

"They admitted it to reporters and expressed wonder at why police should look askance at the 10 guns in the home.

"Manganiello quoted from the 'Venceremos Principles of Unity,' which state that every member 'must learn to operate and service weapons correctly and must have arms available...'

"Newman also admitted he had carried a shotgun to the door to confront police and had 'chambered a round' in the weapon.

"But, the laborer added, he had inquired first of the officers whether they had a search warrant."

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[redacted] publicly have identified themselves as members of the Venceremos Party.

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[redacted] has been identified by [redacted] as a member of the Venceremos Party.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

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"Pamoja Venceremos", Number 9, September 10-24, 1971, official publication of the VP, discussed the searches at 107 Chester Street, Menlo Park, and declared in part as follows: (u)

"VENCEREMOS
STATEMENT

Venceremos believes and practices that the people must join together to seize power over our lives. We realize that the present State does not believe in people's power, and we understand that we must organize and defend ourselves. We will not subject ourselves to fascism. We demand that the city government not be a part of fascism reaching into our daily lives through wrecking our environment (Willow Expressway), wasting our money (taxes and assessments for war and useless projects), taking away our jobs, discriminating against Third World peoples, the poor, and the young - and then harassing and jailing us for resisting.

We demand that the Menlo Park City Council see to it that the police recognize the rights of the citizenry. It is clear that the police are trying to convince the people that only the police, and not the people, have rights. (u)

Chief Cizenkas says they're investigating to see if Venceremos is a paramilitary organization, etc. We not only think - we know - that the Menlo Park Police Department is part of a Military Organization that conspires to control the populace all over the world by whatever means they can manage: "peacetime" draft, bombs, napalm, chemical and biological warfare, fascist court systems...."

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"WE DEMAND"

- "(1) We demand that the Menlo Park Police uphold laws already in existence against illegal entry and for our right to defend our homes against such illegal entry.
- (2) We demand that the police be disarmed because they should not be allowed to brandish their guns in attempt to gain illegal entry (not to mention their other threats to basic rights and life).
- (3) We demand that the police give receipts at the time of search for all property taken from the people.
- (4) We demand that the police provide on-the-spot information about legal rights in cases of search and arrest. They must first carefully state the conditions which allow search and arrest before any action is taken.
- (5) We demand an end to police propaganda aimed at disarming the people by convincing people that it is illegal to own guns, that it is illegal to own a shotgun sawed off to a legal length, etc.
- (6) We demand an end to police censorship--propaganda that tries to scare people by convincing us that it is illegal to own legal revolutionary and leftist (not to mention other) literature. We have all our lives been denied the truth (see the Pentagon papers). We demand recognition of our right to knowledge, past and present.
- (7) We demand an end to political-economic arrests. These include all arrests based on race, income, and politics. Arrests around vague terms like "paramilitary" and "conspiracy" do not hold up even in our court system and are only a means of harassment and punishment for beliefs not popular among the ruling elite.

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- (8) We demand an investigation into the racist practices of the Menlo Park Police Force. Why are black people always suspect on the west side of Bayshore Freeway?
- (9) We demand that we be allowed to be present and observe during any and all searches of our property.
- (10) We demand that people be allowed to call legal observers before a search begins (including searches of cars stopped on the road).
- (11) We demand that all the charges against the people at Chester Street be dropped, and that all the property stolen from them by the police be returned.

Power To the People!

VENCEREMOS!!!"

Also, ... "There should be no question about the police purpose in blowing this case up into a matter of arms caches, piles of ammunition and explosives. We've already seen the beginning of a long series of fascist Grand Jury "investigations" of other revolutionary organizations and without doubt we expect that this will be extended to include Venceremos as well as other revolutionary organizations in this area. By creating a pre-condition of fear and hysteria among the people, the state hopes to gain support for a series of illegal Grand Jury investigations. It is crucial to get this straight:

It is the state which stands to gain from first creating and then capitalizing upon fear of the masses who exercise their constitutionally guaranteed right to keep and bear arms. (u)

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The right of the people to keep and bear arms is clearly stated in the Second Amendment of the United States Constitution. And it is this right that we must and will defend.

The events at the Chester Street house are not isolated incidents and we should expect to see more and more of such illegal raids and busts. These events are part of the same crisis which in the capitalistic system has forced the Vietnam war, the wage-price freeze and the increasing oppressing living conditions of poor and working people within the U.S. These are the very same conditions dictating the ruling class to disarm the people and destroy all groups, especially revolutionary groups."

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"PV", #11, dated October 7-21, 1971, on pages 17 and 25, carried an article "Red Squad Harassment" by Amanda Noble of Venceremos. The article ends, "We've got to start fighting back now. We've got to defend ourselves and our brothers and sisters against these fascist pigs or we'll have nothing left to defend. u)

"SHOOT TO KILL
SHOOT TO LIVE
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

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furnished a list of various pamphlets obtained during the [REDACTED] on the VO pad at 107 Chester Street, Menlo Park, on September 3, 1971. This list is set out on the following pages: (u)

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1. "Explosives and Bomb Disposal Guide" by Robert R. Lenz
(Book on sabotage)
2. "Special Forces" Handbook January 1965
(ST 31-180, paperback book on special warfare)
3. "Ambush and Counter Ambush" by Panther Publications
(Paperback book on ambushes)
4. "Unconditional Warfare Devices and Techniques" by Dept. of the Army
(TM31-200-1, book)
5. "Explosives & Demolitions" by Dept. of the Army - Combat Bookshelf
(Paperback book, FM5-25)
6. "Demolition & Materials" by Dept. of the Army - Combat Bookshelf
(Paperback book, TM9-1946)
7. "The Garand" by Dept. of the Army - Combat Bookshelf
(Book on care of rifles)
8. "Booby Traps" by Dept. of the Army - Combat Bookshelf
(Book)
9. "Fundamentals of Small Arms" by Dept. of the Army - Combat Bookshelf
(Book, TM9-2205)
10. "Guerrilla Warfare & Marxism" by William J. Pomeroy
(Book)
11. ".45 Automatic" by American Rifleman
(Pamphlet, reprint)
12. "Military Rifles" by American Rifleman
(Pamphlet)
13. "Mossberg for Accuracy"
(Pamphlet)
14. "How To Sight In A Telescopic Sight"
(Pamphlet)
15. "Counter Sniper Guide"
(Pamphlet)
16. "British Textbook of Explosives" by The Combat Bookshelf
(Pamphlet)
17. "U.S. Cal. .30 Carbine"
(Pamphlet)
18. "Clausewitz on War" by Anatol Rapoport
(Paperback book)
19. "HoChiMinh on Revolution" by Bernard B. Fall
(Paperback book)
20. "Introduction to Modern Gunsmithing" by Harold E. MacFarland
(Book)
21. "Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung"
(Book)
22. "How Guerrilla Fighters Could Win The World" by The War of the Flea
(Paperback book)

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23. "Pistols and Revolvers" by Joseph F. Smith
(Book)
24. "Home Gunsmithing Digest" by Tommy LiBish
(Book)
25. "Guns Illustrated 1971"
(Book)
26. "NRA Illustrated Firearms Assembly Handbook Vol. #2
(Book)
27. "Small Arms of the World" by Joseph E. Smith
(Book)
28. "Special Forces Foreign Weapons Handbook"
(Book)
29. "Firearms & Self-Defense A Handbook for Radicals Revolutionals
and Easy Riders"
(Pamphlet)
30. "Incendiaries" by Department of the Army
(Handbook)

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The following appeared on page 4 of "PV", #13,
dated November 5-11, 1971:

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Best copy available

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AN UNARMED PEOPLE ARE SUBJECT TO SLAVERY AT ANY TIME

Two severe new bills to restrict firearms ownership were proposed in the Congress recently.

One by Sen. Philip A. Hart (Mich.) would abolish private ownership of handguns entirely within half a year if passed.

Another by Rep. John M. Murphy, of Staten Island, (16th Dist., N.Y.), would require all owners and buyers of firearms or ammunition to obtain a \$1 Federal certificate after giving detailed personal and firearms data.

The Hart handgun bill would limit possession of revolvers and pistols to law enforcement officers and security guards. All private owners would be given 180 days to sell their handguns to the Government at "a fair market value." After that, they would be subject to up to five years and a \$5,000 fine.

Senator Hart said he envisioned his bill as a measure to curb violent crimes committed with handguns. The measure would require the Government to buy back all handguns within 180 days of passage. The bill would also require the Government to pay for the cost of the buyback program. The bill would also require the Government to pay for the cost of the buyback program.

The Murphy Bill, H.R. 11005, would require all owners and buyers of guns or ammunition to obtain certificates of eligibility from the Secretary of the Treasury, in actuality, the ATFD. Applicants would have to give name, address, date and place of birth, social security or taxpayer identification number, and the make, caliber or gauge, model and type, and serial number of every firearm possessed or purchased by them. Also necessary would be the name and address of the seller and date of transaction.

For any gun owners not wishing to follow this procedure, H.R. 11005 would provide for amnesty periods and for compensation for firearms turned in to the ATFD. Federal law enforcement agents and military, in their official capacities, would be exempted from the certification procedure. Residents of States having comparable laws would also be exempted. The bill would also require the Secretary of the Treasury to report to the House and Senate respectively.

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The "Palo Alto Times" of January 6, 1972, on page 3, carries an article captioned, "Franklin Reaction, 'Well, I Hope for Violence'." BRUCE FRANKLIN was interviewed in (c)

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connection with his recommended dismissal from the Stanford University faculty and is quoted in the article as saying, "Whatever happens, it is not enough", when asked to assess the potential campus violence in response to his dismissal. The article goes on, "When asked if he expected violence on campus to result from the recommendation, he replied 'Well, I hope....that's a very violent place'." Franklin said that Stanford University's complicity in the war in Vietnam was a form of violence, and added, 'In the fact of counter-revolutionary violence, there has to be revolutionary violence'." (u)

The article goes on to state that, "With Franklin at the press conference was Aaron Manganiello, Chairman of Venceremos. Also present was Franklin's wife, Jane. She carried a carbine which she said was unloaded. 'Our analysis is that's where political power comes from', Franklin explained of the weapon." (u)

The minutes of the Palo Alto City Council meeting of January 3, 1972, reflect that pre-emption legislation concerning state gun control laws was one of the topics of discussion

[redacted] addressed the Council and spoke of the constitutional right to bear arms and the right of armed and organized self defense. These notes further reflect that the following individuals, all of whom have been publicly identified as members of the VO, addressed the Council and spoke against gun control laws: (u)

[redacted] who spoke of police repression and the right to bear arms

[redacted] read a prepared statement on behalf of Palo Alto Venceremos in favor of the right to bear arms

[redacted] spoke in favor of the right to bear arms

[redacted] referred to the New York City Sullivan Act and spoke in favor of the right to bear arms

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[redacted] spoke in favor of the
right to bear arms

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[redacted] spoke of the New York Sullivan
law and against gun registration

[redacted] spoke about self defense and the
right to bear arms [redacted]

An article in the "Palo Alto Times" of February 3, 1972, on page 4, captioned "Guerrilla Theater Impassioned Speeches Failed to Sway Foothill Trustees on Gun Course", stated that trustees of Foothill College refused to re-offer a gun handling course for women in spite of a double-barreled verbal assault by a group of 40 persons, including members of Palo Alto Venceremos, a revolutionary organization. The article goes on to state that CINDY KARP, a student at Foothill College, said the course should be made a regular part of the curriculum. She was quoted as saying that "poor and working people in Palo Alto, Mountain View, Sunnyvale and Cupertino are threatened and have to protect themselves from crimes and police repression."

Mrs. SHELLEY DUBOSE, a former Foothill student, was quoted in the article as saying, "We know you're not going to learn to shoot guns because that's where power comes from."

On February 8, 1972, [redacted]

[redacted] furnished a copy of the following throw-away which was passed out on the Stanford campus on February 7, 1972. According to [redacted] two police cars were victims of a spider at White Plaza, Stanford, and a third at the Stanford Shopping Center. (u)

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PAMOJA VENCEREMOS



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TOGETHER WE WILL WIN

Number 11 PENINSULA REVOLUTIONARY NEWS SERVICE

Oct. 7-Oct. 21

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Spider is the name for a neat device made of two very heavy construction staples. They're made so that any way they're thrown they sit on a strong tripod of points and one sticking straight up. That's the one that screws up the tire which drives over it.

Here's how to make them:

Pick up some heavy construction staples--medium length (about 1½" long)--they cost about 30¢ per pound. Hook two of them together and hold them straight up.

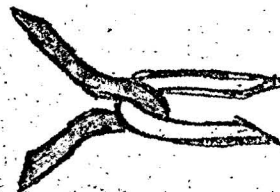
Spider:



People's

Weapon

Grab the top staple where it's curved, with a vice grip and squeeze it together hard (it takes some strength). Now take a screw driver and pry the squashed staple's points outward. As soon as you can, grab the points with pliers and bend them out. It will look sort of like this



Now flip the whole thing over and do the same thing to the other staple. The finished thing will look like this



When you're done, you should be able to throw it and have one spike straight up every time. It's not a very fancy weapon, but neither are a lot of the weapons used by the Viet Cong. Only use spiders on enemies of the people!

The Black Widow

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"PV" dated February 21 - March 6, 1972, on page 17, carries an article, "Guns and Politics", by KENT HUTCHINGS. This article is devoted to a discussion of various weapons at gun shows and points out that the price of guns at the gun shows has gotten out of hand, and that the only place left to buy a decent weapon at a fair price is through private want ads in the papers. HUTCHINGS pointed out that "buying through the want ads also means that you don't have to sign anything and the government doesn't know how many or what kind of weapons you own." (u)

The following editorial note appeared on page 1 of "PV" dated March 7 - 20, 1972:

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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(EDITORS NOTE: Venceremos encourages people who are victimized by the pigs, like this couple was, to use every means possible to fight back and make it expensive, embarrassing, and even dangerous for the pigs to continue with this kind of behavior. We realize that the judicial remedies (courts, law suits, etc.) provided by the legal system are largely unavailable to poor and working people, because they are expensive, inconvenient, and not anywhere near adequate-otherwise the pigs wouldn't be able to pull this kind of shit. That's why we recommend that people obtain and learn to use weapons to defend their homes against illegal entry in the first place. Beyond that, people can organize mutual aid groups (on a neighborhood or larger bases), local defense funds, anti-fascism demonstrations, etc. No individual is a match for the armed might of the state, or for its overwhelming bureaucracy, but no state can stand against the righteous anger and determination of the masses of people, armed and organized. Venceremos!)

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"PV" of February 6-20, 1972, on page 2, contains
the following article: (u)

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STOP TALKING, ACT!

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LISTEN PIG!

You killed one of us Thursday evening, March 9th. You killed a 15-year-old black brother. You deliberately and consciously rested a .357 magnum on a fence and fired into Gregory White's back, with no warning shot and no warning yell. You made him bleed to death when you didn't let that black nurse help him as he was lying on the street. You killed him because of your racism and created a lie to cover it up. You said you heard another shot first. But witnesses say there was no other shot. You took deliberate aim.

We all know that

We know that all you pig forces are an occupying army which doesn't work in our interests. The main reason for having pig forces in America is to protect the property and lives of the rich whites and giant corporations that try to control our lives and the lives of people all over the world.

The black community signed a petition demanding that the police force must be under community control. Whenever Third World people and poor and working people try in any way to get together and better our lives, we always have to beat the pig off our backs. Because those rich white folks made laws that are against the interests of the people and against the interests of the people in this country, they need pigs to keep control.

A young black life means nothing to those "law makers." Kill that boy, kill that nigger, kill anyone who's poor, Third World, who works, who's fighting back. But the people have had enough. We're saying "no," like people all over the world are saying "no." The people are getting it together. We've set up a Community Police Patrol to follow you to every "incident" you go to, to make sure you don't kill and brutalize any more black people, and to make sure the people know their rights when you try to

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harass them. If we get complete community control of you pigs you'd have to live in the community. That way you'd know people as people, not just as "niggers" and you'd be less willing to brutalize and kill your neighbors--

especially when they could turn around and deal with you and your home any time you got out of line. To live in our community would make you understand that a man robs because he has no job and because you pigs keep pushing heroin and other heavy shit into our community and because some men have been pushed so hard they have to fight back--even if it's mistakenly against his own people sometimes.

You're trying to divide us but you can't because if we're black, we're black, if we're brown we're brown, if we're poor we're poor, and if we're workers we're workers. And if we're any of these, we know you're our common enemy and so we're united against you as long as you exist to serve the interests of the rich.

In order to fight you our unity must grow, and it does every time you kill or brutalize one of us. We've explained things to you for centuries, but no more. Don't be surprised if we stop talking and start acting--by any and every means possible. Your pig forces are being run out of Vietnam and we learned well from our sisters and brothers in Nam, Cuba, China, Africa and Latin America. You are dying and we'll do everything possible to speed up that death. Eventually we will have a people's army to protect us from you racist, money-grabbing pig oppressors--and this army will emerge from people in our communities and be the main settler-of-disputes within our communities. And there will be no more murdered brothers like Gregory White.

AN UNARMED PEOPLE ARE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY AT ANY TIME!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!

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"PV" of April 1-15, 1972, on page 15, contains the continuing column "Guns and Politics" by KENT HUTCHINGS. This column states, "If you read the history of the U. S. you'll find that EVERY major struggle ultimately came down to a question of whether or not the people were ready to get down with the hired guns of the ruling class." (u)

"So that's why Venceremos is armed. That's why we believe that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'." (u)

The article goes on to point out various projects in which the VO is engaged, and goes on to state, "But behind all our projects are our guns. Every member of Venceremos is required to own a weapon, to know how to use it, and to know when and where to use it." (u)

"If we weren't armed, we would have all been arrested or raided a long time ago." (u)

Concerning the above-mentioned Chester Street arrests on September 3, 1971, an article, "Bomb Trial", appearing on page 10 of the "Advance Star", Burlingame, California, on April 19, 1972, reflects that the bomb trial of MORTON NEWMAN and BRUCE POLLOCK has been postponed until June 2, 1972, awaiting a decision by the appellate court on the defendants' motion that evidence against them was illegally obtained by the police. (u)

The following individuals were observed [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (u)
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (u)

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The above [redacted] has been identified as a member
of the [redacted] elsewhere in this report, and [redacted]
[redacted] have been previously identified in this
report as members of the [redacted]

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During a general discussion in [redacted]

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The following article appeared on page one of the
"Stanford Daily", issue of December 2, 1971: u

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10 Sentenced For Hospital Sit-in

Ten radicals received fines and suspended jail sentences for misdemeanor convictions arising out of the April 9 sit-in at the Stanford Hospital.

All 10 pleaded guilty to two misdemeanor charges. They were sentenced by Judge Sidney Feinberg of the Palo Alto-Mountain View Municipal Court.

Among those sentenced were Assistant German Professor Juan Flores and John Dolly, the former Medical Center technician whose grievance hearing recently ended with the panel recommending that he be reinstated and given back pay.

Flores received the most severe penalties of the ten. He was given a 120 day suspended jail sentence, three years' probation and a \$315 fine. The remaining probationary periods ranged from one to two years while the suspended sentences last from 15 to 30 days. Fines between \$95 and \$250 were given.

The hospital sit-in arose from the firing of black janitor Sam Bridges. Damage caused by the violence that followed a 30 hour sit-in totaled \$100,000.

Sentenced with Flores and Dolly were University

students Mary Dougherty, Katherine Kurtz, and Philip Lind, former Stanford employees Debra Satsky and Mrs. Barbara Mooney as well as Tobias De Latorre, Edward Mangones, and Jacqueline Montoya. Satsky and Mooney were fired for their involvement in the disturbance.

In addition to the 10 sentenced since last Friday, five other people, including Bridges were given suspended jail sentences, probation and fines last Wednesday. Five others involved in the Hospital disturbance face sentencing tomorrow on their felony convictions.

The sentencing of John Keilch, a former library employee fired for his role in the riot, was continued until December 6. The case of Jean Hobson, unsuccessful candidate last year for Palo Alto City Councilwoman, was continued until December 10.

Judge Feinberg said that the conditions of the latest probation sentences are that each person "shall not engage in any unlawful assembly, unlawful demonstration or sit-in nor shall he instigate, aid or abet any such assembly."

The 10 were also prohibited from engaging "in any illegal acts of force or violence directed against the person or property of others."

Of those sentences, [redacted]

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[redacted] have been publicly identified as members of Venceremos.

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The following article appeared on page one of the
"Stanford Daily" of June 27, 1972:

Internal Security Investigation

Venceremos Cited In House Report

By GLENN GARVIN

Venceremos and the Revolutionary Union, two Bay Area Maoist groups, are a potential threat to national security, the House Committee on Internal Security said yesterday.

The HCIS, issuing a formal report after more than a year of investigation, said that the two groups were the strongest revolutionary organizations in the country.

Both have been active in and around the Stanford campus, with Venceremos playing a particularly active role in campus politics. A number of students, staff, and faculty are members of the latter organization, which grew to its present strength after a large faction split from the Revolutionary Union (RU) in late 1970.

While there are no known RU members on the Stanford campus right now, a number of Stanford graduates are active in both groups.

Leaders

The report includes a list of several revolutionaries the HCIS claimed were leaders of the two groups, including:

—recently dismissed English Prof. Bruce Franklin, who San Francisco

Examiner police reporter Ed Montgomery said, in a story last night, "was the principal overseer in the acquisition and stockpiling of weapons";

—former Stanford worker Aaron Mangianello, active in this area for a number of years, whom the HCIS called "an advocate of violence";

—former hospital worker John Dolly, now in jail for obstructing a Sheriff's Deputy on campus in February, who was fired by the hospital last Friday;

—former ~~MSU~~ Barry Greenberg, who edited the Stanford Daily in fall and winter quarters of 1960-1961, and his wife Mary Lou, termed "extremely radical and militant" by the committee. Montgomery claimed Barry Greenberg was "the only known paid official" of the RU.

—Miriam Cherry, once involved with the Roman Catholic community at Stanford, who split first with RU and then with Venceremos. She now is a member of the Intercommunal Survival Committee of the Black Panther Party.

'Secret Apparatus'

The report also said the two groups contain "secret apparatus" for "assassinations, robberies, and sabotage," according to Montgomery.

"I don't want to play the game of saying 'no, we don't do that,'" Mangianello, chairman of the Venceremos Central Committee, told the Daily last night. "We admit there is secret apparatus as necessary. If they have any evidence, let them show it."

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Mangianello said the report would mean "more police harassment and more people losing their jobs like Bruce [Franklin] but I think we're strong enough to weather that."

He said he hadn't seen a copy of the HCIS report, but that "The thing that really pissed me off [in the Montgomery story] was that the pigs think the same thing a lot of revolutionaries do, thinking that the organization started when Bruce joined."

[Montgomery's story claimed Franklin founded the organization and said he was still the "principle organizer."]

"Everybody thinks that because you're white and a professor all these niggers and spics are going to follow you," Mangianello said.

He also said while John Dolly has "done good work" for the group, he was not an upper-echelon decision-maker, as the HCIS reported.

Much of the report was based on the testimony of FBI agents Lawrence Goff and his wife, who Montgomery claimed infiltrated both groups. But Mangianello said that was incorrect.

"They were never in Venceremos," he insisted. "They were people in San Jose in and around the movement. Of course, you'll have to ask RU about involvement with them."

"I think that history shows that any organization that reaches a certain level of really serving the people gets smashed by the state," Mangianello said, explaining why the report was issued. "It's a yardstick in measuring the success of serving the people. We're an enemy of the state."

But he added that "I would say that the oppressed masses are more dangerous than any revolutionary organizations."

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VIII. SOCIAL AGITATION

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In connection with the Menlo Park Police Department arrests at 107 Chester Street, previously mentioned in this report, [redacted] Menlo Park Police Department, on September 3, 1971, furnished a document titled, "SUMMATION OF PRACTICE OF PALO ALTO-MENLO PARK AREA" which was located among other papers found at 107 Chester Street. The following is abstracted from this paper which represents a summation of practice of the VO during the period December, 1970, until July, 1971, the period since the VO split from the RU and became an independent organization. The first page and one half of this paper is devoted to laying out the background of struggles in Palo Alto and describes Palo Alto,

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"as a good example of the way U.S. imperialism is developing. It is the center of an economic area which stretches roughly from Redwood City to Sunnyvale ... and has been developed consciously by some of the biggest imperialists in the world ... as the center for U.S. domination of the Pacific Basin."

The paper goes on to discuss United Front organizing and states,

"United Front politics is not compromise politics; it does not mean uniting with all those who can be united if we water down or hide our politics; it does not mean Liu Shao-Chi's line of uniting with the middle and backward elements.

"United Front politics is uniting with whatever forces will link up at any given time for a certain purpose as long as we maintain our principles unfailingly ...

"We need to study theory that we know is valid--that has been proved in practice: the theory of Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tsetung..."

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The paper then goes on to discuss Venceremos activities in various spheres of life in the Palo Alto area. The first organization discussed is the Palo Alto Tenants Union (PATU). The discussions center around various PATU efforts to defeat plans to build the so-called Superblock in Palo Alto, an effort which led to a change in the Palo Alto City Council leading to the election of a liberal mayor. The discussion points out that Venceremos ran a Venceremos candidate in the Palo Alto City Council Election, JEAN HOBSON. Concerning HOBSON's campaign the paper states,

"We used the campaign as a forum for our politics, knowing full well that winning isn't really winning. And we know that the fact that 3 out of the 4 City Council openings were won by liberals is only a partial victory. As a matter of fact, a victory of liberals can lead to a dangerous situation where the liberals can use their position to isolate the left."

The paper points out that 800 people voted for JEAN HOBSON, who ran as an open communist revolutionary. The paper criticizes itself for not having enough open VO cadre working in PATU, and it was decided that VO needs at least one comrade in each neighborhood council.

The next issue discussed is Palo Altans Against the War (PAAW) and the paper states,

"PAAW was started mainly by PATU and Venceremos cadre, following a rally we organized in downtown Palo Alto after the invasion of Laos in February... An anti-imperialist analysis of the war and Palo Alto's involvement in it was laid out, and the people dug it. We organized several actions, at the phone company, Hewlett-Packard, the P.A. Times, etc. But we were not able to keep these actions lively. We began having trouble finding things for people to do. That sentence shows where our error was. We failed to listen to the people to find out what they wanted to do, synthesize those ideas, and act upon them..."

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"Most community people and the the working people involved dropped out, leaving only Venceremos cadre ... and a few advanced people ...

"We did better work building for the April and May actions, but by this time PAAW was a paper organization. It no longer exists."

The next organization discussed is the Citizens Against Willow Expressway (CAWE) and states,

"CAWE was formed last year to fight the proposed Willow Expressway, the key link in the Stanford Trustees' plan to bring the workers in to work and send them out again at night...

"Our work in CAWE has had right errors. With propaganda written by Venceremos cadre, CAWE waged a well-organized campaign to elect left liberal BOB STEPHENS to the Menlo Park City Council, a victory that surprised normally motionless Menlo Park... Our cadre are well integrated with the people in CAWE, but the openness of politics is not there. Two cadre functioned for a long time as closed members; they probably should have been open from the beginning. We did not push anti-imperialist politics hard enough."

The next issue discussed is Child Care and states,

"The first child care meetings at the beginning of the year involved many women, including many working women. The working women were interested in moving militantly, and some would have seized the old pig station in downtown Palo Alto, a centrally-located convenient place for child care. But the struggle got side-tracked into legal maneuverings by our own vacillation and by petty-bourgeois women who kept applying to the Planning Commission for use permits...

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"Venceremos cadre did some good work with the petty-bourgeois women... Many of them came to respect our comrades. Yet this seeming respect did not interfere with their renouncing any link with Venceremos when it seemed to them to help their position with the Planning Commission...

"The primary task now for those comrades working toward a child care center or centers in this area is to mobilize advanced people in the community, particularly working women, to set up a concrete program which serves this basic need of oppressed and exploited people..."

Another section of this summation is devoted to The Streets and states:

"This summer we decided to involve the masses more in putting on the weekly concerts. We also decided to wait for the masses to take the initiative in combatting the 11:00 curfew. The level of militancy is rising downtown. We have to be careful not to tail it.

"A major concern on the streets was the explosion last summer of hard drugs in the streets. That has become our major focus this summer. We plan a propaganda campaign around speed, smack, etc., leading up to a struggle to force the city to respond to drugs as a social rather than criminal matter.

"We are becoming well integrated with the people and are gaining experience, particularly at resolving contradictions among the people. Collectively, we have a good struggle attitude...

The next item discussed is the newspaper "PAMOJA VENCEREMOS" and points out the need to use the paper as an organizing tool. In connection with the discussion of the newspaper, the following is of interest:

"(9) Defense of the office

"Some of that strutting comes out in the way some comrades relate to this question and results

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in careless handling of equipment, danger to other comrades, and just plain infantilism. There is no excuse to have a chambered gun in that office until the enemy is there. There will be plenty of warning for time to chamber. Equipment should not be lying all over the place. It should be put away where comrades know how to get it. Instructions should be given about defense as they are given about production.

"On the other hand, some comrades do not take defense seriously. Particularly at night those of us at the office must know where things are and how to deal with any situation that comes up. Let's shape up our defense policy."

The next item discussed is Legal Defense and the Law Commune. This portion of the paper goes into the necessity of setting up a bail fund for individuals arrested in demonstrations and gives specific instructions as to the proper procedure to be followed when arrested.

The paper goes on to state,

"There is criticism that 'the only people being busted in actions over the last five months have been cadre.' In the first place, that's not true. In the second place, the revolutionaries are going to continue to be the ones most arrested. We are going to be in the forefront of action, and that is the price we pay. Comrades working on Legal Defense should combat the uncommunist idea that coming to the aid of communist revolutionaries is not serving the people as much as coming to the aid of someone who is not yet a communist. Legal defense is a form of self-defense that we practice for each other as we practice defending each other's homes and lives..."

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"Mainly in Legal Defense we need to understand why we are fighting. Our actions--all our actions--should be political and therefore politically defensible. Our arrests should be political arrests. And our fight in the court must be a political fight not a legalistic fight. Comrades, we who take risks may suffer. That is a fact of life for a revolutionary. We must at all times pluck up our courage and defy the enemy...

Another item discussed is jails and states,

"...But we must serve also the people in the prisons who never had anyone really to help them in a legal situation, who have already been railroaded through the fascist, racist courts, and are forgotten by the public and their lawyers, existing under the most oppressive conditions.

"These prisoners know they are oppressed, they do not need us to tell them that. Their hatred of the pig is already well-developed. They already relate to armed struggle. They are a revolutionary force...

"Letters from prisoners to PAMOJA VENCEREMOS show that the newspaper is perhaps our best means of organizing behind bars. If only for them PAMOJA VENCEREMOS is worth all the effort we give to it."

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The last area of discussion is On-The-Job Organizing. The paper points out that,

"In every collective there are people with jobs. We have teachers, factory workers, people in electronics, restaurants, shopping center stores, whatever people can do for a living...

"The Central Committee has asked for all comrades on-the-job to write work reports right away."

The paper ends with a summation of the strengths and weaknesses of the VO during the period and points out that it is the object of all Venceremos cadre no matter what area in which they occur to link particular struggles to general struggles; the general struggle being to expose U.S. imperialism and the repression of the poor and working class masses. The report praises the attitude toward struggle as follows:

"The best work of our organization has been done through struggle. It is only through struggle that we can apply theory to practice and figure out if things work or not. We haven't limited ourselves to one form of struggle. We have participated in and often led militant street actions, militant demonstrations against the war, and electoral struggles--..."

The paper points out the main weaknesses of the VO practice as being a failure to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought seriously and a failure to use M-L-M as a tool.

In connection with the PATU, mentioned above, one of the main activities of the PATU during the period June through May, 1972, has been trying to defeat the building of a new Holiday Inn in Palo Alto, and Venceremos has participated in this effort; particularly in the circulating of petitions for anti-Holiday Inn in "PAMOJA VENCEREMOS".

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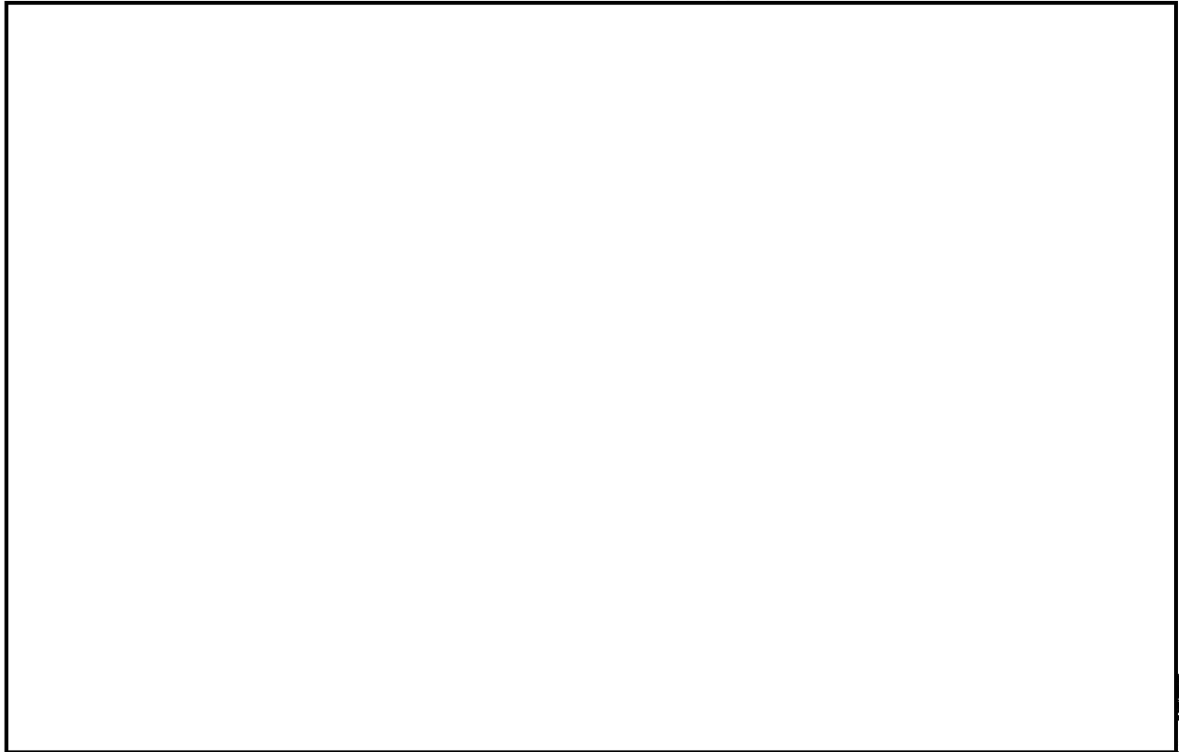
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Another area of Venceremos interest has been in
education. At the time of the [redacted]

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COMMUNITY SCHOOL CATALOGUE

(u)

Winter

Quarter

1971-72

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In the latest issue of "Es Tiempo," the Foothill College Chicano newspaper, John Velasques sent an open letter to Dr. Semans in which he announced that he was terminating his employment as Multi-Cultural Co-ordinator. One of the reasons he gave for his resignation was, "I think it is fair to say that this college has failed to serve the local Chicano community."

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We think that it is fair to say that Foothill has failed to serve anyone but the interests of local corporations like Hewlett-Packard, Moffet Field, Varian, etc. When students demanded that Foothill take more classes into the community, rather than forcing people to come to the campus which is inconveniently located, the college responded by offering more classes at local corporations. The vast majority of courses offered were things like, "data-processing" and business management.

It is no coincidence that Foothill, which is located near Stanford Industrial Park, serves corporate interests rather than offering relevant education to its students. This has been the role of junior colleges since they were set up. In fact, this is the role of our educational system in general.

We are told that we should go to college, get a degree and then we will be able to get a better job. But who is that really true for? Supposedly, an AA degree like the one you receive from Foothill will help you get a low-level position in management. However, it has been proven that for a woman or a Third World man, it is almost impossible to get a job in management even with a degree.

And if we apply for a job in labor (assembly line work), a degree is detrimental to us; we will be told that we are over-qualified.

With the unemployment rate rising as it is, the junior college now has a new function. For the man or woman just graduating from high school or the veteran getting out of the service, the junior college serves as a place to keep them busy for a few more years before they get in the job market. It keeps them dreaming of bright futures a little while longer.

Obviously, if the function of Foothill is to get people better jobs and there are no jobs, it is not serving the real needs of its students.

That being the situation, it is clear that "education", its purposes and role in our lives has to be redefined. We go all the way through school and come out knowing nothing about our bodies (that "privilege" is reserved for doctors); knowing nothing about the law (that is reserved for lawyers); knowing nothing about our true history as poor and working people. We don't even learn how to cope with problems that arise in running a home or car (thus we are forced to rely on plumbers, carpenters, mechanics, etc.) Education should include all those things.

Someday, when we are able to take control of our own lives, institutions like Foothill will have to offer us the kind of education we need rather than the kind of education corporations want us to have. Until that time, and in preparation for that time, the people have to set up alternative programs for themselves. That is what we hope the "Community School" will be.

We had a long struggle over the fact that more people were not involved in the formation of the school. We understand that it is not the role of revolutionaries to go to a community and say, "You need this or you need that." On the other hand, it is obvious to those of us who live in the Mountain View, Palo Alto, East Palo Alto communities and to those of us who attend Foothill that the needs of our communities are not being met by Foothill. So we are offering this school as a beginning, a base that we, as a community, can build on. It is our hope that more people will get involved in working with the School and running it to meet their own needs.

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Marxism-Leninism

When someone advocates revolution, the question is always-how? People who are oppressed need concrete tools in order to change the conditions that oppress them. One tool has proven to be the best in transforming a dying society into a developing socialist society. That tool is the people's use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung thought. China, Cuba, and Vietnam are strong examples of the changes that the people can effect in a society if they put this system of theory into practice. The struggles of the oppressed in this country need that guidance too. In this class we will try to understand how Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung thought can be applied to change social reality here, as well as study how it is being applied by the people in many countries throughout the world today.

Aaron Manganiello

Chairman Central Committee Venceremos

National Liberation—Struggles in the Third World

Revolution is the main trend in the world today. All over the world oppressed peoples and nations are fighting for national liberation. This course will study the revolutions in Viet Nam, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, the internal colonies of the U.S., etc. None of these struggles should be seen as separate struggles, but as a world revolution against a common enemy--U.S. Imperialism. Hopefully this course will help people develop, or at least expose people to an international perspective, which is impossible to develop within the school system or by reading the pig press.

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Venceremos

Nutrition

The nutrition class is offered because in America we are bombarded with advertisements of non-nutritional foods. When entering a store we see introductory offers to things we don't need.

In this class we hope to work collectively to teach each other about good nutritional foods from many cultures.

Also we hope to teach about what vitamins are necessary and which parts of the body they affect.

Bob King

People's Medical Center

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Community Action

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This course is for those of use whose knowledge of the Mountain View community is limited but would like to find out about and get involved in what's going on. The knowledge of what's going on in Mountain View is particularly important with the tax-override coming up. Mountain View will be hardest hit by the tax-override while it gets the least service from Foothill.

We will be attending different community meetings such as City Council, School Board, Community Action meetings, etc. Once we get some idea of what direction to take, we'll be able to offer our services, as a group, to the community.

Shelley DuBose

Revolutionary Communications Network

One of the tasks for people struggling to change social conditions is learning how to pass on information, ideas (theory), and practice (what we're doing).

We'll look over radical and revolutionary newspapers and try to seriously study journalism. We'll also look at the daily newspapers and see what they're doing.

The main part of the course will be on writing, and we'll approach writing in terms of organizing, as a tool for organizing.

We'll see if we can bring the things we write in local newspapers which are trying to serve the people: papers at Foothill and in the community, like Pamoja Venceremos. Maybe, we'll see a need to start something new.

Guerrilla Theater

A class for anyone who is interested in getting together, finding out what struggles are coming off, and educating the people to them through the experience of improvisational theater. You don't need any acting abilities, just the desire to inform your sisters and brothers to what's happening.

Don Willis

Jeffrey Yudelman

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Prisoners and Society

"It is only a matter of time until the question of the prisoners get to society vs. society's debt to the prisoners is injected forcefully into national and state politics, into the civil or human rights struggle and into the consciousness of the body politic."

Eldridge Cleaver 1965

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A society can justfully be judged by the men and women inside the walls of its jails and prisons. Increasing numbers of inmates are relying on help from people on the outside. We have a great deal to learn from the prisoners and most of them really depend on us for support and communication with the outside world. This class will establish contact with individuals at various prisons and jails and find out how we can be of service to them and their families. On weekends we will visit various prisons in California. Possibly we can set up a program for inmates coming up for parole. We will also examine the cases of current political prisoners such as the Soledad Brothers, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and Billy Smith and work for their defense. The class will not have the teacher-student structure. We will learn through our collective practice and study.

Should be read before the first class meeting: Soledad Brother (The Prison Writings of George Jackson), Soul On Ice by Eldridge Cleaver, The Right To Kill, by Ruchell Magee (Available from the Berkeley Tribe at 1701.1/2 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif.)

Cindy Karp

Racism

Racism has historically been used to keep poor and working white people divided from Third World people in the same economic conditions. For oppressed white people to gain liberation, we must fight alongside and under the leadership of our brothers and sisters in Third World communities.

We are systematically taught racism by the public school system and the mass media. As a member of a multi-national organization, I have learned that it is possible to combat racism while working under the leadership of Black and Brown people. However, overt institutionalized racism must be dealt with as well as personal racist attitudes.

We will be exploring ways in which to take concrete action against discrimination. At the same time, we will study the history of racism, its economic and social implications.

Shelley DuBose Venceremos

For more information call:

Shelley DuBose	493-1676
Deems Fishman	322-5102
Bruce Hobson	964-5884
Sandy Peterson	964-8652
Foothill College	948-3590

(If you call Foothill, you should leave a message with Jean Thatcher for Shelley DuBose)

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"PV" dated February 6-20, 1972, carried an article reflecting that DOUG GARRETT was the Venceremos candidate for the Palo Alto School Board. One of the demands made by GARRETT, the article points out, is an education that teaches true history of oppressed people and allowing each person to develop their full potential. The current school program is criticized as being totally isolated from the reality of the world situation. (u)

It is noted that the Palo Alto Times reported that DOUG GARRETT was an unsuccessful candidate in the election to the Palo Alto School Board and that he garnered only 6 percent of the vote. (u)

The following article appeared on Page 7 of "PV" on March 7 - 20, 1970: (u)

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People's School Board Candidate

Doug Garrett, a member of Venceremos, is running for the Palo Alto School Board.

Venceremos is running a candidate because we feel that it's critical to expose the one-sided education that is being taught in the Palo Alto schools. Mao teaches us that:

"To be one-sided and superficial is at the same time to be subjective. For all objective things are actually interconnected and are governed by inner laws, but instead of undertaking the task of reflecting things as they really are, some people only look at things one-sidedly or superficially and know neither their interconnections or their inner laws and so their method is subjective."

An example of this one-sided education is that in English classes when students do book reports, "form over content" is what's important. When reading The Grapes of Wrath, a novel about the Depression, people are not taught about the struggles of the working class to survive.

We feel it is also important that the struggles of the students and the people of the community be represented on the Board.

Doug attended Palo Alto Schools for 12 years and has been involved in many student struggles. He was a member of the United Student Movement and took part in the student strikes of 1969. He helped form the Bay Area High School Students' Union. He was also one of the founders of the Class Struggle, a revolutionary student newspaper.

Because of this past practice, we feel that Doug has a good understanding of what students' needs are.

One of the main things that we are attacking is the curriculum, what is being taught, who is teaching it, and what is the source of their knowledge. As communists we feel that theory and practice go hand-in-hand. Not having one to back up the other is incorrect. Students are taught in history classes that a people are not capable of governing themselves - that is why we need "American democracy." That is their theory. Their practice is what Nixon's regime is doing in Viet Nam!

Drugs are very common in Palo Alto schools. We feel that the school board has done very little if anything to combat this plague. They wouldn't even take a stand and support the action items on

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1972 VALLEY JOURNAL (CONT.)

Good Guys Arise

Earlier this week an 18-year-old avowed Communist announced he would be running for the Palo Alto Unified School District Board of Education.

The Journal customarily holds off til the last minute its endorsements for candidates seeking public office, but we feel we can pretty safely predict we will not endorse any avowed Communists, such as Doug Garrett claims to be so we don't believe we are breaking the spirit of our last minute endorsement custom by discussing this particular candidate.

So long as Garrett openly says what he is, we don't even believe it is necessary to dwell on the point, and his candidacy is not even the point of this editorial, although it did provide us with some inspiration.

The point of this editorial is to urge the people of Palo Alto to think seriously about the kind of radical elements which are active in their community, seeking power and influence.

Young Garrett is a local person, educated in local schools. His father is the head of the local McGovern for President campaign. Palo Altans should ask themselves how it is that a youth from Palo Alto should become a Communist. He is a product of the system. If the system is turning out Communists, then perhaps Palo Altans should become concerned enough to change the system.

That Doug Garrett is not alone in his radicalism is readily apparent to anyone who has observed, even for a short time, the radical activity which abounds in Palo Alto. Even the Palo Alto City Council seems to have been infected, as we noted a few weeks ago in an editorial on this page.

We are quite certain that the great majority of Palo Alto residents are not radicals or Communists. But we are also certain that the great majority of Palo Altans are gradually losing control of Palo Alto to the radicals and Communists by default. One sad result of this inactivity by Palo Alto's "silent majority" is that by being the most vocal, the radical elements may be able to create the impression among public officials that they represent public opinion in Palo Alto.

It was Edmund Burke who remarked, "All that is necessary for evil to triumph is that good men do nothing." Let's start hearing from the good guys before Palo Alto goes the way of Berkeley.

DOUG GARRETT of VENCEREMOS

the Task Force Report. What's needed in the schools is a factual drug education program. No more scare tactics! People, have to be taught the true cause of drug abuse, which is the alienation that stems from a capitalist and imperialist society and world. Drugs are a direct attempt by the ruling class to divide the people.

The recent Supreme Court decision that raising taxes is a good thing, we support this. However, we feel that the board should not

oppose large corporate development which creates so much competition for housing

that many poor and low-income working people have been forced to leave Palo Alto.

Because of the latest anti-war forums that went on in the high schools, a student movement is growing in Palo Alto again. This time we see it as a more higher level. We are all united in the feeling that they are united with the people of the world in their struggles.

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Another area of VO interest, as pointed out previously in "summation" paper, is in Prisons. The following article appeared on Page 2 of the "PV", Number 10, dated September 26 - October 6, 1971: WJ

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The Attica Revolt

Attica Prison is in an all-white town in upstate New York. Blacks and Puerto Ricans make up over 50% of the prison population and the guards are all white. On Thursday, September 9, over 1000 of Attica's 2237 prisoners took an active part in a revolt that shook the foundations of the American penal system. The brothers seized control of the prison, took 38 hostages and issued a list of demands to the prison officials, the governor and their State "representatives." At least 500 men formed the "hard core" of the revolt.

Most of the 28 demands were for simple human rights, including a minimum wage for prison labor, healthy food, frequent change of clothing, decent bedding materials, adequate water supply and medical care, uncensored mail and an improved prison library. They also demanded amnesty from criminal prosecution, the firing of the superintendent (Vincent Mancusi), and guaranteed transportation to a non-imperialist country for those brothers who wanted it.

In the face of this unprecedented revolutionary action by brothers in maximum security, the State was forced to expose and use its only tool - the military power that makes the repressive State's political power possible. State Corrections Commissioner Russell G. Oswald gave the command after consulting with Governor Nelson Rockefeller (Standard Oil, Chase Manhattan Bank, First National Bank, etc.) Over 1000 state troopers, sheriff's deputies and prison guards attacked the prisoners, using helicopters, and shotguns. "We're doing beautifully," radioed one in the midst of "mopping up."

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When it was over the lawmen announced that 8 hostages had been murdered by the convicts who had slashed their throats. But Dr. John Edland, the medical examiner announced that the prisoners and hostages alike had all been killed by bullets.

Rockefeller admitted that the hostages had been "caught in the crossfire" and said that their deaths were "justifiable homicide." But he had nothing to say

about the 32 righteous brothers who had been cut down in cold blood by the invaders. Rockefeller congratulated Oswald. Nixon congratulated Rockefeller.

The Attica Rebellion brought out the contradictions within capitalist society. Tom Wicker of the New York Times wrote of the prisoners' "remarkable unity." He described how an unnamed black prisoner seized the microphone at the last meeting before the invasion and cried out, "To oppressed people all over the world, we've got the solution! The solution is unity!" Wicker wrote of how the inmates were giving the hostages better care than they gave themselves, and how they protected observers from the less disciplined brothers.

The leadership committee had at least 3 white men although the rebelling inmates were probably at least 85% Black and Puerto Rican. The human chains of men with linked arms maintaining crowd control were international.

The people lost 32 soldiers at Attica. Those brothers and the ones still alive (at least 470 comrades survived the attack) won for the people a great and living example of revolutionary battle, class unity and love. They were unswayed by the promises from liberals of "prison reform" for they understood the true nature of the State.

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The State is not a divine body which balances the forces of society. It is an instrument, a tool that the ruling class uses to maintain its control over the masses of people. And one of its key institutions is the prison system which cages the brothers and sisters who are most victimized by the oppressive conditions of capitalist society. The prisons are filled with men and women whose only crime is that they are black, brown or poor. The State officials understand this very clearly. Governor Rockefeller, one of the richest and most powerful of all the imperialists, understood exactly this fact when he signed the order to dispatch the troops into Attica, for the power of the people was threatening his authority as a ruler. So he moved in the same way he has done in Vietnam and Latin America to protect his Standard Oil interests. He saw that the prisoners not only wanted reforms, but they wanted POWER. They wanted to be sent to non-imperialist countries - countries where Standard Oil is powerless.

The State has a seeming victory but a real defeat with Attica. People who watched the rebellion learned that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. The State is one of our best teachers. But as far as we know, the revolutionary movement did nothing to interfere with the ease with which the State was able to mobilize and use those guns. It is necessary that the people in minimum security (outside the prison walls) develop the power to back up such rebellions by our brothers in maximum security.

AVENGE ATTICA
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
VENCEREMOS

John...
Phil Tronstine
Venceremos

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It is noted that "PV" carries a regular section in each issue devoted to letters from prison inmates.

The following article appears on Page 19 of "PV", dated March 7 - 20, 1972:

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Prisons Plan Brain Surgery For Rebellious Prisoners

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In the late 1950's, a new prison movement began to develop. It began with a large rash of riots; violent expressions of dissatisfactions about prison conditions. It developed into organized riots and strikes which attacked the real enemy and unified previously antagonistic racial groups.

The prison movement grew, and came to understand the prison administration and government's role in their oppression. The oppressors at Attica found that the "hole", beatings, extended time and other standard methods of control weren't enough to control the "troublemakers."

So the prison administrations have developed new methods of control. They are being tested primarily in Vacaville, a prison about halfway between Sacramento and San Francisco.

The Director of the Dept. of corrections, Raymond Procunier, disclosed that "the aggressive, destructive inmate" and violent inmate are the ones this new tool of oppression will be directed against. He's talking about all the prisoners who are organizing against their oppression.

Dr. Bach-y-Rita, a psychiatrist at Vacaville, said they planned to use the facility to "treat" prisoners who are "violence-prone". He indicated that drug "therapy" would be the first stage, and "if that failed", electrodes would be

implanted in the prisoners brains. In other words, those prisoners who understand the political character of their incarceration and are fighting against it will have that knowledge burned out of their brains.

Lobotomies have been going on already in Vacaville, and now they're trying to legalize what they've already done. Lobotomy means the person's skull is drilled into and part of the brain is destroyed or removed to effect his behaviour and memory. This is the surest, cruelest method of control.

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Best copy available

Prisoners at Vacaville are given shock treatment, often so severe that the muscle spasm will dislocate the shoulder of the person being "treated." It's done to create an experience so terrible that his mind is conditioned to respond the way they want him to without having to "rehabilitate" him.

Other methods to be used are electric and insulin shock, fever treatments, sodium pentothal (truth serum), interviews and antitestosterone injections (to neutralize sex hormones).

A basic method to be used on most prisoners is "aversion therapy." It is aimed at making the prisoner sick or terrified anytime he gets involved in violence. The "patient" is strapped to a chair. He is shown movies of violence and sex and tortured at the same time. He's given shocks or drugs to make him feel nauseated or like he's dying. His eyes are clamped open so he has to watch the screen. This is repeated daily until he is deeply conditioned in his reactions.

The use of torture in prisons is nothing new. Anectine, "the death drug", simulates a death experience. Given in excess, the simulation becomes a reality. It brings on total paralysis and slows the respiratory system to a near halt. The prisoner experiences near death from drowning or suffocation. Anectine has been used on "rebellious" prisoners for years.

Castration has also been widely practiced, especially in San Quentin (as a former warden admits) against homosexuals and others convicted of "victimless sex crimes." Shock treatment is used routinely in prison hospitals.

As the growth of political revolutionaries in the prisons continues, and it must because of growing consciousness in the prisons as well as the growing number of political busts, Vacaville will overflow unless a new joint at Otay Mesa in San Diego is completed. It will be modeled after Vacaville, and considered a model prison of the future.

As the prison grows, it gets more apparent that long-lasting change can't happen until basic changes are made. These changes are symptoms of larger ills of the soc-

ety. Changes will come about from the people training around these types of institutions and changing them by changing the society as a whole.

Each new tool of oppression the pig institute must be challenged by the people. The pigs who keep the people down must be dealt with. Vietnamese people have proven that the technology of the Pig can be defeated by the organized power of the people. That kind of power must stop the brain pigs at Vacaville.

TEAR DOWN THE WALLS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Karen Franklin

Deputy Minister of Information

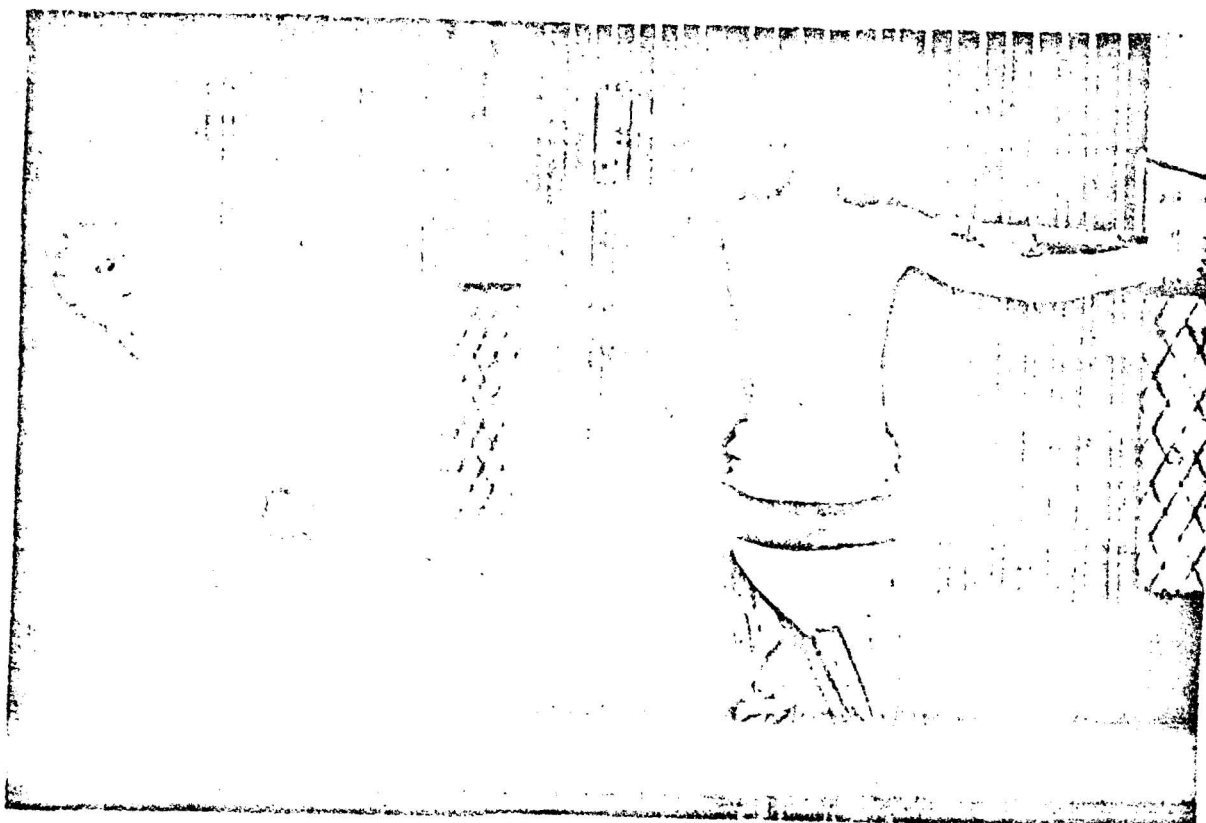
**Free All
Political
Prisoners**

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(Set forth below is a VO paper captioned
"Work in the Military" furnished by [redacted])

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For a time there was some uncertainty on the question of whether all male comrades capable and eligible should allow themselves to be drafted, or should enlist in the imperialist armed forces. This uncertainty revolved around the effectiveness of inexperienced cadre in the armed forces, what role they could play, whether they would be isolated by military intelligence. After some practice the answer to these questions leads to the following conclusion:

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ALL MALE COMRADES BETWEEN THE AGES OF 19-22 SHOULD ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE DRAFTED OR SHOULD VOLUNTARILY ENLIST. THE ONLY EXCEPTIONS ARE THOSE SUPPORTING A FAMILY (EVEN COMRADES IN THIS SITUATION SHOULD TRY AND MAKE ACCOMODATIONS) OR THOSE EXEMPTED FROM MILITARY SERVICE BY PHYSICAL DISABILITY. EVEN COMRADES WITH LONG POLITICAL RECORDS SHOULD TRY AND ENLIST.

This conclusion was reached on the basis of the following:

- (1) The imperialist armed forces, particularly the U.S. Army is racked with contradictions. The ruling class no longer trusts the U.S. Army and has undertaken plans and means of neutralizing its revolutionary potential including trying for an all-volunteer army, using "liberal" political indoctrination and regulations to pacify the troops, and in keeping arms out of the hands of troops in training or on regular duty in the U.S.
- (2) On the whole soldiers are strongly anti-war, anti-military, with a large advanced section, mostly Black and Brown, that is revolutionary and relates the struggle of the Indochinese peoples to the struggle of Black and Brown people here. Many of these advanced soldiers see themselves as revolutionary cadre learning the methods of warfare to be later used against the bourgeois dictatorship.
- (3) That section of the Left relating to G.I.'s is hopelessly tailist, agitating soldiers around pacifism and "anti-lifer" ideas. This appeals mainly to recruits from petty bourgeois backgrounds, not to the rest who are talking about revolution. In many posts near large urban centers soldiers openly talk about refusing to be used as counter-revolutionary forces against Black and Brown uprisings, students, and other groups.
- (4) Inexperienced cadre are quickly transformed in military service. Through close contact with mainly working class and Third World youth they gain confidence, a fighting spirit, and receive a real practical education in class struggle. One year in the military often has more value than ten years working in a factory, and the results are far more clear particularly for weak and vacillating cadre from petty bourgeois backgrounds.
- (5) Revolutionary political work can be done in the military due to the objective conditions of living and working with the masses around the clock. You can openly express ideas about imperialism, the Vietnamese struggle, ruling class, international working class, and Black and Brown liberation.

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The following article concerning welfare
appeared on Page 10 of "PV", dated March 7 - 20, 1972: 61

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The Story of Welfare

THE GREAT

BRIBE

By Carrie Ballinger
Mountain View Venceremos

Welfare in this country goes back to the Great Depression of the 30's. The stock market crashed, businesses were failing, factories were shutting down. In 1932 there were twenty million unemployed. People were getting disatisfied with a system that kept the rich well-fed while putting more and more people out of work and leaving them hungry.

In 1931, 25,000 unemployed veterans in the "Bonus Army" marched on Washington D.C. claiming a monetary bonus they had been promised by the government. In 1934 workers in San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo mounted general strikes, demanding union recognition and a decent wage. In the Townsend movement old people were gathering steam, demanding a \$200 monthly pension for everyone over 60.

Many people became communists, seeing that a government of the poor and working people would end the inequalities and depressions of the capitalist system once and for all.

THE NEW DEAL

The New Deal was a direct reaction to the growing unrest, militancy and turn toward communism. The capitalists, led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, were so terrified by the people's fighting spirit that they began to bribe people on a large scale.

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Best copy available

Roosevelt's 1935 welfare legislation--social security, unemployment insurance, welfare--was part of that bribe.

The New Deal programs fell far short of the people's needs. But they temporarily slowed the tide of revolution, until World War II threw ten million men into the military and the rest of the country into full-scale war production. What the welfare programs did was insure that capitalism would remain intact. Like the "boom" of World War II and the Cold War, welfare merely smoothed over the effects of the economic crisis, a crisis which is emerging again today.

WELFARE ROLLS EXPLODE

Welfare rolls have been more than doubled since 1960. The ruling class responded to the black rebellions of the 60's by opening the welfare rolls to millions more black people and funneling hard drugs into the inner cities. And as people throughout the world increase their resistance to control over their lives and countries by American business and the Pentagon, U.S. markets abroad can no longer expand. In fact, the post-World War II "boom" has reached its limits and begun to deflate into the Great Depression that Americans thought Roosevelt's New Deal had "Solved".

Again, hundreds of thousands of Americans are becoming permanently unemployed, and the government, in an attempt to keep them quiet, is giving them welfare or unemployment insurance.

THE POOR ARE PENALIZED

One important part of the capitalist welfare program is keeping the people on welfare ashamed; ashamed of getting what is theirs because generations of American working people have created it. Big oil, airline and defense companies get billions each year in investment credits, tax write-offs, and outright subsidies. But if you're on welfare there is something "wrong".

We are told that if we work hard and take advantage of all opportunities, we won't need welfare. Yet 35 million Americans live on the

poverty income of less than \$3,000 a year. Where are the 35 million jobs?

Why are the rich "subsidized" and the poor "penalized"? Because in a capitalist society money is power and all important decisions are made by the rich and their politicians. Naturally,

the elite group of government officials making welfare decisions for millions of American poor people doesn't want us to share in these decisions. This makes one of the most revolutionary sectors of the American people dependent on the ruling class for survival. Creating this dependency is a method of maintaining social control and keeping down militancy among the people.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION TODAY

In spite of Nixon's phony cheerfulness, it is clear that the same old economic crisis is coming to the surface again today. Billions of our dollars are poured into the war in S.E. Asia, which we've already lost, while at home the government cuts back on medical care, education and jobs. The welfare system, funded half by the states and counties and half by the federal government, is feeling the pinch too. As more and more poor and unemployed line up for needed welfare, the system is devising new ways to keep people off and cut back spending.

But just as in the '30's, as the struggle gets heavier, more and more people will find themselves not just fighting for small concessions and reforms, but fighting for revolution. And as the ruling class becomes more threatened, we can expect that it will again try to buy off revolutionary consciousness with more New Deals, more bribes.

PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

But the crisis in the '30's was not deadly. U.S. military involvement in

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World War II saved the economy, creating more jobs and sweeping vast numbers of unemployed young men into the army to fight and die. In the '50's our economy still had room to grow, as U.S. businesses moved into devastated and defeated foreign countries.

But today American businesses are losing markets abroad. The Pentagon is being defeated almost everywhere it goes. Revolution is the main trend in the world today.

The welfare bribe won't work this time. The crisis is too deep. People who waited in the bread lines during the '30's aren't going to be so patient this time around. They are going to be learning and teaching the skills necessary to create a people's revolution in America.

VENCEREMOS!

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Concerning the VO and labor, the following
is noted: (u)

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Another section of the "Summation" paper discusses practice as it applies to the VO newspaper "Pamoja Venceremos" under his heading "Relating to Workers and Worker's Struggles" states: "At first, the newspaper really fell down on this. But the hospital workers fight changed that, and we've become more conscious of the need to inform people about on-the-job struggles. We need much more contributions from our working comrades. We can't get the information into the paper unless our comrades report it. Anecdotes should go in. Short and to-the-point illustrations of how oppression and exploitive working conditions are..." (u)

[redacted] advised on [redacted] that
the VO [redacted]

[redacted] as furnished by the sources: (u) u

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[redacted] advised that [redacted]

[redacted] publicly identified VO members [redacted]

[redacted] The source pointed out that these individuals were actually [redacted]

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[redacted] This source stated that he has read newspaper articles in the VO newspaper describing the effectiveness of the VO people in agitating for the formation of a union and the tremendous response they had received from their co-workers. Source stated that from [redacted]

(u)

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[redacted] further advised that

most of the VO people [redacted]

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Source stated that [redacted]

VO

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members had [redacted] (u)

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[redacted] advised on various dates between [redacted]
[redacted] that the VO and the RU were

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The following article illustrative of VO efforts to penetrate labor appeared on page 13 of "Pamoja Venceremos", number 15, dated December 3 - 16, 1971: (u)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ FIGHT FOR SAFE CONDITIONS

THIS WILL BE THE FIRST COLUMN IN WHAT WILL BE A REGULAR COLUMN IN PAMOJA VENCEREMOS. MORE AND MORE, AS THE BOSSES TRY TO SQUEEZE MORE PROFITS OUT OF OUR WORK, THE FIRST THING THEY SACRIFICE IS OUR SAFETY AND OUR WORKING CONDITIONS. ALL WORKERS REALIZE THAT WE MUST INCREASE OUR EFFORTS FOR SAFER AND HEALTHIER WORKING CONDITIONS.

OFFICIAL U.S. DEPT. OF LABOR STATISTICS REPORT THAT OVER 15,000 MEN AND WOMEN WERE KILLED ON THE JOB LAST YEAR, AND OVER 2 MILLION WERE DISABLED. (THIS IS LOW).

THE NUMEROUS "SAFETY REMINDER" SIGNS IN OUR FACTORIES ALWAYS MAKE IT SEEM THAT ACCIDENTS ARE OUR FAULT, BUT MOST OF THE ACCIDENTS ARE CAUSED BY SPEED-UPS AND UNSAFE MACHINERY THAT OUR PROFIT-HUNGRY BOSSES CHOOSE.

THIS COLUMN WILL REPRINT ARTICLES FROM VARIOUS UNION NEWSPAPERS AND FROM OTHER SOURCES SO WE CAN PROVIDE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE ABOUT JOB SAFETY AND HOW WE CAN FIGHT MORE EFFECTIVELY FOR BETTER CONDITIONS.

WE WOULD LIKE COMMENTS ABOUT THIS COLUMN AND ARTICLES OR LETTERS ABOUT YOUR PLANTS, OR ANY QUESTIONS WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ANSWER...WRITE TO THE LABOR COORDINATOR, 1969 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, 94303.

LABOR HISTORY

Starting next issue, we will have a regular column on labor history. Some workers have given us positive criticism on the Joe Hill article last issue and asked that we try to do more on labor history, which is our true history that we never learn in school. Our first article will be about "BLOODY THURSDAY" and the San Francisco General strike on 1934. We would like our readers to write us about specific events they'd like written up, and we'd like people also to write history articles for us. Please send these, and all criticisms and suggestions to the Labor Coordinator, 1969 University Ave. East Palo Alto, 94303

A FEW BOOKS WE HAVE FOUND USEFUL ARE:
Labor's Untold Story, by Boyer & Morais
American Trade Unionism, by William Z. Foster

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The above issue of "Pamoja Venceremos" on page 16 carries an article entitled "Interview With Fired Workers - Pam-Pro" which purports to be an interview with three individuals including Ross Webb, recently fired from that firm. The article stated that the individuals had been fired because they saw the need for and organized for a union and accused management of trying to intimidate the workers and passify them by unfullfilled promises to improve working conditions, with spreading of rumors and lies about what a union is and threatening disciplinary action against workers attempting to organize a union. The article goes on to paint a grim picture of unhealthy unsafe and unclean working conditions at Pam-Pro and accuses the management of being interested only in making money. The article also accuses Pam-Pro of racism in not promoting qualified third world people. The article states "I think they (the management) don't listen because it would cost the company more money to improve the working conditions. It would take money out of their pocket for things they don't feel are important enough... Pam-Pro doesn't even care enough about their workers who are making the money for them. They just use them and that is it...When people get hung up in a heavy profit motive they disregard human life. I think that the war in Vietnam is a profit motive...People devote too much of their time to money and making money and it is not possible to do that without stepping on some hands and it is usually the workers who get stepped on." (u)

[redacted] advised that members of the Central Committee of the VO had [redacted]

[redacted] Source stated that [redacted] within the VO is the fact that [redacted]

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The following article appeared on page 15 of "Pamoja Venceremos", issue 14, dated November 19 to December 3, 1971. (u)

Local 42 Sucks

Most unions started out serving the interests of the workers, but as being in union leadership became very profitable, the rank and file of many unions have been sold out to the bosses.

One good example is the mill-cabinet workers union, in particular local #42 (the Peninsula). The union forces all apprentices to go to a "school" two hours a night twice a week for four years. There is not even an attempt at teaching us anything, but Tyler, the local union president, makes \$8 an hour for his baby-sitting. If we don't go, the union gets together with the company and we lose our job.

At Sequoia Mill in Redwood City, a brother passed out and almost died from breathing in paint fumes while

spraying cabinets. The company (run by a pig named Chuck Baker) refused to install a spray booth. A grievance was taken to the Union business agent, Jim Shoffa... He did, does and will do nothing. Meanwhile, another brother in the paint room has had to go to the hospital for a bad liver caused by spraying, another for a bad lung. (u)

We asked Tyler what we could do about it. He said he would really like to do something, but that union rules prevent a union local's president from acting on the behalf of workers. Tyler said that even though Shoffa was incompetent and corrupt, the only thing we could do was go back to him. Later for that shit. A pig by any other name (like Union) is still a pig and will be dealt with as such.

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Meany Profits in Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic is a fascist dictatorship which openly jails or murders political opponents of the government. Now the government is hiring a U.S. public relations firm to start a massive campaign to lure tourists and investors. The only way the Dictatorship can make the island "safe" for investors and rich tourists is to eliminate all those communists, peasants and workers who have fought or spoken out against the extreme poverty and horrible working conditions of the Dominican people.

GEORGE MEANY, the AFL-CIO President, is now a big investor in the Dominican Republic. His financial group includes Lane Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO and Theodore Kheel, a New York lawyer and labor mediator.

The biggest investor on the island is Gulf and Western, a giant U.S. conglomerate which operates one of the world's largest sugar mills on the island. When the U.S. Marines crushed a revolt of workers and peasants

in Santo Domingo in 1965, Gulf and Western were thinking of buying the sugar mill--but it wanted assurance the militant sugar unions would be wiped out so they could exploit the workers fully. The Marines and Gulf and Western put the Balaguer Government in power and Balaguer crushed the sugar unions--no doubt with George Meany's help.

There have been articles on how Meany and the CIA-wing of the AFL-CIO have crushed militant and communist-led unions in some European countries. Clearly, Meany and the AFL-CIO don't represent workers any more than Nixon represents the American people. Labor fat cats like Meany are locked into this capitalist system and are getting very fat off it and off the sweat and blood of the rank-and-file and nonunion workers. And in return, these labor bosses do the Big Bosses' dirty work--they try to smash honest militant unions in the U.S. and around the world so the big imperialist corporations can have a field day on our backs. And then they sit on Wage Control

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Boards and pretend to fight for us while they actually sell us out for their own gain.

American workers must join workers all over the world who are fighting back against U.S. Imperialism. We must start by smashing every one of our labor bosses who pretends to help us while he really helps the corporations screw us and workers all over the world.

Organize against Imperialism within your unions and within your plants. We can always fight better once we realize who our true enemies and true friends are. George Meany and all the other fat-cat labor bosses are as much the enemy of workers as are the real bosses who run the giant Imperialist corporations that control our government.

SMASH ALL OUR BOSSES NOW!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Mort Newman

Venceremos Workers Committee

The following article appeared in the centerfold of "PV", No. 16: (u)

RESIST REACTIONARY

ATTACKS ON WORKING CLASS

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Before you can fight effectively, you have to have some idea of how you can win.

In this country, faced with a imperialist system, the ruling class has responded with the Wage-Price Freeze and all the other aspects of Nixon's New Economic Policy (NEP).

But nobody, not even the ruling class, is exactly sure when, how, or even if the crisis will end and nobody knows exactly what the NEP will accomplish.

But, because it's clear that the NEP is a bad thing for the American people, Venceremos is trying to understand what the Policy—and the crisis—means, and what we can do about it.

In Issue #8 of *PANOLJA VENCEREMOS*, we presented an article by Jim [redacted] about the Freeze. In response, another comrade, Jeff Freed has written the article which appears below.

Neither of these articles is the official position of Venceremos on the New Economic Policy—because we don't know enough to have an official position.

It is our hope that through the discussion in *PANOLJA VENCEREMOS* and the comments and criticisms we receive from our readers, that we will be able to understand and fight this latest attack on the people.

By Jeffrey Freed, Venceremos

"Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the toiling masses;

Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war;

Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all toilers!"

Georgi Dimitroff. UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM, 1935

"Phase Two" of Nixon's wage freeze is now on us. And like its earlier counterpart, no clear explanation of the reasons why this policy was initiated has come from the so-called leaders in Washington.

We have heard a lot of nonsense about how the freeze is necessary to pull this country out of economic difficulties. And we have also been told that these economic difficulties have been caused by working people wanting higher wages, forcing the "poor" bosses like GM, Standard Oil, General Electric and others to raise their prices "just to keep ahead"; or by people in other countries who aren't being nice to this country by purchasing its products at high prices, forcing "us" to spend more overseas than comes back; or that the economic difficulties are being caused by greedy foreign competitors cutting into the United States' domestic market. All sorts of phony reasons like this come to us each day, but it's a good thing that most of us have learned that when judging bosses, politicians, government officials and high ranking military officers, paying attention to what they actually do, and the results of their actions is more reliable by far than ever listening to what they say.

When workers and other propertyless people take a look around this country it becomes clear that what we have been told about the freeze by the so-called "leaders" in Washington bears no relation to the truth. Instead of "greedy" workers making unwarranted demands for higher wages we find working people hard-pressed to pay bills, and facing increasing unemployment, with those without jobs being cut-off from benefits, or being forced into near slavery to qualify for subsistence-level welfare programs. And as far as more money being spent in other countries than comes back here this is not surprising given the fact that

the rulers of this country spend billions of dollars each year waging an aggressive war in Indo-China, while attempting to keep control of other valuable pieces of real estate in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. The facts of the situation are that the rulers of this country being those who own the factories, railroads, insurance companies, banks, and all other means of production and distribution, have attempted to shift off the blame for the present economic crisis on everyone except those really responsible—themselves. It is the ruling class that brought on the crisis by its never-ending drive for profits by engaging the people of the United States in an unwanted aggressive war. It is the ruling class that has forced the working people of this country to support a huge wasteful military establishment. And it is the ruling class that has driven up prices, held down wages, thrown millions into the streets jobless, and increased production to the point that with low wages, high prices, and no jobs the workers are incapable of buying back what they have produced, and this leads to depression.

It is becoming clear that the wage freeze is a planned attack by the ruling "misleaders" on working and poor peoples, an attack designed to make the people of this country bear the full burden of the failure of the aggressive war in Indo-China. At the same time that the people are being forced to underwrite the ruling class' overseas profit-making ventures, an additional burden is placed upon us of maintaining a huge wasteful military establishment, and guaranteeing the profit-making ability of such corrupt failing corporate giants as Boeing Aircraft, Lockheed, Penn Central Railroad, and many others.

THE FASCIST METHOD

Wage freezes, mainly in the form of wage cuts along with production speed-ups are nothing new to the working class of this country. Between the 1970's and World War II, attacks on wages were used by bosses to either increase their profits, or to punish workers who had attempted to organize unions, and staged strikes. Always the bosses used outright terrorism against the workers and their families in the form of goon squads, police and sheriffs, special vigilante committees made up of small businessmen and active right-wingers, along with economic action such as wage cuts, increased working hours, speed-ups, fines, and mass firings. The present freeze is like the past actions of the bosses because it is a direct attack on working people, but unlike the past, Nixon's freeze is not isolated to individual plants or factories, or single industries. This freeze is part of a massive ruling class offensive against working people throughout the country, and is directly related to other measures purposely designed to completely cripple the trade union movement, smash the revolutionary struggles of Black, Latino, Indian, and poor white people, and throw the full cost of the war in Indo-China back on workers, the jobless, and the poor. All these measures are signs of the development of Fascism.

This ruling class offensive in which the wage freeze is the most recent part has two main causes: First, the need to have someone other than the "misleaders" pay the bills for the war in Indo-China and keeping a large and expensive military operation. And second, the need by the ruling class to keep the country quiet by putting down all opposition to their backward policies, and keeping the defiance of the people from expanding into a revolutionary movement.

Both of these things can be seen quite clearly if we look back to the last several years.

By 1968 it was clear to most people that the war in Indo-China was being lost, yet the ruling "misleaders" attempted to save themselves by increasing the slaughter of both Vietnamese and Americans. The cost for this aggressive effort was thrown on American working people, particularly those who were Black and Brown. Since 1965, the ruling class had attempted to secure its profit-making position in Asia by a bold and bloody military adventure which was financed in hundreds-of-thousands of Vietnamese and tens-of-thousands of American lives, and more and \$200 billion taken from the pockets of the people. The result of all this was that instead of a better life, thousands of young men were butchered in the names of Johnson, Nixon, and hundreds of corporations; instead

of prosperity there was growing poverty; and instead of social construction in providing low-cost housing, better schools and health care, and many other things that we need, the ruling class engaged in social demolition cutting back on funds for housing, schools, health, jobs, and numerous other programs.

The reaction to this was that the people struck back. In Summer 1968 uprisings broke out in Black communities in more than one hundred cities. And in Chicago, the protests against the war at the Democratic Party National Convention were turned into a bloodletting. The suppression of the Black rebellions, and the terrorism used in Chicago revealed quite clearly that "American democracy" quickly turned into a bloody iron fist when the ruling class was put in the position of waging its imperialist war and keeping the homefront quiet and secure at the same time. These are exactly the kinds of action a ruling class takes when it is preparing the foundation for FASCISM.

However, not even these violent fascist-attacks could stop the people. In 1968 and 1969 were years of mass struggle. Struggles against war-related agencies and work, against racist exclusion of Third World youth took place on every major college and university campus. Opposition to the war in Indo-China filled the streets; particularly the anger shown against the invasion of Cambodia in May 1970. And even further than this was growing rebellion in the military, including refusal to go into combat, and soldiers actively showing their opposition to the war. Actions unprecedented, except for the years right after World War I when U.S. troops refused to be used against the Russian Revolution.

The ruling class was nervous about these developments but felt it could successfully use the "carrot-and-stick" method to keep things down. The "carrot" consisted of making phony offers and moves to end the war, while buying-off with grants, jobs, scholarships and a lot of other things opportunistic intellectuals, students, politicians, and so-called Third World "community leaders". The "stick" consisted of open fascist attacks and was



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reserved for the Black, Brown, Indian and Asian people and their revolutionary groups. But while the ruling misleaders were busy dealing with these sections of the masses, the struggle was spreading into the whole working class.

The initial signs of working class activity and militancy were clear. When highly paid Oil, Chemical and Atomic workers make working alliances with student activists; when striking Teamsters conduct gun battles against the National Guard such as happened in Ohio, or welcome student assistance as took place in California; when militant Post Office workers defy government threats and stage a nation-wide strike; when Communications workers, Longshoremen and Steel workers are itching to go out on strike, and when large national unions such as United Auto Workers, Hospital workers, Teachers, Garment and Clothing workers, and numerous locals of these and other major unions start taking official stands against the war, then something has clearly gone wrong. What was wrong was that in the frenzy to place the burden of the war and a world-wide empire on the backs of the working class, the bosses created a crisis. And what the ruling class knows is that this crisis is going to last a long time, and is going to get worse, and because of this they desperately need to stop the spread of working class militancy. It is due to these conditions that the so-called "wage-price freeze" was put into effect.

The freeze is nothing more than a direct fascist attack against the working class. Its purpose is to create the conditions for smashing the organized section of the working class--the trade union movement. The ruling class needs to smash the trade unions, particularly those in the heart of U.S. capitalism in light and heavy metals, chemicals and fuels, auto, communication and transportation, electronics, and construction, to prevent them from fighting back against the burdens placed on the working class, and to prevent them from organizing and uniting with workers not yet in trade unions.

Those who rule know that the trade unions represent an organized force of around 20 million workers, and that even though many of the unions have been silenced and their leadership corrupted, in a period of economic crisis these fighting units of the working class always reassemble, their numbers always grow, and they fight back against the bosses. The ruling class remembers what almost happened during the 1930's. If the people had not fallen for the tricks of the NEW DEAL, and the United States had not been able to push the Japanese militarists to attack Pearl Harbor, there would have been revolution. The ruling class also understands that they are in more danger today than they were in the 1930's. At present U.S. imperialism is losing a nearly twenty-year effort to dominate Southeast Asia, its army and other military services are full of dissent and rebelliousness, while at home the revolutionary consciousness of the Black and Brown masses threatens to break out in rebellion at any time, and all this and an organized working class more than six times larger in numbers than in the 1930's showing increased militancy every day that passes.

With all this how can the freeze be used to smash unions? The main weapons of the freeze are to make unions useless, and to use the cover of the freeze to increase unemployment. It is quite easy to see how the freeze can make unions useless. The working class originally organized into unions to get strength in their struggle for better wages, better working conditions, and shorter hours. If workers can't get better wages, or more money for fringe benefits, and they can't shorten the work week without getting approval from some Federal Board, unions have little meaning except as hiring halls for the employers. In addition, the conditions for waging strikes have changed under the force of the freeze. Even if unions challenged guidelines and went on strike, they would be faced with tough odds, particularly in "trustified" (controlled by a few huge corporations) industries. Instead of being able to strike one corporation and force the others by example to make the same agreement, all the major corporations in the industry would have to be struck at the same time to avoid having numerous actions that can only generalize the membership, bankrupt the unions, and set

workers at each others throats. Realizing this problem many workers, local unions, and even nationalists such as the Meatpackers are calling for "general strike" to break the freeze.

The ruling class understands this strike threat. It is counting on its ability to use all other weapon--massive lay-offs--before the unions can mobilize against the freeze. The reality of this strategy can be seen in recent figures released by the Departments of Labor and Commerce which showed a healthy increase in industrial productivity during the three months of Phase I, followed by increased unemployment with 14% joblessness among "blue collar" workers, and around 25% joblessness among the "white collar" working with workers in shops and factories showing signs of distress; every major manufacturing corporation in the country started a massive production speed-up at the beginning of the freeze, while laying-off workers in their shipping and servicing operations, and those not directly engaged in production. The only explanation for this kind of action is stockpiling of goods, not because there is any increase in demand for products, but because the bosses plan to keep profits rolling in when they throw workers off the job sometime around the end of Phase II. Unions can't strike for better wages, hours and working conditions when they've been cutback in size and strength by lay-offs.

The ruling misleaders hope that their freeze weapons will be able to set the unions back, disorganize them, create demoralization and generally keep the working class disarmed until other weapons can be found. Already other weapons are being tested to make the freeze more successful. These include the use of the Taft-Hartley law to prevent and break strikes using the excuse that such actions are dangerous to "health" and "national security". Also unemployment compensation is being increased for those who had fairly good wages while they were working. A measure like this which benefits one section of the working class over another can only be a way of keeping relatively skilled workers divided from other workers even when they are both out of work. And then there are the experiments to turn so-called able-bodied welfare recipients, many of whom are Black and Brown workers unable to find a job for more than a year, into strike-breakers, and an army of low-paid workers available whenever the corporations need them. At present many states, with the blessings of Washington, are forcing welfare recipients to accept employment below or at Federal minimum-wage levels, and in some places like New York City, welfare recipients are being used to replace city employees.

From all this we must be clear that the ruling class intends to use an iron fist on the working class, and in the process bring back forced labor and even slavery. This is FASCISM!!

UNITE AND FIGHT BACK!!

In order to resist the freeze and everything it stands for, the most important thing is working class unity. This means unity within the trade union movement, unity between organized and unorganized workers, and unity between those working and those without jobs no matter whether they're collecting unemployment compensation or on welfare. Every division among working class and poor people aids the ruling class.

The main efforts must center around the trade union movement. From the start all efforts must go into educating and working with rank-and-file to move their unions to actively oppose the war in Indochina, to oppose U.S. imperialist actions anywhere around the world, and to oppose the maintenance of the imperialist military machine. But this must be a practical fighting program that opposes the war in demanding more jobs, better working conditions, earlier retirement, national health insurance, rent and price controls and lower taxes. Along this line all that is necessary is a two-point program: 1) Trade union unity in resisting the freeze and all other related attacks. This means that every union and every active worker should organize against speed-ups and against lay-offs. There should be support organized for unions struggling to get their demands, which means that in every union there must be rank-and-file committees established, whether supported or not by union leaders, that can provide assistance in event of slow-downs, walk-outs and strikes by passing out information, collecting money, and if necessary mobilizing for protests, demonstrations and solidarity strikes. 2) More jobs and better conditions for all workers. None

of the cost for the war in Indochina can be allowed to fall back on the people. Workers cannot have the wealth of this society and should be getting it back in the form of shorter hours (4 day weeks, working only 30-32 hours), more pay, better working conditions, and greater fringe benefits such as full paid retirement at 55, complete health coverage, and guaranteed job security and advancement. All contracts coming up within the next several years should include these items.

The next major area of working class unity must come in organizing the unorganized. Those to be organized include workers in industries where unions are small and weak or do not exist at all; and the unemployed and poor.

Where unions exist and dominate the industry, all efforts must be made to complete the organizing work and bring in other workers in small shops and plants, and in unorganized regions of the country. The task of completing organizing work in union-dominated industries cannot be separated from the task of organizing in industries where unions are small or do not exist. In order to make headway in the large unorganized areas of banking-finance-insurance, and among public employees there will have to be support from rank-and-filers and unions in the industrial fields. Small unions in these unorganized areas, or rank-and-filers must not just ask for assistance but must demand it. And when there is no response from the union leaders, the case must be carried to the membership.

Organizing unemployed and poor people poses more difficult practical problems since off-the-job people tend to get spread all over the place. But this practical problem is also a political problem since the ruling class can use mass lay-offs over long periods of time to destroy unions. Preventing this requires that union membership fight to have unemployed brothers and sisters kept in the union, paying dues on a partial or deferred basis. But once people are completely out of work they must be organized around more jobs through shorter work weeks, and around equal unemployment compensation. Every worker, employed or not has the right to a living wage or compensation. This holds true for workers on welfare being forced to work at poverty-level wages. Everyone must oppose welfare-slavery, and the use of welfare recipients as a "reserve army of labor."

The struggle against the freeze and all of its forms must be centered at this time around the trade unions, because it is the unions that are the main focus of the ruling class's fascist attacks. But because the unions are primary as fighting units of the working class, this does not mean that the struggle against the development of fascism should not be waged in other places. It is an absolute necessity that the struggle be waged at all times and in all places. Wherever public housing, schools, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers and other programs are suffering for lack of funds, people must be mobilized and the facts exposed that such tragedies are being caused by a cruel and unsympathetic ruling class attempting to force the burden of defending a world-wide empire on to the workers, the unemployed, and the poor. Every new tax must be fought, and every effort to expand the powers of government opposed on the basis that such measures are to be used against the people, rather than for our benefit. It is the ruling class and not the people which must pay the bills from this time on!!

Finally, all efforts against the freeze and other such attacks must be seen as part and parcel of a larger struggle. We can be sure that the ruling class has even worse fascist measures waiting for us. Our resistance and our fight against fascism must continue and grow into a solid UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM that unifies all sections of the working class, and brings to its side students, professionals, and other sections of the population.

VICTORY IN OUR STRUGGLES!!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLES!!



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IX. SECURITY

In connection with the previously-mentioned

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ON SECURITY:

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1. Use the telephone as if in front of newspapers. They are more likely to use wiretaps now that the investigations are in progress in this area. Tighten up on calls to all known and c.c. members.
2. No one who doesn't had to know should know where you work and the pigs should have a phony address.
3. Our policy is that we have no closed members. Too many people know that there are.
4. We should be very clear in talking to non-cadre that none of us knows anything about the structure of the organization outside of her collective. No one outside the organization should know that the c.c. does anything but get general policy (such as the Panthers statement and our principles of unity). There are no coordinators, no such thing as certain decisions being cleared, how decisions are transmitted and that we have notes, or chairs of collectives hooked up with a larger structure. People are very, very loose about this sort of thing right now and that should stop immediately.
6. We should decide if we have a public policy on shooting pigs, bombings, etc. and everyone should stick to that and not make insinuations that indicate that it is just our "public" policy.
7. Collectives should have serious discussions on security right away and go over each individual's security and what their public image is (ILLEGIBLE), an electronics expert, etc.)
8. People should be very, very careful about records concerning dues, no notes should be kept around comrades in appointment books and so on.
9. No one should have anything (ILLEGIBLE) and OR EXPLOSIVE DEVICE OR ANY MANUALS PERTAINING TO THAT STUFF AROUND THEIR HOUSE. This includes: partially assembled radio transmitters, old g.i. surplus grenade shells, chemicals of various kinds, modified weapons, diagrams, weird home-made burglar alarms, etc. If people don't know what might look like such a device they should. There are thousand of things in everyone's garage that could be made into such devices readily and such things should not be kept unnecessarily nor in proximity with other things like them.
10. We should follow up on Bruce's suggestion that a team of people go around to cadre houses and raid them (with unloaded guns), thoroughly searching everyone's house with a "search warrant." No one willing allowed to make phone calls while the search is in progress or to tell other cadre that the search was conducted. Suitable criticism and discipline and possibly a revised paper on security should follow.
11. There should be no more meetings at c.c. members and other well known leadership houses, especially B. & J.'s.
12. (ILLEGIBLE) new (ILLEGIBLE) should be tightened up-- investigate new ways of doing this and possibly assign someone to do this regularly and systematically in each area.

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Set forth below is the text of [redacted]

Venceremos [redacted]

made available in [redacted]

and furnished to the source by [redacted]

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X. VO AND THE VIETNAM WAR

Since its inception in early 1971 one of the primary activities of the VO has been bringing the war in Vietnam home to the people of the United States. Venceremos in its published statements has been vociferously against the United States' presence in Southeast Asia and has constantly in its writings and demonstrations attempted to relate war-related costs with poverty, inflation, and imperialist domination of the working class in the United States (u)

Venceremos has directed its anti-war efforts particularly against war-related research at Stanford University and against war-related industry in Palo Alto, particularly at Stanford Industrial Park. Since the reinstituting of the bombing of North Vietnam, and particularly since the mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese ports, Venceremos has escalated its anti-war efforts and has called for their participation in almost weekly demonstrations on the Peninsula. (u)

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In mid [redacted] furnished the following information concerning the Venceremos anti-war effort received [redacted] (u)

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (S)(u)

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[REDACTED]
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The PLP was founded in 1962 by individuals expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for following the Chinese communist line. Its objective is the establishment of a militant working-class movement based on Marxism-Leninism and MAO Tse-tung thought. (u)

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (S)(u)

Source stated that in connection with the

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (S)(u)

Source stated that in connection with [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] At the present time (S)(u)

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according to the source, Venceremos is [REDACTED]

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The following article appeared on Page 17 of the
Redwood City, California, Times, May 3, 1972: (4)

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Appeal On War Fizzles

By KEN ROWE

San Mateo County's Board of Supervisors last week listened to, then refused to consider action on, anti-war demands presented by the revolutionary Venceremos organization.

Board chairman Gerald E. Day and Supervisor Robert St. Clair both stated that the Board's long-standing policy has been one of non-interference in national and international affairs. Both said the policy would stand, and it did.

Thomas Pillsbury and Jane Franklin, both Venceremos members, argued that U.S. military involvement in Indochina directly affects San Mateo County.

In an exchange with Pillsbury, Chairman Day conceded that, "Yes, it (the war) affects the County of San Mateo ... but only in as far as those (servicemen) who serve the government of the United States."

As one of several demands from Venceremos, Pillsbury asked the supervisors to "investigate the whereabouts" of all U.S. servicemen from San Mateo County, to make sure they are not being shipped to Indochina while the U.S. administration states that troops are being withdrawn.

Other demands included county endorsement of the seven-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (Viet Cong).

Chairman Day said the board was not "fully acquainted" with the Provisional Revolutionary Government proposal. Supervisor Jean Fassler asked for photocopies of the document, for closer examination.

Venceremos also demanded that the county attempt to halt performance of an alleged military contract at Ampex Corporation in Redwood City. The revolutionary group contends that Ampex, which it calls "Redwood City's major defense contractor," is building and servicing instrumentation recorders used by the Air Force to protect B-52 bombers from North Vietnamese counter-attacks while on bombing runs.

Ampex officials declined to comment on the Venceremos statement.

Chairman Day said "taking on Ampex," regarding a federal contract, is not a duty of the Board of Supervisors.

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XI. FACTIONALISM

✓ The Stanford Daily of July 13, 1971, on Page 1, contained an article "Panther Split Precipitates Division in Venceremos." This article reflects that the group of Venceremos members under the leadership of MIRIAM CHERRY had split away from VO because they favored the bread and butter issues espoused by the Black Panther Oakland Faction while BRUCE FRANKLIN and the main Venceremos group favored the New York Algiers Faction of the Black Panther Party and prefers to organize around the issues of the Indo-China War and the "United Front Against Facism and Imperialism." (u)

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The following article appeared in the Stanford Daily of September 27, 1971, Page 4: (u)

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Best copy available

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VENCEREMOS!—Five of the six brown members of the Venceremos Central Committee hold a shotgun, the "symbol of freedom for all oppressed peoples" against the background of the organization's flag. Members are (back, left to right) Katarina Davis Delvalle, Linda Lopez, Juan Flores, Aaron Manganiello, and seated Guerra Rodriguez. Missing are Bruce Franklin, Deana Manganiello, Fred Lonsdale, and one brown member.

—daily photo by Marc Goldstein

Campus Venceremos Splits

By BILL EVERS

About half of the Stanford campus contingent of Venceremos, a San Francisco Peninsula revolutionary communist group, left the organization this summer and re-emerged as an all-white "intercommunal" subgroup of the Oakland Black Panther Party.

The division and secession came after the Venceremos central committee decided that the activities and policies of the Oakland Panthers (headed by Huey Newton, David Hilliard and Bobby Seale) were "revisionist."

The group which left Venceremos is now called the Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) of the Black Panther Party.

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In a decision which may have important repercussions for events at Stanford this fall, the newly-formed ISC has decided that its members will concentrate on the sort of community service programs and welfare rights advocacy that the Oakland Panthers have been engaged in since they broke with Eldridge Cleaver, rather than organizing around the disciplinary hearing of suspended Associate Professor of English H. Bruce Franklin, who is a member of the central committee of Venceremos.

Franklin faces possible dismissal from his position on the faculty for his alleged participation last academic year in the disruption of Henry Cabot Lodge's speech and in various activities at the time of campus troubles over the Computation Center. (See related story, page 1.)

"Other Priorities"

Miriam Cherry, who works on campus in association with the Roman Catholic Newman Center in Palo Alto, and who after she left Venceremos, became a leading figure in the ISC, told *The Daily*:

"We have other priorities. We don't see spending a lot of time fighting—by leafleting, in rallies, going to Bruce's class—to fight for a white male intellectual's job, when we know there are people sitting on death row. We want to free those people on death row now. That takes a lot of work, arduous work, every day... We have to question Bruce's contributions, in terms of the revolution, by staying here at Stanford."

Thus, on campus, the split revolves around the leadership and practical guidance of two important Stanford revolutionaries: Franklin and Cherry. In addition, the split reflects some of the organizational difficulties inherent in a project which both those who still remain in Venceremos and those who have left share as a goal. This project is the creation of a multi-racial, revolutionary political organization, which as a matter of principle for them is to be headed by non-whites.

"Racist Sissies"

At the time of the split, the brown members of the Venceremos central committee denounced those who had left the organization as "racist sissies."

First, they said that they were radical and not

in the multi-national and Third World controlled-democratic-~~ist~~ organization in his geographical area is objectively a racist and an oppressor. (This was said before those who left had affiliated formally with the Oakland Panthers.)

Venceremos also said that those who left had, after voluntarily pledging "to be duty-bound by the Third World leadership and Third World comrades of Venceremos," gone against the Third World membership, which unanimously agreed with the critique of the Oakland Panthers. On the other hand, the ISC group considered that its Third World command came from the vanguard Black Panther Party.

The second point made by the brown members of the Venceremos central committee was that those who left Venceremos are "sissies" because they believe (as the Oakland Black Panthers do) that in the present situation, "political and "military" (i.e., terrorist) cadre should be separate from one another and because they have chosen to be political cadre, working in community service programs. Venceremos believes that the "absolutely correct strategy for revolutionary armed struggle in the U.S." is "protracted war based on urban guerrilla warfare."

Panthers Criticized

The Venceremos position paper critiquing the Oakland Panthers states: "George Jackson [who before his death was a member of the Oakland faction of the Panthers] stresses the need for a total separation between political work, which consists of serve-the-people programs in no way related to guns, and military work, which is undertaken spontaneously by the masses who form decentralized guerrilla units."

"Any connection between the political and military aspects would merely give the pigs an 'excuse to attack our political projects.' This line represents a complete cop-out by the party in its main responsibility in military affairs to provide concrete political leadership."

In contrast, members of the ISC see as their most important political task setting up voluntary welfare programs, especially in the areas of health services (sickle-cell anemia tests, training technicians from out of the poor population), prisoners' support (busing friends and relatives to visit those in jail, writing to prisoners), repair services (for repair of broken plumbing, automobiles, and electrical systems), and youth-oriented services (for example, their Marie Hill child care program in Sunnyvale, named after a mentally-unbalanced young black woman sentenced to death—but not yet executed—in North Carolina in 1968 for the murder of a white grocer).

ISC members say they believe in self-defense, which for them means defending "survival programs," like these community service programs. But they do not approve of "revolutionary" handbills—~~sent to~~ ~~photo~~ ~~the police~~

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An article on Page 6 of the Stanford Daily of December 2, 1971, reflects that the Reverend JOSEPH HARDEGREE "a self-acknowledged ~~Marxist~~-Christian minister", who was fired from his Stanford position, was a former member of Venceremos who left the VO during the Summer of 1971. In an interview HARDEGREE characterized the VO as still "an effective revolutionary group" adding "I think they want to define too narrowly what revolutionaries meant while the Black Panther Party was broadening into other issues other than 'off the pig' that met the broadening line of demarkation 'either you were against the Panthers or out of Venceremos.' I got out of Venceremos." (u)

The following article appeared in the Stanford Daily of February 10, 1972, Page 2: (u)

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Clarify Venceremos' Position

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(The following is an article in response to the two articles by Gary Atkins on the Intercommunal Survival Committee to Combat Fascism and their relation to Venceremos in the Daily of February 2 and 3.)

* * *

Although I'm not a member of Venceremos, I feel it necessary to reply to some of the accusations and innuendos about Venceremos made by Miriam Cherry and Sharon Winslow of the Intercommunal Survival Committee to Combat Fascism in the Daily articles on ISCCF by Gary Atkins.

I've been studying the theory and practice and talking with members of both organizations for quite a while now and have come to realize that the main contradiction between the two is that ISCCF and the Black Panther Party are revisionist, whereas Venceremos is revolutionary.

Miriam Cherry claims, in the first article, that "We saw one-sided thinking in Venceremos, a one-sided view that revolution is based just on picking up the gun--or talking about picking up the gun." Venceremos made many mistakes last year, such as failure to work within a united front and abandoning the student movement, but they have never seen revolution or serving the people only in terms of "picking up the gun."

I myself work at the Sojourner Truth child care center in Palo Alto, which is run by a united front of Venceremos members and other community people who find a need to serve poor and working people. Venceremos runs and serves in other child care centers and food co-ops in the Bay Area, particularly in the People's Medical Center in East Redwood City.

Venceremos is constantly trying to create new programs to serve the people. It is ISCCF that is one-sided because it only sees one side of the dialectic, serve the people: Venceremos sees the dialectic and sees the need for people, step by step.

Opponents to Child Care

In February 1971, the

Cherry states they are "people who sit off" to the side and

criticize, who try in various ways to say that there programs are wrong without investigating for themselves or being themselves involved. And we get it from both sides, both reactionaries and so-called revolutionaries who call you 'racist sissy' as you walk by."

First of all, Venceremos doesn't criticize the survival programs per se. What they criticize is the fact that those programs are more and more being co-opted into and by the establishment, i.e. by capitalism. As for the 'racist sissy' part, Venceremos labeled the (white) members who split with that term because they blindly followed the leadership of Huey P. Newton without seeing the practice that came out of his leadership, and because they would accept no criticism and refused to struggle over the issue to find unity.

The cause of the split was not just "a matter of tactics." The split occurred because those members mentioned above who split refused to recognize the fact that the Black Panther Party was becoming totally revisionist, that it had given up the idea of even thinking about tactics for a revolution.

The transformation to revisionism is easily traceable in Huey P. Newton's speeches: of May 29, 1971, "What we are interested in is for it (the system) to correct itself as much as it can do and after that if it doesn't do everything that the people think is necessary then we'll think about reorganizing things. November 29, 1971, "We don't have to go through a socialist phase." January 29, 1972, "We're going to put down our guns and work within the system."

Direct Contradiction

This tactic is in direct contradiction to "the idea, according to the Panthers... to bring people to a "revolutionary consciousness" by serving them and having them participate in community programs."

An organization cannot "work within the system" and keep its guns and still be revolutionary or build revolutionary programs.

points out, a revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows

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another," and to overthrow any
oppressive government takes pains.

History shows that no ruling class has ever given up its power peacefully. To "put down our guns" means that the Panther and ISCCP programs are open to attack by the police, who remain convinced that the Panthers are out to destroy them.

To "work within the system" with firm belief that real change is possible by that route, is to admit that revolution in the U.S. is impossible because, as Felix Greene, who has studied American political socio-economic systems for years, puts it, "... the fake democracy of capitalism can never by its very nature bring about the fundamental changes that are needed now, for what is called democracy is merely the way in which greed and exploitation have been institutionalized; it is, in other words, designed precisely to prevent fundamental change." (*The Enemy*, p. 311)

Within The System

The above should not be taken to mean that Venceremos is totally against working within the system. I have witnessed Venceremos work with city councils, student referendums, the ASSU Senate, and as teachers at Stanford and elsewhere.

Venceremos sees working within the system as part of an overall strategy to effect political change, whereas ISCCF believes in only working within the system. Venceremos understands that fundamental change will only come when the capitalist ruling class is no longer in power.

If a revolutionary organization does not stick to its Marxist-Leninist ideology, it will be co-opted by capitalism, as the Communist Party in the U.S. has been and the Black Panther Party and ISCCF are being. If the members of an organization don't "sit back and read . . . Marx and Lenin" (Sharon Winslow) at least daily, they will fall to revisionist tactics of "working within the system" and "using the system's weapons," and "practicing the theory, does theory determine practice."

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So it should be clear that the principal antagonism between Venceremos and ISCCP and the Black Panther Party is not over a question of survival programs. Both organizations have those. It is rather a question of the tactic of the latter organization of working only within the system for minor reforms, and Venceremos' tactic of fundamental change, "complete satisfaction" (in the words of the latter organization) "by any means necessary."

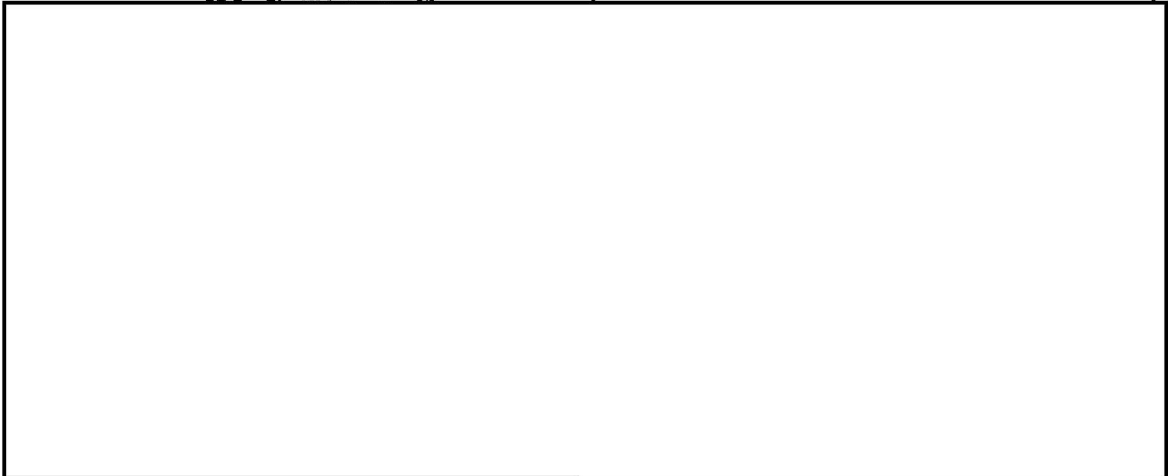
(Rich Cummings is a Freshman)

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At a meeting in late



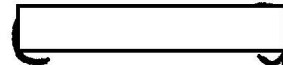
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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

June 28, 1972

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Title VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS
ORGANIZATION

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above at
San Francisco.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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Date of Mail 8-16-72

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/26/03 BY 60390 BCE/MLT/EHL

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL Venceremos Organization

97 SEP 19 1972

Removed By _____

File Number 100-462905-121

Permanent Serial Charge Out

Enclosure

100-462905 serial 121

June Mail

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : A. J. Decker

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO) (u)
INTERNAL SECURITY - CHINA

1 - Mr. D.D. Kinley
1 - Mr. E.S. Miller

DATE: 8/16/72

1 - Mr. A.J. Decker

1 - Mr. J.M. Sizoo

1 - [redacted]

970470

CLASSIFIED BY SP2 MLT/KEHL
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Dalbey _____
Jenkins _____
Marshall _____
Miller, E.S. _____
Ponder _____
Soyars _____
Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Ms. Herwig _____
Mrs. Neenan _____

This recommends we request Attorney General (AG) authority to institute a telephone surveillance (tesur) on the central office and headquarters of the VO, a violence-prone Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization in current contact with the Chinese communists (Chicom). Telephone [redacted]

[redacted] covers VO office at 1969 University Avenue. Authority for this coverage would be for an initial three-month period to [redacted] (u)

VO was formed in early 1971 as a result of a split in the pro-Chicom Revolutionary Union (RU). VO advocates violent overthrow of the Government and, to this end, its members are accumulating weapons and explosives while engaging in firearms practice and guerrilla warfare training. [redacted]

San Francisco has advised installation of this tesur is feasible with full security. As of this date, 29 tesurs are installed and operating, not including three at the request of Department of State. Ten tesurs are awaiting installation. Four have been recommended for installation and are awaiting Acting Director or AG approval. (u)

Enclosures (3)

100-462905

DR:dgo/ems ems
(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

SEP 19 1972

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ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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[AUG 16 5 18 PM '72] * (u)

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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FBI JUSTICE

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[AUG 16 1 38 PM '72] * (u)

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[AUG 17 9 52 AM 1972] * (u)

LEGAL COUNSEL

RECEIVED
OFFICE 3A

Memorandum, A.J. Decker to Mr. E.S. Miller
Re: Venceremos Organization (VO)
100-462905

~~SECRET~~

This coverage [is designed to produce foreign intelligence information and] is not affected by Supreme Court decision 6/19/72, United States versus U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan et al, which decided that tesurs on domestic subversives cannot be authorized by the President. ~~(u)~~ ~~(u)~~

ACTION:

That attached memorandum for the Attorney General, enclosing a characterization of the circumstances surrounding this request for a tesur, and memorandum containing the Attorney General's suggested response go forward. ~~(u)~~

FDB DR

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[Jm 8/18
8:26A]

WGC/P

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

DATE: 11/1/72

FROM : W. O. Cregar *woc/c*

- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
- 1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
- 1 - [redacted] (1517 JB)
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
- 1 - Mr. J. F. McGuire

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

INTERNAL SECURITY - VO 970470

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-22-03 BY SP2 MTL/EHL

PURPOSE:

This is to advise you of developments in our investigation of the Venceremos Organization (VO), a revolutionary pro-Chicom, Marxist-Leninist, violence-prone organization whose membership is primarily concentrated in the San Francisco, California, peninsula area.

DETAILS:

"Pamoja Venceremos," a VO publication, in its October, 1972, issue carried a poetic item entitled "The beat is getting stronger," which states, in part, "The moments are more frequent that I feel the need to kill for the revolution." The same issue also announced that Aaron Manganiello, chairman of the VO Central Committee resigned his position as he was incapable of providing strong leadership for the organization. Reportedly, [redacted] is the [redacted] of the VO Central Committee, having previously served as [redacted]

Most important of VO developments is the case involving the escape of [redacted] from custody of California State authorities. Reportedly, [redacted] is a VO member with a [redacted] which includes a conviction for kidnaping. On 10/6/72 [redacted] was being transported from the California Institute for Men (CIM) at Chino to Superior Court in San Bernardino. En route, the California State vehicle transporting [redacted] was intercepted by armed unknown subjects; the State vehicle was ditched, one guard was shot and killed and the other was wounded. [redacted] escaped and is at large. However, [redacted] left a folder containing a letter in the State vehicle which verifies that as of 5/8/72 the VO Central Committee considered him "a leader in Venceremos."

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Marshall
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Soyars
Walters
Tele. Room
Mr. Kinley
Mr. Armstrong
Ms. Herwig
Mrs. Neenan

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Venceremos Organization
100-462905

[REDACTED]

Resulting investigation established that [REDACTED] was visited on 9/28/72 at CIM by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has been identified as a member of the VO Central Committee. Further, according to San Bernardino Sheriff's Office two eye witnesses have identified photographs of [REDACTED] of a vehicle allegedly associated with the [REDACTED] escape crime scene. [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] and has also been identified as a VO member. California State warrants were issued for the arrest of [REDACTED] based on the California Murder and Lynching Law. Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution warrants were also obtained; however, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] surrendered through an attorney, were arraigned, and remanded to custody of San Bernardino County Jail on 10/25/72. No bail was set.

Our Special Investigative Division is supervising the fugitive investigation to locate and apprehend [REDACTED] and his confederates in connection with ~~the Escape and Rescue statute~~ the Escape and Rescue statute. Instructions have been issued to Los Angeles, office of origin in [REDACTED] case, to afford it vigorous supervisory and investigative attention. Similar instructions have been issued to San Francisco, office of origin in VO case, in order to establish close coordination with Los Angeles. VO informants have been targeted to determine [REDACTED] whereabouts, identities of all his confederates, and the degree of possible VO Central Committee involvement in the escape. Towards those objectives, we have recently established [REDACTED] which affords us expanded access to the U. S. Secret Service, Federal Aviation Agency, and the Department have been advised of pertinent details of the escape.

ACTION:

For your information and interest.

Keep after this... HARD! Jim 11/2 9:03 P

JEM

WGC² -

EM

WVC
506
C1012

7

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : W. O. Cregar

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - VO

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland
[redacted] 1517 JB)

DATE: 12/15/72

1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
1 - Mr. T. J. Smith
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
1 - Mr. J. F. McGuire

Felt _____
Baker _____
Callahan _____
Cleveland _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Gebhardt _____
Jenkins _____
Marshall _____
Miller, E.S. _____
Purvis _____
Soyars _____
Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Ms. Herwig _____
Mrs. Neenan _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-21-03 BY 3221/ELH

PURPOSE:

This is to advise of developments surrounding the apprehension of [redacted] alleged member of violence-prone Venceremos Organization (VO), whose ambush-escape from custody 10/6/72 with aid from others resulted in the slaying of a California State prisoner guard and wounding of another.

DETAILS:

Memorandum W. O. Cregar to Mr. E. S. Miller, 11/1/72, captioned as above, contained early developments in the [redacted] escape and our efforts to establish whether any VO Central Committee complicity was involved. The Acting Director commented on the memorandum, "Keep after this. . . hard!"

Briefly, VO is a pro-Chicom, Marxist/Leninist organization primarily concentrated in San Francisco peninsula area and is committed to the revolutionary tactic of armed struggle. On 10/6/72, [redacted] serving concurrent state and Federal sentence at California Institution for Men (CIM) at Chino, California, was being escorted by two unarmed guards to Superior Court in San Bernardino, when State vehicle was forced off the road by two other vehicles. Unknown assailants from those vehicles freed [redacted] shot one guard who died and wounded the other.

On 12/11/72, San Francisco Police Department acting on a tip from an anonymous citizen, arrested [redacted] and [redacted] in a [redacted] were both armed with loaded revolvers. Recovered from the vehicle were: a 12

100-462905

JFM:mjg
(7)

REC-84

CONTINUED - OVER

14 DEC 27 1972

NAT. DEF. SEC. C. C.
McGuire

52 JAN 5 1973

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Venceremos Organization
100-462905

gauge, sawed-off, pump action, shotgun fully loaded; two .45 caliber semiautomatic pistols fully loaded; a .30 caliber carbine loaded with a banana clip; numerous rounds of ammunition, and two smoke-type hand grenades. [redacted] were remanded to custody of local authorities. [redacted] is held on State charges of escape and murder; [redacted] on State charges of murder and conspiracy. [redacted] has been publicly identified as a member of the VO Central Committee formed in 1970. b7C

In coordination with the Special Investigation Division, intensified investigation is continuing to identify the unknown subjects involved in the escape, to establish VO complicity and evidence of violations under our jurisdiction.

ACTION:

For your information and interest.

WGC/GCM

JFM

EM/DEAN

FAM

832

SOX

WGC

DR

G
12-19
5:31P

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : Mr. W. O. Cregar

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION OF DOMESTIC PRO-CHINESE COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

1 - Congressional Services Office

DATE: 3/21/73

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar

1 - [REDACTED] b7C

Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Baker _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Cleveland _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Gebhardt _____
Mr. Jenkins _____
Mr. Marshall _____
Mr. Miller, E.S. _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Mr. Thompson _____
Mr. Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Mr. Bowers _____
Mr. Herington _____
Ms. Herwig _____
Mr. Mintz _____
Mrs. Neenan _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-22-03 BY SPAMT/HHL

This is to advise that on 2/27/73 the Committee on Internal Security, U. S. House of Representatives (HCIS), adopted a resolution to conduct investigation and hearings to determine the extent, character, activities and objectives of six domestic Marxist-Leninist organizations sympathetic to the Communist Party of China.

On 3/14/73 [REDACTED] (appointed [REDACTED] on 3/15/73), HCIS, furnished a copy (attached) of the resolution adopted by the Committee on 2/27/73 which specifies the Revolutionary Union (RU), Venceremos Organization (VO), Communist League (CL), American Communist Workers Movement (ACWM), October League (OL) and I Wor Kuen (IWK) as organizations of current investigative interest to the Committee. Last year the Committee conducted an extensive investigation of the RU and VO and produced a 202-page report documenting the origin, objectives and activities of these pro-Maoist groups. The report was primarily based on the testimony of two former FBI informants we referred to HCIS and public source information. HCIS interview with a third FBI informant has been approved and is pending. The HCIS report has been a valuable aid to our investigators and law enforcement.

and [REDACTED] of the HCIS staff, are all former [REDACTED] and highly experienced in the intricacies of intelligence-type investigations. Our association with them has been cordial and they have been constantly alert to avoid any possibility of conflict with FBI interest.

Enclosure

DR:vgc
(5)

ENCLOSURE

100-462905-15
CONTINUED NOT RECORDED
152 MAR 29 1973

ORIGINAL FILED IN

70 APR 5 1974

100-462905-A

5-Byr

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Investigation of Domestic Pro-
Chinese Communist Organizations
by the House Committee on
Internal Security

For the fiscal year of 1973, HCIS submitted a budget of \$575,000 which was cut back to \$475,000 by the Committee on House Administration. The 1973 budget will be voted upon by the House of Representatives on 3/22/73 and it is expected to be approved with substantial opposition (the fiscal year 1972 HCIS budget of \$525,000 was approved by a vote of 304 to 102 with 26 abstentions).

ACTION:

For information.

DR

DEM

WGC

Em

b7C

on 3/22/73 HCIS advised
House of Rep. vote on
3/22 approved HCIS
1973 budget by
298 for 91/101
against.
DR

RESOLUTION

970470
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-22-03 BY SP2 MLT/EHL

WHEREAS, the House of Representatives has authorized the Committee on Internal Security, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, to make investigations from time to time of such organizations or groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, as are more fully set forth in House Rule XI, clause 11, to aid the Congress or any committee of the House in any necessary remedial legislation, and to report the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable; and

WHEREAS, the Committee is in possession of information on the basis of which it has reason to believe that among organizations or groups operating within the United States (of the types and within the scope of the aforesaid Rule) are a number which appear to be Marxist-Leninist in character, proliferating within recent years following the break between the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of China, including the Revolutionary Union, Venceremos, the Communist League, American Communist Workers' Movement, the October League and I Wor Kuen, which are of concern in relation to their probable adverse impact upon the internal security of the United States;

NOW THEREFORE for the purposes and pursuant to the authority of the aforesaid Rule:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Committee on Internal Security, or any subcommittee thereof appointed for such purpose, conduct investigation and hearings at such times and places as the Chairman may

ENCLOSURE

Adopted at Committee
100-462905-
5-1-77

determine of the extent, character, objectives, and activities of each of the aforesaid organizations, namely, the Revolutionary Union, Venceremos, the Communist League, American Communist Workers' Movement, the October League and I Wor Kuen, with particular reference to:

- (1) operational and organizational structure;
- (2) recruiting, indoctrination, training, and operational techniques;
- (3) the extent, character, objectives, and activities of organizations or groups created or controlled by each;
- (4) the extent to which each of said organizations, and organizations or groups created or controlled by each, may be involved in acts of violence or other unlawful activities to accomplish their purposes and objectives;
- (5) the extent to which and manner in which any of such organizations or groups may be aided or assisted, be supported by, or act in concert with foreign Communist powers, their agents or nationals;
- (6) the extent to which and the manner in which said organizations and groups are financed or otherwise supported; and
- (7) all other facts in relation to the foregoing.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1496188-0

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 6/12/73	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/6/72 - 6/6/73
--	--	------------------------	---

TITLE OF CASE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C	TYPED BY lmr
---	---	------------------------

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - VO b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE **5-28-83** BY **SP2 MLT/ELH**

Document reviewed in its entirety.

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Los Angeles, 5/17/73.
San Francisco report of SA **[REDACTED]** 5/30/73. (u)

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE

Two copies of an FD-376 are stapled hereto for dissemination to United States Secret Service. (u)

This report is classified confidential inasmuch as it contains information from **[REDACTED]** and nonsymbol sources, the unwarranted disclosure of which would jeopardize the identities of sources of continuing value. (u)

Bureau 6/15/73 to LA & SF
 SF on 6/15/73
 LA on 6/15/73
 77 cards

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED **[Signature]** SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- 10 - Bureau (100-462905) (RM)
- 1 - 115th MIG, San Pedro (RM)
- 1 - NISO, LIND (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
- 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco, (100-68932) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-79692)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-462905-22 (RM) JUN 15 1973 **REC-26**

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By	
ISS	24 AGCD	7/18/73	R/S	IT	42 VPM SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.
		7/18/73	R/S		
		7/18/73	R/S		
		7/18/73	R/S		

53 AUG 13 1973

COVER PAGE

mandatory
PD# 102
p26-102
corrected
AT App Form 0-7
Ch. 1131/93-25

AUG 2 1973 JUL 30 1973

JUL 25 1973

JUN 18 10 38 AM '73

FBI
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

JUL 25 4 40 PM '73

RECEIVED
INTELLIGENCE DIV.

RECEIVED
SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE
DIVISION

Photo pgs 1, 8, 14-16, 27-28

CC TO: <i>CSC State</i>
REQ. REC'D <i>7-22-73</i>
AUG 5 1975
ANS.
BY: <i>GRS/AMM</i>

Re:

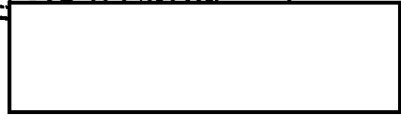
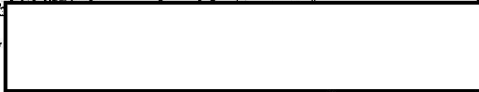


Photo C pgs 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 37, 38

CC TO: <i>CSC</i>
REQ. REC'D <i>b7C - SP - 16</i>
MAR 31 1976
ANS.
BY: <i>GRS LUB</i>

Re:



DATE
RECEIVED
BY

Individuals mentioned in this report and residing in the Los Angeles/San Bernardino area are under current investigation by this office to determine actual membership in the Venceremos Organization (VO). VO members temporarily in San Bernardino are being investigated by the San Francisco Division and are currently under observation by the Los Angeles Division.

Information received from the San Francisco Division indicates an active branch of the VO in Los Angeles. Intensive investigation to date has not positively placed persons who have been contacted by VO within the membership rolls at this time.

[redacted] has brought local attention to the VO in San Bernardino and within Third World, New Left and communist based groups in the Los Angeles area. Bay area VO members have been highly active in speaking engagements and fund raising events to foster support from Los Angeles leftist organizations. The support solicited by the VO has been for [redacted]

b7C

Los Angeles is aware that the FBI is not interested in collecting information relative to VO defense strategies being utilized by Bay area members temporarily residing in the San Bernardino area as the Chino Defense Committee. This has been the original motivation for key VO members to travel to San Bernardino. Prior to the [redacted]

[redacted] the Los Angeles/San Bernardino areas, [redacted] Results of these contacts are set forth in the details of this report. Contacts were established with such groups as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), Peace Action Council (PAC), Communist Party front organizations, Revolutionary Union (RU) members, radical law collectives, Mexican-American organizations, black prison reform groups, ACLU, university and college campus organizations, Los Angeles Press Club, and other news media contacts.

b7C

b7D

LA 100-79692

VO has not sponsored any political demonstrations in Los Angeles or San Bernardino, but individual members have been identified at demonstrations relative to other causes.

Los Angeles is of the opinion that a VO cadre has not been formed. It is felt that contacts by VO members are being maintained with leftist organizations for the purpose of solidarity in the third world fight against oppression. In this regard, persons connected with VO telephone numbers are being investigated by the Los Angeles Division to determine actual VO involvement.

Los Angeles is continually alert for sources who can be targeted for membership in the VO in Los Angeles and San Bernardino.

In this report, the Special Agent who received information concerning [redacted] was SA [redacted]. The Special Agent who observed VO member vehicles at [redacted] San Bernardino, California, 3/8/73, was SA [redacted].

b7C

The Special Agent observing VO members in the vicinity of the San Bernardino County Courthouse was SA [redacted].

b7C

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: (1) Attempt to identify Los Angeles based VO members.

(2) Will follow the activities of the VO in Los Angeles and San Bernardino, California.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

b2

[redacted]
Set forth separately

b7D

LA 100-79692



100-79692-37
-51
-71
-107
-113
-116
-125



100-79692-61, 90
-71, 91, 122
100-82463-1

b2

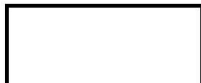


b7D

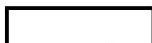
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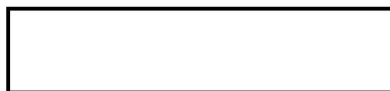
Set forth separately



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Set forth separately



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LA 100-79692

NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

SOURCE

LOCATION



100-79692-20

(By request)



100-79692-45

(Deemed advisable)



100-79692-74
100-79692-78

(Deemed advisable)



100-79692-48

(Protect) (Deemed advisable)

b2

b7C

b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

LA 100-79692

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. BU 100-462905

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 12, 1973

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION
RE: INTERNAL SECURITY -
VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

William D. Ruckelshaus
Acting Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s)

-F-

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

1 - 115th MIG, San Pedro
1 - NISO, 11ND
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles

Report of: b7C

Date:

6/12/73

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #:

100-79692

Bureau File #:

100-462905

Title:

VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Synopsis:

The Venceremos Organization, (VO), is a San Francisco peninsula based organization. Investigation has indicated the VO has established a branch in Los Angeles, California. Investigation continues in the Los Angeles Division to determine actual VO membership as set forth. Observation of VO based members currently residing in the San Bernardino, California, area, also set forth. At present, VO is operating in the Los Angeles area to bolster support for the Chino Defense Committee, San Bernardino, California, and investigation is continuing to determine if the VO has established a Los Angeles collective/cadre. (u)

-P-

970470
DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 MLT/EHL
ON 5-28-03

b7C

CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Indefinite.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-79692

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LA 100-79692

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATION

VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO)

Formed in December 1970, the VO, also known as Venceremos, is a militant Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization composed of third world and white revolutionaries operating in the San Francisco Peninsula area. The publicly stated goal of the VO is to build a united front against the imperialist United States leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare. The VO has publicly stated that all members must know how to operate and service weapons and have weapons available.

CHINO DEFENSE COMMITTEE (CDC)

On November 30, 1972, a press notice, "For Immediate Release" was distributed in the vicinity of the Ontario Superior Court, Ontario, California, and a copy was obtained by a Special Agent of the FBI. This press release reads, in part, as follows:

BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR REPORTERS COVERING THE OCTOBER 6TH ESCAPE FROM CHINO PRISON BY RON BEATY; THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF BENTON DOUGLAS BURT AND ANDREA HOLMAN; AND THE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION--NOVEMBER 11, 1972.

"The purpose of this release is to provide background information on the Venceremos organization to reporters covering the above mentioned events and people. When writing articles we hope reporters will refer to this background rather than the House Internal // Security Committee (HISC) Report which was

written by the extreme right wing of the United States Congress and is inadequate in most of its detail.

"The Venceremos organization, as presently formed, was created in January 1970, when approximately half of the members of the Revolutionary Union (virtually all of those in the Bay Area) were reunited into an all-Chicano organization called Venceremos. Venceremos is a multi-national, communist revolutionary organization. The group is made up of people of various nationalities, Black, Chicano, Asian, Anglo, and others, and guarantees the leadership of Third World comrades in all of its leading bodies, including the Central Committee. Venceremos comrades are united on the basis of five Principles of Unity and are dedicated to international proletarian revolution and the liberation of all oppressed peoples and nations.

"Venceremos cadre are involved in all forms of revolutionary organizing in communities, factories, schools, the army, and the jails. Members participate in running drug programs, child care centers, a community medical clinic, prison law and legal projects, tenants' unions, womens' centers, and other programs in the interest of poor and working people. Venceremos cadre also do extensive anti-war organizing, union organizing, and several members have run in local elections. Because in all their actions Venceremos members work in the interests of the people and against the interests of the ruling class, 'every Venceremos member must learn to operate and service weapons correctly, must have arms available, and must actively teach the oppressed people the importance and methods of armed and organized self-defense.'

"FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

b7C



The complete text of the above mentioned press release is hereafter set forth.

"CHARLES GARRY DEFENDS TWO REVOLUTIONARIES CHARGED WITH THE OCTOBER 6 MURDER OF A CHINO PRISON GUARD. ~

"Three months after the House Internal Security Committee declared Venceremos the 'greatest potential threat to internal security' in the United States, the San Francisco Bay Area revolutionary organization made the headlines again.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"On October 6, Venceremos member and Chino inmate, Ronald Wayne Beaty, was freed from the custody of two Chino guards who were taking him to court.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"One guard was killed and the other wounded-- allegedly by Venceremos member Andrea Lynn Holman; her fiancé, Benton Douglas Burt, (who served time with Beaty); and two other, unidentified accomplices. ||

David Burt

"More than a week before warrants were issued on Friday, October 20, for the arrests of Holman and Burt, two other people were arrested on murder charges in connection with the case. Cheryl Ann Hockin, a Hayward resident, and David Allan Strain, a Venceremos member living in Mountain View, were both promptly released when authorities realized they had no evidence on which to hold the two.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"This Thursday, November 30, at 1:00 PM in Ontario Superior Court, Department W-3 (1540 N. Mountain Ave., Ontario), Holman and Burt will

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appear before Judge Garner in an attempt to have bail set and to enter a number of important motions.

"They are being defended by a legal team including Charles Garry (who successfully defended Black Panthers Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in their murder trials), Thomas Nolan and Walter Hunkeler.

"There also will be a pre-trial hearing on December 29. The trial is tentatively scheduled for January 8.

(EDITORS NOTE: Enclosed are several other releases and a pullout from the Venceremos newspaper PAMOJA VENCEREMOS. This is for use as background information and as a further explanation of the events and politics surrounding the case. Any additional information you might want about the case or the nature and activities of the Venceremos organization can be had by calling [redacted]
[redacted]

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(EDITORS NOTE: The following information is a compilation of releases issued previously as well as general, background information about the case and the Venceremos organization. Also enclosed in this packet is a pull-out from PAMOJA VENCEREMOS. If you have any questions, please contact [redacted]
[redacted] at the above number.)"

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VO members and sympathizers connected with the Venceremos Defense Committee, (later known as the CDC) were observed at the Ontario Superior Court in Ontario, California. Bay area VO members identified were [redacted]

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On April 2, 1973, Bay area members identified were

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On March 8, 1973, a Special Agent of the FBI
observed vehicles of VO members at
San Bernardino, California. Vehicles were registered to

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b7D A copy of a leaflet depicting the BEATY escape case being distributed in East Los Angeles barrio, was provided to the Los Angeles Division.

The Beaty Escape Case

RIGHT NOW ABOUT 21,000 MEN AND WOMEN ARE IN CALIFORNIA STATE PRISONS. 50% OF THESE ARE BLACK AND LATIN. 90-95% OF THEM HAVE NEVER HAD A JURY TRIAL.

ANDREA AND DOUG BURT, BOB SEABOCK AND JEAN HOBSON GOT LEGAL SUPPORT FOR PRISONERS AND EXPOSED THE INHUMAN TREATMENT ALL PRISONERS RECEIVE. NOW THE FOUR STAND TRIAL FOR MURDER. THEY ARE BEING FRAMED BY THE F.B.I., AND RON BEATY, A PRISONER TO WHOM THEY GAVE LEGAL AID. THE FACTS TELL THE STORY:



ANDREA BURT

Oct. 6 - Ron Beaty escapes from a Chino State prison vehicle, during an ambush in which one guard is killed. In the prison car Beaty plants a file containing letters from Andrea Holman Burt, a member of Venceremos who was working on legal rights for prisoners, and Jean Hobson who was also involved in the prison movement.

Oct. 12-13 - Two other Bay Area people are arrested for murder. Both are released for lack of evidence.

Oct. 20 - Warrants are issued for Andrea Holman Burt & Doug Burt charging them with murder and aiding in the escape of a prisoner. Doug Burt was released from Chino prison in June, 1972 and continued working for prisoners' rights in the community. Here he met Andrea and they fell in love.

Oct. 23 - Andrea and Doug voluntarily surrender in Menlo Park.

Nov. 2 - After 10 days in jail Andrea & Doug have the right to a preliminary hearing to determine if there is enough evidence to have a trial. Since the D.A. could present no evidence, the charges by law are dropped. But seconds later they are rearrested and by the time the second 10 day period is up the D.A. obtains indictments from the Grand Jury on the same charges. At the Grand Jury hearing the D.A. can ask all the questions he wants. It is a way of bypassing a preliminary hearing.

Nov. 30 - Bail denied for Andrea & Doug.

Dec. 11 - Ron Beaty & Jean Hobson are arrested crossing the San Francisco Bay Bridge.

Dec. 19th - Arrests are made by the F.B.I., San Bernardino Sheriffs, and local police in the San Francisco area and Arizona. The arrests are based on Beaty's testimony after his capture. Bob Seabock is arrested on 1

--over--



JEAN HOBSON

murder charges and taken to San Bernardino. Bob was active in anti-war work and on the job organizing. Six others are arrested and charged with hiding an escaped prisoner.

Dec. 21 - Bob, Andrea, Doug & Jean are indicted by Grand Jury. For Andrea & Doug this is the fourth time the same charges have been brought against them. Beatty makes his deal with the police & all prior charges are dropped. He faces 20 years in prison before he made this deal. Beatty then pleads guilty to first degree murder which makes him eligible for parole in 7 years.

Jan. 5 - Charges are dropped for lack of evidence on 4 of the people arrested for hiding a prisoner.

Feb. 15 - Andrea & Doug are married while in jail.

April 3 - Andrea & Doug's trial starts.

DOUG
BURT



BOB
SEAB

The frame-up of Bob, Jean, Andrea and Doug was set-up to scare people away from working with prisoners. The government has tried frame-ups before: Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, Los Tres, Gary Lawton, George Jackson. But frame-ups don't work because:

PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY GIVE THEIR SUPPORT. MANY JURORS SEE THROUGH THE LIES AND MOST IMPORTANT-- PEOPLE HAVE TIGHTENED THE LINK BETWEEN PRISONERS AND SUPPORT OUTSIDE. BOB, ANDREA, DOUG, AND JEAN NEED YOUR HELP NOW! COME TO THEIR TRIAL. JOIN THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE. CALL 888-0477 FOR INFORMATION.

The trial for Andrea and Doug started April 3rd in Judge Halderson's Superior Court, 3rd floor, Department 10 at the County Court House at 4th and Arrowh. It is held Monday through Thursday, 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Pre-trial motions for Bob and Jean are starting next week.

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A newspaper article published on the Claremont College campus, Claremont, California, on May 2, 1973, depicts Venceremos members and their involvement in the Chino escape case. The article is entitled, "'Weird' events cloud Chino escape trial."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Venceremos members

'Weird' events cloud Chino escape trial

By BILL WEIRICK
Features Editor

San Bernardino Court House (Dept. 10, third floor, wing) has been the scene since April 23, of a murder trial surrounded with revolutionary politics, sensationalisms, inexplicable circumstances, and paranoia. If the names Charles Barry, the Chino Escape case, Ronald Beaty, or Andrea and Doug Burt are familiar you may begin to glimpse the paradoxical nature of the case.

They are all players in the act called the Chino Escape Case. On October 6, 1972, Ronald Beaty was being driven from the California Institute for Men at Chino to the San Bernardino Courthouse. According to the surviving guard, two men, each driving a car, forced their guarded car off the road, released Beaty, and shot to death his fellow guard while wounding him.

Eventually, two members, Andrea and Douglas Burt, were charged and indicted for murder and lynching. Later, Jean Hobson and Bob Seabock were indicted on identical charges. The Burts are the two whose trial is now in progress.

Charles Garry is head defense lawyer. He has been the lawyer for Huey Newton, Los Siete, Bobby Seale, and Ericka Heggins. One of his specialties is jury selection procedure. From personal observation, I can report he is a master of interrogation.

Venceremos is a political organization devoted, in their words, to developing a "multi-national Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization". Howard Bruce Franklin, the Stanford English professor fired for political activities, was one of the founding forces of the group. He was momentarily charged in connection with the Beaty escape. Several other Venceremos members up and down the coast either had their homes searched or themselves arrested during the search for Beaty.

Many circumstances surrounding this scene can only be described as "weird". Beaty was being transported by unarmed guards without radio communication, despite the fact that he had earlier escaped from the same prison, kidnapped a guard and his girl friend, and been in an auto wreck claiming the life of one person while fleeing.

The California Correctional Officer Association has gone on record charging that prison officials had ignored a tip that Beaty was planning an escape, and that if prison rules had been followed

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1

Claremont Collegian
(Student newspaper)

Claremont, California

Date: 5-2-73

Edition: Daily

Author: Bill Weirick

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

the guard would not have been killed.

Guards are only armed when transporting an "escape risk"; Beaty was not so classified.

Furthermore, the Court had mailed a continuance order delaying Beaty's appearance the Tuesday before the escape. The day before the escape, the County Clerk called the prison to confirm the delay. She also talked to Beaty personally. On October 12, 1972, it was reported that the person who transferred the call to Beaty has not come forward.

An official at Chino admitted (after the escape) that there was a tip Beaty was planning an escape, but that the information was insufficient to act upon. It turns out the two guards were transporting a recently escaped prisoner not under an "escape risk" classification, unarmed, to a non-existent court appearance.

First reports alledged Beaty, two men, and a woman were at large. Then, Beaty and three men, then four "suspects" and one woman. Two men, Doug Burt and Bob Seabock, and two women, Andrea Burt and Jean Hobson, are indicted.

Beaty, after being captured on the San Francisco Bay Bridge with Jean Hobson and implicating the four defendants, has had his twenty-year sentence from his previous escape attempt reduced to seven after pleading guilty to first degree murder. Charges in connection with his latest escape attempt were dropped.

Venceremos members claim Beaty joined the organization, made the escape, and subsequently implicated members in an attempt to "save his own skin," i.e. to get out of prison earlier.

Beaty, after being circles. The 1972 FBI annual report labeled Venceremos as a Pro Chinese Communist Organization, saying they claim to be in the embryonic stages of protracted war with the establishment. A plainclothesman at the Courthouse told me, "these people are capable of anything."

The trial goes on Monday through Thursday from 10-12 a.m. and 1:30-4 p.m. A group partial to the defendants' perspective, the Clement Liberation Front, is organizing a car pool to the Courthouse tomorrow at 1 p.m. They will leave from the Sanborn parking lot at Pitzer. Anyone wishing to contact this group for information or rides can contact Cherene at 2850.

II. FINANCES

Los Angeles has no information concerning the method of financing utilized for VO operations in the Los Angeles area with the exception of fund raising events mentioned within this report.

III. MEMBERSHIP

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[redacted] (1/26/73)

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[redacted] (5/4/73)

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Set forth is a partial verbatim transcript of the pertinent portion of VO Central Committee member H. BRUCE FRANKLIN's commentary on radio station KPFA - FM in Berkeley, on April 27, 1973, 5:30 to 6:00 p.m. //

"... our experience in LA recently, where we just established a branch of VO, really convinced us of this. So we went down to LA where we found dozens and dozens of groups; Chicano groups, black groups, and Asian groups engaged in a hell of a lot of revolutionary activities in the community with significant mass base in the community, but not linked up into a broad revolutionary movement. We found that the Chicano groups, the black groups and the Asian groups had no contact with each other, almost zero, and when we started trying to get people together on the basis of a multi-national revolutionary organization, a lot of people were very enthusiastic about that and we have an organization there. But we

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found that up to now it has been virtually impossible to recruit white people into that organization. We have an organization there which is essentially entirely third world. We have tried to recruit white people into it and what it comes down to is that people who agree generally with the political aim say very frankly and openly they can't do it because it is too risky..."

An article appeared in the VO newspaper, "Venceremos," Volume III, Number 6, May 26 to June 7. The article is entitled, "Venceremos Expands in Southern Calif." The author is ~~CAESAR MOORE~~, nonvoting Central Committee member.

Venceremos

Expands in Southern Calif

by Caesar Moore, Kumasi

During the past two months, Venceremos has expanded its organizational structure by the establishment of bases in the southern district of the so-called United States. The new bases are located in the areas of West Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and Pico Rivera.

The membership of these new areas consist predominately of Third World people, a condition entirely opposite to the northern California district. The area leadership is strong and conscientious, and progressive programs and practice are anticipated from the southern area.

In addition to the establishment of new organization bases in the southern district, several new and supportive relationships have been developed with revolutionary organizations and functioning groups of that area. It is the feeling of the organization that such a step toward national establishment has been long overdue.

It is essential and necessary that the people of the southern district recognize the fact that this is their organization, established and designed in the interest of their liberation. The cities of Los Angeles and San Bernardino are political cess-pools of imperialist oppression. And such age old landmarks of unchained fascism can only be changed by THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE.

For further information contact Venceremos offices in the southern California district:

1. 1955 Darby St., San Bernardino 887-2262
2. 535 Grand Ave., Pico Rivera 949-1989
3. 4126 Somerset Dr., West Los Angeles 299-0673

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A Special Agent of the FBI in Los Angeles, advised that the address mentioned in the CAESAR MOORE article located at 1955 Larby Street, is the residence of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

The contact address which was set forth by CAESAR MOORE in the article "Venceremos Expands in Southern Calif" is a fictitious address. This address was given as 535 Grand Avenue, Rice Rivera, 949-1909. This telephone number is subscribed to by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

The address 4126 Somerset Drive, West Los Angeles, is a valid address, however, the telephone number listed by MOORE, 299-0673, is subscribed to by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] This number has been established since 1971.

IV. FORCE AND VIOLENCE

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The following article appeared in the "Daily Report" newspaper, mail edition, Ontario - Upland, California, on November 1, 1972. The article concerns the Venceremos and the trial of ANDREA HOLMAN and BENTON BURT, charged with murder and lynching relative to the BEATY escape.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

'Venceremos ...' they'll be heard from in murder trial

By STEVE PAPINCHAK
Daily Report Staff Writer

"Venceremos." Before last month probably few West End residents ever heard that word. Venceremos, however, may prove to be an emotion packed term that local residents may never forget.

Venceremos first hit local news pages on Oct. 6, the day unarmed California Institute for Men guard Jesus Sanchez was killed in an ambush shooting.

News reports said Ronald Beaty, 35, the convict freed in the ambush, had written articles for newspapers published by Venceremos, a revolutionary group from the south San Francisco Bay area. It was said that Beaty was a member of Venceremos.

The term appeared again when two persons, hunted by police, turned themselves in to the FBI in Menlo Park for questioning in connection with Sanchez' death.

Andrea Holman, 18, and

Benton Burt, 30, were transported to Ontario under heavy armed guard to face murder and lynching charges.

Miss Holman, daughter of a professor of medicine at Stanford University, is a member of Venceremos.

Bert, who has served 10 years in San Quentin and Folsom prisons, although not a Venceremos member, is a "revolutionary brother," according to a spokesman for the leftist group.

Charles H. Garry, who has received a national reputation for successfully defending Black Panther Party members, appeared in Ontario last week.

Garry said he would defend Burt and Miss Holman, whose family is personal friends of the San Francisco attorney.

The Venceremos have already indicated they feel Burt and Miss Holman "were framed" and are facing a political trial.

Thus, the stage has been

set for a long, well publicized trial — and the term Venceremos will appear throughout the trial.

While Venceremos may be a new word in the West End vocabulary, the term and the group has been under the close scrutiny of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the last two years.

In addition, the House Committee on Internal Security after holding public hearings issued a 200-page report on the radical group.

The committee defined the Venceremos as America's principal and most active Maoist organization.

Richard H. Ichord, chairman of the committee, said, "I was astounded at their description of the unequivocally violent objectives of the group (and) the fanatical dedication of its adherents..."

Ichord was speaking of the Revolutionary Union which, after internal strife, split and formed the more militant Venceremos in January, 1971.

Most of the information published by the internal security committee was gathered by Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff, FBI undercover informants who temporarily "joined" the Venceremos and Revolutionary Union.

The Goffs testified that the Venceremos felt "revolution in America was just around the corner." The Venceremos have a near fanatical dedication to the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, according to the report.

Venceremos members receive extensive training in handling of firearms and explosives, and believe armed revolution would be necessary to overthrow the "imperialist government," according to the report.

Revolutionary Union members discredited the committee report, saying the Goff's were actually hired by the FBI to provoke violent acts.

The Venceremos and Revolutionary Union hold that they do not engage in violent acts and any weapons owned by members are for the purpose of self defense, a necessity because of constant police harassment.

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

"The Daily Report"
P. B1
Ontario - Upland, Calif.
11/1/72
Snail Edition

The Venceremos regard the Black Panther Party as the "vanguard of the revolution." Before the Revolutionary Union split, the Venceremos were all Mexican-Americans. The 200 members now are almost evenly split between Anglos and Chicanos, according to the report.

The Goffs testified that within the Revolutionary Union was a "special secret apparatus," formed to conduct illegal operations such as assassinations, bank robberies and sabotage.

The report added that the highly secretive "apparatus" planned to establish an underground escape route for members who committed acts of sabotage.

The Venceremos believe the American court system is inherently unjust because it lacks a trial by peers, which requires that "judges and jury members live in the community directed."

"We want all Third World, working class people and youths now imprisoned to be set free because the overwhelming majority of them have not been tried by their peers."

On November 30, 1972, a press notice for immediate release, was distributed in the vicinity of the Ontario Superior Court, Ontario, California, and a portion of that release obtained by a Special Agent of the FBI relating to VO violence reads as follows:

"Some of the most widely known events in which Venceremos cadre have participated include the following:

"February 1971: Third World Venceremos cadre organized and led several demonstrations in the working class sections of Redwood City, in support of Los Siete de la Raza, who were on trial in that city.

"Ongoing: The Venceremos Ministry of Information publishes a biweekly newspaper called PAMOJA VENCEREMOS (Together We Will Win) which reports on local, national, and international revolutionary struggles and teaches revolutionary ideology to a working class readership of about 4,000.

"Ongoing: Vencermos cadre, following Third World leadership, have helped organize and run Peoples' Medical Center. The center provides lowcost/free medical assistance to thousands of Blacks, Chicanos and poor whites in Redwood City, trains paramedics and community medical workers and teaches preventative medical techniques to people throughout the community.

"April, 1971: Venceremos cadre, in alliance with the Black Liberation Front, Stanford BSU, the Black Workers Caucus, and Alianza Latina, participated in and provided leadership in a labor dispute to rehire a Black worker at the Stanford Hospital who had been fired for attempting to organize a union.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"August, 1971: Mort Newman, a Venceremos member, successfully prevented police from illegally entering his home in Menlo Park, using a shotgun to halt the entry. In subsequent arrests, both Newman and Bruce Pollock were charged with possession of materials with intent to make a destructive device. Newman was also charged with assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. Several months of organizing around the right of armed self-defense led to a total acquittal on all charges, including the defense of the home.

"On Saturday, October 7, Venceremos learned that Ron Beaty, a Venceremos comrade being held captive in Chino Prison, had been liberated successfully from the hands of the state.

"Since that time, FBI agents and other secret police have staked out the homes of Venceremos comrades and even made threatening visits to people's homes. As expected, the forces of repression have pointed their finger at Venceremos in their attempt to hold someone accountable. Since the report of the House Internal Security Committee, the secret police have stepped up their efforts to find an excuse to attack our organization.

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"The authorities have intentionally hidden the fact that Ron Beaty is a revolutionary, a servant of the people, who has a history of defending the rights of fellow inmates both as a leader of political struggle against unjust conditions and as a jailhouse lawyer.

"Originally imprisoned for a \$5 armed robbery, Ron escaped from Chino for the same reason he may have committed the robbery: he was acting in natural response to an inhuman system. When someone is hungry and no one will give him a job, he 'steals.'

"We understand virtually every man and woman inside the prison institutions of this country to be political prisoners because they are victims of such a cruel system, and it is the existence of the ruling class, the rich few of this country who maintain the prisons, who are the reason why the majority of the people who are imprisoned to begin with. As Venceremos Principles of Unity state (pp. 12-12) 'We want all Third World, working class people, and youth now imprisoned, to be set free because the overwhelming majority of them have not been tried by their peers. They have received only injustice from this system. Free All Political Prisoners.'

"Prison is only the maximum security of this society; for oppressed people, the outside is still minimum security. The liberation of Ron Beaty is not an isolated event, and in fact is part of an international struggle in defense of poor and working people, for wherever the system of U.S. imperialism represses, oppresses, and exploits people, there is bound to be resistance. This is a law of history. Throughout the world and throughout the United States, poor and working people, led by people of color, are fighting back against the imperialists, and the liberation of Ron Beaty is just another example of the struggle that is unfolding in American schools, factories, prisons, and communities.

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"Some say, 'Well, a guard was killed. A human life was lost. This is terrorism!' But it is the prison guards who are the real terrorists--brutalizing inmates daily--and the men and women who resist in any way are special targets for such attacks. There are many men and women like Ron Beaty inside prisons who are revolutionaries, comrades who have dedicated their lives to the struggles of the people. They are determined to help build a new society. All of us on the outside must support these brothers and sisters who are brutalized, thrown into isolation from other inmates, violated, recharged, and convicted on false charges, because they are fighting for us.

"We are overjoyed that comrade Ron Beaty is once again free and we hope that he remains free. Wherever he is, we are sure that he will do his best to serve the people. The conditions of prison throughout this country, from Attica to San Quentin to Chino dictate that in order to escape inhumane conditions, prisoners are bound to break out, rebel, and resist. To these comrades, Venceremos says, 'Right On!'

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The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government. The Los Angeles BPP Chapter follows the ideology and dictates of the BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, California.

V. CONTACTS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

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The VVAW is a national organization composed primarily of veterans of the Vietnam War, which has conducted demonstrations against the war during 1970 - 1972. Its first published objective is to demand an immediate end of fighting and withdrawal of all American troops from Indochina.

The Brown Berets was formed in 1967, composed predominantly of Mexican-Americans within the eastside of Los Angeles, for the purpose of opposing alleged discrimination by the Anglo-establishment. Their stated motto is "To Serve, Observe, and Protect." They have been active in demonstrations against local law enforcement agencies and the participation of the Mexican-Americans in the Vietnam War.

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The PAC is an umbrella organization which coordinates demonstrations and other forms of protests against American involvement in Southeast Asia. [REDACTED] its

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[REDACTED] was attending meetings of the Southern California District Communist Party as recently as November 1966.

The RU was founded in early 1968 and is a militant, semiclandestine organization. Its objectives, as set out in its publications, are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working-class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

[REDACTED]

H. BRUCE FRANKLIN was the guest speaker at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). On February 27, 1973, FRANKLIN was a guest of the Fanshen Organization and the associated students. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] UCLA campus. H. BRUCE FRANKLIN was interviewed at the Claremont College, March 2, 1973, concerning his revolutionary ideas and his Maoist convictions. FRANKLIN's comments were reported in the "Claremont Collegian," Claremont, California, on March 2, 1973.

Fanshen is a Marxist-Leninist group formed on the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) campus in January 1973. In the main, it's activities have been directed towards presenting Marxist-Leninist theory on the UCLA campus and demonstrating against American imperialism abroad and racist activities in the United States.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

B. Franklin converses candidly

Bruce Franklin is a revolutionary by nature and a Maoist by conviction.

Fired from his teaching position at Stanford several years ago for advocating a restructuring of that university, Franklin has been speaking lately at various campuses, most recently here at Claremont.

In the following exclusive interview, Franklin gives his thoughts on Maoism, freedom in China and the United States, his dismissal from Stanford, and a brutal encounter with the FBI.

You've been billed as a Maoist. In what sense should we take that?

I believe that there is a systematic body of scientific theory and knowledge called Marxism/Leninism. It's a methodology, a body of theory.

Mao is the leading Marxist/Leninist theorist of our present period. That's not a very unusual belief in today's world.

Do you think of yourself as an exponent of world communism, or more as an exponent of socialism as the best thing for America?

The first, rather than the second. If you're a communist, your worldview doesn't stop at national borders.

Then you would disagree with someone like Stalin who advocated "communism in one country"?

Stalin didn't say "communism in one country". Stalin was the main theorist for three decades for world revolution. He said "socialism in one country", using this as a base for world revolution. And on this strategy the world revolution developed. That's why Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse Tung saw themselves as disciples and followers of Stalin.

Would you call Stalin the intellectual ancestor of modern revolutionary thought?

Oh yes, oh yes.

Concerning the present international situation, do you see Mao's teachings being compromised by the detente between the United States and Red China, between an imperialistic capitalistic power and the revolutionary state par excellence?

No. That's consistently been Mao's principle. It's basically Leninist foreign policy. Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, all recognized that, things being what they are in the twentieth century, socialist revolution is going to win out in one country after another and that it's going to be necessary to have peaceful coexistence between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries.

We recognize that revolution is something that is

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page /

Claremont Collegian
(Student newspaper)

Claremont, California

Date: 3/2/73
Edition: Daily
Author: R. GAYLORD SMITH
Editor: Robin KUWERT
Title: BRUCE FRANKLIN
SM-RU

Character:

or

Classification: 100

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

carried out by the people of the particular country--outside countries can't import or export revolution. Now on the other hand, the Chinese recognize they have an absolute obligation to support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples through the world.

Looking at China, what is there that should appeal to us? Would you consider the Chinese system as the paradigm for a "good" political system?

You use the term "good" in a kind of way contrary to how a Marxist would look at things...

What we learn specifically from the example of China is that it is possible for the vast majority of people, poor people, working people, to control not only their own government, not only their own national productive processes, but also the cultural life of the country. The poor man can control the culture in such a way that benefits him.

My own view is the the Cultural Revolution in China in 1966 was probably the most important single event in human history. It is extremely important that we learn what has happened in the cultural revolution.

As I understand you, the significance of the cultural revolution is that the people themselves shaped the culture of the country.

Right.

Now, how would the U.S. experience differ from the Chinese in enabling the people to shape the culture of the country?

Take the experience of going to school. What we're taught about cultural activities is that there are a couple of great geniuses that come along every century that create these great works. And if we work hard enough, and are lucky enough, and have brilliant enough professors, then we can "hope" to be able to understand these works.

We are taught that we are incapable of creating culture ourselves, whereas average people really create the important culture. But the Chinese education is aimed at showing people that they are wonderfully capable of doing all these things: writing poetry, composing music, and having drama groups.

Under the Chinese system, as you describe it, there seems to be a greater emphasis on self-expression and fulfillment than in the U.S.

Oh yeah, definitely.

Is there a conflict between freedom of expression in China and the limitations that are placed on speech and thought? In China aren't there certain things that one shouldn't say--does this pose a problem?

No, I think just the opposite. In Chinese society the people believe in general that if your opinion is different from most people's opinion's then you not only have a right to express it, but you also have an obligation to other people to express it. If you're right, they ought to know about it.

Even with respect to political opinions?

Oh, definitely. People are constantly encouraged

China) to engage in political struggle in all levels of society, whereas in this country, if you dissent, you find yourself in prison, you find yourself fired from your job, you find yourself killed by police in some instances. Consider Ellsberg, the Berrigans, Spock, Fred Hampton, and my own case at Stanford.

As I remember the newspaper accounts of the incident, wasn't there something to do with inciting to disturb the orderly functioning of Stanford University?

Well, sure. They thought what I was saying was disturbing the order at Stanford. I was advocating different kinds of relationships in the University.

They published the speeches that I made. . . They said that I couldn't be rehabilitated because of my perception of reality. Those are their terms.

I see. Were you advocating a change in the structure of the university or its abolition?

. . . In plain English, all that I did was to advocate that the university belongs to the people--I didn't do anything.

It seems like there is a major free speech issue here.

Yes. The ACLU is, by a vote of 24 to nothing by its board of governors, suing Stanford to reinstate me. Stanford has gone to Court to have the suit thrown out on the basis that the first amendment doesn't apply to Stanford as a private university.

Since the Stanford dismissal, have you noticed anyone following you in the dark of night?

On December 19 two dozen FBI agents kicked in our front door and walked in with shot guns and pointed them at my three children and at my wife. They frisked me and shackled me and drove me up to San Francisco on charges that were later dropped. I was arrested on charges of harboring a federal fugitive--totally concocted charges.

How do you view the revolutionary mood in the United States right now? Is it pretty dead?

Well, there is a whole lot more revolutionary consciousness now than in the history of this country. I think that people are realizing that, since the spontaneous uprisings of the black people in 1964-65, we are not going to win through spontaneous uprisings. We need organization; we have to proceed in a disciplined manner for an extended period of time.

A lot of the revolutionary practices that are going on now are not being covered by the media. . . People don't put things together very well even when the details appear in the paper. When you think of the aircraft carriers that were involved in some kind of insurgency last year, that's most of the fleet. The reason the U.S. had to rely on the B-52's (during the heavy bombing of the Hanoi-Haiphong area in December) was that the carriers were out of action.

I remember on November 10 when I was in San Diego I saw five aircraft carriers there that were unable to be on station because of the condition of the crews. There's a revolutionary newspaper being published on every aircraft carrier in the fleet now.

Doesn't the revolutionary movement draw the bulk of its strength from fringe groups, minorities, and discontents? Aren't the rank and file--the aerospace and automobile workers--fairly well insulated from this type of activity?

You really have to investigate the facts of U.S. society. What you just said contained a very common misunderstanding. On one hand you talk about fringe groups, and on the other you talk about automobile workers. The overwhelming majority of automobile workers are black.

In Detroit, between 85 and 90 percent of the production workers are black. Now these are the very people who rose up in August, 1967 and burned down half the city and fought the national guard for several days.

LA 100-79692

[redacted]
A meeting was held by a group of Venceremos members [redacted]

[redacted] Persons identified at the meeting were [redacted]

[redacted] all VO members from the Bay area. Also present were known Los Angeles Communist Party members [redacted]

[redacted] reporters for the Los Angeles Free Press and VVAW members from the Los Angeles area.

[redacted]

[REDACTED]

b2 A VC sponsored fund raising cocktail party was
b7C held at the home of [REDACTED]
b7D Approximately thirty-five to forty people attended, all
vehicles of participants were observed and background
investigation conducted concerning the attendees. During
the course of the cocktail party, an auction was held
at which time a small statue and a belt buckle were sold
with money going to the Defense Committee. Approximately
\$250 was raised at this auction with voluntary contributions.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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VI. PRISON WORK IN LOS ANGELES

[REDACTED]

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b7D

An article entitled, "Government Kidnaps Black Comrad," appeared in the Venceremos newspaper, Volume III, Number 6, May 26 through June 27. The article was written by CAESAR MOORE, who is writing pledging Venceremos support for the defense of STAN WILSON, subject of Los Angeles bank robbery case. WILSON and six others were arrested by Bureau Agents for bank robbery in April 1973. MOORE enlisted the aid of people interested in the fight for freedom and defense of Brother STAN to contact Venceremos at 4126 Somerset Drive, West Los Angeles; 820 D Street, San Bernardino; or 1969 University Avenue, East Palo Alto,

Government Kidnaps Black Comrade

by Caesar Moore, Kumasi

On April 30th, 1973, at approximately 3 a.m. three black comrades were kidnapped from their beds by agents of the F.B.I. The comrades were Stan Wilson, Leroy E. Thompson, and Marion E. Newson. All three of these men are residents of the city of Los Angeles, the area in which this Gestapo apprehension was perpetrated.

Upon seeking information from the authorities as to the reason for their so-called arrest, concerned people were told that they were under arrest and pending formal arraignment on the federal charges of forgery, and that such arraignment proceedings were scheduled for May 2nd, 1973, in the U.S. Criminal Courts in the city and county of Los Angeles. But contrary to the information surrendered by the authorities, the comrades were officially arraigned on the federal charges of bank robbery.

The comrades deny any involvement or knowledge of any such crimes, and deem their kidnap-arrest as an act of political suppression. The two black brothers, Stan Wilson and Leroy Thompson, have been consistently active in the struggles of the black community and have been exceedingly effective in motivating many black men and women who were released from prison toward a contributive involvement in revolutionary struggle. The judicial railroad process for the suppression of politically conscious nigger's rev-

er stops rolling. And available Third World victims appear to be endless. Ahmed Evans, Geronimo Pratt, Earl Gibson and Larry Justice, the San Quentin Six only to name a few. H. Rap Brown was just recently framed by agents of U.S. law enforcement and their lackies from the community. He too was accused of robbery. Similar attempts of frame-up charges of robbery were tried on Corky Gonzales several times, but without success.

Three days after Comrade Stan Wilson was freed on bail, the federal authorities returned to "visit" him in the company of their lackey Mr. Cosey, a black parole agent from the California State Prison system. The federal secret police informed Brother Stan that they were investigating him for his "recent association with progressive organizations." His parole agent said that on these grounds he was picking Stan up on a parole hold and the brother was kidnapped all over again. At this moment, he is still being held as a Prisoner of War.

Comrade Stan Wilson had recently taken a giant step in political development--the step from a nationalist program to the multi-national platform in pursuit of world liberation and the eradication of imperialism. It is not surprising that such a political growth should cost a person their freedom. After all, just such a political awakening cost Malcolm X his life.



Comrade Stan Wilson

VENCEREMOS totally supports the defense of Comrade Stan Wilson. All people interested in the fight for freedom and the defense of Brother Stan should get in touch with us at 4126 Somerset Drive, West Los Angeles, 820 "D" Street, San Bernardino, or 1969 University Avenue, East Palo Alto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

[redacted] has related in past interviews
that she is originally from Los Angeles. At present her
[redacted] reside in [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
The [redacted] of [redacted] is temporarily
residing at the home of [redacted]
[redacted]

b2

b7C

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-79692

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-79692-37
-51
-71
-107
-113
-116
-125

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-79692-61, 90
-71, 91, 122
100-82463-1

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b7D

[REDACTED]

Set forth separately

[REDACTED]

Set forth separately

[REDACTED]

100-79692-90

[REDACTED]

Set forth separately

[REDACTED]

100-79692-110

[REDACTED]

100-79692-117, 126
100-82474-14

[REDACTED]

Set forth separately

LA 100-79692

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(By request)

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100-79692-74
100-79692-78

(Deemed advisable)

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100-79692-97

(Protect)(Deemed advisable)

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100-79692-123

(By request)

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b7C
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LA 100-79692

A Special Agent of the FBI in Los Angeles, advised that the address mentioned in the CAESAR MOORE article located at 1955 Darby Street, is the residence of [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b2

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The contact address which was set forth by CAESAR MOORE in the article "Venceremos Expands in Southern Calif" is a fictitious address. This address was given as 535 Grand Avenue, Pico Rivera, 940-1909. This telephone number is subscribed to by [REDACTED]

b2

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The address 4126 Somerset Drive, West Los Angeles, is a valid address, however, the telephone number listed by MOORE, 299-0573, is subscribed to by [REDACTED] This number has been established since 1971.

b2

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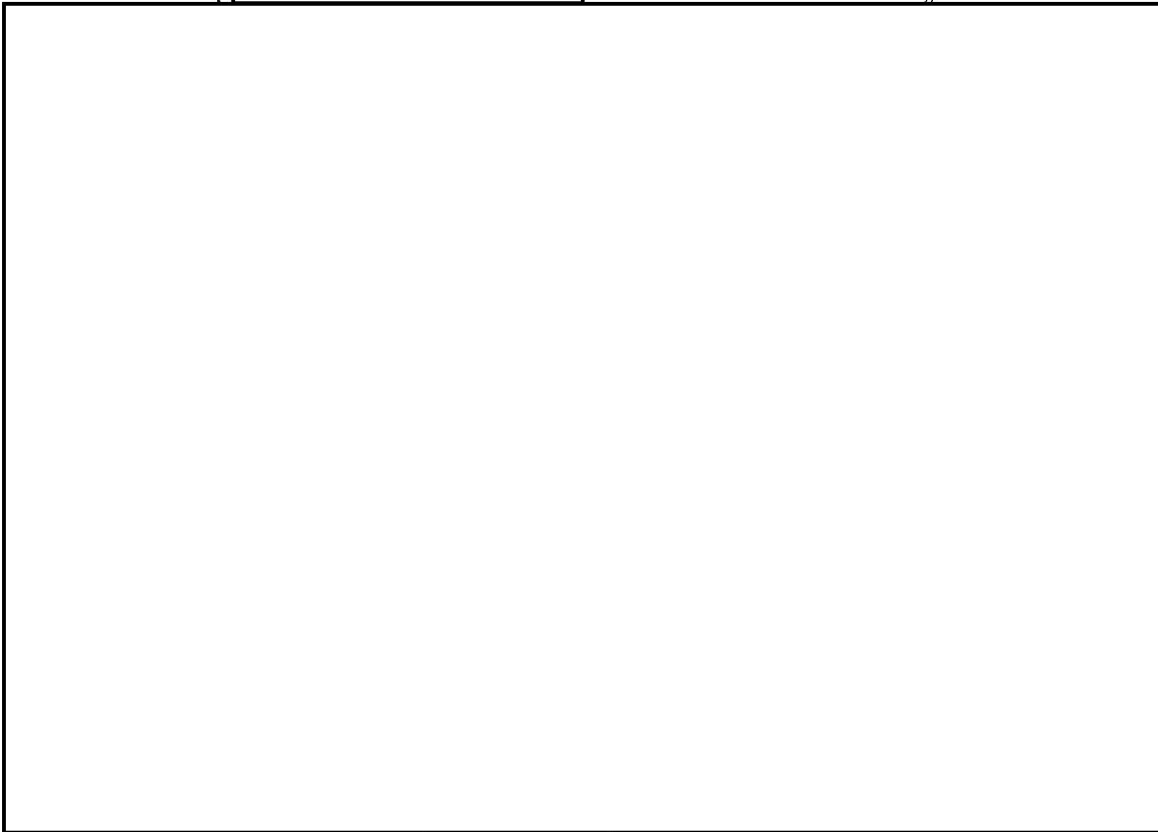
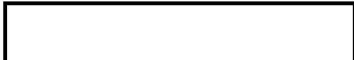
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IV. FORCE AND VIOLENCE

[REDACTED]

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LA 100-79692



The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government. The Los Angeles BPP Chapter follows the ideology and dictates of the BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, California.



Recent intelligence information received from Department of Corrections, State of California, by the Governor's Office, indicates that the VO has made plans to abduct members of the California Adult Authority.

Their plans are to take as hostages members of the Authority or other State officials, holding them as hostages and making demands to the Governor for release of prisoners. Information indicates that if the demands are not met, the hostages would be killed until demands are met.

V. CONTACTS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

VO

members and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) members, Redwood City, participated in an anti-war march sponsored by the VVAW and the Brown Berets, December 22 - 24, 1972.

[REDACTED] also participated in the march.

The VVAW is a national organization composed primarily of veterans of the Vietnam War, which has conducted demonstrations against the war during 1970 - 1972. Its first published objective is to demand an immediate end of fighting and withdrawal of all American troops from Indochina.

The Brown Berets was formed in 1967, composed predominantly of Mexican-Americans within the eastside of Los Angeles, for the purpose of opposing alleged discrimination by the Anglo-establishment. Their stated motto is "To Serve, Observe, and Protect." They have been active in demonstrations against local law enforcement agencies and the participation of the Mexican-Americans in the Vietnam War.

[REDACTED]

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RE:

Date 7/25/73

970470

**VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION
IS-VO**

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- ☐ For information ☐ Retention optional ☐ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by _____
- ☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.
- ☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

**Re LA rep 6/12/73, Buairtel 6/26/73,
and LA airtel 6/27/73, copies of each sent to
SF.**

**An amended page for rerep submitted
by LA was numbered "28-102". The remaining
pages were numbered 103, 104 etc, to end of
report. Page "28-102" through end of report
were renumbered at HQ as 28 through 42. Also
pagination of last two headings on page 2
(Table of Contents) were changed to 39 and 42.**

Enc. **One copy each of pages renumbered are**
Bufile **100-462905 enclosed herewith to enable**
Urfile **corrective action by LA and SF.**

FBI File and Serial No. 100-462905-228

To: ☒ FBI Headquarters
☐ FBI Field Division, _____

From: Civil Service Commission

Regarding FBI ☒ report ☐ memorandum dated (month, day, year)
6-12-73 at (city, state) Los Angeles, CA
concerning (title - not necessary if file number is shown) _____

it has been necessary to make additional copies for official use within this agency,
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Total Deleted Page(s) = 80

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 5/30/73	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 6/14/72 - 5/22/73
TITLE OF CASE CLASSIFIED BY SP2 MLT/ELH DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1 5-28-03 970470 VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION, aka		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY mbw
Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 7/29/75 Per FOIA Request		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - VO	

REFERENCE: San Francisco report of SA

Class. & Ext. By **SP2 MLT/ELH**
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

Date of Review **5-30-93**

ADMINISTRATIVE: **2-1-82**

This report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" inasmuch as it contains information from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] the unwarranted disclosure of whose identities would jeopardize the identities of sources of continuing value.

All individuals mentioned in this report as members of the Venceremos Organization (VO) are under current active investigation by this office

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED	APPROPRIATE AGENCIES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE	ACQUIT-TALS
FUG. ON CONTAINED	SAVINGS	CASE HAS BEEN
CLASSIFIED EXCEPT OTHERWISE.	DATE	PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

- 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (FM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-79692) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (100-68932)

57 AUG 17 1973

SECRET

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	ISS	ARMY, AF	NAVY, IT	
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	7/30/73	7/30/73	7/30/73	7/30/73
How Fwd.	R/C	R/C	R/C	R/C
By	b7C			

Notations
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SF 100-68932
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No information has been developed over the past year indicating any significant change in VO membership in the Bay Area. There are approximately 320 known or strongly suspected VO cadre in the Bay Area, and it is believed that this figure represents 80 to 90 percent of the actual figure.

Bureau will note information set forth in report that the VO has now established a branch in Los Angeles, California. No membership figures are available to date concerning the Los Angeles group.

The BEATY Chino escape, according to [redacted] has had no appreciable affect on the VO as a whole as far as membership is concerned and there are no known defections based on the Chino affair. (S) (u)

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(u) (S) [As reflected in the various Central Committee notes set forth in this report, there can be no doubt but that VO is undergoing an extremely critical period at this time. Ideologically, VO is coming to the reluctant conclusion that the revolution is not imminent and that it is now necessary to take the long view.] As the Bureau is aware, in a recent Portland speech VO leader H. BRUCE FRANKLIN made the statement that perhaps VO has outlived its usefulness. FRANKLIN did not further elaborate and San Francisco is attempting to ascertain FRANKLIN's meaning.

(u) (S) [During the past eight months, according to [redacted] and amply corroborated by other sources,] there has been an on going struggle within the VO between white and third world cadre and leadership. This struggle is being complicated by a struggle between the activists and the bureaucratic Central Committee.

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In addition, in the two and one-half years of its existence, VO has seen all of its in plant attempts to organize the workers fail, either because of workers apathy or because VO cadre are soon fired when they become politically active in a factory.

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It is also significant that a year ago VO could turn out between 150 and 250 people for a demonstration. During the last year, with the exception of the Bay Area wide demonstration against President NIXON in September, 1972, VO has, at most, been able to turn out 70 to 80 people for a demonstration. It is believed that this is indicative of the seriousness of the current struggles within the VO.

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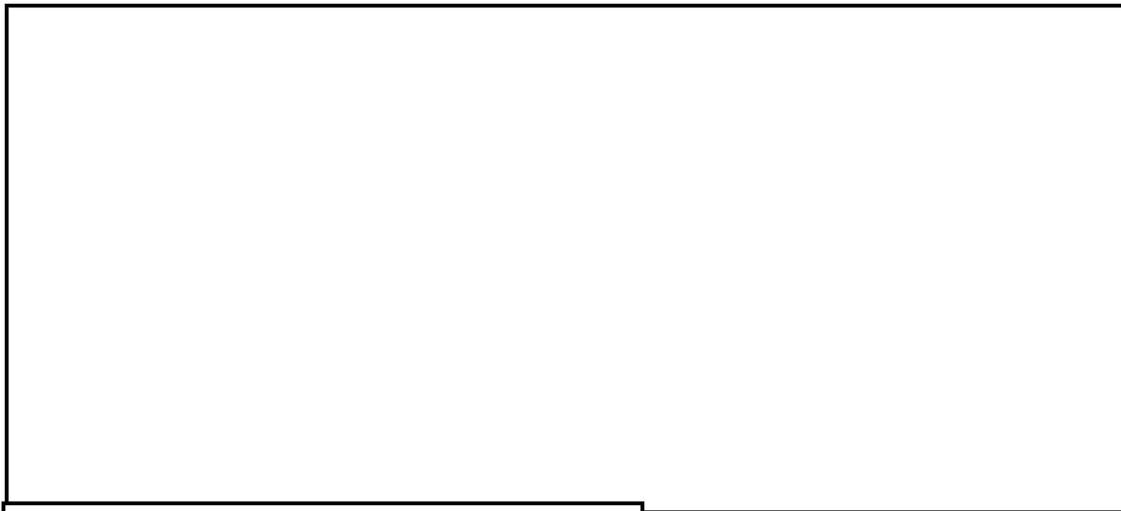
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[redacted] has reported continuing disenchantment with VO, particularly in the Palo Alto, California, area. (u)

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[redacted] (u)

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

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LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. Will conduct
investigation to identify [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] (u)

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue
to follow and report activities of VO.

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 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

Report of: b7C

Date:

May 30, 1973

Office: San Francisco, California

Field Office File #:

100-68932

Bureau File #: 100-462905

Title:

VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

970470

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 MLT/EHL
 ON 5-28-03

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Synopsis:

The Venceremos Organization (VO) continues to operate on the San Francisco Peninsula and claims the recent establishment of a branch in Los Angeles, California. VO headquarters are located at 1969 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, California. Identities of members of VO Central Committee set forth. Since June, 1972, an additional 23 individuals have been publicly identified as VO members. VO continues to publish the biweekly newspaper "Pamoja Venceremos". Venceremos organized into collectives located in San Francisco, Redwood City, Palo Alto, Menlo Park, Stanford, Mountain View, San Jose, Oakland, Hayward, and Union City. VO continues to espouse Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Details of educational program set forth. Evidence of continued VO belief in necessity of armed struggle set forth. VO activities in various areas of social agitation set forth. Evidence of internal struggle within VO set forth. VO, during past year, has become active in prison reform.

Class. & Ext. By SP1 GSK/ldk
 Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
 Date of Review 5-30-73
 FOIA# 217,169 2-1-82
 Classification based on
 previous release.

Classified by SP8 Bty/Bury
 Declassify on: OADR
 7/31/89 # 265,413

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
 AND FIELD OFFICES
 ADVISED BY ROUTING
 SLIP(S) OF Class
 DATE 3/23/82 GP

Classified by b7C
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2
 Date of Declassification: Indefinite

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SF 100-68932
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DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATION

Formed in December, 1970, the Venceremos Organization (VO, also known as Venceremos, is a militant Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization composed of third world and white revolutionaries operating in the San Francisco Peninsula Area. The publicly stated goal of the VO is to build a united front against the imperialist United States leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare. The VO has publicly stated that all members must know how to operate and service weapons and have weapons available.

A two part article concerning the VO appeared in the daily newspaper "San Francisco Examiner" on March 19 and 20, 1973, authored by feature writer DON WEST. This article reflects that the current Central Committee (CC) is composed of the following individuals:

KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE
(Chairman)

✓ HOWARD BRUCE FRANKLIN

BERNARD SMALLWOOD

ROBERT WESLEY KING

SHEILA HARPER

JACKIE MONTTOYA

JUAN FLORES

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During June, 1972, a second printing of the VO's "Principles of Unity" was issued. In the center fold there appeared a group photograph of the CC, including the following:

BERNARD SMALLWOOD

BRUCE FRANKLIN

JACKIE MONTOYA

SHEILA HARPER

JUAN FLORES

SAL JIMINEZ

JEAN HOBSON

KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE

BOB KING

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An article in the "San Francisco Examiner", issue of September 28, 1972, page 32, reflects that AARON MANGANIELLO has resigned the chairmanship of the VO CC because of being "elitist", being replaced in that position by KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE. The article went on to state that VO CC member BRUCE FRANKLIN said that the other members of the CC had agreed that MANGANIELLO would be more useful "engaging in direct practice with the people".

B. APPROX
1974

The following article appeared in the Stanford University daily newspaper "The Stanford Daily", issue of September 25, 1972, page 6:

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Venceremos Top Committee Dusts Manganiello As Head

Longtime Bay Area activist Aaron Manganiello, 29, was removed from his position as chairman of Venceremos' Central Committee during the summer, the Daily has learned.

Apparently the position presently is being filled by Katarina Davis Del Valle, a Central Committee member and the group's former Minister of Information.

Manganiello, who was one of the founders of the original Venceremos organization and who headed the now-defunct Venceremos College in Redwood City, apparently has remained in the organization in a non-leadership position and will

continue to teach a "political education" class.

Venceremos, a predominantly Chicano, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization with collectives in many communities on the Peninsula, follows a leadership structure known as democratic centralism. Under democratic centralism, the chairman of the Central Committee is the leading member of the entire organization.

An internal document circulated by Venceremos and obtained by the Daily states that Manganiello has a "problem of individualism and egotism," and accuses him of fostering "non-struggle

attitudes" which could "split the organization."

"He (Manganiello) thought it was just a matter of time before he was exposed as a 'individualist' opportunist", [sic] that is, as someone who could say all the rhetoric but did not have the love for the people and the organization," the document says.

"On one hand," the statement continues, "Aaron is a leader with a lot of knowledge, we need him to give guidance to Venceremos and the movement. If he is going to be looked to for leadership all the time then it would be bull shit for him not to be on the CC [Central Committee]."

"On the other hand Aaron could not deal with his problems of individualism and egotism by still being on the CC. Aaron cannot be in leadership on the CC and be in a collective and under someone's [sic] leadership. Who would be under whose leadership?..."

Daily records show that Manganiello was Chairman of the Central Committee for slightly over one year.

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Members of the VO CC are uptight over the fact that [REDACTED]

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An article in the daily newspaper "Palo Alto Times" of December 26, 1972, page 2, detailed a press conference by the VO on that date in connection with the arrests of various VO members allegedly connected with the escape of RONALD WAYNE BEATY from the California Institution for Men (CIM), Chino, California. The article quoted VO Chairman KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE as stating that JEAN HOBSON was not a member of the VO at the time of her arrest, having written a letter of resignation from both the VO CC and the VO sometime in November, 1972.

Next in line under the VO CC are the Area Leaders and the following are known Area Leaders:

[REDACTED]

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[redacted] is also a nonvoting member of the
VO CC and [redacted] (u)

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Under the Area Leaders in the VO chain of command are the Area Executive Committees. [redacted] and [redacted] are known to attend local Area Executive Committee meetings regularly on Tuesday nights in Redwood City, California. (u)

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On January 29, 1973, at 7:00 p.m., KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE spoke over FM radio station KZSU, Stanford University, identifying herself as a member of the VO CC. During this speech DEL VALLE stated that the VO then operated in Union City, Hayward, Oakland, San Francisco, South San Francisco, Redwood City, Palo Alto, Stanford, Mountain View, and "... recently San Jose".

The "Spartan Daily", a publication of California State University, San Jose, on February 22, 1973, page 2, contained an article "Venceremos Fights For Liberation", authored by the "San Jose Organizing Committee of Venceremos". The article outlines the nature, politics, and practice of the VO and states "... we currently have a small organizing committee here in San Jose ...".

[redacted] former member
of the VO CC, stated that [redacted]

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and that he had been [redacted] (u)

On April 27, 1973, HOWARD BRUCE FRANKLIN, identifying himself as a member of VO CC, delivered his biweekly

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commentary on radio station KPFA-FM, Berkeley, California, between the hours 5:30 and 6:00 p.m. FRANKLIN stated, in part:

"...our experience in LA recently, where we just established a branch of VO, really convinced us of this. So we went down to LA where we found dozens and dozens of groups; Chicano groups, black groups, and Asian groups engaged in a hell of a lot of revolutionary activities in the community with significant mass base in the community, but not linked up into a broad revolutionary movement. We found that the Chicano groups, the black groups, and the Asian groups had no contact with each other, almost zero, and when we started trying to get people together on the basis of a multi-national revolutionary organization, a lot of people were very enthusiastic about that and we have an organization there. But we found that up to now it has been virtually impossible to recruit white people into that organization. We have an organization there which is essentially entirely third world. We have tried to recruit white people into it and what it comes down to is that people who agree generally with the political aims say very frankly and openly they can't do it because it is too risky..."

In early May, 1973, [redacted] the local VO Executive Committee, stated that VO now has a group in Los Angeles, California, mostly Chicano, with some blacks. They stated that there are a few whites in the group and characterized the whites as petit bourgeois, afraid to pick up their guns, afraid to defend blacks. (X)(u)

[redacted] stated that Los Angeles had requested VO to send them good people to Los Angeles to help in recruiting more whites, the cost of the move to Los Angeles to be borne by the VO. (X)(u)

[redacted] (X) u

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The following article appeared on page 7A of "Pamoja Venceremos", Volume III, Number 6, dated May 25 - June 7, 1973:

Venceremos Expands in Southern Calif

by Caesar Moore, Kumasi

During the past two months, Venceremos has expanded its organizational structure by the establishment of bases in the southern district of the so-called United States. The new bases are located in the areas of West Los Angeles, // San Bernardino, and Pico Rivera. //

The membership of these new areas consist predominately of Third World people, a condition entirely opposite to the northern California district. The area leadership is strong and conscientious, and progressive programs and practice are anticipated from the southern area.

In addition to the establishment of new organization bases in the southern district, several new and supportive relationships have been developed with revolutionary organizations and functioning groups of that area. It is the feeling of the organization that such a step toward national establishment has been long overdue.

It is essential and necessary that the people of the southern district recognize the fact that this is their organization, established and designed in the interest of their liberation. The cities of Los Angeles and San Bernardino are political cess-pools of imperialist oppression. And such age old landmarks of unchained fascism can only be changed by THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE.

For further information contact Venceremos offices in the southern California district:

1. 1955 Darby St., San Bernardino 887-2262
2. 535 Grand Ave., Pico Rivera 949-1989
3. 4126 Somerset Dr., West Los Angeles 299-0673

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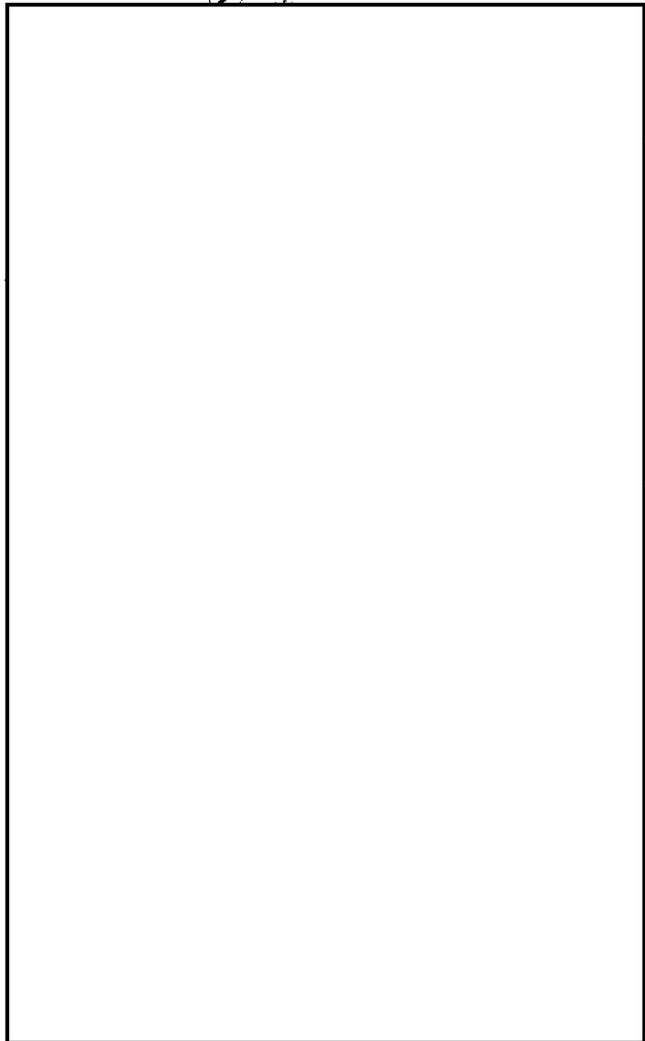
II. MEMBERSHIP

A review of public source material from June, 1972 through April, 1973, reflects that the following twenty-three individuals have been publicly identified during that period as members of the VO. Identifying data as determined through investigation has been supplied and the citation in parenthesis denotes the source.

Name
Date of birth
Place of birth
Residence

Name
Date of birth
Place of birth
Residence

Name
Date of birth
Place of birth
Social Security
Account Number
Residence



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Name
Date of birth
Residence
Occupation

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During her KZSU speech on January 29, 1973, KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE stated that no one person knows the membership of VO and if someone should they should not be talking about it.

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III. FINANCES

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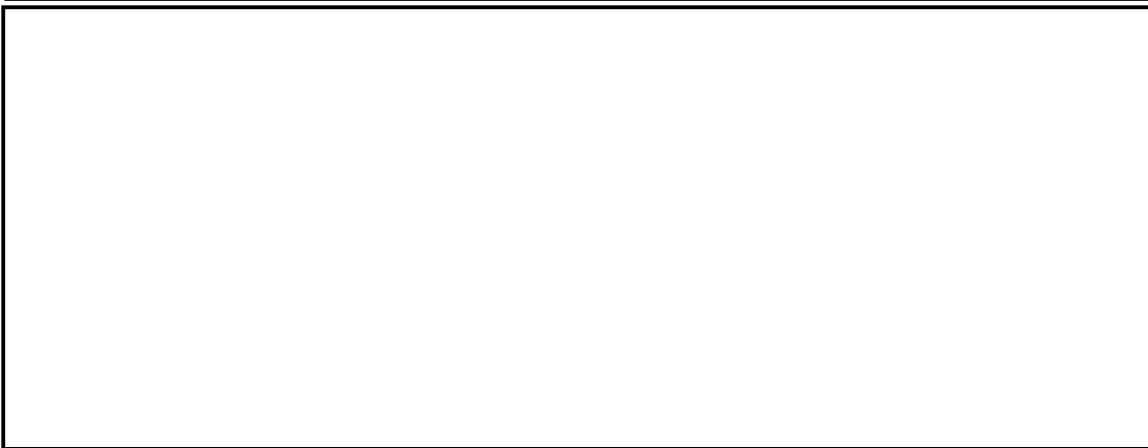
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The VO is in continued financial straights and
often times finds it difficult to



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IV. PUBLICATIONS

A leaflet, "Our Right to Self-Defense", was published in July, 1972, and was passed out at a celebration of the Cuban revolution in Oakland, California, on July 26, 1972. This leaflet deals with the so called "Chester Case", in which several VO members were arrested. The leaflet begins:

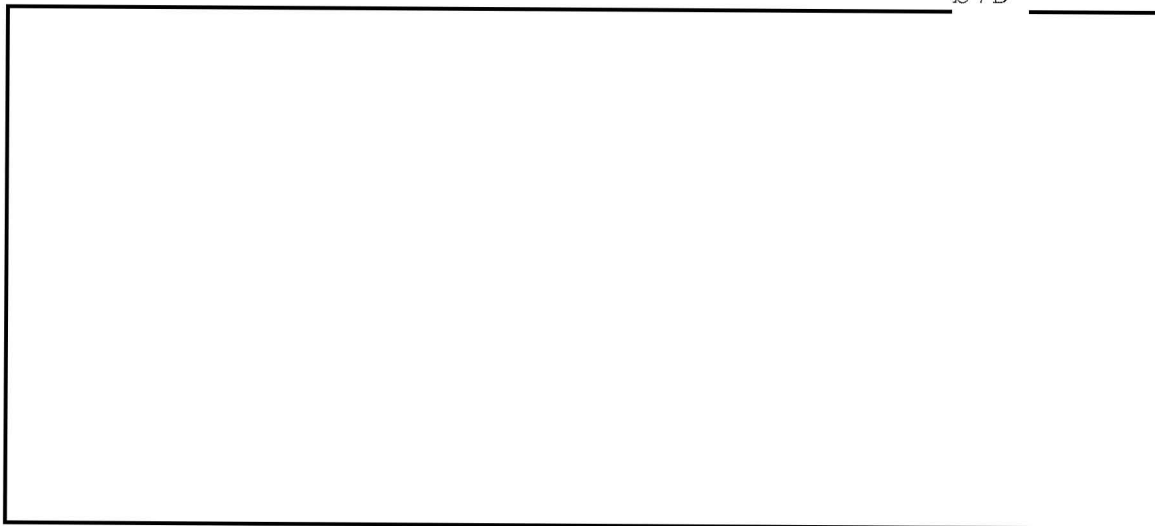
"Our right to self-defense is the ultimate right we have. In recent years we have learned that no one else will defend us--the police serve the interest, both property and personal, of the heads of the big corporations and their allies...it tells of the only way we can protect ourselves from growing police power--armed self defense..."

The leaflet then goes on to detail the arrest of the VO members and links this arrest up with growing police fascism in the Bay Area.



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The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It formerly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government. Since early 1971, it has preached a policy of "survival pending revolution".

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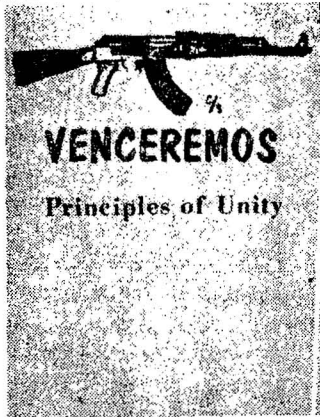
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[redacted] is publicly identified as
a member of the VO CC and [redacted]
has been publicly identified as a member
of the VO.

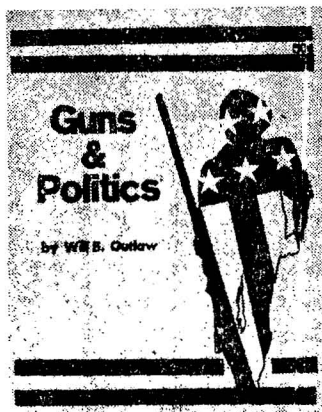
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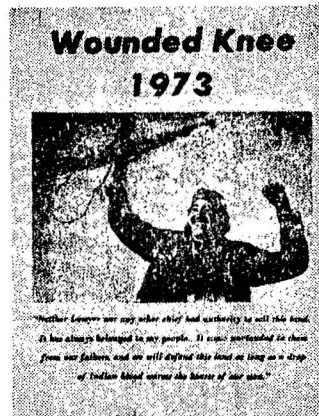
VENCEREMOS PRINCIPLES OF UNITY--a brief explanation of our politics and goals.
25¢ each; 10 or more, 15¢ each



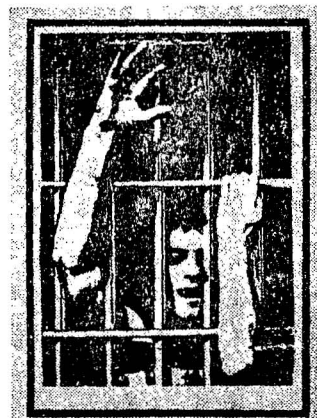
GUNS & POLITICS--a revolutionary gun handbook.
50¢ each; 10 or more, 25¢ each.



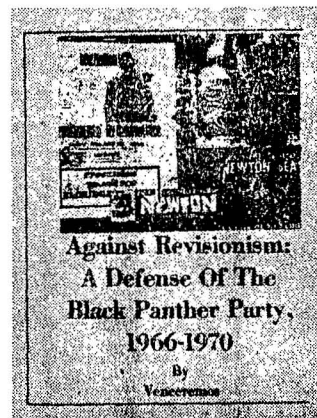
THE CHINO ESCAPE CASE--a history and analysis of a government attempt to frame the prison movement and Venceremos.
25¢ each; 7 for \$1; 10 or more, 10¢ each.



WOUNDED KNEE 1973--a history and analysis of the occupation at Wounded Knee.
25¢ each; 7 for \$1; 10 or more, 10¢ each.



PSYCHOSUGERY IN THE PRISONS--written by the Venceremos Prison Committee.
25¢ each; 7 for \$1; 10 or more, 10¢ each.



AGAINST REVISIONISM; A DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY 1966-1970--Venceremos's analysis of the role of the Black Panther Party.
10¢ each; 100 or more, 5¢.

ORDER FROM:

VENCEREMOS PUBLICATIONS
1969 University Avenue
East Palo Alto, California
94303
(415) 328-4941

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V. AIMS AND PURPOSES

The VO characterizes itself as a revolutionary communist organization. Its goal is the overthrow of the United States Government and the institution of a "classless society".

The VO differs from other communist and socialist organizations in today's movement on one principle: the issue of armed struggle. While other leftist groups seek the institution of a similar system of government, the VO is the only major group actively promulgating the absolute necessity of a violent revolution.

The VO closely adheres to the teachings of MAO. They believe MAO's application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the art and science of revolution is the only way to successfully implement and achieve revolution.

The issue of when, precisely, the revolution should begin is a complex question. First, it should be understood that the VO believes the revolution has already begun. While the inevitability of armed revolution is not questioned, many members feel that the "time to strike the first blow" has not yet been reached. One theory prevalent is that since VO members are presently allowed considerable freedom of activity, it is best to use that freedom to engage in legal "revolutionary activities" that would be impossible to perform from an "underground" or fugitive position. The VO expects the government to become much more repressive in the immediate future. For this reason much of the organization's energies are now primarily spent on demonstrations and cadre training.

The majority of VO cadre are of high caliber. Most are college educated (a large number with advanced degrees), quite intelligent, and extremely dedicated to

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their cause. Typically, a cadre member is: from an upper-middle class background (with parents whom they confess to be card-carrying members of the ruling class), emotionally stable, extroverted, and, almost invariably, individuals with a high concern for morality.

Raised and educated along "liberal" lines, the cadres' intellectual perception allowed them to see the contradictions inherent in the current American political/economic system. If it is correct for the government to provide for the sick and disabled (through Social Security and Welfare) then why, they might have asked, is the government holding back on the rest of society? What about people without shoes? People without jobs? People who are hungry?

Why is the United States wasting American lives defending a corrupt dictator in Vietnam? Imperialism is not only the obvious answer, but it fits in quite appropriately with the Maoist world outlook.

For people concerned with morality, the choice between the muddled, contradictory, and intellectual indefensible American system; and the clear, black-and-white morality of Maoism is simple.

VO members have made that choice. They are now working with substantial dedication towards their goal. Many members have thrown away extraordinary career and educational opportunities to work at menial jobs in order to continue their revolutionary activities.

On the issue of "armed struggle": There is no doubt that VO members will engage in violent revolutionary acts. Every member is urged strongly to buy and stock weapons. [REDACTED]

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The "Palo Alto Times", issue of June 27, 1972, on pages one and two, contained an article captioned "Congressional Security Report; Venceremos Cited as Threat". This article reflects an interview on that date with AARON MANGANIELLO, then Chairman of the VO CC, in which MANGANIELLO described the VO as a multi-national organization allying ethnic minorities, white revolutionaries, and poor and working-class people. MANGANIELLO was quoted as saying that Venceremos runs day care centers, a food cooperative, and a medical center.

The daily newspaper "San Jose Mercury", in its issue of June 28, 1972, on page 23, carried an interview with AARON MANGANIELLO who was quoted as saying that the VO "Principles of Unity" call for a "proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism" because of the federal government's failure to "never make enough qualitative change" in improving life for minorities. MANGANIELLO was further quoted as saying that minorities and labor must be united if the revolution is to be successful. He said that VO encouraged its membership to take jobs, learn from the working-class, and organize the workers, who the VO sees as the leaders, along with other people oppressed by United States imperialism to overthrow United States imperialism and seize the institutions for the people.

An article in the "Redwood City Tribune", issue of July 8, 1972, captioned "Venceremos Fears Federal Repression", quoted Venceremos member TOMAS PILLSBURY as saying that the House Committee report overstressed Venceremos' use of firearms, and as saying :

"We don't intend the guns for ripping off liquor stores and so on, but as tools for defending ourselves, and eventually as tools for liberation. We ain't gonna be able to vote in a revolution you know..."

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M. Newman
The "Palo Alto Times, issue of July 22, 1972, page 6, carried an article captioned "Jury Hears Venceremos Issues" which deals with the trial of Venceremos members MORTON NEWMAN and BRUCE POLLOCK in San Mateo County Superior Court on charges of possession of materials with intent to create a destructive device. The District Attorney questioned NEWMAN about the Venceremos' "Principles of Unity", and NEWMAN was quoted as replying:

"'Do you want a two-hour lecture, or what?' NEWMAN replied. The he continued:

"'Basically, it's about a system in the United States where a few of the large corporations control or greatly influence the government. They control the war and military forces throughout the world to protect corporation investments.

"'Corporations threaten workers who want a decent wage, and when we (Venceremos) talk about change in the country and world we're talking about changes for the oppressed people, the blacks, browns, native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, poor...

"'Our duties as revolutionaries...are fighting to defend ourselves and improve our conditions. Revolutionaries are not a group which makes a revolution, but (one which) works in a day-to-day thing like a factory, organizing people to improvethier situations. As revolutionaries we step up front and risk our jobs.

"'We don't mean we're going to be in the streets tomorrow shooting people and blowing them up. We're active in fighting against heroin brought into communities by the Mafia and sometimes police departments, we set up child care centers, food co-ops, and a multitude of other things.

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"Our goal is government for and by the workers and not for and by the corporations," NEWMAN concluded.

"What do you mean by power to the people?" POLING asked.

"The U.S., is a class society," NEWMAN began. 'At this point, there are two basic classes, one of the monopolistic capitalists who control governments, and the other the working class.'

"Oppression is initiated by the capitalist class, for example, high costs, lack of housing, unemployment, poor food, poor medical care, but the problems generated have to be settled by the working people taking over the government.

"Do you advocate violence to change government?" POLING asked.

"It's basically unreal because no great number of people are thinking that way," NEWMAN testified. 'It makes no sense to advocate that today, because people would probably laugh at you.'

"Quoting from the Venceremos 'Principles of Unity', POLING asked NEWMAN 'What does it mean that political power comes from a barrel of a gun?'

"Take this case, for example," NEWMAN began. 'The power to drag me into court and force me to pay \$4,000 to prove I'm innocent comes from the state's power and force. Your political force backing you up has forced me to go through this ridiculous process.'

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"'What does the term "facist pig" mean?'
POLING asked.

"'It's those people who conscientiously
oppress the working people. We're not talking
about individuals, but centers of power.'"

On November 30, 1972, a press notice "For
Immediate Release" was distributed in the vicinity of the
Ontario Superior Court, Ontario, California, and a copy
was obtained by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation (FBI). This press release reads, in part,
as follows:

BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR REPORTERS COVERING THE
OCTOBER 6TH ESCAPE FROM CHINO PRISON BY RON BEATY;
THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF BENTON DOUGLAS BURT AND
ANDREA HOLMAN; AND THE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION--
NOVEMBER 11, 1972.

"The purpose of this release is to provide
background information on the Venceremos organization
to reporters covering the above mentioned events and
people. When writing articles we hope reporters
will refer to this background rather than the House
Internal Security Committee (HISC) Report which was
written by the extreme right wing of the United
States Congress and is inadequate in most of its
detail. //

"The Venceremos organization, as presently formed,
was created in January 1970, when approximately half
of the members of the Revolutionary Union (virtually
all of those in the Bay Area) were reunited into an
all-Chicano organization called Venceremos. Ven-
ceremos is a multi-national, communist revolutionary
organization. The group is made up of people of

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various nationalities, Black Chicano, Asian, Anglo, and others, and guarantees the leadership of Third World comrades in all of its leading bodies, including the Central Committee. Venceremos comrades are united on the basis of five Principles of Unity and are dedicated to international proletarian revolution and the liberation of all oppressed peoples and nations.

"Venceremos cadre are involved in all forms of revolutionary organizing in communities, factories, schools, the army, and the jails. Members participate in running drug programs, child care centers, a community medical clinic, prison law and legal projects, tenants' unions, womens' centers, and other programs in the interest of poor and working people. Venceremos cadre also do extensive anti-war organizing, union organizing, and several members have run in local elections. Because in all their actions Venceremos members work in the interests of the people and against the interests of the ruling class, every Venceremos member must learn to operate and service weapons correctly, must have arms available, and must actively teach the oppressed people the importance and methods of armed and organized self-defense." (Principles of Unity, p. 21)

" Some of the most widely known events in which Venceremos cadre have participated include the following:

"February 1971: Third World Venceremos cadre organized and led several demonstrations in the working class sections of Redwood City, in support of Los Siete de la Raza, who were on trial in that city.

"Ongoing: The Venceremos Ministry of Information publishes a bi-weekly newspaper called PAMOJA VENCEREMOS (Together We Will Win) which reports on local, national, and international revolutionary struggles and teaches revolutionary ideology to a working class readership of about 4,000.

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"Ongoing: Venceremos cadre, following Third World leadership, have helped organize and run Peoples' Medical Center. The center provides lowcost/free medical assistance to thousands of Blacks, Chicanos and poor whites in Redwood City, trains paramedics and community medical workers and teaches preventative medical techniques to people throughout the community.

"April, 1971: Venceremos cadre, in alliance with the Black Liberation Front, Stanford BSU, the Black Workers Caucus, and Alianza Latina, participated in and provided leadership in a labor dispute to rehire a Black worker at the Stanford Hospital who had been fired for attempting to organize a union.

"August, 1971: Mort Newman, a Venceremos member, successfully prevented police from illegally entering his home in Menlo Park, using a shotgun to halt the entry. In subsequent arrests, both Newman and Bruce Pollock were charged with possession of materials with intent to make a destructive device. Newman was also charged with assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. Several months of organizing around the right of armed self-defense led to a total acquittal on all charges, including the defense of the home. ||

"On Saturday, October 7, Venceremos learned that Ron Beaty, a Venceremos comrade being held captive in Chino Prison, had been liberated successfully from the hands of the state. |

"Since that time, FBI agents and other secret police have staked out the homes of Venceremos comrades and even made threatening visits to people's homes. As expected, the forces of repression have pointed their finger at Venceremos in their attempt to hold someone accountable. Since the report of the House Internal Security Committee, the secret police have stepped up their efforts to find an excuse to attack our organization.

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"The authorities have intentionally hidden the fact that Ron Beaty is a revolutionary, a servant of the people, who has a history of defending the rights of fellow inmates both as a leader of political struggle against unjust conditions and as a jailhouse lawyer. | ?

"Originally imprisoned for a \$5 armed robbery, Ron escaped from Chino for the same reason he may have committed the robbery: he was acting in natural response to an inhuman system. When someone is hungry and no one will give him a job, he 'steals.'

"We understand virtually every man and woman inside the prison institutions of this country to be political prisoners because they are victims of such a cruel system, and it is the existence of the ruling class, the rich few of this country who maintain the prisons, who are the reason why the majority of the people who are imprisoned to begin with. As Venceremos Principles of Unity state (pp. 12-12) 'We want all Third World, working class people, and youth now imprisoned, to be set free because the overwhelming majority of them have not been tried by their peers. They have received only injustice from this system. Free All Political Prisoners.'

"Prison is only the maximum security of this society; for oppressed people, the outside is still minimum security. The liberation of Ron Beaty is not an isolated event, and in fact is part of an international struggle in defense of poor and working people, for wherever the system of U.S. imperialism represses, oppresses, and exploits people, there is bound to be resistance. This is a law of history. Throughout the world and throughout the United States, poor and working people, led by people of color, are fighting back against the imperialists, and the liberation of Ron Beaty is just another example of the struggle that is unfolding in American schools, factories, prisons, and communities. |

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"Some say, 'Well, a guard was killed. A human life was lost. This is terrorism!' But it is the prison guards who are the real terrorists--brutalizing inmates daily--and the men and women who resist in any way are special targets for such attacks. There are many men and women like Ron Beaty inside prisons who are revolutionaries, comrades who have dedicated their lives to the struggles of the people. They are determined to help build a new society. All of us on the outside must support these brothers and sisters who are brutalized, thrown into isolation from other inmates, violated, recharged, and convicted on false charges, because they are fighting for us.

"We are overjoyed that comrade Ron Beaty is once again free and we hope that he remains free. Wherever he is, we are sure that he will do his best to serve the people. The conditions of prison throughout this country, from Attica to San Quentin to Chino dictate that in order to escape inhumane conditions, prisoners are bound to break out, rebel, and resist. To these comrades, Venceremos says, 'Right On!'

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The Eugene, Oregon, daily newspaper "Register-Guard", in its issue of April 13, 1973, carried an article concerning a speech by H. BRUCE FRANKLIN at the University of Oregon on April 11, 1973. Concerning the VO, FRANKLIN was quoted as saying that the VO "has outlived its usefulness" and that it is now vital to develop a national revolutionary party throughout the United States. FRANKLIN admitted that this would not be easy since revolutionaries in the United States are not united in a common goal. FRANKLIN argued that revolutionary groups such as Venceremos need to be armed in order to survive, but claimed that the VO exercises strict discipline on the use of weapons, using firearms only for self-defense. FRANKLIN was quoted as saying: ||

"We don't see ourselves as the military force that's going to defeat the empire. Its the people as a whole that has to do it in some revolutionary group."

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The following excerpts are from an article entitled "Strategy for Victory: The Revolutionary Alliance", appearing on pages 1A-5A of "Pamoja Venceremos", Volume III, Number 6, dated May 25 - June 7, 1973:

The strategy for revolution in the U.S. flows from our history. By glancing through this history, we can understand why -- and how -- the national liberation movements of the oppressed people will turn into an overall proletarian revolution.

... The so-called United States is not a single nation but an empire composed of conquered nations, a mass of workers, a class of imperial functionaries, and, on the very top, a single small ruling class. It includes outright possessions -- such as Guam and Samoa. It contains within its own national boundaries three nations that are actually external colonies -- Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico. Within the continental U.S. itself are the two largest oppressed nations -- the Black nation and the Chicano nation. Also within the continental U.S. are the native nations, recognized even by U.S. law through international treaties signed by the government. There are also other oppressed national minorities -- Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Latinos, and the two million Puerto Ricans concentrated in the northeast. The overwhelming majority of these people are proletarian. They all belong to the Third World, and to the world-wide national liberation movement against U.S. imperialism. When we grasp this firmly, we can understand why there can be only one strategy for revolution in the U.S. -- an alliance between the nations and national minorities oppressed

by U.S. imperialism within its own borders and its own white working class, all recognizing that they are class sisters and brothers of the peoples of the world, the victims -- and the destroyers -- of the U.S. empire.

... So two facts emerge clearly: (1) Third World people within the U.S. are the very core of the proletariat, as well as its most exploited and oppressed section. (2) The two large oppressed nations within the continental U.S. -- the Black nation, with a population of 25-30 million, and the Chicano nation, with a population of 5-10 million -- are both predominantly proletarian (which is probably not true of any other nation under capitalism in the world).

... All this is very typical of the revolutionary process, which always begins with a spontaneous rebellion of the masses. This upheaval changes the existence of everybody in that society. It awakens the first conscious thoughts of actual revolution. It creates the first conscious revolutionaries. People become aware of the need for a revolutionary strategy and a revolutionary organization. These begin to form.

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But the spontaneous movement of the masses, lacking a strategy and organization, is doomed to fail. The repression strikes. The masses seem to sink back into the apathy, despair, and inaction they had before they rebelled. But this is only a surface calm. Beneath it, the thoughts of revolution are widening and deepening.

The conscious revolutionaries who were created by the masses suddenly find themselves seemingly all alone. It is as if they had been part of a huge wave, and they have waked to find themselves stranded like a little pool on a desert beach. They begin to doubt the existence of the ocean itself, the sea of the masses. From where they stand, the masses seem backward. They feel deserted. No matter how hard they shout at the ocean, there seems to be no response. They don't hear the masses' demands for leadership based on practical theory. They doubt that there will ever be any more waves. They fail to see that the masses are beginning to think about what is necessary, not a gesture of angry protest but the actual seizure of power.

When the revolutionaries give up on the masses and surrender to defeatism, two incorrect lines always emerge. One abandons all the revolutionary slogans and programs, and commits itself to doing only legal work. The other seeks to make the revolution all by itself, abandons all open work, and goes underground. Both fail to see that it is the masses who are the makers of history....

Therefore, it is "the duty of the Party to prepare the masses for this new rise." How is this to be done? Lenin showed that the answer lay in the skillful combining of legal and illegal work. The key task was strengthening the illegal Party apparatus while engaging in the absolute maximum amount of open revolutionary political work within existing mass organizations, no matter how low their political level. And it is precisely in such a period, under such testing, that the revolutionary party is built, steeled, and tempered.

ON UNITY

Of course we all desire the maximum unity of the revolutionary forces. Forces can only unite if (1) they have at least one common objective and (2) if they can agree on at least one course of action they can take together to accomplish this objective. So there is little problem of achieving limited tactical unity in specific situations. But strategic unity of the revolutionary masses is a much more difficult problem in both theory and practice.

There is extremely little organizational unity at this time precisely because of the difficulty of solving this problem. Only when the masses themselves begin to see that one particular strategy is the practical road to victory will it be possible to unite on both a mass and organization level.

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There is only one correct strategy capable of uniting the masses for victory in the U.S., and that is the revolutionary alliance, in which the white working class follows the vanguard leadership of the oppressed nations and national minorities and this united force links up directly with the world revolution. The U.S. revolution is multi-national, and must be led by the Third World proletariat.

The U.S. revolution is not the first multi-national revolution. Russia was the "prison-house of nations," and the worker-peasant alliance certainly included the masses of the imperial colonies, such as the Ukraine and Georgia. In China, the majority Han people united with the oppressed national minorities to drive out Japanese imperialism and then to establish socialism. But the U.S. revolution is the only revolution in which oppressed nations and national minorities constitute the vanguard of the proletariat. Therefore, a vast amount of theoretical work remains to be done, developing in and through practice a revolutionary strategy for a multi-national revolution in which the vanguard of the proletariat consists of oppressed nations. As an immediate task, we must unite on the basis of multi-nationality and Third World leadership. This means concretely that any revolutionary organization must have within its theory, practice, and structure, a guarantee that the oppressed nations will maintain both their right of self-determination (that is the right to secede if they choose) and their rightful role in leadership of the alliance. In the Principles

of Unity of VENCEREMOS, which we offer as a basis for uniting the revolutionary movement, we put it in these terms:

Within the boundaries of the so-called United States, the revolution will be made by an alliance of the oppressed nations and the exploited peoples, bound to each other and to the peoples of the world by their hatred of the common enemy and love for each other. Therefore, it is absolutely vital that there be a revolutionary organization representing this unity and capable of providing unified revolutionary leadership. The revolutionary party of the U.S. must be truly multi-national, for in fact it will be inter-national. It must have real and not fake Third World leadership and it must absolutely guarantee to all oppressed nations the right to self-determination.

We stand for government by the poor and working people. The revolution and the new socialist society will be led by the proletariat, the most oppressed people--Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, poor whites, people on the street, all those who must either sell their labor to live, live off employment or welfare, or end up in jail or the army.

The proletariat must lead the rest of the working class and all other people oppressed by U.S. imperialism to overthrow the rich, who now own and control all the institutions of the so-called United States of America, and seize these institutions for the people.

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Since putting forward these Principles in early 1971, we have come to realize that the revolutionary movement as a whole can not advance from the present stage without a party. The local circles and collectives scattered across the U.S. can do little more in their present form. The primary task of all sincere revolutionaries at this point is to bring about the kind of organizational unity that can take our war to the next stage.

Organizations of the oppressed nations must find the means to participate in over-all decision-making while carefully preserving the rights of their peoples to self-determination and a separate national existence if this is what their people desire. Communists from the oppressor empire must unite with the peoples of the oppressed nations on the basis that their primary duty is to win the white working class to support national liberation struggles at home and abroad as allies against the common enemy. Revolutionary men must unite with revolutionary women on the basis of an equal commitment to the destruction of all vestiges of male supremacy and the oppression of women. Sectarianism and petty feuds among revolutionaries must end.

On the other hand, we must draw a clear line between authentic revolutionaries and revisionist wolves running around in our midst all dressed up in revolutionary words. No one who is not committed

to the rights of self-determination of the Black, Chicano, Indian, Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, Eskimo, and other Third World nations can be considered a revolutionary, and this commitment must be proved in deeds more than words. No one who supports and even participates in the oppression of women can be considered a revolutionary. And no individual or organization that puts economic demands above the political demand for people's power, or who puts reform above revolution, can be looked upon as a revolutionary.

The historical moment has arrived when revolutionaries must unite in order to guide the poor and working people out of the rotten swamp of imperialism into the socialist world of the future. The people are sick of this decaying madhouse, but nobody has taken the trouble to show them that there is an alternative. It is high time that the revolutionaries stopped running around saying that it is the people who are not ready when it is they themselves who have failed to do their job. Enough of "organizers" running around like chickens with their heads cut off trying to "organize" people into disorganization. When the revolutionaries show that they are ready to organize the revolution, the people will prove that they are ready to conduct it.

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Let's Grow up

A Self-Criticism of this Newspaper

Approximately ten months ago, VENCEREMOS organization analyzed the revolutionary situation in the U.S. and came to certain conclusions. We decided that the primary task of the revolutionary movement at this time is to build a multinational revolutionary party capable of leading all oppressed people to the next stage. We saw the immediate task of VENCEREMOS as helping to build that party.

It is true that we have taken certain concrete steps to implement this decision. But if we felt that the oppressed nations, together with the poor and working white people, had an immediate need for a revolutionary party, why did we make this a secret by keeping it to ourselves?

Certainly our newspaper has not given anybody a hint that we had reached this conclusion. Recently we have searched through the back issues of our newspaper looking in vain for any expression of our analysis. What has the newspaper done? It has told people again and again, in one slogan and formula after another, "IMPERIALISM IS VERY BAD!"

But most people already know this. What people do not know, and what they are asking about, is "HOW CAN WE CHANGE THINGS?" "IS THERE REALLY AN ALTERNATIVE FORM OF SOCIETY THAT WOULD BE ANY BETTER FOR US?" "HOW COULD WE BRING SUCH A SOCIETY ABOUT?"

We have not helped to answer these questions. Instead of describing how socialism represents the tremendous, creative future for humanity, we have focused almost exclusively on the stinking decay and daily misery produced by capitalism.

And instead of explaining the

vital necessity of revolutionary theory and a revolutionary party, we have over-glorified the spontaneous resistance of poor and working people. We have presented strikes as though they were revolutionary events, and described armed insurgencies as if theory and organization were irrelevant to their success. Of course the people's resistance is glorious, no matter what form it takes. But spontaneous resistance, no matter how heroic, can neither destroy this mad empire nor create a socialist society fit for decent, healthy, loving human beings to live in.

It's true that we need heroism on a mass scale in order to win.

But without scientific revolutionary theory (Marxism-Leninism) and an organized revolutionary party to organize that mass heroism and guide those guns, victory will never be ours.

From now on, VENCEREMOS intends to fulfill its responsibility to use this newspaper to explain our ideas so that they can be criticized, refined, and used as a weapon in the people's struggle.

Undoubtedly we will make many serious errors. But we know that the revolutionary people will sooner or later correct these mistaken ideas. Unless we as a revolutionary organization, supposedly applying Marxist-Leninist theory to daily practice, say what we think, nobody will have the opportunity either to tell us we're wrong or to use those ideas they believe are right.

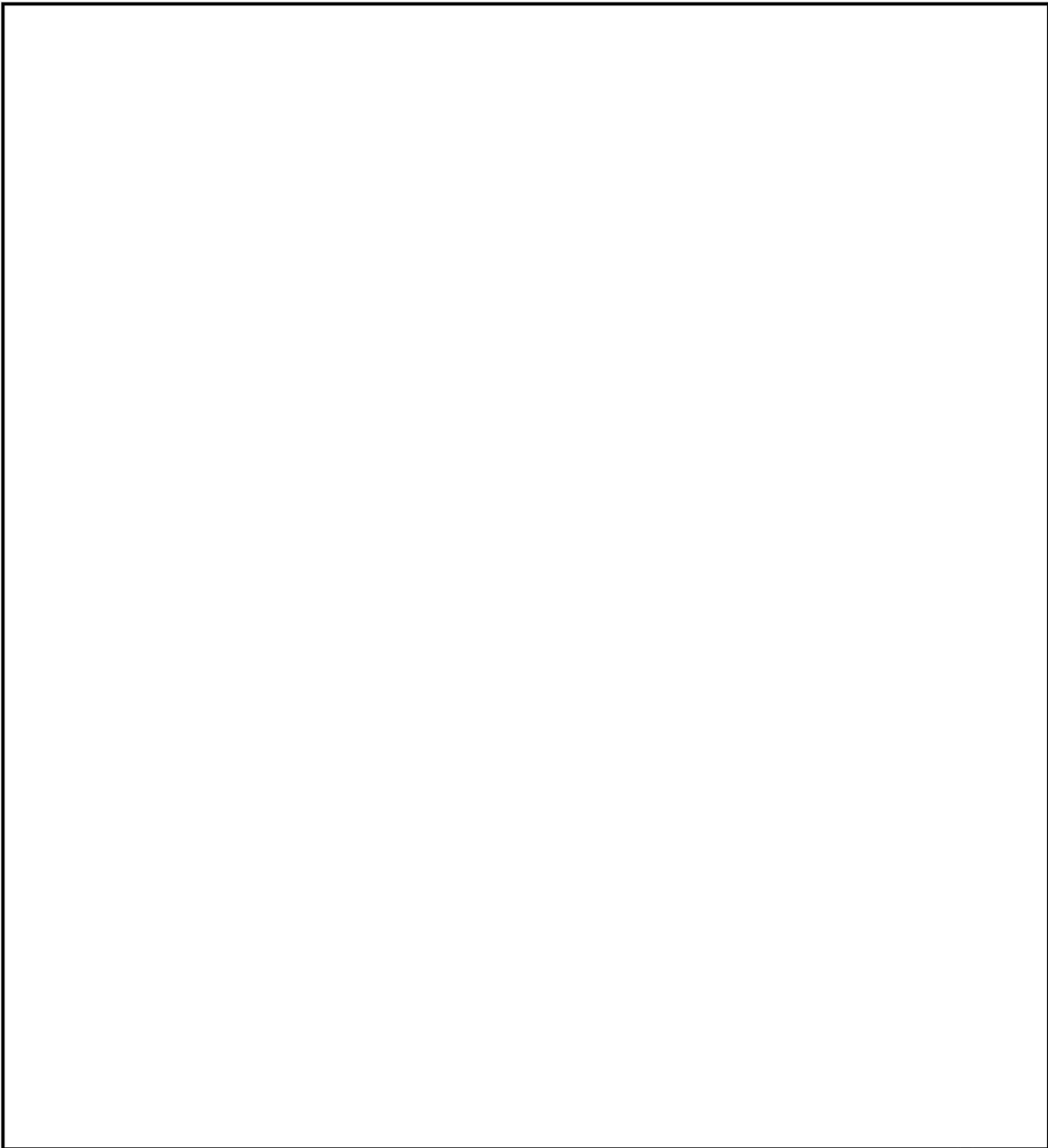
Our ultimate faith lies in the millions of poor and working people whose thoughts and lives make the revolution.

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VI. EDUCATION



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VII. BELIEF IN FORCE AND VIOLENCE

On May 8 and 9, 1972, a group called the VO was in action promoting violence in connection with some disturbances in Berkeley, California. The leader was one BERNARD SMALLWOOD, introduced as the Oakland leader of the VO. The organization on both days had some twenty to twenty-five people present, both men and women, representing various ethnic groups. [REDACTED]

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On May 8, 1972, the members of the VO tried to lead a crowd marching down Bancroft and Shattuck Streets, Berkeley, California, through a police line rather than going along Shattuck where the police had instructed them to go.

On May 9, 1972, at approximately 1:00 a.m., there was a crowd at Regent and Dwight, Berkeley, California. The crowd was leaderless, motionless, directionless, and peaceful. Members of the VO got together a steering committee in the crowd and from that point on lead the crowd into rock and brick confrontations with the police between Regent and Telegraph on Dwight Way.

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[redacted]

The Palo Alto Tenants Union (PATU) is an organization of neighborhood councils organized to fight against the Bryant Street Project, a redevelopment project in Palo Alto, California, using an anti-imperialist theme.

[redacted] in June, 1972, purchased a Mauser .38 caliber revolver at the Maximart Sporting Goods Store Palo Alto, California. The Mauser is a model HCS380, serial number [redacted] is reportedly the current girl friend of [redacted] (S) u

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The VO maintains a "pig file" in which are kept the VO records concerning law enforcement officers.



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On July 11, 1972, an officer of the Palo Alto, California, Police Department had returned from a two week vacation and found that [redacted] were surveilling his home and continued this surveillance for a period of three hours.

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On Saturday, July 8, 1972, [redacted] were thrown out of the Palo Alto City Parking Garage several times for loitering. They were observed taking the license plate numbers of the cars in the parking area. Source noted that these three individuals have been observed in the past taking license numbers of cars parked in the Palo Alto City Garage.

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[redacted] an officer of the Palo Alto Police Department, en route to [redacted] had been surveilled by [redacted] Although the officer tried to shake [redacted] he was unable to do so [redacted]

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On July 14, 1972, two high school girls had been arrested in Palo Alto, California, for failure to

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identify themselves. These girls had been conducting a surveillance of the activities of two Palo Alto Police Department patrolmen, including photographing the patrolmen. When they were stopped for questioning they refused to identify themselves and were subsequently arrested.

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In

residing at

was identified as
as a member of the an affiliate of the
VO. to acquire military
weapons such as M-16 and M-14 rifles, M-79 grenade
launchers, M-60 machine guns, 50 caliber machine guns,
and C-4 plastic explosives.

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"Pamoja Venceremos", in its June 10 - 24, 1972 issue, on page 5, contained an article captioned "On the Freeing of Angela" authored by the CC of Venceremos. This article reads in part:

"To throw a bomb at a bank, to burn down a building, to break plate-glass windows without cause, is not to conduct revolutionary activity but to play at it; it is "revolution for the hell of it". It does not raise revolutionary class consciousness, does not hurt the war effort or cripple the system, despite hallucinations to the contrary'.
(Green, p.29)

"What the CP assumes is that these acts of revolutionary violence are "without cause". Of course this is perfectly consistent with their position that we live in a democracy whose government we ourselves have chosen. But those of us who think that we live in an extremely violent dictatorship of the big bankers and businessmen, intent on subjecting all people to capitalist slavery, think that there is plenty of cause to bomb banks, to burn down ROTC buildings, Stanford Administration buildings, induction centers and courthouses, and to break windows of the Hoover Institution, finance companies, ITT and the FBI. And when the Chinese people tell us that these are important acts in the world revolution, and when Hanoi calls us to say that these acts inspire their fighters on the battlefield, those of us who call ourselves revolutionaries can only apologise for not doing much more to help destroy the common enemy."

On July 28 1972, a debate was held in San Francisco, California, at Valencia and Sycamore Streets, between the VO, Revolutionary Union, (RU) I Wor Kuen (IWK) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Some 250

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individuals attended, including [redacted]
[redacted] and AARON MANGANIELLO of Venceremos. MANGANIELLO
was the only speaker with any color and spoke of the
beautiful feeling he gets when he picks up a gun:

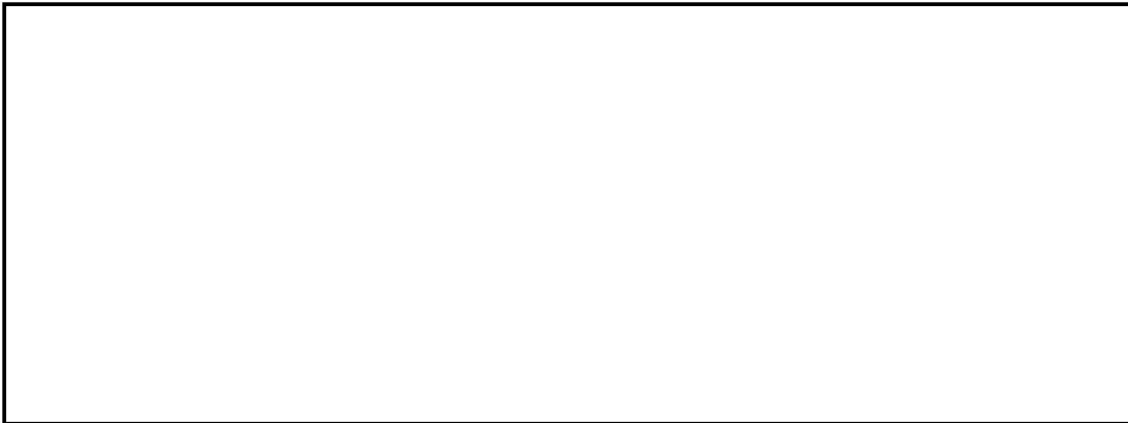
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"I say to myself this is a wonderful thing.
A tool to end oppression. To free the people.
It fills me with emotion."



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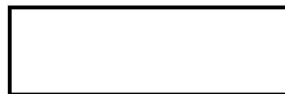
At a meeting of the San Francisco VO study group
on [redacted] stated:

"I think we've been doing too much political
work and not enough military practice. We
should get to be as good with guns as the pigs
are."

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The following poem appeared on page 13 of
"Pamoja Venceremos" issue of October 10 - 24, 1972:

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The beat is getting stronger

The moments are more frequent
That I feel the need to kill
for the Revolution.
As well, as die for the Revolution.

We cannot treat a brutal enemy
With compassion and understanding
For if he continues to rule supreme
And we do not conform to slavery
Chains and death are eventualities.



My Comrades, you cannot hold a gun
With your hands chained at your sides
You cannot march to victory
With your legs in shackles.

Reach out now and pick up the gun
So that your hands may remain free to use it!
So that your legs will remain free
To dance upon the grave of Imperialism!

The moments are more frequent
That, as a revolutionary,
I feel the need
To make revolution.

VENCEREMOS

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During a demonstration against President NIXON
in San Francisco, California, on September 27, 1972, [redacted]
[redacted] was overheard to make the following

comments: (S) u

[Large redacted area]

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[redacted] (S) u

[Redacted box]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 12/26/72

At approximately 2 p.m. on this date an individual who refused to identify himself contacted the Federal Bureau of Investigation Office. Switchboard Operator [] advised that the individual requested to talk to somebody about a complaint. She asked if the caller has anybody in particular in mind, and he said no, that he just wanted to make a complaint. [] said that the caller sounded very nervous and agitated while she was talking to him. b7C

b7C SA [] who was on complaints this date, took call and the caller advised that he was a member of the Central Committee of "Venceremos" (VO) on University Avenue in Palo Alto. He said the reason for his calling was that he wanted to complain about agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation harassing Venceremos this morning. When asked in what way he felt the Venceremos Organization was harassed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation he stated that this morning agents had come to the headquarters allegedly for the purpose of purchasing some papers. The caller stated that he knew the agents were not there to purchase papers but merely to harass them. The caller further stated that if the harassment is not stopped the agents "will be dealt with". When asked in what way the agents would be dealt with he stated that in the same way an individual would be treated if he were breaking into a person's private house. The caller further said that the agents are attempting to intimidate women in particular.

The caller, when asked his name, refused to identify himself, but sounded as if he was of negro descent in his early or middle 20s.

On 12/26/72 at San Francisco, California File # SF 100-68932
SF 100-73459
SF 76-6147
by SA b7C [] bh Date dictated 12/26/72

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The following article appeared on page 7 of the
"San Mateo Times" on February 9, 1973:

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Deputy Faces a Shotgun

A man identified by authorities as a self-professed member of the revolutionary Venceremos organization was arrested yesterday after he allegedly pointed a shotgun at a deputy sheriff who went to a home

south of Redwood City to serve a \$10 warrant on another member of the group.

Arrested for brandishing a weapon and later released on \$500 bail was John E. Gaiser, 27, a carpenter, of 3050 Williams Street, Redwood City, who allegedly picked up a shotgun and injected a round into the chamber after Deputy Joseph Franzioa knocked on the door to serve a warrant on Tom R. Pillsbury, another Venceremos member.

Franzioa reported when he knocked on the door, Gaiser opened it and yelled, "You're not going to talk to anybody!"

The deputy said although Gaiser slammed the door in his face, it did not close completely.

Franzioa said he looked through the still open door, and saw the front end of a shotgun being held by Gaiser. He then heard the sound of the shell being injected into the chamber, Franzioa reported.

Franzioa reported the door was again slammed in his face, but he could see Gaiser looking out of a bedroom window.

Franzioa parked his patrol car pointing at the house and called for additional help. When Sgt. Ken Frank arrived, Gaiser was ordered out of the house with his hands over his head.

Criminalist Paul Dougherty

reported that the shotgun still had four rounds in it when confiscated.

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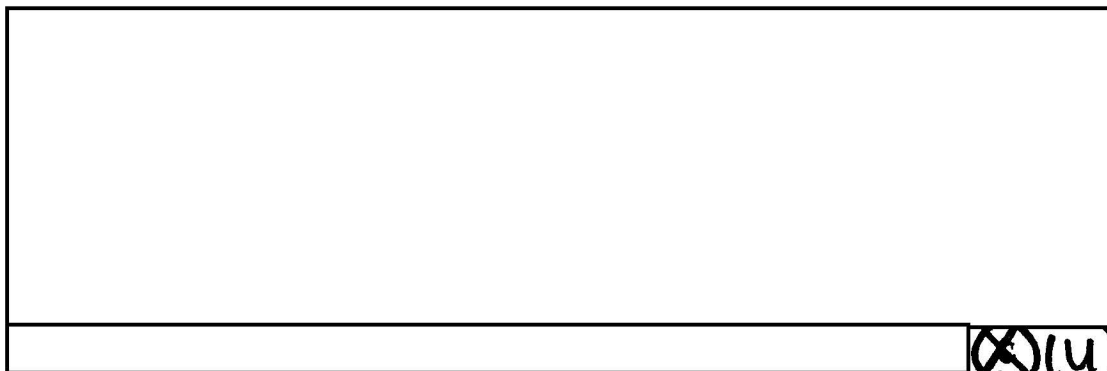
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The "San Francisco Foghorn", a publication of the University of San Francisco, in its issue of February 16, 1973, on page 2, contained an article captioned "Harris Cites Venceremos' Call to Arms as Ineffective & Futile", reporting a debate on February 12, 1973, at the University between DAVID HARRIS and CEASAR MOORE of Venceremos. The article states:

"MOORE, from the Ministry of Information of Venceremos, centered on the right of self-defense, and taking up the gun for this purpose. He referred to police raids - kicking in doors, offing people in their sleep - but didn't speak of changes in strategy by the Black Panther upon whom most of this violence was done.

"It appeared doubtful that many in the audience disagreed with his justification for violence; or the righteousness of Venceremos' struggle, but he was never convincing in showing that violence could be effectively used nationally by the American people against the American people."



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[redacted] the establishment of any group within the VO to engage solely in illegal activities would be completely opposite to the generally

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held VO belief that you cannot separate the legal and the illegal, one group doing one and the other doing the other. The VO holds that members and collectives must engage in legal and illegal activities. It is a firm belief of VO that one can only learn through practice and this is equally true of the legal and the illegal. ~~(S)~~(u)



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VIII. SOCIAL AGITATION

A. The Drug Collective

The "Palo Alto Times" issue of July 12, 1972, on page 3, contained an article captioned "7 Added to Palo Alto Drug Abuse Board". According to this article, one of the new appointees to the Drug Abuse Board was ~~KARI COLLINS~~, a member of the Palo Alto Drug Collective, described as a "street" level group with a revolutionary flavor formed independently of the community's Drug Abuse Board. Another member newly added was ~~DOUGLAS GARRETT~~, described as a member of the Palo Alto Drug Collective and Venceremos. The article further reflected that Palo Alto City Councilman JOHN BEAHRS read excerpts from a one and one-half page mimeograph flyer from the Palo Alto Drug Collective which claimed credit for the strategy that resulted in the city's allocating \$200,000 for a first-year drug treatment program.

The "Palo Alto Times" issue of July 20, 1972, page 3, contained the following article:

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Political ideology and drugs Place for Marxism cited

Quelling rumblings of "political takeover," members of the Community Drug Abuse Board said Wednesday night Marxist ideology has a legitimate but limited place in Palo Alto's \$200,000 program against drugs.

At an informal community discussion, the 21-member board fielded questions about program philosophy, content and hiring drug counselors with revolutionary politics.

In response to a question about "Marxism-Leninism," board member Carla Vespe said, "it is one legitimate area of input—there are others."

Member Charles Schulz said he saw "no problem with the input—we need a variety—but if any one viewpoint starts moving the program into a corner . . . I'd speak out."

Board members emphasized the program will have participants from a wide variety of backgrounds and each may find a different perspective helpful in understanding his personal problems.

They also said that the board includes revolutionaries and political conservatives who recognize their differences and are willing to work together to combat drug abuse.

Palo Alto's program is expected to begin late this month or by mid August. It will

include a Community Prevention Center (CPC) and a Residential Treatment Center (RTC).

They will provide counseling, recreation, crisis intervention, job training and other services deemed necessary by staff and participants.

From its inception, the city-funded program has been dogged by predictions of domination by revolutionaries. The citizens' task force which proposed the program included two members of Venceremos, a revolutionary group, as well as persons of other political persuasions.

The program's directing board, approved by the City Council, also includes one admitted revolutionary and a woman who is a member of the "Drug Collective" but not of Venceremos, whose appointments encountered some council opposition.

On Wednesday night, however, board members and observers alike warned that the program should not be sidetracked by "divisive propaganda."

Dr. Saul Wasserman, a board member, said drug counselors should be flexible enough to use psychological, sociological, religious or political interpretations to suit individual cases.

"All empirical evidence suggests" different people find help in different models.

No one single approach is helpful for everyone," Wasserman said.

Michael Fox, a member of the board and of Venceremos, said the revolutionary position is that "drug abuse comes from a society with contradictions, with some on the top and the bottom, exploiters and exploited . . .

"In order to get rid of drug abuse we have to talk about transforming society and getting rid of contradictions." CALIF

Leslie Nassan of Venceremos told the board it will be impossible to remain "apolitical and still help addicts . . . drug abuse comes from social conditions."

Miss Nassan said people entering the program, like Vietnam veterans, already associate their drug use with social and political problems.

Phil Bliss, a board member and drug counselor at Cubberley High School, said the board "should not be heavy handed with content . . . or tell counselors what to tell people."

The Rev. Harold Varner, board member, black minister and psychologist, told the board to put the issue of revolutionary ideas in perspective.

"When the program starts dealing with black community problems, that will make the Venceremos issue seem like a Sunday School picnic," the Rev. Mr. Varner said.

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The following flyer was received at [redacted]
[redacted] on July 15,
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[redacted] is a known VO
collective.



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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSES OF THE PALO ALTO DRUG COLLECTIVE

The Palo Alto Drug Collective is part of the massive fight against oppression in our society and in the world. We exist to combat the specific problem of drug abuse and its causes. U. S. imperialism is efficiently oppressing Third World nations and tries to maintain power over these nations--as in Vietnam. It forces young men to fight in Nam where brothers return as drug addicts. It creates economic misery to black and brown communities where some people feel the only relief is drugs. For working people, the conditions in some plants are so demanding some people live on speed, downers and booze. Students and middle class white young escape into drugs because they feel unable to change what they hate so much in this society. And throughout society people are caught up in competing with one another and always striving to maintain a high standard of existence. People break down under these pressures and turn to drugs and alcohol.

The rulers in this country answer the drug problem by calling in the police, jailing drug users and then after their jail time is over are thrown back on the streets where there are still no jobs, no decent housing, and a life of oppression continues.

THE PEOPLES ANSWER TO OPPRESSION

Because the government is a government of the rich our strategy is to engage in a political struggle for power and force the government to give us funds to serve the peoples needs. Our tactic for winning is to form collectives which involve more and more people in this active struggle.

We put our strategy into practice when we confronted the P.A. city government to give us money for a Peoples Drug Center. Through the Power of the People we won \$200,000 for our center which will open during this summer. But we have to continue to fight to make sure that money truly serves the people. We want ex-addicts and young people who understand how this society causes the drug problem to control the center. This is also an ongoing struggle.

The main group of the Palo Alto Drug Collective meets weekly to discuss general questions confronting us, to educate ourselves as to good and bad ways of dealing with political enemies, and to discuss correct ways to involved and serve the people.

The main collective of P.A.D.C. also breaks down into various other collectives which are able to carry on the fight against drug abuse on specific levels. They are the following:

1. Peoples Education

- a) Here we are putting together the collectives practice in different forms for the community to learn from. For example: pamphlets, films, education programs.
- b) We work to expose to drug collective members and the community what goes on in the drug world. What kind of drugs are on the streets, how the traffic is moving, and what companies are involved in drug pushing.
- c) In general, we are to bring political education about the imperialist system into the drug collective and out to the community.

2. Anti-Fascism Stop the Pigs

We understand the police only serve the rich, and that historically the police are used to jail drug users. In some situations people turn against their brothers and sisters for the sake of their own habit or to stay out of jail by working with the pigs and snitching.

This collective will expose snitches and work to stop the police from butting into the drug problem.

3. Detox facilities do not exist in Santa Clara County.

A collective exists to lead the struggle to force Santa Clara County to set up a detox ward run by the people for heroin addicts.

4. Collectives for addicts and people with drug problems are forming. We understand a person cannot struggle alone, especially in this society. Our first collective for addicts is being set up in order to:

- a) Give addicts a place to go in depth about their personal problems with brother and sisters coming from the same place.

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c) Have a collective where addicts and drug users will be engaged in changing the social conditions which created their addiction.

5. High School struggles

A collective is working towards creating decent education that will expose the true nature of the drug problem. Presently there is only a token drug education program in the high schools. Through struggle \$75,000 is to be used for drug education, and the students will seize the money to make sure it serves the people. Through the drug struggle, the P.A.D.C. has found that in the high schools there is a large drug problem. Most support for a Peoples Program has come from the high schools.

6. Fund Raising

A group of people meet weekly to discuss ways to raise money for the drug collective to pay for certain functions of the P.A.D.C. The main task at this time is to raise money for the Menlo Park Law Commune who serve the people by defending Robert Sullivan a black brother from Palo Alto who is sentenced to life because of a drug raid on his home.

All of these collectives bring back questions about their work to the main group Sunday night meetings at 7:30. These meetings are open to everyone and anyone who wishes to further battle against drugs in society. People who have drug problems who would like to come, sit in and check it out are always welcome. Those brothers and sisters who have experience, or just anyone with love for the people and a desire to struggle, Come!

SUNDAY NIGHT 7:30

3381 PARK BLVD. PALO ALTO

493-4084

SERVE THE PEOPLE

STOP THE PLAGUE!

THE PALO ALTO DRUG COLLECTIVE

(This statement also printed in Panoja Venceremos newspaper)

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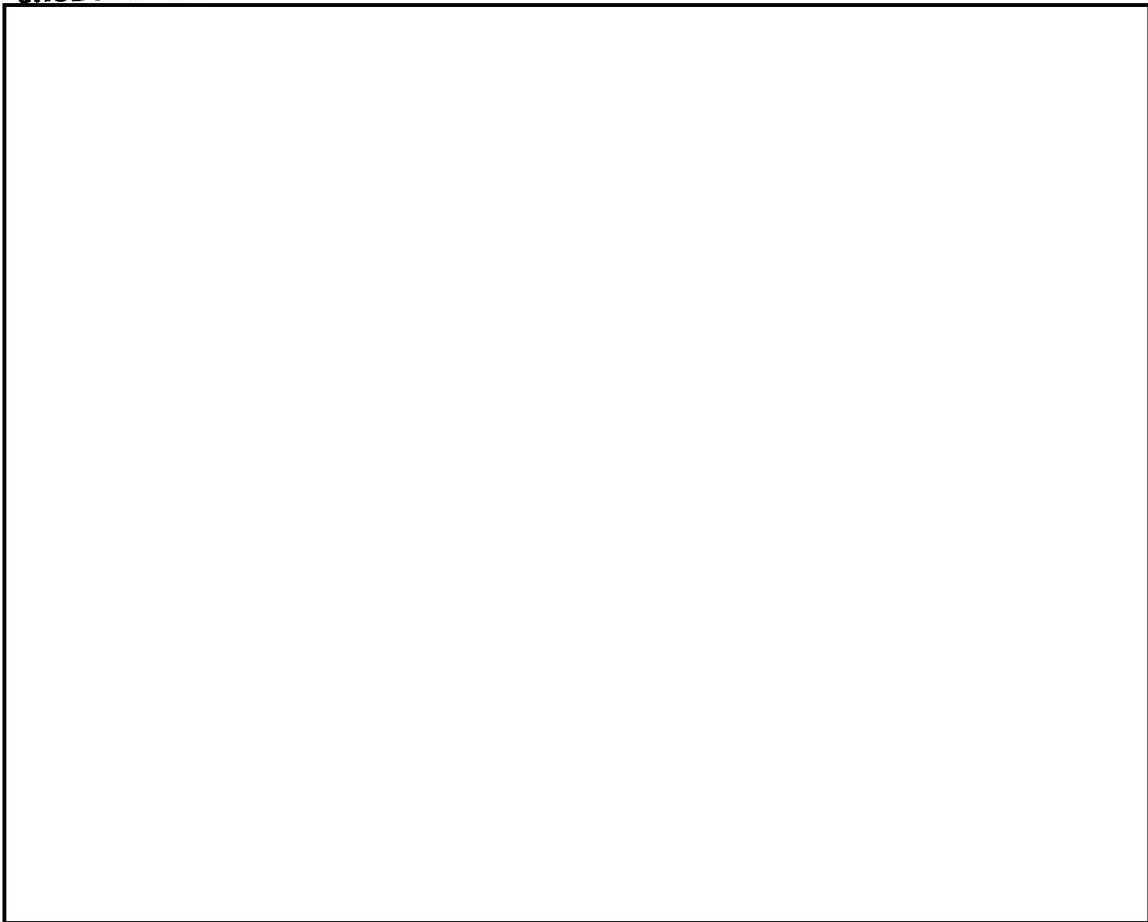
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The Palo Alto Drug Collective is one of the VO collectives located in Palo Alto, California, and organized around the theme of narcotics, their prevention and treatment. The collective has been responsible for the establishment of a drug addict treatment facility in the City of Palo Alto, to which the city contributed \$200,000 and there is the possibility of additional money being received from state and federal assistance programs. Although nominally under the direction of the Palo Alto Drug Abuse Board, the impetus for the center and the daily functioning thereof comes from the drug collective.



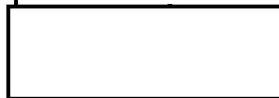
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The following article appeared in "The Arena, on page 4, issue of November 16, 1972. "The Arena" is a monthly conservative campus newspaper at Stanford University.

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Revolutionary Organization — Part Of Drug Controversy

By CHRIS HOCKER

Arena Executive Editor

For the past year, one of the most consistently newsworthy items to appear in the Palo Alto Times and the San Jose Mercury has been the activities and the personnel of the Palo Alto Community Drug Abuse Board (PACDAB).

Over this period of time, the Board has managed to win over \$200,000 of city money and to establish two centers of operations, often over the vigorous objections of some in the Palo Alto community.

What is now PACDAB began late last year as a Task Force on the problems of drug abuse in Palo Alto. Its purpose was to submit a proposal to the Palo Alto City Council that would be used as a basis from which to apply for federal funding for an anti-drug project.

In the process of approving the proposal, the City Council rejected that of The Center, an established, church-related drug counseling center located in Menlo Park. The government, however, turned down the Task Force proposal, citing insufficient funds.

The Task Force resubmitted its proposal to the Council as a city project, trimming \$40,000 from the budget. This proposal was eventually accepted in the form of a contract between PACDAB and the City, providing for \$200,000 in funding over a two-year period.

Presently, a drug abuse prevention center located at 418 Ramona Street is operating, while a Residential Treatment Center at 851 University Avenue has been approved by the city, but is not currently in operation.

Much of the PACDAB controversy has centered around the involvement of the revolutionary organization Venceremos in the Task Force study and the workings of the Board itself. Currently, four of the 19 members of the board are open members of Venceremos.

They are Michael Fox, Molly McDonnell Fox, Kari Collins, and Doug Garrett. The Foxes were members of the original Task Force, and Mike Fox is currently a paid staff member at the prevention center.

Mike Fox and Doug Garrett have also been participants in recent years in demonstrations, protests, and trainings on the

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Stanford campus. Fox was identified as one of those who attacked a group of conservatives in the Free Campus Movement outside the Old Union Courtyard on the night of Feb. 10, 1971. He was subsequently named on an injunction barring certain individuals from the Stanford campus.

Venceremos has devoted a certain degree of time, effort, and space in its newspaper to the drug problem in the community. While speaking of the importance of stopping "the plague," as it terms drug addiction, it places great emphasis on uncovering and dealing with the causes of drug abuse, which it perceives as being connected with capitalist society.

Thus, "education" becomes a primary goal in dealing with the drug problem — education not only with regard to kinds of drugs and counseling, but especially that which indicts American capitalism as a conspiracy that would keep poor and working people helplessly addicted to drugs, unable to formulate an effective revolution, and vulnerable to exploitation.

In its literature, Venceremos has identified President Nixon as "the nation's biggest drug pusher," and claimed that "through the Power of the People we won \$200,000 for our center."

"Our" refers to the proposal approved by the Palo Alto City Council.

Venceremos has made no attempt to hide its connection with PACDAB, or its Marxist analysis of the causes of the drug problem. But because it has taken a strong position against drug abuse, the City Council has had no real recourse but to include the group in the anti-drug activities.

Even the staunchly conservative Palo Alto Times, has taken an ambivalent stance on the involvement of Venceremos, mentioning the laudable goal of fighting drug abuse while questioning the motives and methods of some of the fighters.

Others, however, have not been so charitable. Sizeable opposition

was mounted against both locations for drug treatment. One store owner on Ramona Street was allegedly told by a PACDAB member that his shop would be picketed and boycotted if he prevented the Ramona Street site from being approved.

The house at 851 University met with similar opposition from homeowners in the neighborhood in the section known as Crescent Park. A poll of 132 area residents showed a ratio of 10-1 against approval of the location. This opinion was ignored by the Council.

Aside from the issue of whether tax money should go to combat individual drug problems, the question of the wisdom of including Venceremos in the distribution of these funds continues to rankle in the minds of some in City Hall and in the community.

On one hand, any group that appears sincere in its efforts to curtail a problem as serious as drug abuse should be given a chance to help.

On the other hand, Venceremos has clearly indicated its intent to "educate" drug abusers away from the present system and toward the revolution — an activity that could have long-run effects far more deleterious than the original problem.

By any standard, the action of Venceremos with regard to the Drug Abuse Board and the Palo Alto city structure as a whole bear watching. The sizeable stake that the revolutionary organization already has in the project holds a significance that extends far beyond surface appearances.

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The following article appeared in the "Palo Alto Times", issue of April 24, 1973, pages one and two: ✓

Dispute on arrest at center

By MYRON MYERS

A meeting of the Palo Alto City Council broke up in disorder early this morning in a controversy over whether drug addicts should find sanctuary from arrest at the city's new residential treatment center.

Mayor Kirke Comstock declared the meeting disrupted and adjourned at 12:25 a.m. amidst shouting and heckling from drug abuse counselors, patients and members of Venceremos. The council had already completed its published agenda.

The dispute was over the arrest of Norman James Gerard April 17 on a felony warrant carrying \$25,000 bail issued by a court in Hayward. Gerard had earlier chosen to enroll in the center at 851 University Avenue rather than serve a prison sentence handed down by a Hayward judge.

He appeared before the council just after midnight to complain that his rights had been violated in the manner of his arrest. "How can I get rehabilitated when I can't get out of jail?" he asked.

His counselor, William Baumgartner, said the police department had violated city policy by going to the center to serve the warrant on Gerard. The policy of staying away from the drug abuse center on Ramona Street and the residential treatment center should not have exceptions, not for "the number of felonies, whether it's for Hayward or the FBI. Hayward wanted him so they made a big deal out of it." Baumgartner said he wants the center to be a "sanctuary."

City Manager George Sipel said Police Capt. U. F. Bullerjahn, upon receiving the Hayward warrant, telephoned Saul Wasserman of the drug abuse board and together they served the warrant on Gerard at the center.

"The police action was entirely proper," Sipel said. "If the same circumstances were to arise again, we would operate the same way."

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Sanctuary issue at drug center

(Continued from page 1)

endorsed by Venceremos and the Palo Alto Community Coalition.

Norton said, "If our own drug staff is going to come in here and demand under threat that we order the police to do something, then I for one will not support the drug program."

Comstock adjourned the meeting and went to the press desk to report that he believes the police department acted properly in the incident.

He was quickly surrounded by members of the audience, and he told them repeatedly, "you won't let us talk. You won't listen to us, so you disrupt the meeting." His opponents insisted the police policy lists no exceptions to the ban on going to the house to make arrests. They accused Norton of having incited the heckling with his comments.

Comstock walked out. The councilmen were likened to "fascists," "Nazis," and "SS" and Palo Alto to "a police state."

City Attorney Peter Stone said a Palo Alto City Council policy not to serve warrants issued by other jurisdictions would raise legal problems similar to Berkeley voters having directed their police not to enforce marijuana laws.

Attorney General Evelle Younger has ordered the Berkeley police chief to continue to enforce state law. If Palo Alto had refused to serve the warrant on Gerard, Stone said, presumably Alameda County authorities would contact the Santa Clara County District Attorney's office to force the city to act.

Police Chief James Zurcher said the department policy on not sending officers to the two drug abuse buildings has the exclusions of serving arrest or search warrants or chasing a suspect in hot pursuit.

Michael Fox, a staff member at the Ramona Street center, said "if we can't give people who come to us an absolute guarantee they won't get busted, we might as well close down."

Claire Smith, another staff member, called the arrest "an outrageous violation of City Council policy." On behalf of the staff, she said, she demanded an investigation and report in two weeks. "We will not tolerate the residential treatment center becoming a holding center and alternative to prison," she said.

Councilwoman Enid Pearson said the police arrest was "contrary to what we tried to establish." She said she did not favor a sanctuary, "but once someones has been legally committed to the residential treatment center by a court he should be free from arrest."

Zurcher picked up hecklers when he said the police department, in serving warrants from outside agencies, "has an obligation to the greater community" and not "just to the people, who live there."

The heckling grew louder when Vice Mayor Stanley Norton said, "if you have any notion this council is going to provide sanctuary for people from warrants from other jurisdictions... as far as I'm concerned, you might as well forget it... Furthermore, I'm getting tired of your coming in here and trying to turn our meeting into a police review board."

Comstock told some 30 members of the audience who were shouting that they were disrupting the meeting.

"Oh shut up," Jeffrey Youdelman said. He is a City Council candidate

(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

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B. LABOR

The following article appeared in "Pamaja Venceremos", issue of June 10 - 24, 1972, page 6:

Union officials back down

PHONE STRIKE FIZZLES

On Friday April 14, approximately 19 operators from Franklin I. Information walked off the job to protest the firing of a newly hired Black operator. The operator had been fired after only three days of training, on the pretext of not learning fast. A week before two other Black women in Overseas II. were intimidated into resigning on the same pretext. These are just two examples of the increased firings of Third World workers by the phone company.

On May 24, the 19 operators from Franklin I. were suspended for participating in the walkout of April 14 (their walkout had forced the company to rehire the Black worker). The local union leadership responded to the suspensions by calling a "sympathy protest withholding of services" for one day at the Franklin Street offices. When the firings and walkout first occurred, the 19 operators were threatened with reprisals. Rank and file introduced a motion at the union meeting the following Tuesday calling for a special meeting to vote to strike if reprisals occurred. The motion was defeated because the local union leadership lied to the members and were able to convince the majority to vote it down. They (the union) said that the membership wouldn't support it, and that it wasn't necessary anyway because the officers intended to call a "Northern California - Nevada - area-wide strike" if disciplinary action was taken against any of the operators.

Not only did the union leadership not

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San Jose, Walnut Creek, Nevada and Southern California voted to go out on strike. However, on May 31, the union called off the strike threat after Pacific Telephone Co. reduced the penalties against the leaders of the walkout. The original penalties had included firing of Loren Blasingame, president of Oakland's communication workers local 9415, and 30-day suspensions for the rest. These were reduced to a 60-day suspension for Blasingame and four-day to three-week suspensions of the others during a meeting of union and company officials.

On one hand, workers need the union to defend themselves from the corporate management. Most workers recognize that without a union, they are strictly at the mercy of their bosses. But on the other hand, the union bureaucrats maintain a privileged position by keeping the rank and file ignorant of both their interests and power and by playing up to the employers. When push comes to shove, union bureaucrats are almost always afraid to allow labor to fight for its real interest against the interest of the capitalists. Only when the ruling class tries to destroy the unions are the bureaucrats forced to put forth a call to action. While they often put on a militant face to fool the membership, in truth they are afraid of real democratic rank and file action. After all, it might cost them their jobs.

call an area-wide strike, they didn't even call a strike of the whole local! In an attempt to maintain their credibility, they called a one-day "sympathy protest" strictly limited to the Franklin Street offices, with no demands - the most minimal action they could get away with.

After the reprisals occurred, Local 9415 members and locals in San Francisco,

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON....

East Bay Venceremos

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The following article appeared in "Pamoja Venceremos" issue of June 10 - 24, 1972, page three:

Can you dig it?

Racism at National Can Corporation

National Can Corporation is located in San Leandro (a suburb near Oakland Calif). The plant has been in operation for over twenty years, however they only began hiring Black workers in 1964 after being forced to do so.

As of January, 1972, there were only 50 Blacks out of 600 employees at National Can. There are presently no Black personnel administrators, Black foremen, shopstewards or other union officials. Even though we have made demands for Black foremen and union officials, we realize that token Blacks won't change the overall working conditions.

Jobs at the plant are assigned according to plant seniority, and therefore 90% of the Black workers are assigned to the worst jobs in the plant. During the month of November, 1971, there were only 12 Blacks working on the second shift. Ten of the twelve were working in the Shipping Department at the hardest jobs in the plant.

An example of the oppression of Black workers can be seen in the case of Bernard Smallwood, a young Black man who had been employed at National Can for the past three years.

On Saturday, December 4, Bernard went to work, reporting for duty on the second shift. Larry Nolan, the Quality Control foreman, yelled at him to come over to another area of the factory to show him and another foreman how to operate another machine. Bernard offered to train another worker if he received 10% additional leadership wages as spelled out in the union

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contract with the company. Nolan told him to operate the machine or go home. The shop steward agreed with Bernard and explained the contract to the foreman. Nolan told Bernard to go home for the rest of the night. As the Brother was leaving the plant, Nolan told him he was suspended.

THE BATTLE BEGINS

On Monday, December 6, Bernard went to the personnel office to register a complaint. He demanded that a fellow Black worker be present to act as an observer and of course the company refused. Foreman Nolan was asked to give his side of the incident and Bernard was asked to give his side. However, before he could finish, the personnel manager, De La Piedra, yelled, "That's not the way it happened." Bernard asked him how he could possibly know since he wasn't there and De La Piedra told Bernard he was suspended for three days for "insubordination, refusal to obey a direct order of a foreman, and abusive language."

After the three-day suspension, Bernard came back to work on swing shift and within 15 minutes of his arrival, Nolan suspended him again, this time for allegedly cursing and threatening him. There were no witnesses, so it's the worker's word against the foreman's. Of course, De La Piedra believed the foreman and several days later he actually fired Bernard.

National Can Corporation has been exploiting, oppressing and acting racist toward its employees ever since the company began. For the past three years, Bernard has been trying to fight these practices, and as everyone knows, anyone who speaks out against such things is branded a "troublemaker" and eventually gets fired. This is exactly what has happened to Bernard.

National Can realizes they have no real case against this Brother, other than the fact that he is Black, and a worker - something which has always been a crime in America.

THE UNION SITS ON ITS HANDS

Bernard is fighting his case all the way. He is charging that his suspension

is due to the company's racism towards all non-white workers and its policies toward women. Workers have found that they can't depend on either the union or the government to get the Brother's job back. The purpose of the union is to allegedly protect the workers' interests (as opposed to management's) with respect to wages and working conditions. First, because the unions are now allowed to exist by the ruling circle, they can only do what they are allowed to do for workers; and second, due to racism within most labor unions, Black people have had a great deal of difficulty in getting into unions, much less benefit from union representation. Only a united movement of all workers will get Bernard's job back and guarantee that others won't lose theirs.

Bernard's case went before the Board of Adjustment on February 18. This is the third step of the so-called grievance procedure where two company and two union officials hear the case. The vote ended in a two-two tie and thus went to arbitration. This is the fourth step in the procedure, where a third "neutral" party will make the final decision. Bernard's case went to the fourth step only because he kept the rank and file informed and because the rank and file put pressure on both the company and the union.

Originally, Bernard demanded a Black arbitrator and was told there aren't any Black arbitrators. Three months after the board of adjustment hearings an arbitrator was finally chosen to hear the case. His name is Patrick J. Boner.

The first arbitration hearing took place on May 9, at the Oakland Hyatt House. Bernard pointed out to the arbitrator Mr. Boner, that he was very suspicious of him because the union had tried to keep his background as a personnel administrator at Friden's a secret, and that he didn't expect to get a fair hearing. Mr. Boner tried to assure Bernard that he hadn't been bought off.

At past arbitration hearings, the defendants weren't allowed to give an open presentation or question the witnesses. However, Bernard was allowed to do so after running down some quotations

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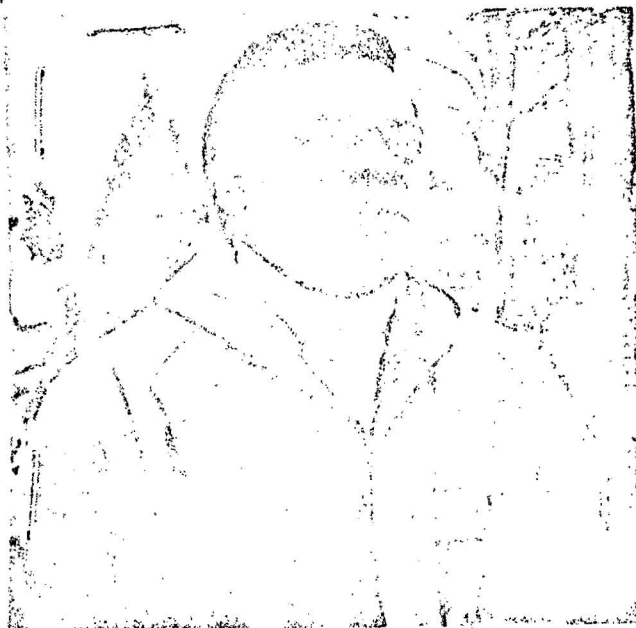
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from Four Essays by Mao Tse-tung; for example, "In order to know a thing you have to participate in it, and it is man's social being that determines his way of thinking." At the first two hearings National Can Management presented their case. At the third hearing, when Bernard's case was to be heard, Birdsell, the business representative, would not allow all of Bernard's witnesses to testify even though they had given up a day's pay to do so. By now it was clear to everyone that Bernard was being sold out. Bernard's witnesses all demanded to be allowed to testify. At this point the recorder quit and Bernard demanded that the hearings be called off because there is supposed to be a recorder present at all arbitration hearings. So the hearings were put off until June 6. When they are continued, Bernard will still demand that all his witness be allowed to testify. On May 30, Bernard received a notice from the District Attorney's office informing him that his "business rep", William Birdsell, had signed a warrant for his arrest, charging him with "disturbing the peace" at his arbitration hearings.

It's impossible for Birdsell to represent Bernard honestly when at the same time he's trying to get him thrown in jail. Bernard will ask for a jury trial because he feels this will be a good chance to expose the union before the public.

Bernard's firing comes at a time when the corporations and the US government are attacking working people. Look at the wage-price freeze and the stepped-up Vietnam War. But workers are fighting back, particularly Black and Brown workers. Militant strikes, prison rebellions and the fight of American GI's and Veterans against the Vietnam war are but some examples. All workers are fighting a common enemy; US imperialism--the system of US corporations exploiting the labor and natural resources of workers in the US and all over the world. Bernard and the workers at National Can are not

isolated individuals. We are part of a larger movement of Black, Brown and white workers uniting to make a socialist revolution in America. Under socialism, Black, Brown and other Third World people will be able to determine for themselves what form of government, economy, and culture they want. Only then will we begin to wipe out the racism that imperialist corporations like National Can have produced.

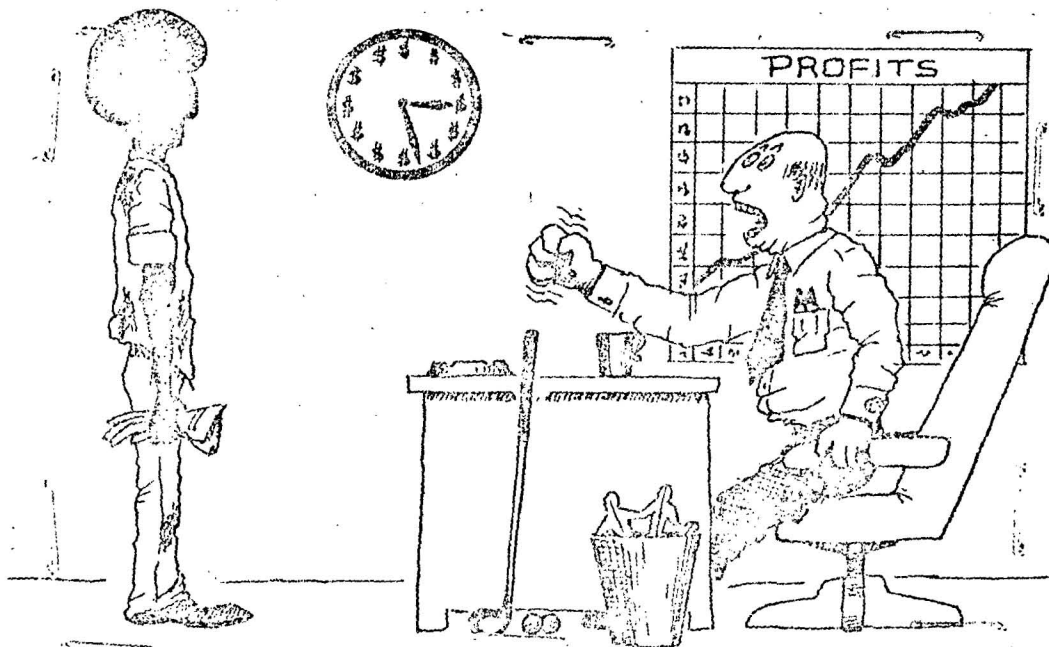


Bernard Smallwood, fired Nat. Can worker and Venceremos Central Committee member

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I Don't care what the Contract says TROUBLEMAKER, Your Fired!

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The following article appeared on page one of the "Stanford Daily" issue of July 25, 1972:

House of Pies Dispute

Pickets Face Court Action

By GEORGE DOBBINS

About 50 picketers, protesting wages and working conditions, were charged Saturday night with blocking the doorway at the House of Pies in Palo Alto, in violation of a temporary restraining order issued by a Superior Court judge.

Subpoenas are now being issued for court appearances next Monday.

The dispute arose last Wednesday night when two waitresses at the restaurant quit their jobs because of "mistreatment of working women by the management," according to Marcia Hall, one of the former employees, and a Venceremos member. Members of Venceremos, as well as those "sympathetic to our cause," have been picketing the restaurant since Wednesday.

On Friday the court order was obtained, naming five specific persons and providing for 100 "John Does". It said that picketers may not come within 10 feet of the entrance of the building, and they are not allowed to bother or to prevent customers from entering.

John Allmon, acting manager of the restaurant, was sent up from Los Angeles to mediate the situation. Allmon described Saturday's activities as "violent," and added, "All doors are still open but this violation of the court order slowed up any action that could have been taken."

Wage Issue

According to Hall, the picketers are asking that the current hourly wage rate of \$1.45 be raised to \$2.15, and that waitresses be allowed more freedom and individuality. "Those uniforms have got to go," she stressed. "Right now all they do is attract men, and we're not just sex objects."

Leslie Nassen, who worked at the House of Pies a year ago and now calls herself a "community supporter," says that Venceremos, of which she is a member, is backing the protest because "we believe in fighting job oppression. These chauvinist attitudes must be changed."

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She calls the management "really screwed up" and claims that job turnover at the restaurant is tremendous because waitresses cannot bear the pressure.

Hall says that the picketers are not criticizing the waitresses who still work at the restaurant because "people are so hard up for jobs that they have to work here to live. But I'm sure they're on our side." She says that the picketing has hurt the restaurant's business.

The House of Pies, owned by International Industries (which also owns the Copper Penny and International House of Pancakes chains) is often franchised, but the Palo Alto branch is owned by the corporation, according to Allmon.

'Individual Merit'

Nassen claims that waitresses at all the restaurants feel the same way about their "sexist" treatment but Allmon doesn't believe the women have been dehumanized. He says that waitresses start at \$1.45 per hour, the minimum wage in California, and after the first 30 days, they make \$1.65 an hour. Raises after that are based on individual merit," he stated.

Allmon says that the controversy is "not a labor dispute" but adds, "As of this moment, I have not been able to find out exactly what the picketers' demands and foundations are."

Allmon states, "We're not at war" and says he wants to discuss the issues and come to an agreement. "The only problem is to get both sides together to talk about the same subject. I'm still trying to determine the legal attorneys and representatives who will be involved."

Hall claims that she and others have approached the management to negotiate and "they haven't done anything about it," but she also predicts that an open, public meeting for the purposes of negotiation will be held later in the week. "It will probably take place in some public building. I know the specifics, but I can't tell you," she said.

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The following article appeared in the "Palo Alto Times" issue of July 26, 1972, on page 2:

~~—New manager aims to ease cafe strife~~

The House of Pies in downtown Palo Alto—the target since last week of a strike by two revolutionary waitresses and their supporters—has been assigned a new manager, John Almon.

Almon said he has been sent up as a corporate representative for the Los Angeles headquarters to take over operation of the pie shop at 155 University Ave. to "find out the complaints from both sides and to find out if the situation could be mediated."

Molly Fox, a member of the Palo Alto Venceremos and a former waitress at the House of Pies, said today a public meeting between 10 representatives of the House of Pies and 10 representatives of the picketers has been set for noon Friday at the Downtown Library, 270 Forest Ave.

Almon said if the picketing "continues cool" with no blocking of the main doorway and no violence or physical abuse toward customers, he would meet with the picketers.

The pie shop has continued operating at full staff inside, although Almon acknowledged business was off.

"If there have been managerial problems in the past, I assure you there will never be again," Almon said. "I have the greatest of hopes this will be cleared up in an expeditious and friendly manner."

The pickets are demanding a 50-cent hourly wage increase for all waitresses, up from the present \$1.45 wage; and end the 50 cent minimum service charges; no more "harassment" of Third World or street people; and an "end to sexist, racist" hiring practices.

Almon said the \$1.45 is the state minimum and that after 30 days on the job, waitresses get a 20 cent per hour increase.

Mrs. Fox said today she worked there six months with no pay raise.

Almon also obtained a restraining order against the pickets, requiring they stay 10 feet away from the building, not harass customers and not damage property. He

said they have consistently not abided by the order.

Two customers have filed assault and battery complaints with Palo Alto police against two of the pickets, both 16.

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The following article appeared in the "Palo Alto Times of August 9, 1972, on page 2:

Restaurant boycott ends

A tentative settlement has been reached on the three-week old boycott of the House of Pies restaurant in downtown Palo Alto, but it won't be definite until a 10:30 a.m. press conference by the picketers Thursday.

The picketers have nearly all been members of Palo Alto Venceremos, a revolutionary group.

The agreement was reached following a Tuesday afternoon meeting between John Almon, new manager of the House of Pies, and Jeff Youdelman, Mrs. Molly Fox and Marsha Hall of Venceremos.

The terms of the settlement reportedly were that waitresses would be paid \$1.65 per hour; that the House of Pies would drop charges against three juvenile pickets arrested by Almon for blocking the door; that it would cooperate in getting charges dropped against two other juveniles;

filed by individuals; and that no waitresses would have to work overtime cleaning the restaurant.

The restaurant also reportedly agreed to hire an adequate number of waitresses; to rehire Mrs. Kathy Gadus, a waitress and Venceremos member who walked out, since her work had been satisfactory.

Almon said today he would not be participating in the pickets' press conference.

"I appreciate the cooperation of the citizens, especially of the police during the boycott," Almon said today.

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The following article appeared on page 16 of
"Pamoja Venceremos" issue of June 10, 1972:

Stanford's Worker-Student Alliance

"THE PROCESS OF PROLETARIANIZING THE STUDENT MOVEMENT DOES NOT MEAN
THAT ALL THE ACTIVE STUDENTS LEAVE THE CAMPUS TO ORGANIZE WORKERS."

As the disrupting of the Stanford war machine by the student movement progressed through the winter quarter, repression escalated, and it became obvious to all that the student movement itself couldn't shut down Stanford. Many of us who had previously felt that the student movement could do everything now felt that the movement wasn't good for anything. Despair filled our ranks, for the student movement couldn't stop the war, effectively blockade Oakland Army Terminal, or even shut down Stanford. A class analysis of the student movement tells us it can't do those things. Only with a correct analysis of the historical role of the student movement--including its potential and its limits--can we properly evaluate our successes, avoid despair, and move on.

While not stopping the war, the nation-wide student movement has greatly disrupted the war effort, and in doing so has acted as a deterrent force to the Johnson-Nixon administrations. The student movement, working together with third world liberation struggles at home, has launched an offensive from the inside to help overthrow the U.S. military as the world police force.

The student movement sparked a similar movement among their peers, who had been drafted into the military. This G.I. revolt is just part of an overall transformation of the consciousness of the American people occurring over the last several years. The movement causing this transformation was led

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by students, who showed themselves once again to be highly visible and in a position to be the first to move. Yet as powerful as the student movement has been and is, it cannot singlehandedly stop Stanford or the war. No amount of "creative tactics", no military genius, can make a student movement do militarily what it does not have the political strength to do. To do these things, the student movement needs allies.

STUDENT-FACULTY ALLIANCE?

Realizing the need for allies, the student movement first turned to the faculty on the mistaken notion that students and faculty are the ones who make things function and the ones who have the power to change things. The workers in this view are almost invisible. How many times have we marched to the labs or administration buildings and fiercely debated directors and technocrats while ignoring secretaries and janitors? Yet as the struggle developed

the enlightened anti-war faculty (other than the progressive faculty of the Faculty Political Action Group) was strangely quiet. It seemed that they were spending too much time in their private eating club. When the movement at one point trespassed into this elite club, they responded with horror and outrage, and since then one Third World brother has been threatened with years in prison and another with deportation via CJP suspension in order to protect against such invasions in the future. The actions of the faculty at large--beginning with the acquiescence after Bruce's firing until the final demonstration of hypocrisy with the Academic Council "disruption"--showed us again and again that they could be counted on, not as allies but only to be "used for bad, useless for good." Some people think it seems strange in the first place for a movement, which was inspired by the purging of a revolutionary professor by an upstanding group of this liberal faculty, to look at this same faculty as the main ally. Yet in expo-

sing the powerlessness and subservience of this group, we were forced to come to grips with our own lack of power as students. This meant seeing ourselves and the faculty, not as the crucial nerve centers or decision makers, but more like messenger boys for the ruling class--well paid, but lackeys nonetheless.

NEW ALLIES

On the other hand, as the struggle advanced new allies "appeared" to students who for too long had focused their attention on the words of the faculty. The "Off Shockley" campaign, led by Third World Liberation Front, and the torchlight parade, initiated by people from Stanford's satellite communities, are primitive beginnings of the crucial alliances which are needed in order to build a strong and durable anti-imperialist movement. It was one of the high points of the year when these forces marched on Stanford and joined in solidarity with students to wage people's war against the monster that oppresses us all. The unity will grow, and the next time the torches won't go out as easily.

Although this movement of students and community people was so effective at disrupting Stanford that no classroom or lab was safe from attack and that even Lyman feared showing his face on campus, it's the 7000 workers at Stanford who are in the position where they are able to actually shut down Stanford. It is those workers who are the nerve center of the university and who make things function. They regulate the libraries, run the offices, maintain plum-

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bing and electricity, cook the food, bring the supplies in, etc. By just staying home from work, they can effectively shut down Stanford--something which masses of armed students by themselves couldn't do for long. Yet not only is the student movement limited without the workers' movement, the workers' movement greatly needs students as an ally. Through their actions students can offer concrete support to workers who wish to support the anti-war movement. For instance picketing at the Physical Plant allowed some workers to turn back their trucks and not deliver the needed supplies to Stanford.

Since advancing the student movement in a qualitative sense at this time means uniting it with the workers' movement, students must ask themselves how they can make the student movement a good ally to the workers. Stanford workers have told student picketers that students must be a reliable, consistent ally. Workers taking anti-war actions are subject to having their means of livelihood cut off and thus feel the need for a strong ally they can count on.

Developing this unity also involves purging the student movement of the elitist, anti-proletarian ideas propagated by institutions like Stanford, who feel the threat of worker-student unity. The "Archie Bunker" image of the American worker is put out by the ruling class through TV, press, and educational system for the purpose of isolating the traditional anti-war movement from the workers' movement.

WORKER LEADERSHIP

This process of proletarianizing the student movement does not mean that all the active students leave the campuses to organize workers. There is no substitute for a highly visible, active anti-imperialist movement on the campuses. What it does mean is that the leadership of the student movement must change hands from the petty-bourgeois

leadership that has predominated in the past to leadership with a real proletarian outlook.

Finally we have to realize that with the increasing repression coming down at Stanford and throughout the nation, students must be willing to give up their class privilege of attending Stanford. More and more the administration will not allow any challenge to its authority, forcing students either to accept Stanford's role in imperialism or to become revolutionaries.

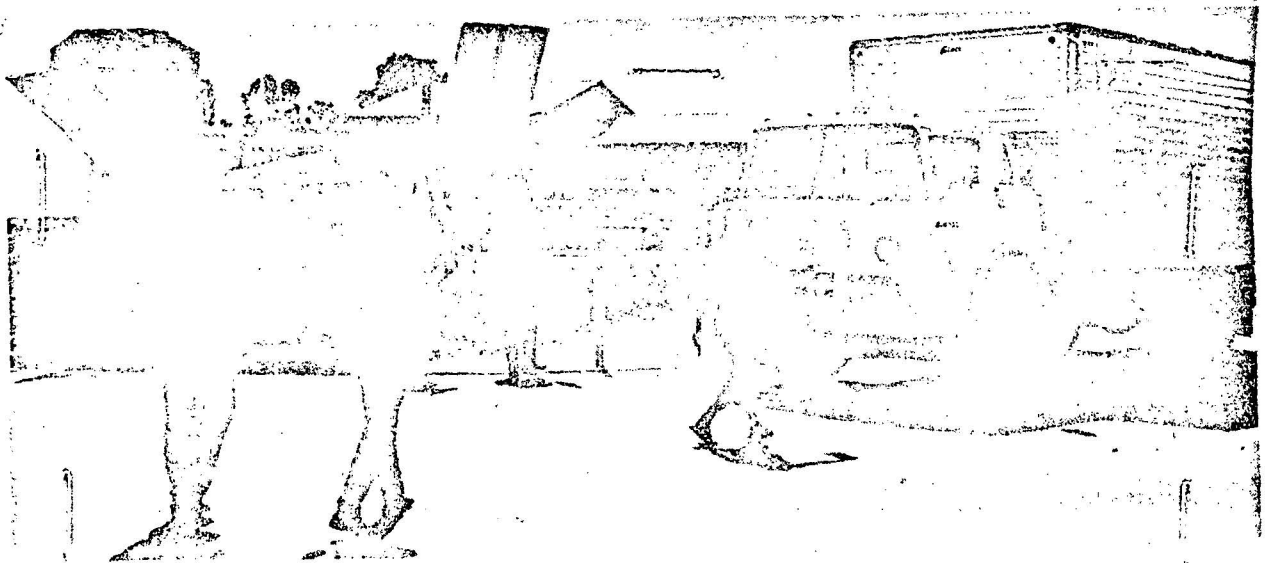
The student-worker alliance is not one that will be built quickly and easily, but only gradually through our day to day collective struggles. While that process goes on, the students must continue to advance on a tactical level in order to continue as a potent, visible anti-imperialist force and to build itself into the strong and reliable ally the workers need. The last few weeks have seen the movement make tactical advances in terms of the level of militancy and organization. We have shown that the police's strengths of mechanical professionalism and technological superiority can be defeated through our strengths of surprise and people's spirit. To "learn warfare through warfare" is the task of all anti-imperialist comrades throughout the protracted struggle dedicated to the revolutionary goal of turning Stanford around.

~~Dan Cornell~~
~~Steve Downey~~
~~Erin Hunkeler~~
Stanford Venceremos

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Students picketing the Physical Plant at Stanford University,
bringing the anti-war struggle and the workers' struggles
together.

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The following article appeared on page 10 of
"Pamoja Venceremos", issue of October 10 - 24, 1972:

At National Can Company

Rank & file workers take the lead

"I'm sorry, you'll have to work overtime this weekend," said the foreman at National Can's San Leandro plant last August 25. "If you don't," he continued, "the company will take severe disciplinary action.: The contract clearly states that all overtime is voluntary, and up until now, the company had never tried to force workers to stay overtime. Yet, the International Association of Machinists (IAM) local lodge #1518 chief business representatives backed up management 100%.

The rank and file weren't going for it. Some workers flatly refused to work overtime, others said they would and simply didn't show up. The rank and file were so outraged that the union started getting worried and the business representatives went down to the plant. The union suddenly discovered a clause in the contract which states that if more than 40 hours are to be worked, the company and union must enter into negotiations. National Can management had been acting illegally all along. A group of rank and file workers put out a leaflet explaining the workers rights and showing the connection between this compulsory overtime and management's overall

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racist and exploitative policies. The leaflets read in part:

We know that at some future date there will be negotiations over this issue between the Company and the Union. Judging the Union on past performance (I.E. allowing Rich Bowers and Danny Borrero, two shop stewards who fought for us, and Bernard Smallwood, a black worker, who fought for the rights of other workers, to be fired) we have grounds for fear that we may be once again sold out by the union elite. (read: company flunkies.)

We demand that the Union begin to act in the interest of the rank and file and not in the interest of the company.

We demand our rights to open union meetings of rank and file and free union elections.

We Oppose the Trusteeship.

WE DEMAND AN END TO COMPANY POLICIES OF RACISM AND SEXISM.

ONLY THROUGH THE UNITED ACTION OF ALL WORKERS CAN WE WIN BACK WHAT IS RIGHTFULLY OURS. LET'S GET TOGETHER AND FIGHT THE BOSSES AND NOT ONE ANOTHER.

IMPERIALIST COMPETITION

Because of National Can management's greedy profit taking, they got themselves into the bind of trying to force overtime work. Until about two years ago the San Leandro plant worked year round with some lay-offs. Recently the imperialists who run National Can have been hurting because of competition from American Can and Continental Can's all aluminum cans. Aluminum cans are used mostly for beer and soft drinks. The imperialists in NCC's Chicago office figured they could compete by producing cheaper steel cans -- if they produced millions of cans during the summer months and then saved labor costs with huge lay-offs. So they converted the San Leandro plant to turn out mainly beer and soda cans. Now we run 24 hours a day, 7 days a week for the summer, and then there's a massive lay-off. NCC bosses are making plenty of profits, but the workers end up losing -- we have fewer jobs due to speed-up and more lay-offs.

At the same time NCC is eliminating jobs in the U.S., it's expanding overseas in hopes of eliminating even more jobs

in the future. NCC has recently bought can plants in Puerto Rico, Portugal, Greece, Italy and England. NCC is moving to countries like Puerto Rico, Greece, and Portugal because the labor is cheap. In Greece and Portugal trade unions are completely illegal. In the long run, that means we lose jobs when plants move overseas, while foreign workers are exploited with low pay and poor working conditions.

WORKERS FIGHT BACK

NCC workers are beginning to realize the connection between NCC imperialism and the lousy conditions in the plant. NCC workers are fighting back. For the last year, NCC management has had one hassle after another. First they fired two militant shop stewards, including the president of the local union. One steward has pursued his case through the courts and it looks like he'll get rehired. Then management fired Bernard Smallwood, a communist black worker. Many workers now realize that Smallwood was fired because he actively fought NCC racism, sexism, and their general exploitation of all workers. A group of workers ended up busting up the arbitration hearing when it became clear that the arbitrator was just running a kangaroo court. Although the arbitrator ruled against Smallwood, he is still taking legal action against NCC.

Management constantly plays games with workers' seniority rights. When a foreman wants a worker to start a new job, he just sends the worker over; if a worker with seniority wants to work a new job, the foreman makes up rules why that's impossible. The company began to realize that workers are fed up with this treatment. Thursday, Aug. 17, there was a "flu epidemic" on graveyard shift. After lunch break, half a dozen workers went home sick. In a plant supervisor's words: "This left us very shorthanded and hampered production quite a bit."

THE FIGHT AHEAD

As stated in the Venceremos Principles of Unity, "only the dictatorship of the proletariat and its allies can fully satisfy our five basic demands, but we

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will work to achieve each and every one of them through the day to day struggles of the people. . . . As the wealthiest country in the world, the U.S. has the resources and capability right now to provide a decent standard of living for all its citizens. The rip-off of the world must end and be replaced by true international solidarity based on restitution of the people's stolen property. Everybody has a right to decent, safe, meaningful work."

"CAN YOU DIG IT," a rank and file newsletter, has been published at the plant for a year. Initially only a few workers were active on it. The frequent and massive lay-offs make organizing difficult and the workers active on CAN YOU DIG IT acted in a very individualistic manner which made it seem as if a "clique" were putting out the newsletter. Other workers have criticized this attitude. This internal struggle turned a bad thing into a good thing. A broader base of rank and file workers is now putting out CAN YOU DIG IT.

Rank and file workers are organizing for the tough fight ahead. Near the time of Bernard Smallwood's case, workers demanded preferential hiring for black and brown workers until their numbers in the plant meet their percentage of the Alameda County population. (NCC didn't hire any blacks until 1964). The fight to end racism and sexism will continue. Workers are fighting for improved safety and working conditions -- including an end to the noise and air pollution inside the plant.

To even win some concession from the bosses, we need a militant and democratic trade union. A rank and file group of workers will concentrate on ending the trusteeship of IAM #1518. The trusteeship means that there are no local meetings, business reps and shop stewards are appointed instead of elected, and the union's finances are run from Washington D.C. Ending the trusteeship is the first, but by no means the final step, in making IAM #1517 a rank and file union.

But a militant, democratic union isn't enough. As long as the imperial-

ists control the factories, they can just move the plants overseas. We need a fighting revolutionary communist party capable of linking together the struggles in the factories, schools, military, prisons, and third world communities. At National Can the most oppressed workers -- Third World people, women, and unskilled workers in general -- are leading the struggle for preferential hiring, improved safety, and a democratic union. All over the U.S. advanced workers and their allies will come together to form a communist party. Only a disciplined communist party, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung thought, can lead the struggle of all working people for socialism and finally communism. Under socialism workers would control the factories. With no bosses to rip-off profits, all workers could have decent, safe, and meaningful work. Concretely, socialism means putting human needs above capitalist greed.

POWER TO THE WORKERS

Reese Erlich, NCC worker
Oakland Venceremos

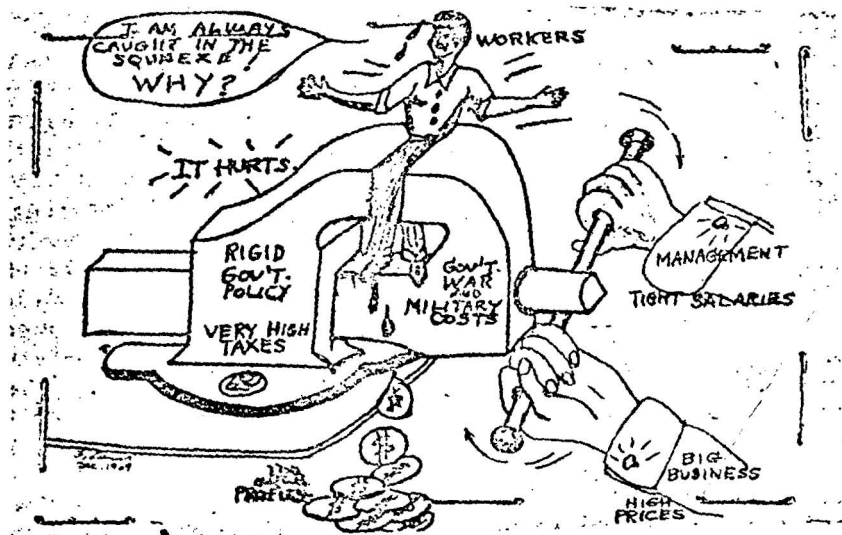
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Bernard Smallwood, fired Nat. Can worker



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C. HOUSING

The following article appeared on page 12 of "Pamoja Venceremos", issue of June 10 - 24, 1972:

Decoto Residents Threatened

INTERVIEW WITH MRS. MADRIGAL:

The Madrigal family lives on a little dirt road off of Alvarado-Niles Road in an old run-down house, which they've made major improvements on. The family of eight has lived in Union City for 13 years and they've been registered with the local Housing Authority for 11 of those years. They say they are finally in the process of finding them a house under plan 235...?

Q. What do you think of the proposed "Master Plan" for the Decoto area?

A. Well, I don't have any property or own a home, but I would like to see Decoto stay the same. I don't think that the people that own their homes will get very much for them and would not like to pay rent instead.

Homes should be built in the existing empty lots. I think it's better for people to own their homes. If apartments are built in their places the rent is usually high and poor people can't afford high rent.

Q. What do you think could be done to improve the Decoto area?

A. A lot could be done. The city should help people fix their homes if they need improvements. In Mexico where my father lives, the city built sidewalks and helped the people improve their homes. They are now making monthly payments to the city for the cost. Improvements could be made in this way if the city really wanted to save the Decoto area.

I am opposed to taking people out

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of their good homes to build apts. And what I'd like to know is where these people are gonna go? Has the City thought of that?

Q. Have you heard of the Turnkey Housing Project that will provide 200 units of scattered multiple family dwellings?

A. No. It sounds like a good idea. And it will be a great help to people.

I have a friend that used to live down the road. They too have a large family; seven kids. They lived in a place worse than ours. It was a chicken coop. No one helped them at all. There was no plumbing in the coop so they put it in themselves. They lived there for years. Now they are finally buying a home. They did it on their own except for a little money they borrowed from the husband's boss. The husband works in the fields.

There is a lot of new industry around Decoto. We need homes too! Well, jobs are important, but you go to all these places to look for work and you can't get jobs anyway. I went this morning to the plastic bag place and they're not hiring. Kitiyama isn't hiring either.

Q. What do you think of the residents association that was formed at the community meeting Thursday (May 25)?

A. It's a good idea for people to form some kind of association or committee. Especially for people who own their homes.

The association should talk to law-

yers and ask for legal advice on what could be done. The most important thing is that people get together on this issue.

I think the petition is a good thing. We should get it all filled and explained to people so we can present it to the City Council. They have to pay attention to what the people want. (For several months the city has imposed a moratorium that stops any new construction in the Decoto area. At the City Council meeting on May 22 they voted with some pressuring from the community, to extend it for a 90-day period to change the zoning to single-family dwellings. This way no apartments could be built in Decoto. The moratorium is necessary at this time because of that. But the city wants to try to keep it for another eight months after the re-zoning to make way for the "Master Plan." The petition states that the people are against the "Master Plan" and in favor of the moratorium at this time, but after the re-zoning we are against anymore

moratoriums.)

A. (con't) The task force which the City has asked for to review the "Master Plan" could also come out of this association.

THESE ARE THE PEOPLE AND RESIDENTS OF UNION CITY, DECOTO. WE WANT OUR VOICES HEARD! WE MUST KEEP DECOTO THE WAY IT IS! WE MUST UNITE TO WIN THE STRUGGLE THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON IN OUR LIVES A LONG TIME! THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Interview by Olga Montes de Oca
East Bay Venceremos

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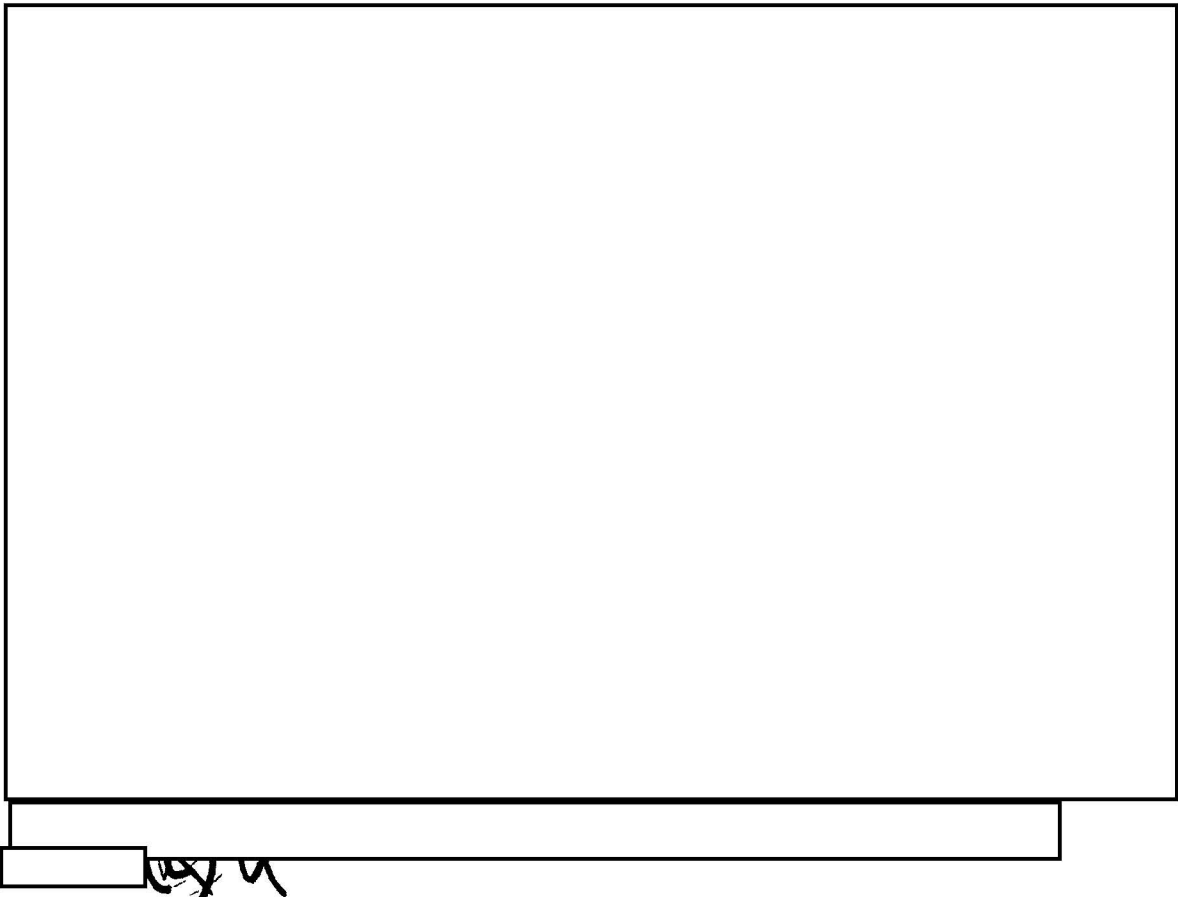
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The following article appeared on page 12 of
"Pamoja Venceremos" of October 10 - 24, 1972:

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R.C. Housing Group pickets high rents

On Sept. 23, the Redwood City Housing Group picketed the grand opening of Challenge Development's Mariposa Apartments.

Mariposa Apts. has been open since January. It has 123 apartments but only 40 are occupied. The rents run from \$190 and \$200 for one bedroom to \$275 for two bedroom apartments. No children, and no pets are allowed. This grand opening was a desperate attempt to attract new tenants. At the grand opening, Challenge paraded Miss California in an effort to draw the "swinging singles" crowd. The Housing Groups demand was simply, "Bring the Rent Down." Mr. Thompson, the manager of Challenge, came out and made promises to build some low cost housing if we would only leave Challenge alone that day. We told him to lower the rents of his existing units.

Challenge is a subsidiary of Alcoa, the world's largest aluminum company. The Alcoa empire stretches around the world. It drags raw bauxite out of the mines of American neocolonies of Jamaica, Brazil, Indonesia and the Dominican Republic. It then ships it to the U.S. to be made into bombs and beer cans. Alcoa's best aluminum sheathes the bombs and rockets raining down in Nixon's frantic attempt to smother the Vietnamese revolution.

Challenge/Alcoa is out for profits, as a landlord as well as an arms merchant and Caribbean colonialist. Along with other big landlords, Alcoa gets a magnificent yearly tax write-off just for owning apartments. When the apartments are vacant, our congress lets Alcoa pocket taxes it would otherwise have to pay. This is the company demanding \$190 and \$200 for a small one bedroom apartment--no children, no pets.

We will not leave Challenge/Alcoa alone. Since they are Redwood City's largest landlord, we will continue to attack Challenge until we get results. Our final victory will be when the People sieze the White House.

Dan Friedman
Venceremos

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D. CURBS ON POLICE

The following article appeared in the "Palo Alto Times" of August 17, 1972, on page 3:

Venceremos demands more curbs on police

Members of the militant Venceremos group Tuesday night renewed their demands that Menlo Park begin holding a tighter rein on its policemen who, the revolutionaries claim, have been harassing blacks and others.

The demands were made during the audience participation portion of a City Council study session.

Mayor Ira Bonde abruptly recessed the meeting at one point when a heated exchange with Veceremenos members was initiated by City Attorney John Jorgenson. The meeting resumed five minutes later without incident.

Two of those making the demands were Morton Newman and Bruce Pollock, 36, who were acquitted July 28 of felony charges against them in connection with possessing materials police said could have been used to make a bomb.

The two were arrested after a raid Sept. 2, 1971, by Menlo Park Police on a home at 107 Chester St. That raid netted what police claimed was a bomb timing device, 10 guns and several thousand rounds of ammunition.

Newman and Pollock contended throughout the trial and again Tuesday that police had entered and searched the home illegally. When he exercised his constitutional right to guard his home against illegal entry and search by picking a shotgun into a police officer's stomach, Newman was arrested for assault with a deadly weapon, he said.

He was acquitted of that charge, also.

Pollock demanded Tuesday that Menlo Park residents be informed through a city publication about what their rights are when a policeman goes to their home.

He also demanded that "every time a policeman has any kind of encounter with a citizen, the policeman should inform the citizen about what his rights are."

Additional demands were read by H. Bruce Franklin, fired by Stanford University as an associate professor of English. He is a member of Venceremos. The demands include:

— That police allow observation of their actions "without intimidation" of

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observers.

-- That receipts be given for all property taken by police during searches.

-- That "citizens be allowed to be present and observe during any and all searches of our property."

-- That persons be allowed to call legal observers before a search begins—including searches of cars stopped on the road.

-- That there be an end to alleged "police propaganda aimed at disarming the people by convincing people that it is illegal to own guns."

-- That police not try to "scare people by convincing them it is illegal to own legal revolutionary and leftist literature."

-- That alleged "political-economic arrests" based on race, income and politics be ended.

-- That alleged racist practices of the police department be discontinued.

After Franklin read the demands, Newman asked the council to contribute at least \$1,000 toward the \$4,500 court costs resulting from the raid in September 1971.

Mayor Bonde said the list of demands would be turned over to the city management so that answers could be drafted.

He then added: "We have not been sitting on our hands concerning this. It is important that the police department respect people's rights but sometimes there are misunderstandings and misconstruings which can't be helped."

Mrs. Jane Franklin, Franklin's wife, reading from a two-page written preface to the demands, commented, "if in this past year, the situation had improved, we would not be here tonight. In fact, the situation has gotten worse."

She then cited two incidents in which young black men had been shot by police—the March 9 killing by a San Mateo County sheriff's deputy of a 15-year old and the July 3 shooting by a Menlo Park policeman of a 19-year-old.

Both incidents proved, she said, that "the Menlo Park Police Department is part of a worldwide apparatus for controlling the natives by whatever means they can manage."

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E. CHILD CARE

The following article appeared in the "Palo Alto Times" of September 6, 1972, on page 5:

Palo Alto School Board vote

Child center faces shift to new location

By DAVE FULLER

A controversial child-care center at Ventura Elementary School may be shifted to Greendell School as the result of a 3-to-2 vote by Palo Alto Unified School District trustees Tuesday night.

The Child Care Now program, which has operated in a Ventura school room since July, will have to make way for a long-awaited resource center, Supt. Harold Santee said.

But members of Child Care Now, Inc., the nonprofit organization which runs the program, told the trustees Tuesday night they had been treated unfairly by district administrators.

"Dr. Santee has known since at least July that Ventura needed a resource center and he never even mentioned it to us," Jennifer Johnson of Child Care said.

She urged the board to use a portable classroom for the resource center and permit the child-care program to remain where it is.

A motion by Trustee Agnes Robinson, which would have done just that, was turned down by a 3-to-2 vote.

(Mrs. Robinson is one of three unpaid members of the Child Care Now advisory

board. She said her participation in the discussion and her motion was not a conflict of interest and no different than her membership on the Palo Alto Community Drug Abuse Board and urging the school district to adopt its recommendations.)

"There are elements of precedence in this motion and the problem has not been adequately discussed or adequately reviewed," Donald Hammond, board chairman, said in voting against the motion.

"If we begin to provide financial support out of our operating budget by leasing a portable classroom for a program of this sort, we must have a hand in managing the program," he added.

Trustee Ted Vian said he could not support the action because it would "disrupt school operations by moving in a portable after school begins."

Dr. Royce Cole, another trustee, labeled the child care program "a political venture."

"The district cannot in any way ask the taxpayer to subsidize such a thing," he said. "Child Care Now, Inc., is political in its orientation as can be seen in its association with the Venceremos."

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Several of the members of Child Care also belong to the radical Venceremos group but Child Care officials have repeatedly denied the revolutionists control the program.

After Mrs. Robinson's motion failed, Vian moved that Santee be directed to investigate vacant facilities at Greendell which might be used for the program.

Cole tried to tack onto the motion an amendment which would have stated the district's responsibility in seeing

that the child-care center does not indulge in "political indoctrination, instruction, or education... from either side of the fence."

Cole's amendment died when none of the other trustees seconded it.

The board then approved the motion. Hammond joined Cole in voting against the action.

Miss Johnson said after the meeting she had "known we probably would not get to keep the center at Ventura."

She said Child Care could survive the move to the new location even though it might lose some potential fall enrollment of children from the Ventura area.

Santee explained to the board that he has the power to decide on the availability of space for the program without coming back to the board.

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F. ELECTIVE POLITICS

The following statement was passed out at the Palo Alto City Council meeting on October 24, 1972, and is a Venceremos statement concerning Proposition 22, the farm workers proposition, which was on the California state ballot in November, 1972.



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Oct. 24, 1972

To the Palo Alto City Council:

We wish to call your attention to Proposition 22, the so-called "California Agricultural Labor Relations Initiative." Proposition 22 has been placed on the ballot by agribusiness interests in an attempt to smash the farmworkers' movement.

If passed, Proposition 22 would strangle trade union organizing among farmworkers in California, as a similar law has done in Arizona. It would make it almost impossible to strike; it would outlaw most boycott activities, even making certain verbal statements illegal (for example, "boycott lettuce"); it would prohibit farmworkers from bargaining for protection from pesticides; and it would set up a system of phony "secret Ballot" elections in which only a tiny percentage of farmworkers would be allowed to vote.

Proposition 22 would deprive farmworkers of even the minimal rights that other workers have (i.e. the right to strike, and to exercise an effective vote for a union of their choice). In addition, it would infringe on the freedoms of speech and association of both the farmworkers and their supporters.

Proposition 22 stops just short of making union organizing itself illegal for farmworkers.

We in Palo Alto and California are living in occupied Mexico. The people who work the land here and provide us our food are descendants of those whose land was stolen by our government. The agricultural industries of this country have a long history of depending upon the cheap labor of nationally and ethnically oppressed peoples, usually imported specifically for the purpose from the colonized areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Black Africans were kidnapped to this country as slaves to work on the Southern plantations. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos were lured here to build the national railroads and to work the fields of the West. New Mexican nationals are driven by poverty to come north and compete with their Chicano (i.e. U.S.-born) brothers and sisters for jobs in the fields and vineyards of the Southwest. Each of these groups has typically been excluded from the "benefits" and protections of citizenship. Most have not been allowed to become citizens at all, or are treated as third-class citizens, with less than equal rights before the law. This has been so that farmworkers could be systematically deprived of the few protections afforded to other workers by national labor legislation, such as minimum wage, child-labor, health and safety provisions, etc.—and thus could be exploited all the more intensely and profitably.

But now the farmworkers are successfully organizing themselves to defend their economic interests and improve the conditions of their lives. And the growers are trying everything they can to stop that organizing and maintain their traditional position of near absolute power over them.

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Proposition 22 is so outrageous an attack on the class interests of poor and working people that the only way the growers could get it on the ballot was by fraud. People in Black communities were told that it would help the farmworkers and would lower food prices. People have been told that it will guarantee a minimum wage and bring "democratic" elections to the farmworkers. People have been told that Cesar Chavez supported the proposition. All these are false. And the cases of forged signatures have been widespread and well-documented.

Its very presence on the ballot is a perversion of the initiative procedure. The initiative is one of the few ways provided for average people to have a direct and relatively speedy effect on government. It is supposed to be a balance against the wealthy and powerful. But Proposition 22 is an attempt to use the people of California to execute the dirty work of the corporations in their efforts to stop workers from organizing. There is nothing in this "initiative" that is of benefit to the farmworkers, or to any workers, or to consumers. The only ones who will benefit from it are the already wealthy and powerful corporations like Interharvest, Tenneco, Bank of America, and the others who control most of California's agribusiness.

In view of the reactionary nature of this so-called "initiative", in view of the fraudulent methods used to get it on the ballot, in view of the huge financial and political resources available to get it passed, and in view of the widespread popular opposition that we have found toward Proposition 22, we urge the Palo Alto City Council to support the resolution that the representatives of the United Farm Workers are proposing. We think this resolution should be published as widely as possible, including the Palo Alto TIMES, other newspapers of wide circulation, and perhaps even through the wire services.

We remind the Council that it has taken such actions in the past concerning both national issues (the U.S.'s war of aggression against the Indochinese people), and state issues (the Coast Initiative). We further point out that agribusiness is controlled by many of the same corporations and banks that support and profit from the war, and that oppose measures like the Coast Initiative. Tenneco, Kern County Land Co., Southern Pacific, Standard Oil, ITT, Bank of America--these are a few of the masters of agribusiness who stand to gain by the passage of Proposition 22.

We think it is proper for a body of publically elected officials to lend the weight of its authority and prestige to combat such a reactionary attack on poor and working people by a few greedy and arrogant corporations, and to expose and counter such a fraudulent abuse of the democratic process.

-Palo Alto Venceremos.

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The following self-explanatory press release
was issued by the Palo Alto Community Coalition on February
26, 1973.



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A group of organizations and individuals within the Palo Alto community have formed a coalition, to be known as the Palo Alto Community Coalition (PACC), for the purpose of running candidates for the Palo Alto City Council in the May 8th municipal election.

The Coalition is comprised of the Palo Alto Peace Union, Child Care Now, the Palo Alto Chapter of the Venceremos, the Palo Alto Tenants Union, and many individuals active in drug abuse programs, housing struggles and residentialist politics. The four candidates endorsed by the Coalition for the City Council are: Douglas Kattern, Carol Peterson, Jeffrey Youdelman, and John Philo.

Like the other groups endorsing candidates, the organizations and individuals within PACC do not necessarily agree on all specific issues or tactics, but past experience has proven the success of working together on issues in which there is general agreement. It is in this spirit of working together to increase our strength, and to best utilize our time, finances and organizational abilities, that PACC was formed. The candidates endorsed by PACC are running as individuals committed to their own ideals as well as the publicly stated goals of the Coalition.

For a long time the lives of the people in this area have been dominated by war industrialists as well as their real estate and development contacts in local government. But slowly, over the last decade, the situation has been turning around. The area became a center of anti-war activity and draft resistance, with many community organizations forming to work for low-cost housing, child-care and drug abuse programs, tenants' rights, and to stop the over-development and the spread of the war industry.

Two and one-half years ago, we began to expose the development-oriented City Council. This eventually led to its defeat at the polls and the election of a liberal Council majority. Since that last election, we have engaged in the day to day work in the community which led to our initiating many proposals for the City government. Many proposals have been implemented by the present Council, others have received only token implementation, and others, like the Infant Center and the \$50,000 to help rebuild the Bach Mai Hospital have been completely blocked at the Council level. We are at present working on a rent control charter amendment similar to those of Redwood City and San Francisco.

The City now prides itself on the programs and projects we have fought for: low/moderate income housing, drug abuse programs, the Child Care Task Force, etc. Thus, we believe that the people who have played the most active role in promoting these programs and in community affairs should themselves be on the City Council.

Those powerful individuals who run this area would like to reverse the progressive trends which have developed in Palo Alto and other communities. The same people who brought us Superblock, Dillingham, the Willow Expressway, Coyote Hill and the Holiday Inn are back again with a new name (Palo Alto Civic Affairs Group). We think that Palo Alto's progressive direction should be continued and that its government should be entrusted to those who have worked for progressive programs and who will not waver in supporting the needs and concerns of the people.

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Candidates

Jeffrey Youdelman: [REDACTED]

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Active for many years in the anti-war movement and a leader of many community struggles and proposals. Including work in the Superblock and Holiday Inn Elections, the last City Council and the School Board Elections, and in the recent initiative campaign for the Bach Mai Hospital.

Member of the Palo Alto chapter of Venceremos, which has been active, over the years, in opposing the Master Plan for Development, and the exploitation of surrounding working class communities by the power structure in Palo Alto.

Venceremos worked hard to help establish the the City Drug Abuse Program, a child care center and has proposed a comprehensive city program to provide child care for working women in the area. Venceremos has also been active in several labor and union struggles in the area.

B. APPROX

Carol Peterson: [REDACTED]

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Has worked in the movement since the mid- sixties for self- determination and social justice.

Carol is strongly opposed to to sexism, militarism, and imperialism and the social injustices they inflict.

For the past two years she has been very active in Child Care Now, a non-profit group of parents, teachers, and community activists whose purpose is to increase quality, low-cost child care.

She was appointed by the City to work on the Child Care Task Force, and has been working since January to mobilize resources to increase the kinds and numbers of child care arrangements in the community.

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Douglas Mattern; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ B. APPROX 1934

Member of Board of Directors for the Palo Alto Peace Union, and active in peace and social justice movements for the past 13 years, both at the local and the national- international level.

Co-founder and Chairman since 1967 of the World Citizens League. This organization has members in various countries, although primarily active and centered in the U.S. It is an activist part of the World Citizens Registry which numbers hundreds of thousands of people from around the world. The World Citizens League is dedicated to world peace and social justice through the creation of a world community with a democratic and representative world government and a viable peoples world parliament.

Trustee and commission chairman of the World Constitution and Parliament Association. This organization has branches in some 30 countries and is working for creation of a world parliament and a world constitution which guarantees the basic rights of all people in the world community.

Elected Senior Chairman of the first experimental Peoples World Parliament held in Switzerland and West Germany in 1968. This ten day conference was attended by over 250 delegates from 35 countries. The purpose was to discuss and plan projects dealing with a world constitution, a world parliament, ecology, and other serious issues.

One of the original members of the Palo Alto Concerned Citizens formed in 1964. Chairman of that organization from 1966 to 1968.

Co-founder and co-chairman of the Northern California Veterans for Peace from 1967-1968

Co-chairman of the Peninsula Vietnam Moratorium Committee from 1968 to the early part of 1969. The peninsula moratorium committee was the largest in the country.

Steering committee member of the National Peace Action Coalition, the largest peace organization in the United States.

Editor of the World Citizen newspaper which has subscribers in the U.S. and Europe. This newspaper deals with all serious issues whether on the strictly local level or the global scene.

Author of numerous published articles dealing with the problems of war, armament, ecology, technology, and human values.

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Mr. Philo is a member of the Palo Alto Tenants Union, the steering committee of the Central Palo Alto Residents Association, and the Stanford Board of Trustees Committee on Land & Buildings. He has been an outspoken advocate of housing for low income families. Specifically, he has worked with other members of the Tenants Union to have more low income units included into the Frenchmen's Terrace and to rehabilitate and preserve Fire Zone 1 as a low-income neighborhood. He has also been working to develop a rent control initiative to prevent low-income families from being forced out of Palo Alto by rapidly rising rents. In addition he served for a time as the Tenants Union representative on the Palo Alto Citizens Housing Advisory Committee.

Problems of land use and over-development have also been of particular concern to Mr. Philo. He worked with the Tenants Union to defeat the Willow Expressway and was a leader of the campaign against the construction of the Holiday Inn. He and other College Terrace residents successfully blocked Stanford's plans to build two high rise office buildings on the Mayfield school site which would have destroyed the Sojourner Truth Child Care Center.

On the Stanford Trustee's Committee on Land and Buildings Mr Philo has worked to see that the interests of the community are considered along with those of Stanford. He has opposed development of Stanford lands which would aggravate problems of housing and congestion and has advocated the use of Stanford lands for low-income housing.

Mr. Philo has also worked on many grass roots electoral campaigns. With the Tenants Union he supported Roberta Cane for City Council in 1971 and campaigned against the Holiday Inn in June of 1972. He worked with the United Farmworkers Union to defeat Proposition 22 last November. He also worked for the Environmental Protection Initiative (Proposition 9, June 1972) and Coastline Initiative (Proposition 20, November 1972).

After election to the City Council Mr. Philo will work to implement programs which meet the needs of poor and working people. He will seek a rent control ordinance to protect the city's 25,000 tenants from unreasonable rent increases and retaliatory evictions. He will seek City involvement in constructing low income housing and in rent subsidy programs. He will work to force Stanford to meet its responsibility to house the thousands of low and moderate income workers employed on Stanford lands. He will support city funding of child care programs and continued city funding of drug abuse programs. He will oppose further commercial and industrial expansion, particularly of war-related industries.

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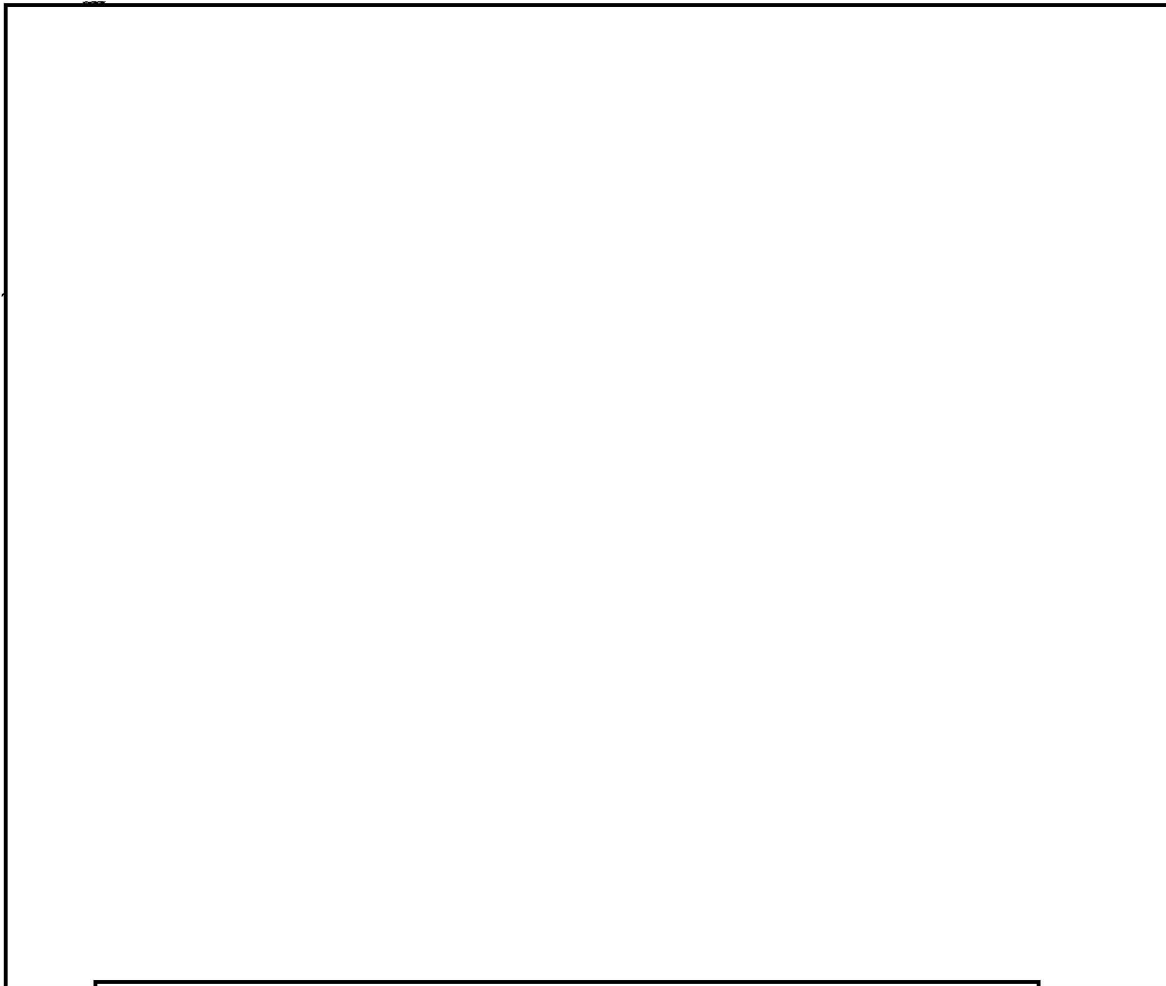
The official published election results for the Palo Alto municipal election on May 15, 1973, reflected that JEFFREY YODELMAN, the Venceremos candidate, received 919 votes, the smallest vote count of any candidate.

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IX. SECURITY



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On [redacted], a VO member, stated that the VO's program is all laid out in the VO's "Principles of Unity" book for everyone to read and the politics is set out in their newspaper. [redacted] stated that for security reasons organizational information must remain secret. (S)4

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[redacted] a document was located captioned "On Pigs in Our Organization and How to Catch Them". The paper states:

"There is really only one way to be sure that someone you suspect is an undercover pig: Find a flaw in his story, that is, find a contradiction between some of the facts he tells us and the facts we're able to learn about him. In their eagerness to recruit widely and badly, some collectives are recruiting wildly and badly bringing new cadre into Venceremos with virtually no background check at all..."

The paper goes on to state that as far as the writer is concerned, nobody should be recruited unless the following data has been checked out:

1. Full name
2. Dates of marriages, separations, divorces. names and dates of birth of spouses and children.
3. Names, addresses, phone numbers of at least two long time friends.
4. Addresses, dates, phone numbers of all residences for last few years.

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5. Names, locations, dates of attendance for all high schools, junior colleges, colleges, and universities attended.
6. Employers for the last few years.
7. License numbers, make, registered owners of last two cars used.
8. All driver's licenses, draft card, student ID card information.
9. List of all criminal and civil court actions, all traffic tickets, except parking, for the last few years.
10. Full military history.

The paper then goes on to set forth source material for verifying the above information and the paper ends "Death to all undercover pigs! Pamoja Venceremos."

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X. RELATIONS WITH OTHER
ORGANIZATIONS

A. MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
FROM THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC



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[redacted] The purpose of the meeting is to establish communication between the Chinese communists and the VO and to explain the VO position in the revolutionary movement of the United States.



During her January 29, 1973, speech over radio station KZSU-FM (supra) KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE stated:

"The only time we ever had contact with the CP of China was when we went to visit them for about fifteen minutes in their embassy in New York. They smiled and wanted to know what we were doing. We smiled and listened a little bit to what they were doing here. We, unfortunately, have not had as much contact with them as we would like and certainly that is far from anything subversive."



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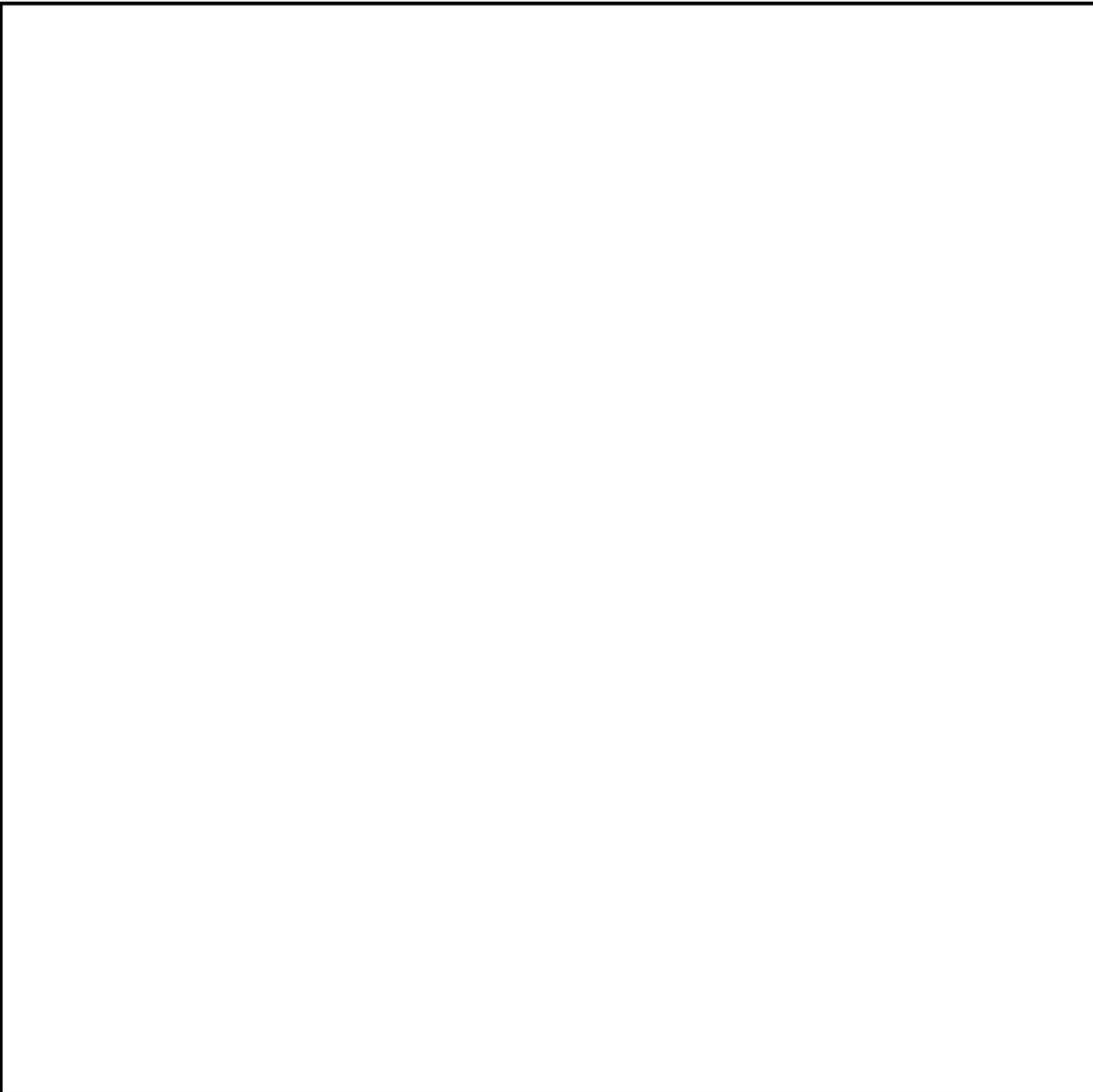


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B. RELATIONS WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)



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During the execution of a search warrant at the residence of [REDACTED]

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This report was titled "Opportunistic moves by other Organizations to Form a New CP". This paper, in the main, deals with the national conference of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations being called by the Communist League (CL), leading to the founding of a national M-L-M party.

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The paper terms all the participant organizations "revisionists" and points out that they have no line on "armed struggle". The paper points out the danger to VO and other true revolutionary groups, is that if this national party is formed they will be isolated. To counter this CL move, several suggestions are made, including:

- "(2) Moving ahead with contacts with the "Right On" Panthers, and other groups representing the oppressed nations, setting up meetings on a national level, and going ahead, if this is still a possibility, with talks about publishing a joint national newspaper."

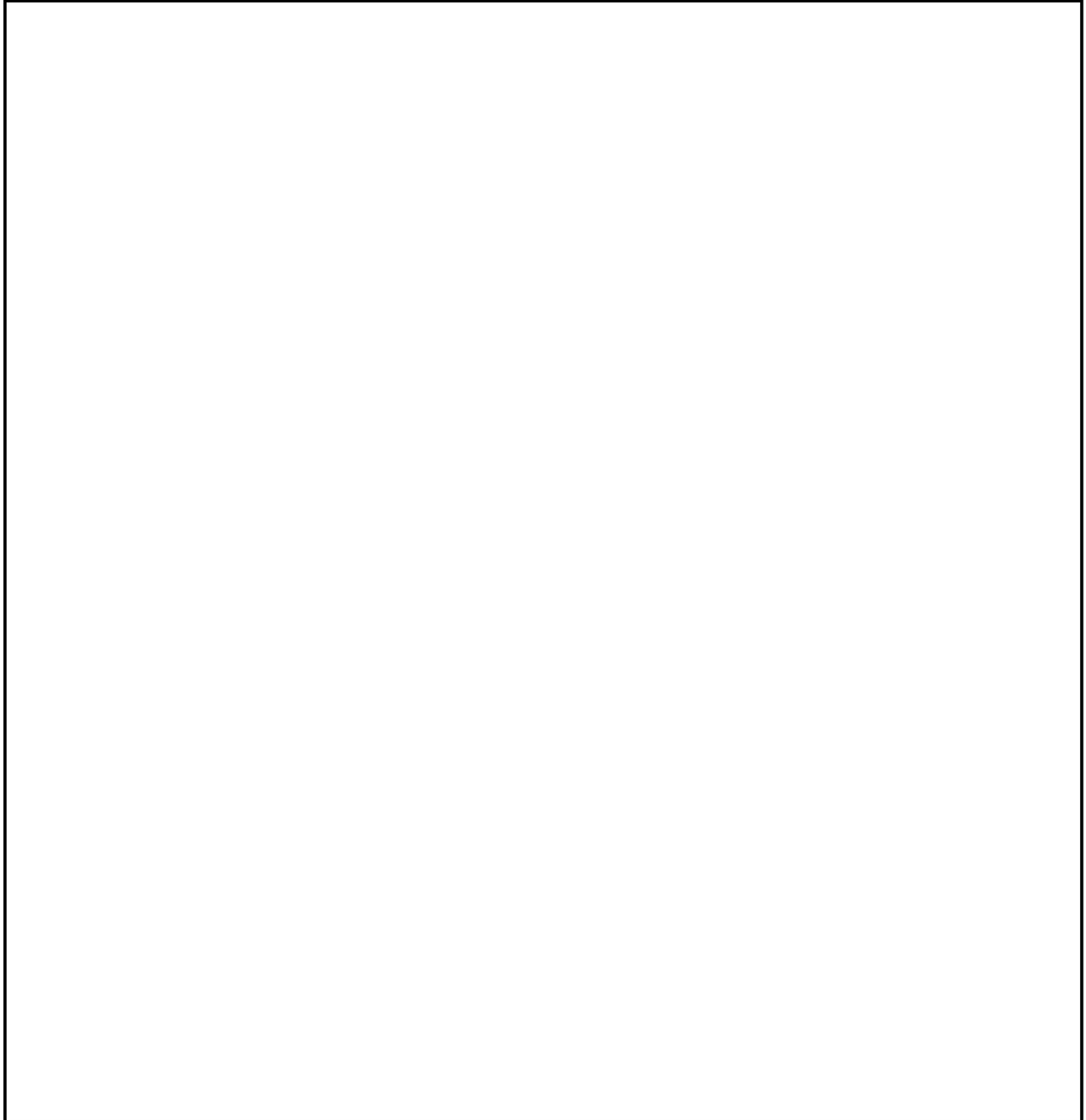
The COMMunist League (CL), formerly known as the California CL and also known as the Watts Equal Rights Council, was founded in January, 1969. CL aims and purposes are to overthrow the present form of the United States Government by revolutionary action and establish a government in which the laboring class will rule.

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XI. WORK IN THE PRISONS



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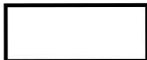
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The following letter was received in



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Inmates Strike at San Quentin

On January 2, 1700 of San Quentin's 1842 inmates went on strike in support of 18 demands relating to prison conditions. The strike brought immediate repressive action from Warden Nelson and the San Quentin Administration. Nelson ordered that over 100 inmates be thrown in the hole for supposedly leading the strike. These inmates are of all races and political beliefs. Nelson ordered that Honor Block, West Block and East Block be locked up and threatened the inmates in these blocks with loss of parole dates, no food, and no privileges if they kept on striking. This tactic worked on West Block and Honor Block where inmates think they will be getting dates or have dates already set to get out. It did not work in East Block where most of the 400 inmates are still out on strike. Inmates have been sent to the Adjustment Center just for having a copy of the strike demands in their cells. Hundreds of inmates have been given write-ups in their jackets for participating in the strike. These write-ups, which are done without a hearing to determine if they are based on fact, usually result in an inmate losing his parole date or not be given one when he appears before the Parole Authority.

The United Prisoners Union (UPU) and the Venceremos Prison Committee have vowed to support the strike even if only one inmate holds out. In a joint press conference with the UPU, Venceremos Prison Committee spokesman Caesar Moore stated that inmates understand that the administration does not feel very threatened by an inmate strike because they know that the guards have the guns and that the inmates are defenseless against their terror. Therefore, inmates must look towards the community to press for acceptance of their demands. It's the job of the people on the outside to keep up the pressure on the Department of Corrections and the San Quentin Administration to accept the demands of the inmates.

On January 4, the UPU and the Venceremos Prison Committee held a rally at the Department of Corrections in Sacramento which 117 people attended. After the rally people went up to the office of Raymond Procunier head of the Corrections Department and demanded to speak with him. His answer to the community was "If you do not leave my office I will have you escorted out by the police."

The Venceremos Prison Committee and the UPU are requesting that people send letters, telegrams, and "night letters" to Procunier at Department of Corrections, 714 P Street, Sacramento, CA demanding that he meet with inmates and implement their demands.

The inmates at San Quentin need our support. There are no limits to the terror tactics the San Quentin Administration will use to smash the strike. All day there are reports of three prisoners being denied medical treatment while the strike continues.

STOP THE SAN QUENTIN TERRORISTS AND
SUPPORT THE 17 DEMANDS OF THE INMATES.

"Pamoja Venceremos", Volume III
Number 1, January 20 - February 9,
1973, page 4.

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[redacted] was in contact with one of the prisoners in San Quentin Prison and was interested in knowing whether or not the prisoner was familiar with the principle of democratic centralism as set out in the VO's "Principles of Unity".

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[redacted] is a member of Venceremos

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According to [redacted]

[redacted] the main activity of San Francisco Venceremos is in the field of prison work and such work is principally carried out at the United Prisoners Union, 3077 24th Street, San Francisco, California.

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[redacted] the Venceremos Prison Committee [redacted] the Venceremos CC, [redacted] was in contact with a prisoner at San Quentin Prison. This prisoner is receiving the VO newspaper "Pamoja Venceremos" [redacted] described the VO newspaper as an executive instrument rendering revolutionary guidance and political directives and saw the newspaper as a vehicle for shaping the minds and spirits of today's soldiers and tomorrow's mankind.

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[redacted] of Venceremos,
was in contact with a prisoner in San Quentin Prison and



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[redacted] has been publicly identified
as a member of Venceremos.

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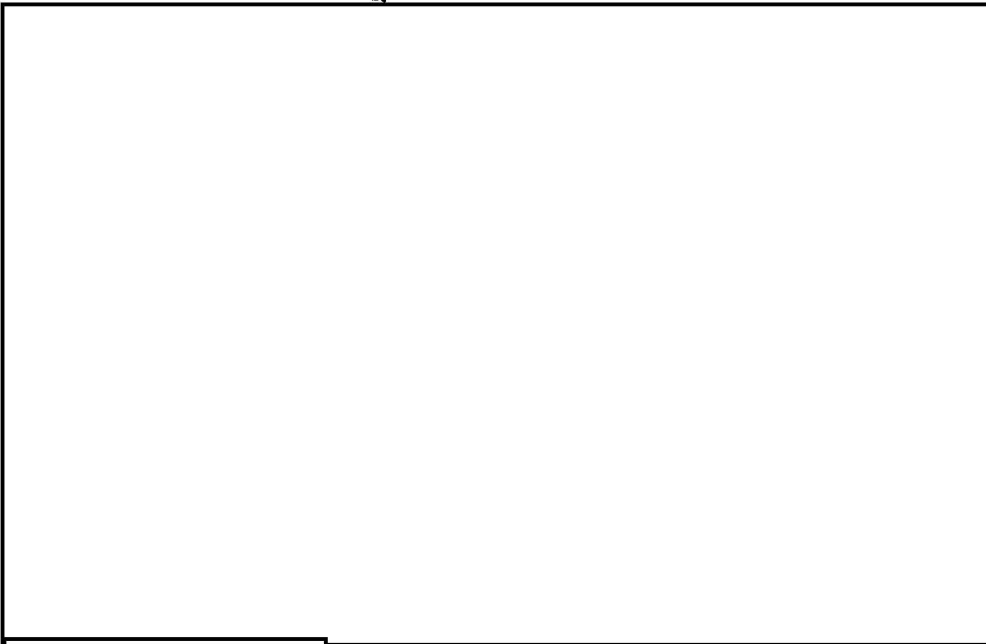
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XII. FACTIONALISM AND
INTERNAL PROBLEMS



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The VO is in a state of chaos at the present time. Two leading Chicanos have left the organization completely, and a whole branch of white cadre have been for various reasons, including racism. [redacted] b7D

[redacted] (S)(u)

The leadership of VO is being severely criticized, and a complete reorganization is being considered. [redacted]

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[redacted] (S)(u)

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[redacted] said that VO has been having serious problems for the two years of its existence, the big problem being bureaucracy.

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[redacted] (S)(u)

[redacted] (S)(u)

The VO held a "Chino Defense" dance at Eagles Hall, Redwood City, California, on January 6, 1973, attended by about 150 people. [redacted]

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The following
was furnished by

[REDACTED]

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XIII. VO INTERNAL PAPERS

Set forth in their entirety on the following pages are various internal papers of the VO.

The CC notes for the third week of September, Second and Third weeks of October (retyped because could not be mechanically reproduced), were obtained during execution of a search warrant at the home of [REDACTED]

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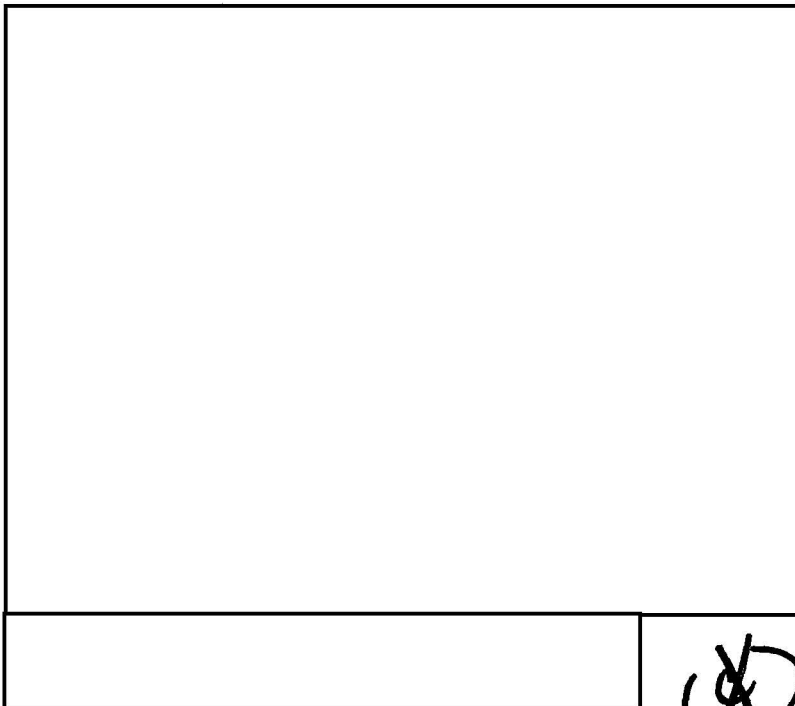
[REDACTED] as were the papers, "Fundamental Problems" and "Report on the Young Lords Congress."

The following [REDACTED] were furnished by [REDACTED] in

[REDACTED] (S)(u)

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CC notes--3rd week of September

Note: The CC is attempting to be more professional in the conduct of its work. Part of this is having written documents to study before discussion, so that questions can be dealt with scientifically instead of off-the-top-of-the-head. This also means that the result of a discussion will often be to approve a document that has been submitted, or to arrange to have a report written later. Therefore it is extremely important for comrades to pick up the reports mentioned in these notes, and also to read and study in the newspaper and elsewhere those articles and reports that reflect CC discussion.

1. Evaluating the armed conflict at the Munich Olympics.

An article was written for P-V discussing the Olympics in general and focussing on the military action of the Palestine Black September group. This article called the action "adventurist" and even suggested that it might have been set up by the Israeli Zionists. Other comrades believed exactly the opposite, that this was a heroic and exemplary revolutionary act. The CC was asked to discuss our line on this.

Both positions were **represented** in the discussion. Some thought that the heavy Israeli reprisals should have been taken into account by the guerillas, and that this showed they were "adventurist" and not Marxist-Leninist." Others maintained ^{b7C} that the same thing could be said about the Attica rebellion or [redacted] act, both of which involved hostages.

The discussion revealed that we are quite ignorant of the Palestine liberation movement. There was also general agreement that we were not in a strong position to criticize particular military tactics of a struggle we knew little about and which we have done extremely little to support.

Fragmentary reports indicated that a suprising number of advanced people among the masses had not been taken in by all the capitalist propaganda, and that quite a few supported the guerilla action. It was pointed out that even if 99% of the masses opposed the action, that would probably merely indicate that all their information about it had come from the capitalists' media.

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THIS PAGE CAN BE KEPT BY ALL COMRADES.

One point that was brought out about the Olympics in general was that they proved that the principal contradiction in the world is between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations. The sharpest struggles all came from this contradiction--the expulsion of "Rhodesia"; the racist treatment of [redacted] the armed guerilla attack. The Soviet revisionists maintain that the principal contradiction is between "the socialist camp" and the capitalist powers, and seek to present that struggle in terms of how many medals each won.

The CC decided to have [redacted] assist the comrade who had written the original article to revise it so as to reflect the CC discussion. So the main report on this item will be the article in the next issue of P-V.

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2. Permanent Chair.

b7C [redacted] was unanimously chosen to be the permanent chair of the CC and the organization. Every comrade present strongly supported this choice, and no one saw the need to discuss other possibilities.

Several areas had asked for a report on the strengths and weaknesses of the comrade chosen to be chair, together with the reasons for the choice. [redacted] was selected to prepare such a report, which will then be submitted for approval at the next CC meeting.

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b7C [redacted] will continue for the time being to be the CC member relating to the newspaper. We will reconsider the question of having a Minister of Information at a later time.

3. Report on the Young Lords Congress.

The long report on the Congress was approved with several corrections. Be sure to pick up copies of both the report and the correction sheet. Also check to see if everybody has a copy of the earlier report on meetings with the Black Panther Party (Right On), representatives of the People's Republic of China, etc. Copies are still available.

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4. Public statement about [] b7C

Acting on a previous CC decision, a very short report, amounting basically to an announcement, was prepared for publication in P-V. Some comrades felt that there should be a more thorough report, including an analysis of what we learned from the struggle and a summary of the errors we had made in allowing the situation to develop as it did. Others felt that we did not really know as yet the outcome of the struggle, and that we had no **scientific** analysis of how it had come about. There was also general agreement that there should be no public discussion that would allow the enemy to injure a comrade who is a valuable revolutionary and who has made great contributions to the people's struggles.

The CC decided to publish the statement as written. It will appear in the **next** issue of P-V.

5. Possible addition to the Labor Committee.

The CC rejected the suggestion from the comrades on the newspaper that one of them needed to be on the Labor Committee. The committee has already been assigned to work closely with the newspaper, the particular comrade suggested is already overloaded, and it is not necessary for the newspaper to be directly represented on organizational committees.

6. []

For some time [] has been expressing problems he sees in his being able to function on the CC as it presently operates.

b7C Part of the problem is his own extremely heavy work load, including having to deal with many tasks and problems in the East Bay. But this is not the main thing.

[] assured the CC that he definitely wants to be on the CC, that he supports this 100%. He sees the problem lying in the kinds of pressure the CC puts on a person like him, a Third World proletarian. He rejects the idea that he should be an "intellectual," even a "proletarian intellectual." He pointed out that theory had to be derived from practice as well as reading about it in books.

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THIS PAGE CAN BE KEPT BY ALL COMRADES.

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b7C One of the examples of CC methods that had been troubling [] was the method of choosing a comrade to help represent the organization in April 22nd Coalition. [] believed that it was a violation of democratic centralism for the CC to choose this comrade without any consultation with the area leadership, including the CC member from that area (who had been absent from the meeting where the decision was made). Several comrades strongly supported the method the CC had used. [] then read Section 7 of Mao's "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (SELECTED READINGS, pp. 237-238 or WORKS, Vol. III, 120-121), and pointed out that this applied directly to the question. After studying this selection from Mao, the CC recognized that [] position was correct, and that the method the CC had used in picking the comrade did indeed violate democratic centralism. All comrades, including those who had most strongly supported that method, recognized the error. Comrades are asked to study this passage.

b7C It was then pointed out by several comrades that in fact [] had just shown in practice how to apply Marxism-Leninism to a concrete problem, and that therefore he should not **feel** put down or pressured for not being an "intellectual" because he was providing a leading example of what a proletarian intellectual does. [] still rejected the term "intellectual" and said that he would never consent to become one. There was general agreement that nobody cared what word was used as long as he and the rest of us continued to develop the ability to apply Marxist-Leninist theory to practice. (Note that the basic question of "intellectuals" and the two kinds of knowledge is discussed in Mao's "Rectify the Party's Style of Work.")

There was unity on the belief that this discussion had helped advance our understanding, and that we would continue to struggle to resolve in a revolutionary direction the contradictions within a multi-national communist organization striving for Third World proletarian leadership and including many comrades who have a lot of formal education.

7. []

b7C An area submitted a report on security question about [] The report was approved by the CC, which instructed the area to prepare a brief version for all comrades. Pick this up when it is available.

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8. Grand Jury.

The CC discussed an extensive report on the threat posed by the grand jury. The conclusion was that the report needs to be up-dated and rewritten for general publication, subject to CC approval.

There was general agreement that it was metaphysical to declare that nobody will testify before the grand jury, because some people are not ready to face an 18-month sentence, for contempt and because under some circumstances it might be preferable to use other tactics. Complete non-cooperation is a policy that would be extremely desirable but not feasible. Therefore we concluded that for the time being our line would be one of pushing for the maximum amount of non-cooperation that is practical under the present circumstances.

This will be discussed further when the revised report is submitted.

b7C Meanwhile, remember that anyone receiving a subpoena should see ☐ at once.

9. Prison Work.

The struggle among prisoners is now one of the vanguard battles of the oppressed masses. We have done some good work in this area, but only on a hit-or-miss basis. The organization is known and respected among prisoners. It is extremely important that we develop work in the prisons and in support of the prisoners, and that we make this work systematic and reliable.

Therefore, the CC decided to establish a Prison Committee, whose tasks will be similar to those of the Labor Committee. The three main tasks of this committee will be:

1. Keeping abreast of struggles in the prisons and related developments.
2. Maintaining and developing contacts, through correspondence and other means, with prisoners and with prison support groups.

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3. Preparing articles for P-V and other publications to raise people's consciousness about this vital battlefield.

b7C Comrades chosen for this committee will remain members of their present collectives. But in most cases, their work on the committee will be defined as their secondary main assignment. In some cases, comrades may have this work as their primary assignment. No contradiction with work in the various areas is seen, because prison struggles and the consciousness of them should be part of the work in **each** and every area. [] is the CC person coordinating this; comrades interested, talk to her, then see collective leadership in your area for OK.

AGENDA for next meeting:

- b7C
1. Central Task
 2. [] assignment
 3. [] self-criticism
 4. People arrested in South City
 5. Approval of pamphlet on Prop. 22 and farmworkers.

Remember Nixon and dues.

demonstration September 27 (Wednesday)
10:30 a.m. in San Francisco Sheraton-Hilton hotel
(\$1,000 plate luncheon)

VERY IMPORTANT AT THIS TIME TO GIVE CONCRETE AID TO THE
VIETNAMESE AND TO PROTEST THIS CRIMINAL WALKING THE
STREETS LIKE HE WASN'T A MASS MURDERER.

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CC Meeting, 2nd week of October

1. [] b7C

The general line of the organization on his escape is that the action was right on. The question arose, should we make a big public thing about his being in Venceremos?

The argument against being publically open is that it would bring down the heat on us even more. The incident would be used for Grand Jury evidence, in determining bails, in hurting the relationships with lawyers that were building.

The arguments for far outweigh the **arguments** against. This was a real example of the politics we stand for, and it bridges the gap between talk about revolutionary action, especially regarding prison work, and actual revolutionary action. It succeeded and shows that actions can be taken.

b7C Obviously, the pigs already know that he's in V., but they do not want the masses to know, they want to conceal that it was a revolutionary act. So, it's important for us to move the consciousness of the masses forward by publicizing [] affiliation broadly and talking about it in our mass work. We can point to the fact that guerilla struggle is going on in the United States, contrary to what the press lets on, and that we've been in the beginning stages of people's war for a while now. Such encouragement will make the people stronger even with accompanying repression, and will be a strong push for revolutionary consciousness in the prisons.

We decided to call a **press** conference, which would be a risk worth taking to serve the people. The security of the organization should not be above getting out political line out to the masses.

One comrade pointed out that we must keep the struggle up and continue to act in a revolutionary way without being sectarian or bragging.

b7C Then the question of security and jobs arose because of [] being on TV, which would possibly make it harder for him to get a job. Some thought that he should not be cut

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off from a job where he'd have a mass base of workers. But remembering [redacted] What Is To Be Done, we eventually agreed that [redacted] as a black worker, should be known to workers all over the Bay Area, not just 250 in one factory, and should seize the chance of TV coverage where he could talk to thousands, **not** hundreds, of people.

b7C

Sooner or later we may have to help support some comrades whose value in a certain area of work would make it necessary. This would only be done in certain cases, and it does not mean that we consider that some comrades are, or have to be, better than others in the organization. We would expect those getting financial help to work hard just like we expect all comrades to work hard.

THE POLICY OF THE ORGANIZATION IS TOTAL NON-COOPERATION WITH THE F.B.I.

When the FBI comes around, say nothing, or at most, say, "According to law, I don't have to talk to you."

Don't get paranoid about them either; the days of the imperialist pigs are numbered.

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CC Meeting, Third week of October

1. Security

It's important to remember that the pigs could use anything as an excuse for repression. Belonging to this organization means taking certain risks, like losing a job, getting vamped on by the pigs, etc. But remember, the risks and the sacrifices that the Vietnamese make every day of their lives.

Cadre should take more initiative in communicating what's happening and what we expect to happen to new cadre and new areas. Protracted war with urban guerilla warfare as the main feature of it means a communications system that fits that situation. In China, there was unified political leadership with decentralized administration. In the early stages of the Vietnamese struggle, small groups were able to function independently. We are going to have to work out a better communications system and realize that sometimes our areas are going to have to function without immediate leadership.

DO NOT TALK TO THE PIGS. Read the paper about this. It's also important to do mass work about not talking to pigs with people we're close to.

Home defense: If the pigs kick in the door, we shoot to kill. Unless we defend our homes, we are concretely aiding the murder of people in the future as well as now. The pigs know our line, and if they kick in the door, that means they're coming in shooting, so it's a life and death matter for us.

The fact that the San Bernadino sheriffs could not get local police to cooperate with them is a success for us. Now they are regrouping, and we must be ready for that.

Every home needs a plan. Don't hesitate to involve non-cadre in defense, too; for instance, many people might be willing to act as witnesses or scouts if they are not yet ready to outright defend a house. We should involve people at the highest level they're willing.

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We should make more use of the call-in programs and the TV opinion spots.

b7C The anti-imperialist coalition has offered to help us. [] will go to their meeting to lay out the politics of the situation and what they can do. There was some question as to whether [] should waste his time there, but taking the example of the Vietnamese and of the Black Panthers in their pre-revisionist days, who spent hours and hours patiently struggling with whites, we realized that Third World cadre sometimes must be prepared to lay out our line on the national question and international revolution to all white groups.

b7C The anti-imperialist movement in general ought to present the China liberation in the same light as the Marin County breakout, except that its a qualitative advance in that all casualties were on the side of the pigs. Anybody who doesn't support this action is saying that all prisoners ought to stay in prison. [] is a white revolutionary who linked up with and supported Third World struggles in the prisons.

We should all be enlisting the masses' support around: home defense, propaganda, money for bails, etc., lawyers who is progressive and who reactionary. They don't understand the role of national consciousness in both progressive and revolutionary forces, or the role that a Third World national culture can play in political development and liberation struggles.

b7C - [] also felt his leadership had been undermined through unprincipaled criticism of him without investigation, and through not taking seriously his role in the area.

--Many Third World cadre are not as theorteically developed as white cadre because of differences in class background, and this has to be dealt with. Many non-organization Third World groups are much more theoretically developed than us.

b7C [] criticized himself for having been liberal towards individuals in the PA-EPA area. He would stop struggling after a certain point when he didn't see headway made. Sometimes

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he thought decisions were bad, but he didn't struggle against them. His liberalness led to inability to solve some problems within his area.

We are faced with the question then, How can we transform the organization so that black people will want to join it?

Following are some of the suggestions made.

Venceremos should have an organizational structure that will allow for all-black sections in areas like EPA or Hunter's Point, or the south. These areas would function under over-all multinational leadership, but directly under black leadership. Such a structure is necessary because black Communists must provide the leadership to black liberation struggles, and the role of white Communists is to support these struggles and support the black leadership.

A comrade pointed out that blacks are dealing with the National question, but many white workers are racist, and therefore, you have to deal with the national question first with them before you can get them to unite behind Third World struggles in the factory or community.

A suggestion was made that collectives should not be organized just according to geography. This leads to putting a new Third World cadre in all white collective, which is bad. What's needed is more organizational contact between TW cadre, so perhaps geographical area should be secondary to commonwork.

Venceremos should use more sources outside the organization for input. Many organizations have a lot of practice we should draw on. We should meet more with black groups and struggle for ideological, practical, and organizational unity.

There is still the question of how to work out multinationalism in practice. The contradiction we faced was:

Do we expect Third World cadre to lead national liberation movements and at the same time struggle within the organization on a day to day basis with white cadres, in order to transform the organization?

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Should Third World people struggle for proletarian leadership from within national liberation movements, while we continue to support TW struggles whether we have TW leadership in the organization or not?

1. Proposition 22:

b7C [] criticizes herself for not putting aside time to help on this leaflet or seeing to it that some brown comrade did. A series of fuck-ups caused this to be a weak leaflet.

2. []

b7C [] has left the organization. He is going to work with black Communists in E.P.A., who are already engaged in struggle there. He feels he can do more advanced work in EPA with these people than he could do with Venceremos.

b7C [] has some criticisms of Venceremos, which follow. These point to problems we now have in practicing multinationalism, and we must correct these problems if we are to link up with black people.

--He reported that the present structure of Venceremos brings to question what it can do in a Third World community. The black community is still unsure of the practice and theory of Venceremos because, although recognized as a strong revolutionary force, it still seems to be white-oriented. Those who see only the Stanford-Palo Alto struggles doubt the actuality of Third World leadership.

There is not much concentrated black leadership in the organization and not enough black cadre to back up the leadership or our line in practice. Often, the only people available for work are white people. Thus, blacks can easily be engulfed by whites in the organization, and it is hard to assert leadership or bring national struggles into the focus of discussion. Venceremos can only mobilize a small number of blacks in EPA; mostly, it can only work jointly with other groups and the other groups will do the mobilizing.

--There is not enough common practice shared by the organization or communication between areas of work in Redwood City, EPA. East Bay. This particularly hurts Third World

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community organizing.

--Mistakes of omission have been made. We have not followed up on contacts with blacks nationally or locally, for instance, with Stanford Hospital workers or with Right On in New York.

The newspaper generally has put more emphasis on **proletarian** revolution than on national liberation struggles, and has not carried enough news on international black struggles. This follows from white cadre's failure to understand the primary importance of the national question.

--Not enough propaganda work has been carried on in EPA. On the one hand, there is a paranoid "SNCC" attitude about **whites** not working in the black community, so that we fail to do the day to day support work that is so important, such as, following through on factory contacts, on drug work, etc. But when there is a spectacular struggle, such as, a demonstration, or GREG WHITE's murder, we make the other error of flooding the place with whites.

--There is a serious problem of racism among many white cadre throughout the organization. Several white cadre thought they had the answers as to how to organize EPA. Some thought that **white** communists could give leadership to black struggles, just because they were Communists. Many white cadre make the racist error of putting the class question before the national question. And they don't seem to understand what constitutes United Front work in an oppressed community.

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FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS AND ESSENTIAL TASKS OF M.V. VENCEREMOS

The central task of M.V. Venceremos is to achieve TW leadership in our area and a large mass base among poor and working people (esp. TW people).

"Within the boundaries of the so-called United States, the vanguard force is the peoples of the Third World - Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, and Native American." - V. Principles of Unity.

NATURE OF MT. VIEW -- Mt. View is a colony of Stanford/Palo Alto and their economic interests. A large percentage of people in Mt. View work in Palo Alto (mostly in shit jobs) or Stanford where their labor creates big profits for the pigs and a huge tax base which benefits only the Palo Alto bourgeoisie. There is a high number of Chicanos, Asians, and Blacks in M.V. The city government has little real power; being mostly a lackey of Stanford and the county. However, we certainly need to **know** a lot more about political power in M.V.

NATURE OF M.V. VENCEREMOS - M.V. Venceremos is, and always has been, almost all white and petit-bourgeois. In a city that is overwhelmingly working class and has a large percentage of TW people, this is a serious contradiction. Also, no-one in M.V. Venceremos is from the M.V. "community" and our political base in the community is small. What is to be done?

IS M.V. A SEPARATE ENTITY? No. In many ways, the South Bay (Mt. View, Sunnyvale, Santa Clara, San Jose, Cupertino) is one city with people constantly changing jobs and homes. We should keep on top of struggles in Sunnyvale, Santa Clara, and Milpitas. That does not mean doing community organizing which would obviously be **ridiculous**. It means that by consistent, humble, revolutionary practice we could advance the area by relating to struggles outside of it (and, if necessary, involve comrades (particularly TW) from other areas). Although our focus should still be Mt. View, it certainly would not hurt M.V.V. or V as a whole to have people strongly relating to the organization and/or cadre in adjacent cities.

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OUT TASKS:

- 1) To merge with the masses and seek out all spontaneous struggles which are, IN ANY DEGREE, objectively progressive. Examples include struggles over the Bailey St. widening, city tax on P.G&E, Teen Post, and racist firings at Santa Clare University.
- 2) SELL THE PAPER!!! This is our most important tool for meeting people, making contacts, and getting out our politics. We should make sure that all big proletarian stores are being hit regularly. Foothill can be covered by the people already there, but De Anza, Mt. View High and Sunnyvale High (a VERY proletarian school on Duane) should be hit as often as possible. A struggle or even a contact or two at one of these places could be a breakthrough for the area.
- 3) Attend power structure meetings. Collectives should divide up the responsibilities and make sure that business is getting taken care of in a consistent proletarian way (City Council and School Board at least). Comrades should be neat, clean, wear buttons and sell the paper. Try to make friends and contacts with anyone who is at all progressive, But be humble.
- 4) Get involved in the organizations and activities of the people. This means anything and everything; Rengstorff Park, dances, going hunting, sports, child care, wine festivals etc. Use your imaginations and initiative, SELL THE PAPER SOME MORE.
- 5) One of the most vicious enemies of the people in the county is the county (sheriffs, welfare dept., county gov't, bodies etc.). But nobody knows how the county works or who controls it. We should research this and find out who is dishin out what kind of shit and when and where and how. Then we can try to analyze the situation and see if there are struggles we can successfully initiate (while always trying to keep up with spontaneous struggles against the county), For instance, the county is rapidly moving to make Sant Clara County into one big city, and this could become a big mass question in the future. Most county gov't. bodies meet in San Jose, which is another reason that most people outside of San Jose don't know what they are doing or even that they exist. There are often struggles

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waged against the county by San Jose people (usually with TW community leadership). If M.V. V. related to these struggles and involved non-cadre in them it would 1) Help advance our mass work in this area (esp. TW people) and 2) Help to build solidarity among oppressed people in the county; an important step for the revolution and V. This should be seen as quite different from organizing San Jose although we should probably try to attend San Jose City Council meeting (with non-cadre) that are especially heavy [redacted] etc.). b7C

6) We must realize that the national question is the principle aspect of the primary contradiction: the class question. This means that we should not be liberal about the need for a multi-national organization or party and that white comrades should not be afraid to do work with TW people (and giving concrete consistent support to all national liberation struggles.).

7) We must try to tie together and relate to struggles in other areas and vice versa. Riots at Stanford are great mass work.

8) We should study and apply the lessons to be learned from the special CC meeting.

9) We must all raise our level of understanding (theory and practice) on the national question.

10) Read the San Jose Mercury every day (and if possible the PA Times). They (esp, the Mercury) have a fairly thorough coverage (although politically fucked) Of struggles in the South Bay. In general, there is no reason for M.V. cadre to read the Chronicle. This is definitely a political question. Subscribe if you can afford it. If you read about something happening, be sure that it gets checked out right away.

11) Keep an eye cut for all strikes, no matter how small or seemingly insignificant. Investigate and then call [redacted] in San Jose [redacted] and local leadership. b7C

12) Keep abreast of national liberation struggles; especially in the so-called U.S., but also throughout the world. Read and remember what's in the paper. And TALK TALK TALK to people about them. Everyone digs the shit out of victory.

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13) If you **are** working politically with a TW person it would be a good idea to get them together with a TW comrade as soon as possible so they may have a **CONCRETE** understanding that the org. is by no means all white.

14) When there are struggles in Mt. View, we should get TW comrades from other areas to relate to them, instead of depending on Palo Alto so much.

15) In plant work (including propaganda) we should emphasize the national question very strongly. One of the most important tasks of revolutionary white workers is to organize other white workers to concretely support national liberation struggles so as to win liberation and happiness for us all.

16) We should use the scanner as much as possible and mobilize the area (and possibly other areas) when heavy shit comes down in Mt. View, Sunnyvale and Santa Clara.

17) We should openly support all acts of revolutionary violence (**talk yourself** to death about brother and not shy away from the gun in mass work. Take non-cadre to the range. This week.

b7C

18) Although Moffett Field is a relatively petit-bourgeois base it is still an imperialist monster and a vicious oppressor of GI's (**especially** TW GI's). It would be **ridiculous** for us to set out to organize Moffett Field but we should 1) make sure **contacts** we happen to make on base are followed up on and 2) try to find ways (guerilla leafletting?) to get GI's involved in community **struggles**. The Law Commune sometimes gets cases of brothers at Moffett and someone should keep up with these so we can lend support. Without a pig army, the pigs have nothing.

19) **SELL THE PAPER!**

20) **COMBAT EMPLOYEE MENTALITY!**

Viva Che!
Venceremos!

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"The richest source of power lies in the masses of the people. It is mainly because of the unorganized state of the South Bay masses that the pigs dare to bully us. Wgen this defeat is remedied then the pigs and their lackeys, like a mad bull crashing into a ring of flames, will be surrounded by hundreds of thousands of our people standing upright, the mere sound of our voices will strike terror into them and they will be burned to death."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

May 30, 1973

Title VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS
ORGANIZATIONReference San Francisco report of SA [redacted]
[redacted] dated and captioned as
above.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Insufficient contact has been had with [redacted] to adequately assess reliability; however, a substantial amount of information furnished by source has been substantiated by other sources and by VO [redacted]

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BW:mbw

XIII. VO INTERNAL PAPERS

Set forth in their entirety on the following pages are various internal papers of the VO.

The CC notes for the third week of September, Second and Third weeks of October, were obtained during execution of a search warrant at the home of [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

as was the paper

The following papers were furnished by [redacted] in [redacted] (u)

b2

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[redacted]

(u)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

COPIES ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ May 30, 1973

Title VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

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Reference San Francisco report of SA [redacted]
[redacted] dated and captioned as
above.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed
in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *Em*

FROM : Mr. W. O. Cregar *WOC*

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller
1 - Mr. W. V. Cleveland

DATE: 10/17/73

b7C

1513
Justice Building)

1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar (FS)
1 - Mr. J. F. McGuire

Assoc. Dir. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Cong. Serv. _____
Corr. & Crm. _____
Research _____
Press Off. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

PURPOSE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-28-03 BY SP2 M/T/ETL

This is to advise that the Venceremos Organization (VO) disbanded.

BACKGROUND:

VO, formed in 1970, has been considered a violence-prone, Marxist-Leninist, pro-Chinese communist organization. While VO expressed adherence to a principle of armed struggle and opposition to U.S. "Imperialism," its membership was largely concentrated in the San Francisco, California peninsula area.

During past few months, informant coverage reported increasing indicators of internal disorganization and disagreement within VO. Subsequently, VO held a national convention under strict security precautions. A resolution was adopted to reorganize VO and to form a new organization with national appeal under the direction of both overt and covert leadership. Certain VO personalities pushing the formation of a new organization intend to adhere to the revolutionary principle of armed struggle. No positive action concerning the new organization is expected for a few months.

San Francisco area newspapers have widely publicized the demise of VO, quoting members and former members. One account stated that in the Summer of 1973, VO was regarded by a California prison officer as "possibly the most dangerous group there is in existence now on the streets." Some of the reasons cited for the break-up of VO included: charges of ineffectiveness and bureaucratic attitudes in the leadership;

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JFM:mlr *mlr*
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100-462905-263

OCT 19 1973
CONTINUED - OVER

b7C

52 55 OCT 30 1973

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Venceremos Organization

ILLUSTRATION OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

ill-considered efforts to merge with other groups to form a larger new communist party; impracticality of VO objective to overthrow U.S. Government when lacking in a sufficient power base to influence others widely; and, to some lesser degree, internal preoccupation with the criminal proceedings surrounding Ronald Wayne Beaty. One newspaper account stated the VO "choked on the Beaty case," "falling into long internal disputes."

Venceremos Organization

Briefly, Beaty, allegedly recruited into VO while serving time at California Institution for Men (CIM), Chino, California, escaped from custody of unarmed guards on 10/72. Apparently, Beaty engineered the escape with assistance from others. One guard was shot and killed and another was wounded. Beaty, declared a Federal Fugitive, was apprehended by San Francisco Police Department in company of Jean Stevens Hobson, former VO Central Committee member. Two individuals associated with the escape were convicted of murder second degree, related charges and sentenced 9/7/73 in Superior Court, San Bernardino, California to 5 years to life each. Two others are facing separate criminal proceedings on similar charges. On 8/21/73, Federal Grand Jury, San Francisco, returned indictments against four others, including Jean Stevens Hobson, charging conspiracy, harboring, accessory after the fact, and aiding and abetting a felon in the possession of firearms. Beaty has related his account of the escape to authorities, pleaded guilty to murder first degree and is presently incarcerated.

Collection

Venceremos Organization

U.S. 11/1/74

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Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
Re: Venceremos Organization

OBSERVATIONS:

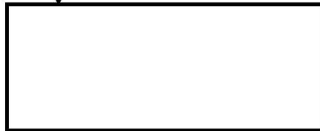
Criminal proceedings under FBI jurisdiction, in this matter, have been handled by and coordinated with the Special Investigative Division. San Francisco has been separately instructed to submit all corroborative evidence of the VO demise in an organizational report, with recommendations for continued investigation of the new organization and any splinter groups emerging from this situation.

ACTION:

For your information and interest.

JFM *SR*
b7C

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EW

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1496188-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 56

Page 5 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 6 ~ b7C; b7D;
Page 7 ~ b2; b7C; b7D;
Page 8 ~ b2; b7C; b7D;
Page 9 ~ b2; b7C; b7D;
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 5/30/73 - 12/19/73	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
TITLE OF CASE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION		REPORT MADE BY [Redacted] b7C	TYPED BY [Redacted] b7C
Deleted Copy sent by Letter 9/29/75 JSS Per FOIA Request		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - VO	

REFERENCE: San Francisco report of SA [Redacted] dated 5/30/73.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified "Confidential" to [Redacted] and [Redacted] b7D

Information copies of this report have been furnished to West Coast Offices and New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, all of which have had interest in the Venceremos Organization.

Bureau may wish to furnish copy of report to Legat Ottawa [Redacted] b7D

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED FOR EXTENSION
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION
10 - Bureau (100-462905)
2 - 115th MI G
1 - NISO 12th Naval District
1 - OSI - 19th District
1 - Secret Service, SF

CONFIDENTIAL

(See COVER PAGE 3)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.
ISS IDIA 28AGCO		1/22/74	R/S
NAVY ARMY AF AFE IT		1/22/74	R/S
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		1/22/74	R/S

Notations

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17 JAN 16 1974
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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF THIS DOCUMENT
DATE 7/1/74
DECLASS.

SF 100-68932
BW/sim

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] San Francisco has opened a new file (SF 100-76519 "New Marxist-Leninist Organization 10/73") to follow these efforts on a continuing basis and Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments on a timely basis. ~~u~~ u

As the Bureau is aware, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Venceremos Organization Central Committee. [REDACTED]

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Identity of Sources

File Where Located

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[REDACTED] has been assigned two [REDACTED] symbols to better conceal the identity of the source. ~~u~~ u

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- 1 - San Diego (100-16485)(Info)
- 1 - Seattle (100-30873)(Info)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-68932)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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2 - 115th MI G
1 - NISO 12th Naval District
1 - OSI - 19th District
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco

Copy to:

Report of: b7C
Date:

January 4, 1974

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #:

100-68932

Bureau File #: 100-462905

Title:

VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

DECLASSIFIED ON 7-11-96
BY SP5 BCB/CJW
94-517

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Synopsis:

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"Stanford Daily" and other Bay Area newspapers quoting VO leaders announced disbanding of VO 9/28/73. Interviews with [redacted] set forth. *Qu*

DETAILS:

Disintegration of the
Venceremos Organization (VO)
May - October, 1973

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EXTENDED BY 1257
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FBI, WASH DC
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 1-4-94
JJP/ab~~

"The demise of Venceremos, first reported in these pages last week, marks the passing from the Stanford political scene of an organization whose impact and influence were, to say the least, profound. Few - even on the Left - will mourn..."

Classified by 6049
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
7/18/77 PJS/m

CLASSIFIED BY [redacted] b7C
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION: INDEFINITE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 100-68932
BW/sim

"Stanford Daily"
October 5, 1973
Page 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Formed in December, 1970, the Venceremos Organization (VO), also known as Venceremos, is a militant Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization composed of third world and white revolutionaries operating in the San Francisco Peninsula area. The publicly stated goal of the VO is to build a united front against the imperialist United States leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare. The VO has publicly stated that all members must know how to operate and service weapons and have weapons available.

On [redacted] made available [redacted]

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SF 100-68932
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The following article appeared in the "Stanford
Daily" on August 28, 1973, on Page 1:

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Venceremos Disbands; Group Localism Blamed

By BILL EVERS

The Venceremos organization, a Bay Area communist revolutionary group active in Stanford and Palo Alto politics for the last two and one-half years, has disbanded.

A state prison officer this summer had called Venceremos "probably the most dangerous group there is in existence right now on the streets."

The group had been disintegrating at a rapid rate since the late spring, and the last large elements remaining decided over the course of the last ten days to leave the organization.

A final issue of the Venceremos newspaper, will be published in a week. It will contain an essay-length attack by the group's Central Committee on what these leaders consider the too narrowly local, Bay Area-oriented perspective of many of the organization's members.

There were three waves of exodus from Venceremos during the summer. First came the collectives from the East Bay. Then came the collectives in San Mateo County, concentrated in Redwood City, Menlo Park and South San Francisco. Finally, the collectives in San Francisco and in Palo Alto decided that the organization was too small and no longer viable. So they left too.

No Rancor, Bitterness

The members in San Jose and much of the central leadership stayed until the end. The splitting up of the organization occurred without the rancor and bitterness that often accompanies divisions in left-wing parties. As one member put it, "We are not at each other's throats."

The local collectives which left Venceremos during the summer saw the organization's central leadership as inclined toward quick, ill-considered efforts at merging with other communist groups to form a communist party. These local collective groups desired to re-evaluate the experience of Venceremos in the Bay Area and revamp the organization's policies before moving on to the formation of a national communist party.

Most of these people believe that they still adhere to the basic political views they shared when they were in the organization. They have not repudiated Venceremos' unique stress on armed self-defense and on the nationalism of ethnic minorities. But they say they wanted to move ideologically beyond the provisions of Venceremos' organizational constitution.

They maintain that the organization's political line was not related to its practice. They add that the content of its political line was not being systematically reviewed and claim that strategic thinking was inadequate. One spoke of the need for a political line that was "more developed, more precise, more concrete."

The question these people posed to those in the leadership of the organization was, as one put it, "How can we talk about national revolutionary action, when we're not even talking to the people right around us." These collectives foresaw months of self-critical analysis of Venceremos' past activities and months of further work on building more support for Venceremos in the Bay Area before steps toward creating a national party should properly be taken.

THE STANFORD DAILY is an independent student newspaper owned and published by the Stanford Daily Publishing Corporation.

Many of these collectives are still on-going entities. Members are talking of putting out a Bay Area newspaper. They describe what they envisage as a "proletarian Berkeley Tribe."

Group Coordination

Members of these collectives also expect to co-ordinate some of their activities with the work of the radical National Lawyers Guild and with the Chino Defense Committee, which supports defendants charged in connection with an Oct. 1972 ambush-escape in which an unarmed guard was murdered.

In response to the collective groups' criticism, members of the central leadership such as fired Stanford English Prof. H. Bruce Franklin condemn what they describe as a "disease" of "localism" that was eating away at the work of the organization.

The leadership argued that "you can't make a revolution in the San Francisco Bay Area." It spoke of the necessity for one strategy, one political line, throughout the United States on the ground that America is a single society. They argued that an organization whose aim was the overthrow of the U.S. government had to be prepared to meet the capitalist class and the government on a nationwide basis.

Narrowness Hit

The majority of the central committee felt that too many members lacked a nationwide perspective. One talked of the development of "an unbelievable narrowing of geographical focus that had been going on over a long period of time." The result was differing general political lines for San Francisco and San Jose.

One prominent former member of

(Continued from front page)

Venceremos, who was active in the Stanford anti-war and anti-ROTC movements and has now joined the new Community Union, left because he came to disagree with the political theory and the practical political work he found in Venceremos.

(The Community Union was formed this month by 60 people as a Midpeninsula vehicle for leftist politics. It publishes *The Grapevine*.)

He and some others were dissatisfied with the lack of attention in Venceremos to psychological and cultural dimensions of political matters. He was dismayed that Venceremos members were unfamiliar with much of twentieth-century Marxist theory.

"Sterile Quoting"

He cited what he called "sterile quoting of the classics," including Marx and Engels, rather than study and use of contemporary Marxist thinkers. These weaknesses in theoretical matters, according to this dissident, were combined with an "isolation of the central leadership" from the members and a passive "employee mentality" on the part of many members.

He also spoke of an "ultra-leftist" tendency in the organization, specifically the "heavy emphasis on guns and armed struggle" at a time when this was "not on minds of everyone in the country" and "beating everyone over the head" with race-related matters rather than seriously concerning itself with what were the interests of laborers as a social class.

The central leadership of the organization rejected the Hegelian Marxist political ideas of this member as "bullshit" and "theory that hasn't worked." The leadership said it preferred study of Mao, Stalin, Ho Chi Minh, and Kim Il-Sung.

Some criticisms of the past activities of the organization seemed to be shared by all elements, including

the leadership. The organization's constitution assigns a majority of the central leadership positions to members of ethnic minorities. Members of all races told the Daily that this quota system had sometimes led to inexperienced people being elevated to leadership roles as "tokens." One black told of the "white guilt" phenomenon, but said it had been diminishing.

Insufficient Education

Generally there was agreement that both internal and external political education had been insufficient. Dissidents blamed this on the leaders; a leader said he did not know whom to blame, but cited the anti-theoretical proclivities of American culture and the anti-intellectualism of ex-students trying to live down their past.

Organizational malfunctioning in the final days added to disillusionment with the leaders, as necessary directives were not forthcoming from the central committee. The lessening of useful guidance from the center gave further impetus to the already strong centrifugal forces.

Only a few members considered that police repression had been a significant factor in the dissolution. One said, "We definitely were not smashed by the pigs." The numerous legal cases and intense police infiltration "did not cause the disbanding," according to another. But all agreed that while the organizations internal political problems were the primary cause, trouble with the police intensified those internal problems.

SF 100-68932
BW/sim

The article appearing in the "Stanford Daily"
on September 28, 1973, was written by BILL EVERS

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The following article appeared in the "Palo Alto
Times" on September 28, 1973, Page 2:

CONFIDENTIAL X
"View was too local"

Franklin says Venceremos dead

Venceremos, the Bay Area revolutionary organization, has disbanded, H. Bruce Franklin, one of the leaders, acknowledged this morning.

He blamed the organization's local focus and inability to expand into a national movement for its demise.

"It was a local organization, that's the problem," Franklin said. "You can't really have a local organization that claims it is going to lead a revolution."

Venceremos, Spanish for "We will win," was created in the late 1960's as an ethnic organization and later a college. Franklin was one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Union in San Jose who left to join Venceremos in early 1971.

Venceremos members were openly Maoist and called for the overthrow of the United States government. They defended the use of guns and other weapons as a means of self-defense against governmental repression.

Franklin said today he thought Venceremos did not have the capacity to expand into a national organization. He said it was his position that "Venceremos had to recognize it had outlived its usefulness about a year ago."

Venceremos was ineffective nationally because "it was looking at the world through the Bay Area," Franklin said.

"There was a kind of Bay Area pro-

vincialism that was very strong in Venceremos," he added. . . .

Several Venceremos members or former members have been convicted or indicted for their alleged participation in the escape of convict Ronald Wayne Beaty. A guard was shot and killed in the escape.

After his capture, Beaty testified Venceremos members helped him in the escape and then kept him in hiding.

One Venceremos member, Andrea Holman Burt of Palo Alto, has been convicted of second-degree murder in the case. Two former members, Mrs. Jean Hobson and Alan Seabock, still are awaiting trial on murder charges in connection with the case. Four other members have been indicted by a federal grand jury for harboring a fugitive.

Franklin acknowledged the Beaty case contributed to the demise of Venceremos.

"I think the Beaty case brought home the weakness of localism," he said. "It happened in Southern California, and for the first time the organization had to break out of the Bay Area."

Venceremos was active in the defense of Mrs. Burt and her husband, Douglas Benton Burt, who was also convicted of second-degree murder.

But Franklin pointed out the difference between the effectiveness of Venceremos participation in the defense of the Burts and that of the Communist party in defending Angela Davis.

Both trials were based purely on "political grounds," Franklin said, but the Communist party succeeded where Venceremos failed because the Communist party is a national organization. . . .

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

*Former
Member
Relates
Rebels'
Story*

On Oct. 2, you ran a front page political obituary headlined "Radical Venceremos splits." Aside from being miserably inaccurate and incomplete, the article was dishonest, at least in the sense that nowhere in the article could a reader learn that it was nothing more than a shoddy summary of a much longer article that appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle the day before.

Even though it was impossible to tell it from the article you ran, there is a reason why the death of Venceremos is important. From late 1971, when the Black Panther Party started down the road to becoming a radical caucus in the Democratic Party to the time of Venceremos' dissolution, Venceremos was the most important revolutionary organization in the United States.

In 1972, the House Internal Security Committee called Venceremos "the most dangerous immediate threat to internal security." Just three months ago, an official from the California Department of Corrections testified in Washington that Venceremos and the National Lawyers Guild were the two organizations most responsible for the revolutionary upheaval in California's prisons.

Venceremos reached this pinnacle of dubious honor by being the most creative and flexible revolutionary organization in the U.S.

It was born in January 1971, as an experiment. At the time, there was a great debate in the movement about the political roles of Third World and White revolutionaries. With the meaningless exception of the Communist Party, there was no leftist organization in the country

which had both White and Third World leadership. from people who weren't revolutionaries.

A group of Chicano revolutionaries associated with the Venceremos College in South San Francisco, San Mateo, and Redwood City, invited a group of White revolutionaries who were doing political work in much the same areas on the peninsula to join their Venceremos organization.

Venceremos had the idea that, if it was successful, other groups in other parts of the country would follow its example. Eventually, Venceremos hoped, these groups would merge with each other to form a national revolutionary party.

But, almost as soon as Venceremos was born, other groups started to die. The Black Panther

In the next few months, Ven-

Venceremos

By H.K. Wilcox

H.K. Wilcox is a pseudonym for a former member of Venceremos who wishes to remain anonymous.

ceremos' influence grew rapidly. One reason was that the merger resulted in almost all of the revolutionaries on the peninsula being in the same organization, with common leadership and common goals. Venceremos was large enough to be able to call demonstrations of thousands of people on short notice.

It was also strong enough, both because of its large membership and because of its policy that every member be armed and prepared technically and politically to use those weapons in self-defense, to protect itself from police reprisals. And the fact that it was one of only a handful of revolutionary organizations in the country which actually engaged in "mass work," starting or becoming involved in food co-ops, medical clinics, tenant unions, high school and college student movements, union activities and so on, meant that it had a tremendous amount of support

Party decided that it had "deserted the people" and did a political about-face. This resulted by late 1971 in the Panthers completely disavowing their former revolutionary politics and, instead, concentrating on providing food and clothing to Black people who weren't able to get enough from welfare.

In New York, the Young Lords Party, a Puerto Rican organization similar to Venceremos, came under the influence of another "revolutionary" group which advised it to concentrate on factory organizing to the exclusion of all else. Almost instantaneously, the Young Lords deserted all of their community projects, stopped publishing their newspaper, and sank completely out of sight.

By default, Venceremos had become the most important revolutionary organization in the U.S. People all across the country starting looking to Venceremos for

political guidance.

But, Venceremos, in late 1971, had already started dying.

The reason was that Venceremos never changed. At the time of its final disintegration, Venceremos was still doing exactly the same things that it had been doing in early 1971.

Even though, by the beginning of 1972, it was obvious to almost every revolutionary in the U.S. that Venceremos was the most vital, the strongest, and the most important group in the country, Venceremos was still confined to the Bay Area, still completely wrapped up in trying to prove that White and Third World revolutionaries could work together in the same organization.

The fact was that by early 1972, Venceremos had already proven that Third World and White revolutionaries could work together. By then, it was just going through the motions, proving the same thing over and over again.

When it should have been expanding its geographical base by moving to Chicago, Detroit, New York, and so on, it was debating whether or not to send some members to San Jose.

Finally, in the spring of 1973, after more than two years of stagnation, Venceremos began to fall apart. The dissolution was not the result of disagreements about Venceremos' politics; there was no bitter internal struggle over whether one political line was better than another.

Rather, after two years of drifting, the membership had had enough of it. They wanted a clear statement of Venceremos' role in the creation of a national, revolutionary party.

Some people were convinced that Venceremos' politics. There was no

still right. Other people were equally convinced that Venceremos ought to strike out on its own and try to develop itself into a national organization as soon as possible.

This argument went on for several months. Finally, when it became obvious that the argument was not going to reach any resolution, groups of people began leaving Venceremos.

Sometime in the middle of September, when there was only a handful of people left who were still calling themselves members of Venceremos, the organization was dissolved.

Venceremos no longer exists, but the people who were in it do. In some ways, the revolutionary movement in the Bay Area is stronger now than it was before. Even though there is no longer one large revolutionary organization, many of the groups that left are rapidly increasing their membership and their involvement in a variety of struggles.

In some ways, the stagnation of Venceremos acted as a brake on people's enthusiasm and work. Now that the organization is dead, the different groups, with their different ideas about how to go about building a national, revolutionary party, have a chance to put their ideas into practice.

The ex-members of Venceremos are still committed to defending themselves, both legally and with weapons, if necessary, and they are still working with each other in a wide variety of political projects.

What has happened is not just the end of Venceremos but the beginning of a new, and more advanced, stage in the revolutionary movement in the United States.

SF 100-68932
BW/sim

The author of the above article is unknown;
however, it is noted that a prominent publicly identified
member of the VO is

b7C

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

CALIF

The following article appeared on page 2 of the November 5, 1973 issue of the "Spartan Daily", daily student newspaper at California State University at San Jose: ~~X~~

Venceremos ends with lesson

Editor:

It was with some amusement that we read "H. K. Wilcox's" analysis of the Venceremos experience. Our purpose in replying is not to deal with the many self-serving distortions of facts in "Wilcox's" article, but rather to point out some key lessons from the demise of Venceremos.

First, the Radical Union believes that the key for a revolutionary organization is, as Chou En-lai pointed out at the Chinese Communist Party's 10th congress in August, whether or not an organization follows a correct political line. Political line is not just something that you put forward so that you can engage in abstract debates with other leftists. It is a guide to action. A good political line is arrived at by applying the scientific outlook for revolution developed by Marx, Lenin and Mao to the situation, putting that outlook into practice and then summing up that experience. When a revolutionary organization moves ahead, it's following a correct political line; when it's not, it is set back. Simple but true.

Venceremos' main flaw that led to its disbanding was exactly that it failed to use Marxism-Leninism to guide their practice. Instead they substituted some romantic notions while discarding basic principles of Marxism-Leninism that have been developed in the practice of revolutions in Russia, China, Vietnam and elsewhere. An example of this was that

Venceremos threw out the window the need for the multi-national working class to lead in making revolution in the U.S. while calling abstractly for Third World leadership. Venceremos ignored the fact that the vast majority of Third World people are workers like the farm-workers, Farah strikers and auto workers. Despite "Wilcox's" distortion the Young Lords Party did not sink "completely out of sight." It has renamed itself the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and is making great contributions to the Puerto Rican independence struggle as well as the whole U.S. revolutionary movement.

Once Venceremos did away with the leading role of the working class, it's no surprise that they did away with another so-called "obsolete" concept - that it's the masses of people, not a handful of "revolutionaries" who make a revolution. With such a wrong perspective, an organization quickly concentrates more on building itself than on building the peoples' struggles. After all, if you don't have to politically win people over to revolution, why not run around trying to be "bad?" This kind of political line ultimately causes an organization to isolate itself. An organization in this position, in addition to internal stagnation, is even more vulnerable to police attack.

The whole Chino frame-up showed that because Venceremos was isolated it was unable to build any kind of strong political

defense. Hopefully as the next round of Chino trials start here in San Jose, a movement will be built to fight this frame-up.

There is much for the young revolutionary movement in the U.S. to learn from the dissolution of Venceremos. Misrepresentations by people like "Wilcox" only serve to hold back our peoples' struggles against U.S. imperialism. We in the R.U. are confident that the revolutionaries who have left Venceremos will sum up their experience and move forward.

Venceremos has helped teach the left an important lesson: fantasy makes good science-fiction, but it's no substitute for revolutionary theory and practice.

Doug Monica

SF 100-68932
BW/sim

b7C

[REDACTED] has been publicly identified as a member of the Revolutionary Union (RU). *CALIF*

The Revolutionary Union (RU) was founded in early 1968 and is a militant, semiclandestine organization. Its objectives, as set out in its publications, are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working-class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. *u*

b7C

INTERVIEWS WITH [REDACTED]

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

CALIF

MISS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription September 11, 1973

[redacted] was interviewed [redacted]

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BLACK LIBERATION ARMY (BLA)

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Interviewed on [redacted] at [redacted] File # SF 100-74958 -38SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]

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Date dictated 9/11/73

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Date of transcription September 17, 1973

On [redacted] the interview of [redacted]

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the following information:

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Interviewed on [redacted]

at [redacted]

File #

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SA [redacted]

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Date dictated 9/11/73

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Date of transcription

September 12, 1973

On [redacted] SAs [redacted] and [redacted]
[redacted] continued the interview of [redacted]

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provided the following information:

BLACK LIBERATION ARMY

[Large redacted area]

Interviewed on

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Date dictated

SF 100-74958-40

9/11/73

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editorial

Venceremos In Retrospect

The demise of Venceremos, first reported in these pages last week, marks the passing from the Stanford political scene of an organization whose impact and influence were, to say the least, profound. Few — even on the Left — will mourn.

The communist revolutionary group was among the prime movers in the leftist upheavals here from 1969 to the fading of the antiwar movement in 1972. It is surprising, now, to reflect how short its history really was.

The dissolution came only after a long period of slow disintegration. Formed in December, 1970, from a faction of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, Venceremos had already split once — in summer, 1971 — and was no longer active on campus. The end came in the midst of the internal disputes over the basic character of the organization; but those had been preceded by many setbacks, including the firing of Assoc. English Prof. H. Bruce Franklin and the prosecution and conviction of Benton and Andrea Holman Burt.

It is difficult to eulogize Venceremos. Anti-liberal from the beginning, it moved beyond mere intolerance to a reliance on physical intimidation and occasional terrorism to stifle opposing viewpoints. It deliberately staged street fights with police, and may have been behind any number of bombings. Systematic window-breaking — “trashing,” in the parlance of the time — became its favorite tactic in demonstrations, and never mind that the tactic’s usefulness was always unclear.

The group held a single-minded devotion to the principle of armed struggle; Mao’s aphorism that “All political power grows out of the barrel of a gun” was its catchword. Indeed, its praxis was based so much on the Nietzschean notion that “practice is primary” that apparent ideological inconsistencies cropped up. In the 1972 efforts to unionize University employees, for example, Venceremos first worked closely with, and later openly supported, the Teamsters Union — hardly a revolutionary organization. Its theory, in short, was weak.

Ironically, the group was always suspected by police of far more crimes and heinous acts than it could plausibly have committed. A peculiar form of ‘revolutionary egotism’ may have been a contributing factor: Venceremos leaders had a tendency to applaud almost any terrorist action, a policy that may have alienated as many followers and potential supporters as it attracted prosecutors. Venceremos’ willingness to act never quite matched its inflammatory rhetoric — although it came close enough for discomfort.

Nevertheless, Venceremos played a major role in the political evolution and education of the Stanford community — if only by example.

Its militant efforts against the Indochina war — which it saw as part of an essentially imperialist American policy maintained by a military-industrial-academic complex of which the University was an integral part — revealed much about the realities of our involvement in Southeast Asia.

The University’s reaction to Venceremos’ tactics — the creation of a whole apparatus of police, photographers, videotapes, and judicial machinery that is with us still — chipped away at the old image of a wise, temperate, and liberal academy. The treatment accorded to faculty members who associated with Venceremos — by their colleagues who claimed to uphold the sanctity of the ‘free exchange of ideas’ — was illiberal at best. And the fact that, after direct and protracted attack from Venceremos, the University still stands and is as secure as ever serves as testimony that this great institution may not be as fragile a flower as it claimed when it threw all those Venceremos members out on their ear.

The organization has disbanded; but its members remain committed to their causes, and will apparently continue to work in various radical groups in the Bay Area. If the dissolution reflects the members’ rejection of a dogmatism that proved untenable, Venceremos’ loss may be the larger left’s gain. So much the better for us all.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 4, 1974

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Character INTERNAL SECURITY-VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Reference San Francisco report of SA [redacted]
[redacted] dated and captioned as
above.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
SAN FRANCISCO

DATE 1/15/74 - 1/7/73 - 1/9/74

REPORT MADE BY

TYPED BY

EMOS ORGANIZATION
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY Class 1A IS - VO
DATE 7-17-80

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP-8 BTJ/RS
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 1-5-84

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter Dated 6/22/76
Per FOIPA Request 7/17/80

REFERENCES: Los Angeles report of SA [redacted]
dated 6/12/73.
Bureau airtel to San Francisco dated 10/17/73.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-8 BTJ/RS - RUC
ON 7/2/82

ADMINISTRATIVE

Two copies of an FD-376 are stapled hereto for dissemination to U.S. Secret Service.

This report is classified confidential inasmuch as it contains information from [redacted] and a non-symbol source, the unwarranted disclosure of which would jeopardize the identities of sources of continuing value. (u)

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
IN VIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
						PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED [signature]
SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE
COPIES MADE:
2 - Bureau (100-462905) (RM)
1 - 115th MIG, San Pedro (RM)
1 - JCSO, ILND (RM)
1 - 1st, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles
1 - San Francisco (100-68932) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (100-79692)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

12 JAN 24 1974

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

SS	1 DIA	2AAGAD	1 Navy	1AF	1 Army	1 IT
1/30/74	1/30/74	1/30/74	1/30/74	1/30/74	1/30/74	1/30/74
1/5/80	1/5/80	1/5/80	1/5/80	1/5/80	1/5/80	1/5/80

FILE

DOC. CLASS.

REC-102

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Individuals mentioned in this report are residing in the San Bernardino/Los Angeles area, are under current investigation by the Los Angeles Office to determine actual affiliation with (ex) Venceremos Organization (VO) members. (Ex) VO members, who had been residing in the San Bernardino area, are now presently residing in Los Angeles, are being investigated by the San Francisco Division and currently under observation by the Los Angeles Division.

Information received from the San Francisco Division indicates the VO was now defunct with key members planning to reform into smaller groups. Investigation in the Los Angeles Division indicates that persons in the Los Angeles area, in contact with known (ex) VO members, have not been positively identified as VO members, past or present.

The RONALD WAYNE BEATY Chino escape has brought local attention to the VO in San Bernardino, California. San Francisco Bay area (ex) VO members have been active in speaking engagements, public demonstrations and fund raising events in order to foster support and publicity from Los Angeles leftist organizations. The support solicited by the VO had been for the California State trial of DOUGLAS BENTON BURT and ANDREA HOLMAN, and the current trial of JEAN STEVENS HOBSON and ROBERT ALAN SEABOCK. The BURTS were found guilty in San Bernardino County and on 9/7/73, were sentenced to five years to life for second degree murder, assault with a deadly weapon and aiding the escape of a prisoner while armed. HOBSON and SEABOCK are presently on trial in Los Angeles for their involvement with the 10/6/72, BEATY escape and rescue.

The main purpose for the presence of (ex) VO members in the Los Angeles area was to form the Chino Defense Committee (CDC), in order to foster support and publicity from revolutionary and radical leftist groups in the Los Angeles, California, area.

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[REDACTED] San Bernardino County, San Bernardino, California, made available a list of names and addresses of persons communicating by mail with one or more of the defendants charged in San Bernardino with murder in connection with the ambush-slaying of a corrections guard in Chino, California, during the successful escape and rescue of RONALD WAYNE BEATY on 10/6/72.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C [] said that many of those in correspondence with
b7D the defendants have been identified as members of the VO from
the San Francisco bay area. Others are relatives and friends,
having no connection with the organization. San Francisco,
Boston, Cleveland, Minneapolis and Detroit were furnished copies
of the correspondence list, in that persons might be of security
interest to the receiving Divisions.

WILLIAM FARR is the Los Angeles "Times" staff writer
who gained notoriety approximately one year ago. FARR was
jailed for refusing to reveal his source of information relating
to newspaper articles that he wrote while covering the CHARLES
MANSON murder trials in Los Angeles.

The FBI is not interested in collecting information
relating to VO defense strategy that has been utilized in the
San Bernardino area during the period of the BURT trial. The
(ex) VO members have now moved to the Los Angeles area and are
continuing as the CDC in the HOBSON-SEABOCK trial. The Los
Angeles Division is aware of the activities, contacts and
attendance at the HOBSON-SEABOCK trial, as a result of the
placement of a Los Angeles trained source, []

b2 []
b7C [] ET AL.
b7D These bay area (ex) VO members are currently residing in Los
Angeles. Information received by Los Angeles source is being
channelized and properly distributed to the San Francisco Division
and other Divisions of interest in this case.

In Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 9/5/73, Los Angeles
was reminded not to collect, accept or report any information
relating to defense strategy in any pending or potential local,
state or federal prosecutions involving VO members and associates.

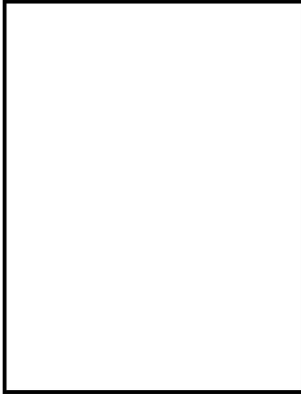
San Francisco sources and Los Angeles local sources
have corroborated the break up of the VO. Therefore, Los Angeles
is of the opinion that the major case concerning the VO should
be closed and that all general information relative to the
activities (not strategy) of the (ex) VO members, operating as
the CDC, be maintained in a dead file. Individuals on the
committee will continue to be observed and reported in accordance
with Bureau policy.

INFORMANTS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-79692

SOURCE



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LOCATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-79692-138, 184, 231

100-79692-159, 175, 176, 228,
229, 231, 236, 241

100-79692-231

Set forth separately

2(4)

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100-79692

NON-SYMBOL SOURCE
ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

SOURCE

LOCATION

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(Protect-Advisable)

100-79692-202



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
January 15, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-79692

RE: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

Enclosure(s)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - 115th MIG, San Pedro (RM)
1 - NISO, LIND (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED] b7C
Date: 1/15/74

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-79692

Bureau File #: 100-462905

Title: VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Synopsis: The VO was a San Francisco peninsula based organization. Investigation has indicated the organization has become defunct and known members of the organization have publicly announced disbandment of the organization in favor of working in smaller groups. Observation of (ex) VO members currently residing in San Bernardino and Los Angeles area are set forth. At present, (ex) VO members are in Los Angeles working as the CDC. ✓

- RUC -

~~CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP-2 AP/Hermil
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 1-15-94~~

~~69016~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY Class H. H.
DATE 7-17-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED] b7C
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Indefinite

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-8 BTJ/100
ON 7/2/82
C# 212154

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. ORGANIZATIONVENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION (VO)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Formed in December, 1970, the VO, also known as Venceremos, is a militant Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization composed of third world and white revolutionaries operating in the San Francisco peninsula area. The publicly stated goal of the VO is to build a united front against the United States leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare. The VO has publicly stated that all members must know how to operate and service weapons, and have weapons available. U

CHINO DEFENSE COMMITTEE (CDC)

The CDC was formed during the latter part of 1972, to foster support and publicity for the trial of ANDREA and DOUGLAS BURT. The BURTS were on trial in San Bernardino County for their alleged connection with the escape and rescue of RONALD WAYNE BEATY on October 6, 1972. During the escape a corrections guard for the California State Institute for Men, Chino, California, was killed. U

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A CDC fund raising party will be held on Sunday, June 10, 1973, at the residence of BOB and JUDY VINCENT, Crestline, California. Defense Attorney CHARLES GARRY will be guest speaker. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Judy and Bob Vincent
22951 Valley View Drive
Crestline, CA 92325

You are invited to hear **CHARLES GARRY**,
noted criminal defense attorney for the Black
Panther Party and presently defending Andrea
and Doug Burt in San Bernardino.

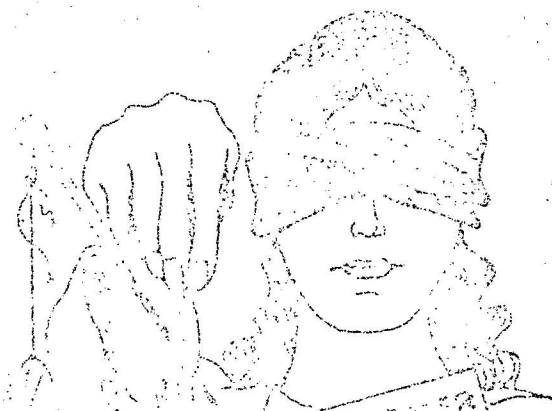
TIME: 3:00 P.M.

DATE: SUNDAY, JUNE 10th, 1973

PLACE: 22951 Valley View Drive, Crestline
DIRECTIONS: Take Hwy 18 N to Crestline
At Crestline turn-off, take turn-off
to Crest Forest Drive. You will see
a 76 station there. Go left at the
station. You will be on a windy road.
This will be Crest Forest Drive. Go
about 1 mile to the intersection of
Crest Forest Drive and Valley View.
Go to a large green house with a large
stone fence and iron gate. If you
need better directions call 838-2808.

HOSTS:

THE CHINO DEFENSE COMMITTEE and
BOB and JUDY VINCENT



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On Thursday afternoon, May 24th, "Doug" and Andrea Barth responded in court to charges by Captain Jerome Singhoffer, head of the San Bernardino County Jail, that they were passing out hundreds of leaflets to their fellow inmates at the county jail. Doug and Andrea said they had given one copy of a recent legal decision pertaining to jail conditions to each of three inmates. They said they had a constitutional right to help other inmates obtain their legal rights and assist them with their legal cases. They said they would continue to give other prisoners aid. The charges were dropped.

The discrimination of Doug, Andrea, Bob Seaton and John Johnson to support people in prison had led to their present charges of murder, rape, and assault with a deadly weapon in connection with the October 6th escape of Ronald Wayne Henry from Chino prison. George Fitzsimmons, the Chino prison guard present during the whole escape testified that he did not recognize any of the four defendants as participants in the escape.

Doug, Doug, Andrea, and Jean are held in isolation and are continually harassed by deputies in attempts to wear them down. Doug and Andrea have been denied hot meal privileges at times

and were without water in their cells for up to a week. The four get no exercise.

IN COURT:

Jean and Bob are presently arguing pre-trial motions in Superior Court XI before Judge [redacted]. The motions concern jail conditions, the lack of women on the Grand Jury that indicted them, and racial and sexual discrimination in the Grand Jury selection.

Doug and Andrea are being tried in a bullet proof glass enclosure which resembles a cage has been called "the gas chamber" by Charles Garry. It was once Superior Court XII. Trial held Monday through Thursday from 10A.M. - 6P.M.

Early in the trial, the prosecution admitted that they had destroyed key evidence in the case. There have been illegal searches and seizures of Doug's, Andrea's, Jean's, and Bob's, and people's property and homes.

Doug, Andrea, Jean, and Bob need your aid both in their own cases and in their efforts to secure legal aid and decent jail conditions for other prisoners in the San Bernardino jails. Please mark and return the section below to: Judy and Bob Vincent, 22951 Valley View Drive, Crestline, 92325.

I can attend and am bringing ___ # of people
I cannot attend but wish to enclose a contribution of ___ \$10 ___ \$25 ___ \$50 ___ other
(Please make checks payable to the Chino Defense Fund, C/O Mike Holman.)
I cannot attend, but would like more info.
My name is _____
My address is _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-79692

II. MEMBERSHIP

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A Los Angeles "Times", Los Angeles, California, newspaper, article on July 19, 1973, set forth information relative to the conviction of ANDREA HOLMAN BURT and DOUGLAS BENTON BURT and their association with the VO.

B. APPROX

Andrea Lynn Holman Burt

Calif

Douglas Benton Burt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Pair Found Guilty in Ambush Killing, Escape

Jurors in San Bernardino found Benton Burt, 30, and Andrea Holman Burt, 19, guilty Wednesday on three counts arising from the Oct. 6, 1972, ambush escape of a Chino prisoner. One guard was killed and another wounded.

Mrs. Burt, daughter of a Stanford professor, and the codefendant she married in court last February will be sentenced Aug. 8, for second-degree murder, assault with a deadly weapon and aiding the escape of a prisoner while armed.

Defense attorney Charles Garry indicated he will move for a new trial.

Two others indicted with the Burts are scheduled for trial Sept. 17. They are Robert Alan Seabock, 21, of Palo Alto and Mrs. Jean Hobson, 44, an official of the militant Venceremos group.

The prisoner who escaped in the ambush, Ronald Beatty, 35, was recaptured, turned state's evidence and received a life term in prison for first-degree murder.

California Institution for Men at Chino guard Jesse Sanchez, 24, was killed and guard George Fitzgerald, 36, was wounded in the ambush.

They were taking Beatty to court for an appearance in connection with a previous escape charge.

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LA 100-79692

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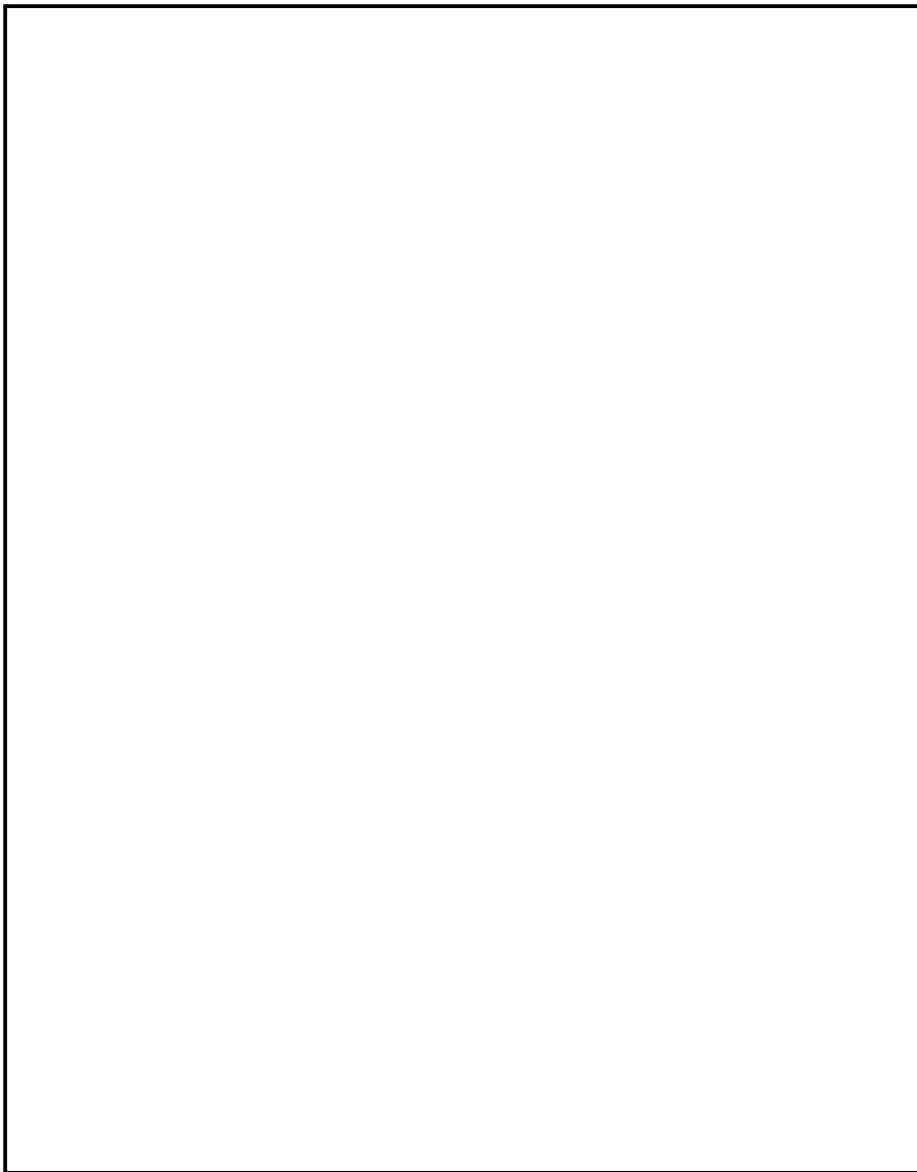
b7D



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following bay area VO members and local support persons have been observed at the trial of DOUGLAS and ANDREA BURT, San Bernardino County, Department XII, Superior Court, San Bernardino, California: U



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APPROX. 1998

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-79692

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

B. APPROX. 1938

aka, Ronald ~~Beatty~~

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The following is a list of persons in correspondence with the four defendants connected with the ambush-slaying of a corrections guard in Chino, California, during the successful escape and rescue of RONALD WAYNE ~~BEATTY~~ on October 6, 1972.



Calif. B. APPROX. 1952

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-79692

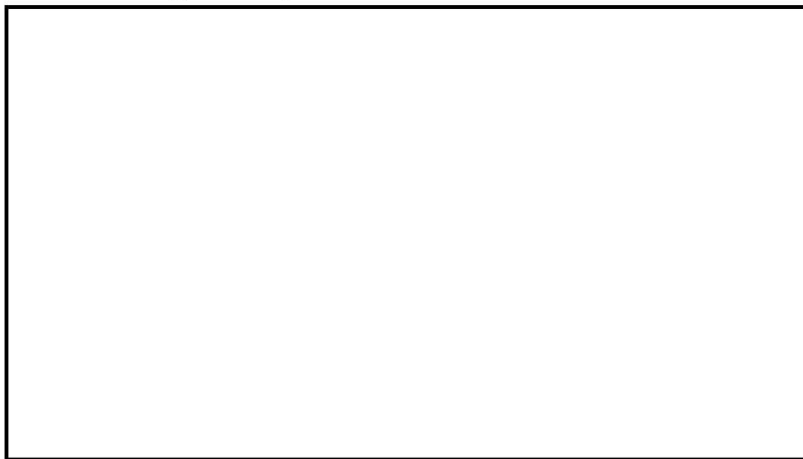
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following VO members and local support personnel were present in Department XII, San Bernardino County Courthouse, Superior Court, San Bernardino, California, during change of venue hearing concerning the upcoming trial of JEAN HOBSON and ROBERT SEABOCK: U



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A Los Angeles "Times", Los Angeles, California, newspaper article dated October 27, 1973, advised of the change of venue in the trial of JEAN STEVENS HOBSON and ROBERT ALAN SEABOCK from San Bernardino County to Los Angeles County. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Trial in Prison Guard Slaying Shifted to L.A.

From a Times Staff Writer

SAN BERNARDINO — Trial of two defendants charged with the ambush murder of a China Institution for Men guard last year will be held in Los Angeles County Superior Court.

The state Judiciary Council notified San Bernardino County Superior Judge Thomas Halderson

of the transfer of the trial of Robert Seabock, 22, of Palo Alto, and Mrs. Jean Hobson, 44, of Mountain View.

Halderson earlier granted a change of venue for Seabock and Mrs. Hobson because of news coverage of the trial of two other defendants convicted last July of second-degree murder.

Seabock and Mrs. Hobson, who is an official of the militant Venceremos group, are accused of murder and assault with a deadly weapon in the slaying of guard Jesse Sanchez, 24, and wounding of guard George Fitzgerald, 36.

The two correctional officers were taking China inmate Ronald Beaty, 35, to San Bernardino for trial on Oct. 6, 1972, when their car was ambushed and Beaty was freed.

Beaty was later captured, turned state's evidence and was sentenced to life in prison for first-degree murder.

The two others convicted earlier were Benton 1, 30, and Andrea Holman Burt, 19. The Burts were married in court after their arrest.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-79692

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] (u)

The trial of ROBERT ALAN SEABOCK and JEAN STEVENS HOBSON has been transferred from the San Bernardino County Superior Court System to the Los Angeles County Superior Court System. A change of venue was granted for SEABOCK and HOBSON because of news coverage of the trial of the BURT's in San Bernardino, California. The HOBSON-SEABOCK trial will be held in the Los Angeles Superior Court, Department 134, 210 West Temple, Los Angeles, California. (u)

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[REDACTED] (u)

The CDC no longer resides in the San Bernardino, California area. VO members known to have worked on the CDC, have moved to Los Angeles for the trial of JEAN HOBSON and ROBERT SEABOCK.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

A Los Angeles "Times", Los Angeles, California, newspaper article set forth security precautions relative to the JEAN HOBSON-ROBERT SEABOCK trial. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Trial to Stay in Bulletproof Courtroom

BY WILLIAM FARR

Times Staff Writer

Defense attorneys failed Monday in their efforts to have the trial of two persons charged in the slaying of a prison guard moved out of a bulletproof courtroom.

Jean Hobson, 45, and Robert Seabock, 22, are charged with murder, assault with a deadly weapon; and assisting in the escape of Ronald Wayne Beatty, an inmate at Chino Institution for Men.

One guard was killed and another was wounded when they were ambushed Oct. 6, 1972, while taking Beatty to San Bernardino for a court appearance.

Jury selection in the Hobson-Seabock case began after Superior Judge Charles C. Stratton denied the defense request to transfer the proceedings to another courtroom.

Stratton denied the motion without elaborating on his reasons.

Richard Walton, Seabock's lawyer, had asked that the trial be moved out of the maximum security courtroom on the 15th floor of the Criminal Courts Building here because "it provides a different treatment and atmosphere than that which surrounds any other trial in this county."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Attorney Hugh Manes, representing Mrs. Hobson, joined in the motion on the grounds that the courtroom setup will have a prejudicial effect on jurors.

"The presence of this glass and screens suggests that there is a need for protecting a jury or the judge," Walton said.

He was referring to a partition which separates the audience from the judge, jury, defendants and court attaches. The lower 10-foot portion of the partition is made of bullet resistant glass. Heavy steel screens extend from there to the ceiling.

This is the first trial to be held in the special courtroom. It was not constructed especially for the Hobson-Scabock hearing but is to be used in all cases where extraordinary security measures are deemed necessary.

The security modifications were completed last month at a cost of \$51,931.

Authorities maintain that the Beaty escape was planned by a militant leftist group called Venceremos. The security procedures have been defended on the premise that members of the group might try to free Mrs. Hobson and Scabock.

Representatives of the Chino Defense Committee, most of whom are young college students, say that Venceremos has been disbanded and that no danger from the group really exists.

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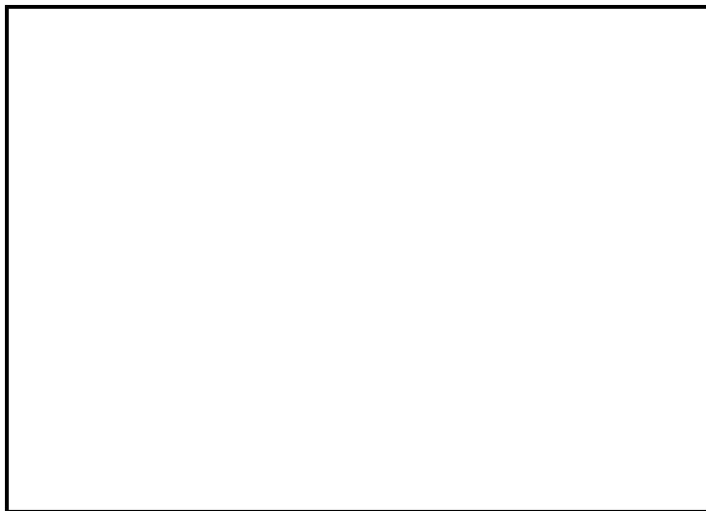
(u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following former VO members and support personnel were present at the jury selection and trial of ROBERT SEABOCK and JEAN HOBSON: U

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III. CONTACTS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS



(u)

VO members attended a Gary Lawton Defense Committee (GLDC) rally on the steps of the Riverside County Courthouse, Riverside, California, on July 5, 1973. The following VO members were present: U

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LA 100-79692

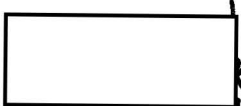
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mrs. HOLMAN, mother of ANDREA HOLMAN, spoke about her daughter's life and the current trial relating to ANDREA HOLMAN and DOUGLAS BURT in Riverside, California. U

The GLDC is a Riverside, California, based group seeking to raise funds to use in the legal defense of GARY LAWTON, who is presently awaiting retrial for the ambush shooting deaths of two Riverside, California, police officers in April, 1971. LAWTON's first trial ended in a hung jury on February 16, 1973, at Indio, California. The committee is a non-membership organization which is largely directed through chairman MIKE WOLFSON, who is a member of the Communist Party, USA. U

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(u)

VO members were in attendance at a rally sponsored by the GLDC at Riverside, California. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum



To :



Date 11-09-87

b7C

From :

Subject : *①*
Venceremos Organization
aka Venceremos
DS

Lytt

Purpose: To have attached enclosure placed on record, filed.

Recommendation: To have attached enclosure placed on record, filed.

Details: The attached characterization of Venceremos Organization
written bt research analyst in the TRAC unit.

970470

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-22-03 BY SP3 MLT/EHL

Lytt

100-462905-301

enclosure 1

100-462905-301
rdb

17 NOV 13 1987

100-462905-301

1-100-462905-301

1.

VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION,
Also Known As
Venceremos

Formed in December, 1970, the Venceremos Organization (VO), also known as Venceremos, was a militant Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization composed of third world and white revolutionaries operating in the San Francisco Bay Area. The publicly stated goal of the VO was to build a united front against the imperialist United States leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare. The VO publicly stated that all members must know how to operate the service weapons and have weapons available. San Francisco Bay Area media on September 28, 1973, quoted Venceremos leaders that the organization had disbanded and was no longer in existence.

970470

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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APPENDIX

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Date: 2/26/70

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TO: Director, FBI (105-195696)
FROM: Legat, Mexico (105-7784) (P)
SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)
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(NEW LEFT - FOREIGN INFLUENCE)

ENCLOSURES:

5283
Classified by 227180 (U)
Declassify on: OADR

Enclosed are 38 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

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 - (1 Pittsburgh, info)
 - (1 San Antonio, info)
 - (1 San Francisco, info)
 - (1 San Juan, info)
 - (1 Seattle, info)
 - (5 Washington Field Office)

85 Mexico City

(1 MEX 105-7784)

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AGENCY: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER: OT 141

FOIA, ISD, [redacted], CIA, STATE

DATE: 3/8/70

BY: [redacted]

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ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 12-7-79

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DATE OF REVIEW 2/26/98

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105-195696-395

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MEX 105-7784

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NEW YORK DIVISION

At New York, New York

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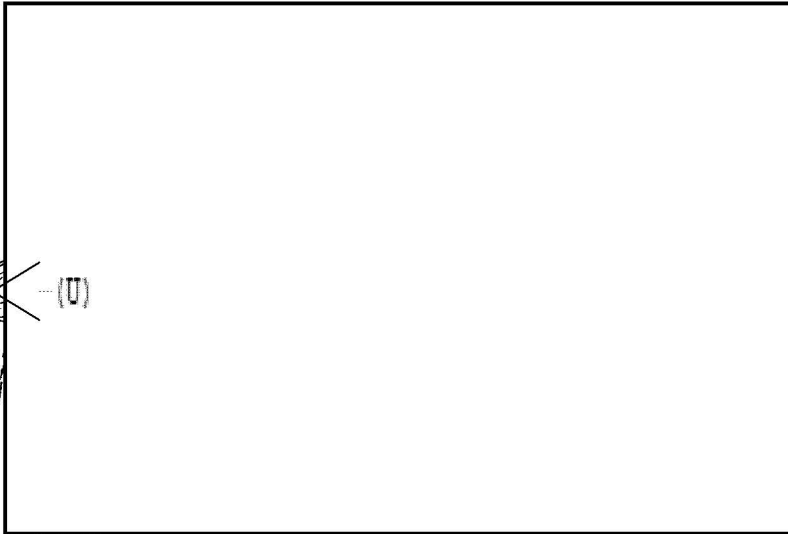
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RE: VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)



The Mexico City daily newspaper "Excelsior" in its February 21, 1970, edition, carried an article stating that some ninety United States youth, members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, departed Mexico City International Airport for Havana, Cuba, at 8:00 P.M. on February 20, 1970, having arrived in Mexico City earlier on a flight from Los Angeles, California.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: NEW YORK
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: NEW YORK
DATE: 10/23/70
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 2/10/70 - 10/14/70

TITLE OF CASE: [redacted]
REPORT MADE BY: [redacted]
TYPED BY: kbm

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VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB), aka
American Brigade, C and C
Associates

CHARACTER OF CASE

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(NEW LEFT FOREIGN INFLUENCE)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY [redacted]
DATE: 1-22-80

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]
DATE: 11/2/80

REFERENCE

Report of SA [redacted] dated 2/13/70, at
New York, New York.

CLASS. & EXT. REASON: SP-8BJ-DTC 2,3
DATE OF REVIEW: 10/23-90
ADMINISTRATIVE: 10/14/81

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CLASS. & EXT. REASON: 5180 ROB/cab
REASON FCIM II, 1-2.4.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW: 10-23-90

This report is classified "Confidential" because it
contains information from confidential sources of continuing
value namely [redacted]

The disclosure of which could have
an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the
US and thereby impair their future effectiveness.

CLASSIFIED BY: 1482 Jom/AB
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY: 2
DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR: YES NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS: YES NO

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: [redacted]
CONVIC: [redacted] AUTO: [redacted] FUG: [redacted] FINES: [redacted] SAVINGS: [redacted] RECOVERIES: [redacted]
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Request Recd.: IRS/INT
Date Fwd.: [redacted]
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By: [redacted]

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NY 100-166943

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

Copies of this report are being disseminated locally to 108th MI Group, Second OSI District, USAF, and NISO, NYC, for information purposes.

Ten copies of this report are being furnished to the Bureau for dissemination purposes and one information copy of this report is being furnished to selected offices in which the VB has been active during the period of this report in accordance with New York telephone call to the Bureau on 10/15/70.

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NY 100-166943

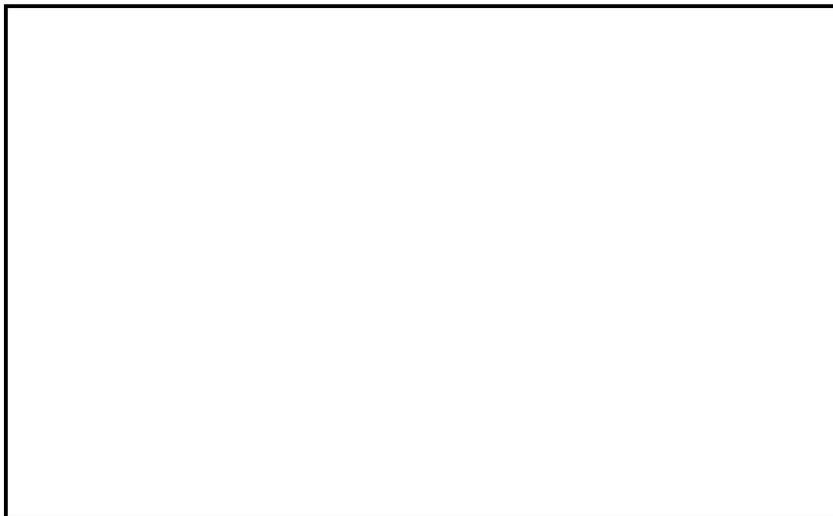
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ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

Individual investigations have been initiated on all members of the First and Second Contingents of the VB.

By letter dated 9/24/70, the Bureau advised that the names making up the membership of the Third Contingent of the VB were being processed at Bureau headquarters and that letters to appropriate field offices under the individual case captions were being prepared instructing that investigations be conducted in line with prior instructions issued by the Bureau in connection with the investigations of members of the VB. In this connection, it is noted that Washington Field Office is checking the passport files of the United States Department of State concerning these individuals.

The following persons who are listed as officers of the VB in the resolutions of the VB bank account maintained at the Chemical Bank, 756 Broadway, New York, New York, are currently under investigation by the NYO:



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AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report on the activities of captioned organization.

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DATE 11/18/81 PO

Copy to:

4-108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
1-2nd OSI District, USAF, NYC (RM)
1-NISO, NYC (RM)Report of:
Date:

10/23/70

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #:

100-166943

Bureau File #: 105-195696

Title:

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE1482 80m/10B
CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6/23/78
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2,3
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE.
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Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY-ANARCHIST
(NEW LEFT - FOREIGN INFLUENCE)

Synopsis:

The Venceremos Brigade currently utilizes address of
PO Box 643, Cathedral Station, NY, NY 10025. Current
officers are [redacted],

Bank

balance as of 8/6/70 was \$7409.88. A

Purpose of the first two (S) (U)
Venceremos Brigade contingents was reportedly to work on the
1969-70 sugar harvest and the third contingent will harvest
citrus fruit on the Isle of Youth in Cuba. Information regarding
the activities of the Venceremos Brigade set forth including
activities of the first two contingents while in Cuba.
Connections and support of the Venceremos Brigade with other
organizations set forth. (S) (X) (u)APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY PtcCLASS. & EXT. BY 5189 Ptc/ah
REASON-FOUO II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10-23-70GROUP I DATE 1-22-80~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassi-
fication~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NY 100-166943

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NY 100-166943

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DETAILS:

For the purpose of clarity, individuals mentioned in this report will be characterized, where suitable characterizations are available, in the glossary of this report.

Where available, characterizations of organizations mentioned in this report are included in the appendix of this report.

A characterization of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Origin and Background

The February 13, 1970, issue of "Bohemia", a Spanish language magazine published in Havana, Cuba on page 52, contained the following article captioned "GOODBYE-VENCEREMOS BRIGADE RETURNS TO THE UNITED STATES" which stated as follows:

"The Venceremos Brigade began forming during the middle of 1969 amongst the radical left organizations. JULIE NICHAMIN, one of the organizers, explained how the Brigade was formed in a television appearance during the stay of the Brigade in Cuba.

"Julie said: - 'a group of North Americans came to Cuba for the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution and after listening to the speech by Fidel on January 2 we felt, perhaps for the first time the importance and the significance of the Harvest of the Ten Million. We knew then, that Cuba was entering the last stages in their struggle for total economic independence, first as a Spanish colony and then to an American colony, to becoming a free country, a Communist country. And we felt it was very important for North Americans to understand what was happening in Cuba -- the struggle of the Cuban people as well as the struggle of the Vietnamese people is the same struggle to which we have committed ourselves -- the fight against American imperialism.

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"A brigade of volunteers willing to cut sugar cane in Cuba meant a concrete way of opposing the policies of Washington, to strangle the Cuban Revolution. A National Committee for the Brigade was organized with fifteen regional committees. Newspaper ads and radio advertisements provided the necessary publicity. Money was collected to help pay the way to Cuba. Progressive organizations lent their help and talks were held with the young members of revolutionary organizations. The basic idea being, that by coming to Cuba these young people were showing their desire to participate in the great world struggle of which Cuba is the vanguard. Volunteers started coming and the organizing committees rigorously selected the members on the basis of their sentiments and attitude toward the Cuban Revolution, the liberation movement of the Negroes in the United States, the struggle of the Vietnamese people and others aspects of the international revolutionary fight. And so, during the month of November, three successive groups arrived in Havana, constituting the first contingent of the first Brigade. They were 216 representatives of organizations such as the SDS, the Black Panthers, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans etc., etc.."

"Bohemia"

February 13, 1970

Characterizations of Students
For a Democratic Society (SDS)
and the Black Panther Party (BPP)
are contained in the appendix
attached hereto.

The March and February, 1970 issue of "The Movement" a militant San Francisco leftist monthly publication on pages 13 and 20 contained an item captioned "Venceremos Brigade - Cutting Down Imperialism", by JULIE NICHAMIN, National Committee of the VB which stated in part as follows:

"Before I can talk about the impact of the Brigade on the international scene and on the brigade members themselves, I have to talk about the ten million ton sugar harvest. I was in Cuba about a year ago and when I came down this time with the Brigade, I was really startled by what seemed to be a tremendous

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leap in the consciousness of the Cuban people. The only way I finally understood this was to think about the harvest itself as a People's War, because that's what the Cuban people are involved in right now.

"Even though all of them have a complete understanding of the economic importance of the ten million ton sugar harvest for Cuban development, that's really secondary in their consciousness. The primary thing in their minds is that the harvest is a battle against US imperialism. They speak of the victory of the 10 million ton sugar harvest as being a victory for the people of the world and not just for the Cubans. And they understand that in the sense that Cuba has been fighting US imperialism. The fact that revolutionary Cuba has been not only able to survive but to grow in the last 10 years this has set an example for the rest of Latin America and the Third World of what a communist revolution can accomplish.

"Like in Vietnam

"The Cubans understand that the 10 million ton harvest is not just a matter of cutting more than twice as much as was ever cut before, it's not just a step forward in their own economic development, but it's a way of demonstrating to the world that all the power of imperialism can't stop all power of the people. You see signs all over 'Como en Vietnam' (Like in Vietnam) with a picture of a Vietnamese carrying a rifle and next to him, a Cuban carrying a machete.

"The presence of the Vietnamese Brigade cutting sugar cane really brings the internationalism of the harvest home.

"The Vietnamese sent over ten men. Five for the front lines of the PLAF fighting in the South and five from the North, one of whom was from the National Committee of the Young Communists in the North. One of the Vietnamese from the South was 20 years old and has killed 25 American soldiers in Vietnam. The Vietnamese in this Brigade told us that they didn't feel any different in Cuba from the way they felt in Vietnam. They understand that they are in the front lines against imperialism, in the fields of Cuba, just as they were in the battlefields of Vietnam. This is a sense that you get all over the country.

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"In terms of the consciousness and mobilization of the people, in terms of the preparations that have to go into the harvest itself (transportation, supply, timing, and coordination) the harvest becomes a series of battles. As Fidel said, 'A way of testing the organizational capacity of the Party'. When Fidel visited the camp and was speaking to the Northamericans, someone asked him to describe the development of consciousness among the Cuban people, during the revolution. Fidel tried to give people a sense of what a revolution was--it wasn't a formula--it was a struggle and a complicated process. His example was cane cutting...

"Then one of the things Fidel said was, 'who could have imagined of those of us revolutionaries who took power in 1959 at that time, which one of us could possibly imagine that the most revolutionary, the most honorable, the most dignified thing to do, would be to cut cane!' And now Fidel himself cuts cane four hours a day, every day. He's providing the same kind of leadership in the battle for 10 million tons that he provided in, for example, the Bay of Pigs Invasion when he was in a tank in the front lines. It's the sense of leadership that Fidel has, totally seeing the thing in military terms, but also understanding that the kind of sacrifices and demands that you make of the people, you also make of yourself as a leader. That's what communist leadership is all about.

"Americans Join the Battle

"If the Vietnamese Brigade served to heighten the consciousness of the harvest as a battle against imperialism, to show the internationalism of the harvest, the North Americans in the Venceremos Brigade did the same thing. The Cubans speak quite often of the Northamericans and the Vietnamese. But what's most striking in their discussions of the Venceremos Brigade is that they understand that it represents a certain growth of consciousness in the US movement--a growth of anti-imperialist consciousness among the young people of the US. The Brigade is a way of representing this consciousness in a more concrete way than alot of anti-war demonstrations. We all know that alot of the anti-war demonstrations are not necessarily anti-imperialist.

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"But it's important to see that the Venceremos Brigade has, in a lot of ways, changed the objective conditions of how revolutionary governments and how revolutionary movements look at the movement in the US. They treat it with a great deal more seriousness now. They think that the fact that hundreds of young people have made the commitment to go down to Cuba to break the blockade, to struggle in the harvest, understanding that that struggle is an anti-imperialist struggle, says a lot about the development of a revolutionary movement in this country.

"It's important to see that the way the Vietnamese and the Koreans and the Cubans all look at the Brigade and its significance isn't to assume that all the people who went down there are revolutionary communists, or were involved in the struggle here in a revolutionary way or even conceived of the struggle in this country as a revolution. It was objectively the case that people who went on the Brigade were breaking the economic blockade and committing an anti-imperialist act. But, some of the Americans on the brigade didn't understand what they were doing as an anti-imperialist act. A lot of them sort of thought they were going down to 'help the Cubans' in their harvest. Like the Peace Corps. They didn't understand that it wasn't a question of helping in the harvest. The harvest was a battle against imperialism and they were fighting that battle too. Some of us tried to explain this in press conferences. The fact that we pushed this made a lot of difference in the consciousness of the people down there.

"So, it's not as if their perception of us means we have a strong united revolutionary movement here, but it is an indication of the potential of the kind of consciousness that has developed over the last few years. It means that the people who are revolutionary communists should use this in their revolutionary organizing.

"I should point out that a lot of people on the Brigade didn't necessarily belong to any organizations or any revolutionary organizations in the US. A lot of them were just becoming involved in what we refer to as 'movement work'. They went down to Cuba out of a commitment to show their solidarity with the Cuban revolution in a concrete way and also to learn from the Cubans-- to see what communism is really like...

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"Digging Communist Leadership

"Beginning to understand revolutionary leadership was the other important step in overcoming bourgeois individualism. The only basis for political unity that the Americans has as a group was in fact, their unity around the work--their desire and commitment to come down and work in the harvest. There were Americans there of all different tendencies and levels of political beliefs. And since the only basis of unity was around work, the question of leadership in the Brigade itself had to be seen in those terms. After all, the Venceremos Brigade was a work brigade. The only people who could provide leadership in showing the Americans the technical aspects of work were the Cubans. And the only people who could set an example for doing this work in a communist way were the Cubans. So, if you looked at it in that sense, there was no way of conceiving of American leadership of the Venceremos Brigade. But there was room for Americans to take leadership in specific contexts. For example, they could push their work group into becoming more of a collective unit. They could try to struggle with various individuals in the work group so that they would become better communists, and push out ideological struggle in arguments and discussions about what should happen when people got back to the States or what was happening or what it meant to talk about a revolution in the US. But showing leadership in these ways did not mean that one or more Americans could be leaders of the Brigade. Now there was a heavy struggle about understanding that the Cubans were the leadership of the Brigade and that this was communist leadership.

"Specifically, the struggle about understanding communist leadership came down around the question of individual tours. On weekends, the members of the Brigade would go on tours around Habana Province. Every Sunday, the whole Brigade would go on a tour. The Cubans always face the contradiction of wanting to show people the material accomplishments of the Revolution, and, at the same time, wanting to give people the opportunity to talk to the Cuban people. Now the Americans were more interested in talking to the Cuban people and the Cubans tended to focus on the other thing in the tours...

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"Bring It Home

"The ideological struggle that we went thru was really important. People in the Brigade had to take themselves seriously. The Cubans and the Vietnamese were taking us seriously and we all knew that the Cuban revolution came to power thru armed struggle and that the Vietnamese were into a life and death struggle with the Yankee aggressors. So people started thinking, 'We better start taking ourselves seriously'. People started realizing that revolution wasn't just a question of what was happening in the Third World, IT WAS A QUESTION OF WHAT WE WERE GOING TO DO'.

"People would go out into the canefields and for 4 hours each morning, while they were cutting cane, their whole life would run thru their heads. And they'd think, 'My god, what have I been doing to make a revolution inside the United States?' And people would argue with each other and talk about their political experience and their conceptions of revolutionary strategy in the United States.

"There wasn't any room for phony bullshitting. You had to get right down to it. But, in a sense, there was kind of artificiality about ideological struggle that was going on. The only political practice people had in the camp was their work. It wasn't as if people could go seize an administration building. People had learned alot about communism and internationalism, but people really couldn't test the kinds of changes they had gone thru in terms of thinking about strategy for an American revolution until they came home.

"I think that most people when they come back from Cuba will probably return to the way they used to live. It's not an easy thing to change your way of life completely. But after a few weeks, people are going to start thinking about the meaning of the work they're doing in terms of what they learned from the Cubans-- that is, about thinking in a communist way, about understanding struggle, and internationalism. They'll be asking themselves if they're really making a contribution towards destroying American imperialism and building a revolution in this country.

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They'll know that internationalism isn't just a slogan. It doesn't just mean putting 'support the PRG' at the bottom of a leaflet. Internationalism can only mean that we're all in the same struggle. It's doing it. It's understanding that the Cubans and the Vietnamese feel unity because they're both struggling against US imperialism. Support and unity cannot be abstract. It means doing it when you get back."

"The Movement"

February - March, 1970

Source provided the following information regarding the background, organization and recruitment of the VB:

The VB (translated to - We Shall Win Brigade) had been forming since late September, 1969 in all parts of the United States. Their stated purpose was to travel to socialist Cuba to participate in that country's historic 10 million ton sugar-cane harvest by going to the fields and cutting cane with the local inhabitants. Each contingent was to spend six weeks cutting cane and two weeks touring the island. *Q(u)*

The first contingent of American youths from all parts of the United States converged by chartered buses on Mexico City during November, 1969 and boarded a Cuban airliner at Mexico City International Airport for Havana, Cuba. *Q(u)*

Approximately 216 VB members of the first contingent returned from Cuba by way of the Cuban ship, "Luis Arcos Bergnes," during the early part of February, 1970. *Q(u)*

The second contingent of February, 1970 included approximately 492 American youths who arrived in Cuba via the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes" from St. John, Brunswick, Canada, and approximately 295 American youths who flew via Cuban airlines from Mexico City to Havana, Cuba. *Q(u)*

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The VB had a national organizing committee in New York as well as regional offices. The national organizing committee's stated purpose of the VB was: to show solidarity between the radical American youth of the United States and the Cuban revolution; by cutting cane in the mammoth 10 million ton harvest they would help the Cuban people gain their economic independence; that by aiding the Cuban people in their economic struggle, this would be striking a blow against "U.S. Imperialism", that the members of the VB feel the United States had exploited the Cuban people by supporting the BATISTA regime due to their many economic interests in Cuba prior to the revolution; that after the revolution the United States oppressed the Cuban people by imposing an unfair shipping blockade against that country in order to force Cuba to submit to United States domination. (u)

When the question of forming the VB was put to Fidel CASTRO in Havana the original idea was for the Americans to travel to Cuba in order to relieve Cubans in the cities of their duties and thereby freeing the Cubans to work in the cane fields. CASTRO later advised it would be a better idea if the young North Americans came to Cuba and worked in the cane fields. This would leave the Cubans to do the other equally important work of the revolution that must be carried out simultaneously with the sugar cane harvest if a true victory was to occur. (u)

Regional offices were set up in all parts of the United States. The guide lines of the VB were; 1) the VB was to consist of 600 people, 200 white, 200 black, 200 brown. (Later due to the time factor this guide line was disregarded.) 2) VB members were to be of different backgrounds (workers, students, professionals) 3) Members were to be able to relate to socialism and the Cuban Revolution. (u)

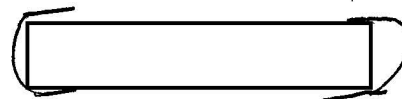
The first contingent was to leave in November, 1969 and was to travel to Mexico City by chartered bus. To accomplish this the members had to be clean shaven and well groomed due to the fact the Mexico police would arrest all "hip" looking people and hold them for high bail. This was thought to be part of Mexico's mutual cooperation pact with the United States. (u)

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The second contingent was to leave the respective areas in buses chartered by "Ski-Master" tours. The need for this ploy was established in Chicago in 1968 when bus drivers refused to transport militants to the Democratic Convention. (u)



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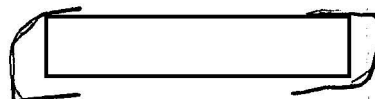
B. Location

The "Guardian", issue of July 18, 1970 on page 13, contained an item entitled "Venceremos Brigade" which noted that "the third contingent of the Venceremos Brigade will leave for Cuba towards the end of July to spend four weeks on the Isle of Youth working on the harvest of citrus fruit and two weeks traveling throughout Cuba---" This item noted that the Brigade needed money and that checks may be sent to the Venceremos Brigade, Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.

"Guardian"
July 18, 1970

A characterization of the "Guardian" is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York, 10025 was opened on June 16, 1969 by [redacted] authorized representative of "Power to the People, Cuban Sugar Brigade" in care of "Leviathan", 2700 Broadway, New York, New York.



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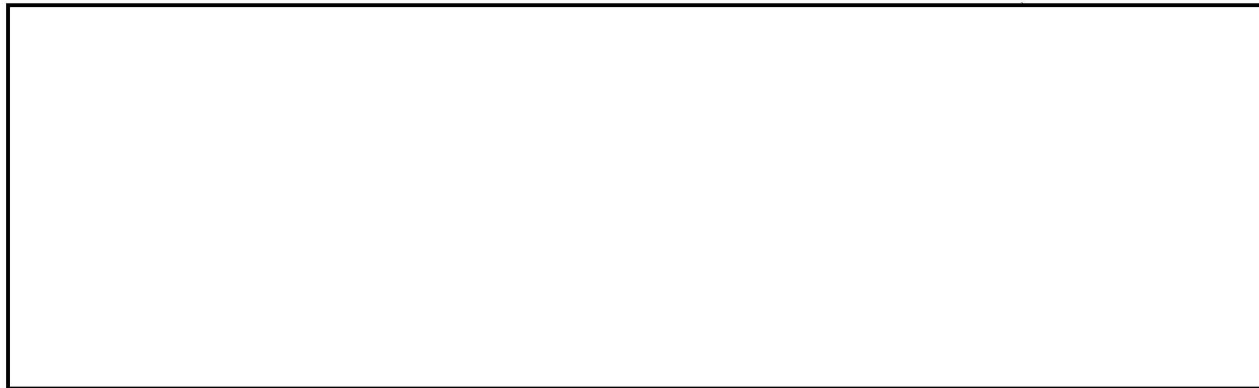
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C. Officers and Staff



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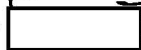
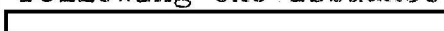
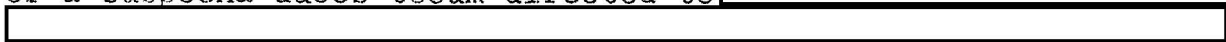


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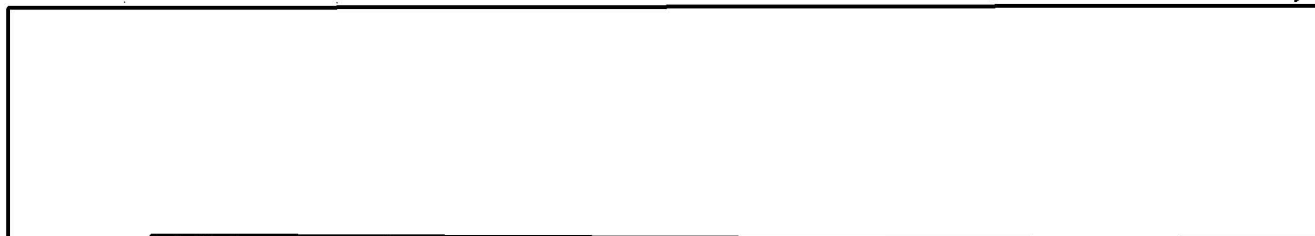
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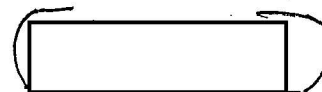
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A characterization of Alternate University is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

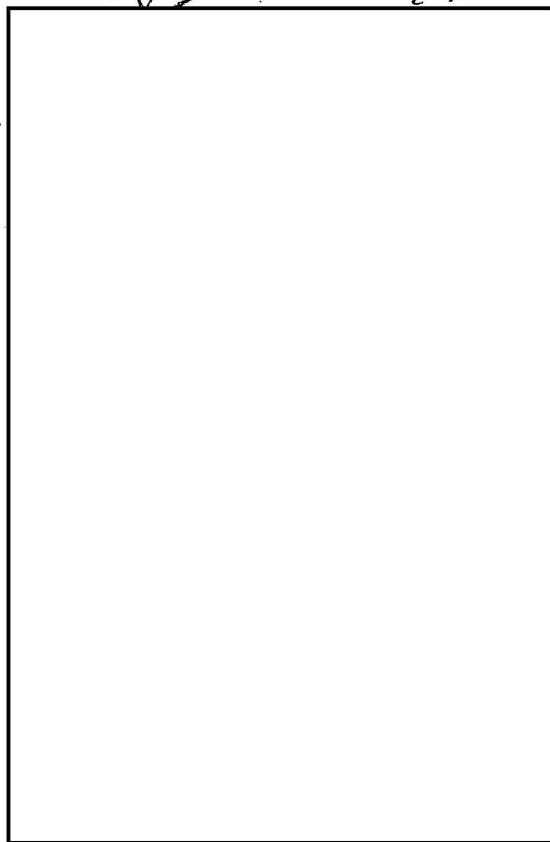
According to , of the VB National Committee in New York, the following new members were appointed to the VB National Committee by invitation from the New York National Committee:

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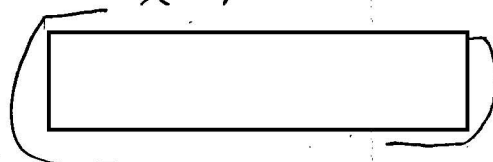
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*Senior members of the V.B.
National Committee.*

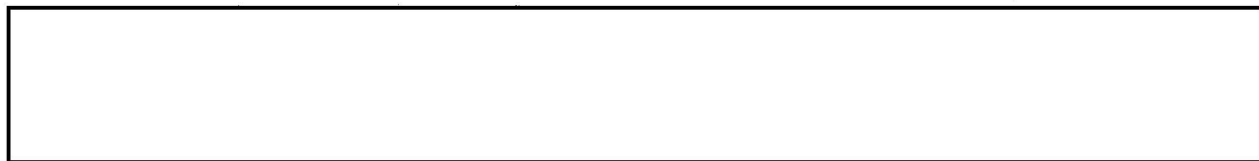


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D. Finances



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[redacted] (S)(u) no longer has custody of the basic documents from which the [redacted] was obtained. 7 4

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II. ACTIVITIES

A. First Contingent

A group arrived in Mexico City during the afternoon of December 5, 1969 and were joined by a larger group of Americans at the airport who had arrived there during late November. The larger group boarded a Cubana Airlines flight on the evening of December 5, 1969, and arrived in Havana, Cuba, later the same evening. The group was met at the airport by buses and rode to a camp near Aguacate about 120 miles from Havana, arriving about 4:00 AM on December 6, 1969. (S)(u)

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The camp was located near the Rubin Martinez Villina Sugar Mill. (u)

There were 216 Americans in the camp living in large tents with approximately 20 persons in each tent. There were about twelve tents altogether in addition to a recreation hall and dining hall. Food was prepared by a service brigade made up of Cubans and the meals consisted mostly of rice, beans, and meat. (u)

The Americans were divided into seven work brigades, each brigade having a Cuban supervisor. The brigades began cutting cane the day after they arrived, working in the field from 7:00 AM until 11:00 AM, lunch and rest from 11:00 AM to 3:00 PM, and working in the fields again from 3:00 PM to 6:00 PM. The brigades worked half a day on Saturdays and were off on Sundays when side trips were taken by bus to nearby citrus groves, industrial plants, universities, or to the beach. This source said there were movies in the recreation hall, once or twice a week, there was a television set in the recreation hall which showed mostly American movies, and musical groups were brought into the camp on weekends. (u)

North Vietnamese students attending the universities in Cuba were brought to the camp on occasion for discussion, and Cuban officials were also brought to the camp to speak to the Brigade. There were translators as all of the officials did not speak English. (u)

Cuban officials and others who talked to the Brigade did not appear to attempt to indoctrinate Brigade members or brainwash them with revolutionary philosophy. This source said FIDEL CASTRO visited the camp on Christmas Day, cut cane with the Brigade, and spoke that evening. (u)

Male and female members of the Brigade lived in separate tents with the exception of those who were married and there was a separate tent for married persons. This source said there were a few less women than men in the Brigade and the moral behavior was generally good although there was no real attempt to keep males and females separated. (u)

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There were no drugs or narcotics and in fact, one of the conditions of being accepted for the Brigade was that no drugs or narcotics would be taken on the trip. ~~(u)~~

The only friction that occurred in the Brigade was over women's equality. The women of the Brigade were not permitted to cut cane initially but their duties were to pile the cane in stacks after it had been cut. The women protested because they were not allowed to cut cane, according to this source, and shortly thereafter they began cutting also. A Cuban teacher, who spoke to the Brigade on one occasion, requested Brigade members when they returned to the United States, to send back to Cuba any kind of school textbooks because there was a shortage of such books in Cuba. The source said the Cubans gave Brigade members several books to take home with them including speeches by FIDEL, a book by CHE GUEVERA, a book on Latin America and two on Vietnam. They were also allowed to take back their cane machetes and other souvenirs. However, these articles were impounded by United States Customs when Brigade members returned to the United States. ~~(u)~~

Some of the Brigade members were ultra-leftists who constantly pounded other members with revolutionary rhetoric and consequently, there was considerable verbal conflict between those who subscribed to the mass demonstration theory of obtaining social change in the United States and those who subscribed to the militant action theory. ~~(u)~~

Source had no knowledge of any Brigade members being recruited by the Cubans to furnish intelligence information upon their return to the United States and knew of no request for such information. ~~(u)~~

During the last two weeks of the Brigade's stay in Cuba, the group left the camp and toured Cuba by bus from one end of the Province to the other. All provinces, with the exception of Pinar Del Rio, were visited and such facilities as factories, universities, citrus farms, and pineapple groves, were toured. The first source said members of the Brigade had many opportunities

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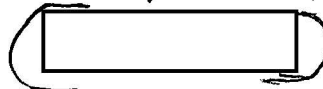
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to talk with Cuban citizens and the impression was given that the Cuban government had popular support of the people. ~~(u)~~

Members of the Brigade left Cuba during the first week of February, 1970 aboard the Cuban freighter, "Luis Arcos Bergnes," and arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, on February 12, 1970. The first source said activities on the boat consisted of discussing the trip to Cuba, watching movies, and lounging on deck. Some Brigade members expressed disappointment that there were more college students in the Brigade than non-college people and the students unconsciously looked down on the others. The source also said the national VB organization was not as well organized as many had expected. ~~(u)~~

Upon arrival in Canada, Brigade members boarded buses for their return to the United States. ~~(u)~~



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The December 12, 1969 issue of "Bohemia", number 50 on page 60 contained an article entitled "'VENCEREMOS' BRIGADE-American Youth Participate in the Sugar Crop of the Ten Million," which stated as follows:

"'Coming to Cuba to participate with the Cuban people in the sugar crop of the ten million, has given us the opportunity to break the United States blockade of Cuba.' These words were expressed by some of the 216 young Americans who arrived in our country last week. They came from various states in their country to offer their direct support in the decisive economic task which confronts our people."

"These young Americans flew into Havana in three successive groups, which together form the 'Venceremos' Brigade. Numerous leftist and radical American organizations are represented in the Brigade, among them, SDS (Students For a Democratic Society); the Black Panther Party and others, which include national minority groups such as the Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, etc."

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"The 'Venceremos' Brigade began to appear in the middle of this year, as a result of a decision made by the radical movement involved in the internal struggle against the American government. This decision was to make the Brigade 'a concrete form of opposition to Washington's attempt to strangle the Cuban Revolution.' From this it derived its work name of VENCEREMOS.

"In the Sugar Cane As Well As the Struggle

"The 216 Americans, who have already begun chopping in the cane fields of the 'Ruben Martinez Villena' sugar refinery in the Havana town of Aguacate, range anywhere from 16 to 25 in age. There are also some 'machete users' who have already passed their 'prime,' but who demonstrate the same enthusiasm and vigor as their younger colleagues do, when confronting the 'hairy one,' as they have already learned to call the cane.

"In order to obtain the most productive results from the 'Venceremos' Brigade's contribution to the great sugar crop of the ten million, the 216 participants have been organized into seven work brigades, each having thirty members. They follow the general rules used throughout the country when cutting cane for storage.

"In general, the 126 men and the 90 women in the Brigade have applied themselves vigorously to the cutting and stacking. The latter task lends itself more to the women, although some of them have preferred taking up the machetes and confronting the difficult job of cutting.

"Working together with the American contingent is a group of 59 Cuban men and women. These workers are members of the Union of Young Communists. They come from the University of Havana and Las Villas and from various other Havana work centers, as well as from other organizations. In this sense, the experience gathered by the CJC in previous sugar harvests are being put into practice by the machete wielding Americans, who have been personally

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instructed by the Human Combine, Reinaldo Castro, National Work Hero, who divides his time between the Brigade of the 500 and the 'Venceremos' Brigade.

"The Cuban and American cane cutters work a productive 7 hour day, which is divided into two sessions. Last Saturday, the 6th, 69,000 arrobas of cane were cut, demonstrating the perfect assimilation of instruction and enthusiasm which is characteristic of the Brigade, which has proved itself to be 'ready to remain in the field despite any inclemency of the weather.'

"To Know Cuba, See It

"The Americans will stay in Cuba for two months. It has been planned for them to devote six weeks of their time to productive labor in the cane fields. They will use the remaining 2 weeks to visit various places in the country.

"They work from Monday until noon on Saturday. On Sundays they visit different industrial and agricultural installations in the Havana province. They have already visited 'Nina Bonita,' the genetic plan 'Rosafe Signet' and the sugar refineries, 'Boris Luis Santa Coloma' and 'Camilo Cienfuegos.'

"The 'Venceremos' Brigade camp offers its members who live in tents, medical and, very soon, dental services, information and correspondence, a control post where individual and group progress is reflected daily and the weekly inspection of each brigade, the same as the other cane harvesting camps. The 'Venceremos' Brigade is carrying out a dynamic emulation.

"Numerous movies and other types of entertainment are offered to the Brigade members. They are able to go to the theater on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays, Saturday night is devoted to music, which is presented by musical groups interpreting our modern and traditional rhythms.

"A light hearted competition has been established

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among the men and women, the results of which are already being felt considerably. Several of the young girls have even said that they will without a doubt become exemplary cane cutters.

"Bohemia"
December 12, 1969

The "Daily World", an east coast communist newspaper in its issue of February 13, 1970 on page 1 and 11 contains an article captioned "Second Brigade Contingent On Its Way", which stated in part as follows:

"An estimated 500 young Americans began boarding the Cuban freighter Luis Arcos Bernes in St. John, New Brunswick, today on the last leg of their pilgrimage to Cuba where they will participate in the historic 10 million ton sugar campaign.

"When the Luis Arcos Bernes docked in St. John earlier today at Pier 14, a group of 216 Americans who had participated in the sugar campaign disembarked.

"As a result of an all-out mobilization of Cuban manpower and heightened methods of production this year's harvest is being gathered at an unprecedented pace.

"Struggle Is Strenuous

"On Feb. 11, the 3,000,000 ton mark was reached, after 22½ days of cane cutting. Never before in Cuba's history has such a quantity of cane been gathered in so short a time...

"The American cane cutters are part of the 'Venceremos (We Shall Overcome) Brigade.' The first group went to Cuba in November. The present contingent is scheduled to stay there for six weeks.

"Won 'millionaire banner'

"The first U.S. brigade spent approximately six weeks.

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in Cuba, four weeks cutting cane and two weeks visiting cultural economic and political centers to acquaint themselves with the achievements of the revolution.

"Their camp, consisting of 30 tents, is located in the municipality of Aguacate.

"It provides food, medical and dental care, recreation, clothes and shoes, laundry service and cultural activities all free of charge.

"Their work day begins at 5:45 AM when they arise. The cane cutting ends at 6:00 PM.

"The Venceremos Brigade, consisting of the 216 Americans and 59 Cubans, was given a 'millionaire' banner on Jan. 12, when after 35 days of work they reached the million-arroba mark. (An arroba is equivalent to 25.26 pounds.)..."

"Daily World"
February 13, 1970

B. Second Contingent

On February 12, 1970, the first contingent of the VB was disembarking the ship at St. John, New Brunswick, while members of the second contingent of the VB were boarding. The entire day was spent in boarding and unloading the ship, and [redacted] of the Weatherman faction of the SDS was present conducting conferences and meetings with the leadership of Weatherman members from each contingent. (u)

The second contingent of the VB originally arrived in Cuba on the morning of February 19, 1970, following six days at sea after embarking from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada on February 13, 1970, aboard the same Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes". (u)

[redacted] was instructing the returnees as to what was happening politically in the United States while they were in Cuba and was discussing recruitment techniques with approximately 50 Weatherman members who were members of the second contingent of the VB. (u)

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During the voyage to Cuba it was discussed among VB members that the Weatherman were present for the express purpose of recruiting and not to show solidarity with the Cuban revolution. This fact became the cause of friction among Weatherman and other members of the VB during the trip. (u)

Upon arriving in Cuba and after leaving the ship, the members of the Brigade were taken to the VB camp known as "Campamento Averhoff" or "Campamento Venceremos" at Aguacate, Havana Province, near the sugar mill "Ruben Martinez Villina." (u)

The Brigade was greeted by the camp director, [redacted] and his staff, in the form of a general meeting. At this meeting the camp director set the tone for the stay of the VB in Cuba by reminding the VB that they were there to show "solidarity with the Socialist struggle; to smash the United States blockade and to make a breach in the facade of the United States imperialist monster." (u)

The Cubans separated the VB into 25 brigades based on United States geographical areas and assigned each brigade to dormitory-type tents, 20 persons per tent, constituting approximately 45 tents for the Americans. (u)

On February 20, 1970, each brigade was assigned respectively to six Cubans, that constituting the Cuban leadership for each brigade. All of these Cubans were members of the "UJC" or Young Communist League of Cuba. The Cubans recognized the members of the National Committee for the VB as those who constituted the American leadership for the VB. These individuals included:

[redacted] former writer for [redacted] and representative from the East Coast;

[redacted] a Negro male from the Bay area, San Francisco, California;

[redacted] Negro male from the West Coast Bay area, San Francisco, California;

[redacted], a Mexican citizen living in the United States;

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[redacted] a white female;
[redacted] a Negro female;
[redacted] a white male from Puerto Rico;
[redacted] a white male from New York City;
[redacted] a Negro female, although not a member
of the National Committee of the VB was considered to be in a
leadership role by the Cubans. (u)

The Cubans spent most of the day with the American
members of the VB but had separate living quarters. (u)

On February 24, 1970, 83 VB members, mostly from
California, arrived at the camp via Mexico City. (u)

On February 27, 1970, a group of 112 VB members mostly
from the South and Southwest regions of the United States,
arrived at the camp via Mexico City. These arrivals brought the
total number of the VB to approximately 687. (u)

During the first week in camp the Cubans took photographs
of each individual VB member, the reason given that the picture
would appear on an identification card to be given each member. No
member of the VB received an identification card while in Cuba. (u)

On February 23 and February 28, 1970, a member of the
BPP by the name of [redacted] from Oakland, California,
who reportedly hijacked a Miami-bound plane to Cuba approximately
one year ago, visited the camp. [redacted] advised that he had spent
one month in a Cuban jail while the Cubans "checked out his story"
to determine if he was really politically oppressed in the United
States. [redacted] stated that he was given a job by the Cubans and
at the present time he was cutting sugar cane at another camp. (u)

On February 27, 1970, a speaker who identified himself
as a student and a leader of the United Revolutionary Front in (u)

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Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, gave a speech in which he stated that plans for a revolution were under way in the Dominican Republic, and would be spearheaded by a student rebellion in Santo Domingo which was scheduled for May 1, 1970. (u)

Between March 2 and 6, 1970, the Cubans requested the Americans to organize a series of lectures for the benefit of the Cubans to further educate them concerning the imperialism of the United States. (u)

In connection with the above mentioned program, the Americans gave the Cubans the following seminars:

On March 17, 1970, a seminar exposing the Peace Corps as a CIA front;

On March 19, 1970, a seminar exposing the links of the United States Government with American universities; (u)

On April 1, 1970, a seminar concerning Blacks in the United States;

On April 2, 1970, a seminar concerning GI organizing in the United States.

On March 7, 1970, one person from each of the 25 brigades was to be selected from which five individuals were chosen by the Cuban leadership to meet with North Korean, North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front of South Vietnam representatives to set up a rapport and to express mutual solidarity. (u)

On March 12, 1970, a telegram was sent to the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in New York City by the VB to express sympathy for the death of RALPH FEATHERSTONE. (u)

On March 13, 1970, during the anniversary of the "13th of March attack on the Presidential Palace by students, "revolutionary speakers including a Major in the Cuban Army who was a student at the time of the March 13th attack on BATISTA's palace (u)

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gave lectures on how important students and young people were to a revolution. These speakers spoke on how the students were organized for the revolution, and upon completion of the lectures answered questions from members of the VB. ~~(u)~~

On March 15, 1970, the Ambassador of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to Cuba, NGUYEN MIAH PHOUNG, the North Vietnamese Ambassador to Cuba, and a Captain VAN DAO of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam spoke to the VB members in the camp. These speakers praised the peace demonstrations in the United States and spoke at length concerning the struggle in Vietnam comparing the valor of the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front to the atrocities committed by the Americans. In answer to a question asked by a Black member of the VB concerning American Black revolutionaries willing to fight in Vietnam for the National Liberation Front, Ambassador PHOUNG answered that these individuals would not be welcome in Vietnam because they have their own struggle to fight in America. ~~(u)~~

On March 16, 1970, an aide of Ambassador PHOUNG advised members of the VB in the field that a group of North American doctors and engineers would make a trip to Hanoi, date unknown, to help the Vietnamese rebuild what was destroyed by the Americans. This aide also told the VB members that the members of the VB who are American revolutionaries should "play along with the peace demonstrators, but do their own side acts of bombing and violent activities" and that the peace demonstrators will learn that these violent acts are more effective than demonstrations and will join the revolutionaries in acts of terrorism. ~~(u)~~

On March 20, 1970, the Vietnamese returned to the VB camp for a question and answer period which lasted approximately three hours concerning the Vietnam war. The National Liberation Front (NLF) representatives advised that in South Vietnam the Viet Cong still control 80 per cent of the hamlets. ~~(u)~~

On March 23, 1970, the VB received a banner from [] President of the Young Communist League (UJC), Havana Province, for cutting two million aroba of sugar cane. [] praised the ~~(u)~~

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brigade and urged the VB to continue in their revolutionary struggle and told them "You are the leaders of the revolution that is about to take place in the United States." (u)

On March 25, 1970, a press conference was given by seven VB members to about 50 representatives of the World Press. This press conference last approximately two hours. In answer to a question from a French reporter, [redacted] of the National Committee of the VB, stated that VB members were not getting any training in guerrilla warfare in Cuba. Also in response to a question that the American press states that the VB is responsible for recent terrorist bombings in the United States, [redacted] replied that there is no relationship to the bombings and with the VB. [redacted] stated that the VB is not responsible for bombings in the United States and that these bombings only indicate the struggle that is taking place within the United States and that that would have happened even if there was not a VB in existence. (u)

On April 4, 1970, five individuals gave lectures to the VB including two Brazilian students who had been held prisoners in Brazil but who were released for a kidnapped Japanese counsel. These speakers all stressed the point that repression can only be resolved through armed struggle. (u)

On April 4, 1970, Premier FIDEL CASTRO visited the camp and stated that another brigade of 500 Americans will be organized to travel to Cuba this summer to help harvest citrus fruit on the Isle of Youth. During his four hour speech, CASTRO attacked the use of drugs and marijuana as being counter-revolutionary and stated no one could be an effective revolutionary while on drugs. (u)

On April 5, 1970, the members of the VB were given a "freeday in Havana" where they were able to spend the entire day in Havana free from any supervision or Cuban guides. During the day approximately 50 Americans in groups of between 8 to 10 persons tried to visit the People's Republic of China Embassy. The Chinese either refused to answer the door or turned these individuals away at the door, with the exception of two VB members (u)

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whom they selected at random. It was reported to the VB camp by these two individuals that instead of being given the opportunity to ask the Chinese questions, they were questioned by the Chinese as to American attitudes towards Red China, the Soviet Union and Southeast Asia. (S) (u)

All of the VB members who visited the North Korean, North Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam Embassies were received cordially and were able to question the Embassy staff. (S) (u)

Also during the free day in Havan many VB members met a number of "Gusanos" who are counter-revolutionaries and who told the Americans that there was no freedom in Cuba, that the Cubans hated the rationing of everything, including beer and ice cream, and that they had no free access to anything. The "Gusanos" told the Americans that they numbered approximately 700,000 people and that they were constantly being watched by groups who called themselves Committees for Defense of the Revolution. For this reason the "Gusanos" stated that they would only talk against the revolution in English and in open areas. (S) (u)

From April 6 to April 20, 1970, the VB was given a tour of Cuba designed to show the advances of the Cuban revolution, especially in area of education and agriculture and to show the landmark sites where important events of the revolution occurred. (S) (u)

While in the VB camp the Americans were constantly exposed to propaganda. During lunch and siesta every day between 12:00 noon and 2:30 PM; the loud speakers installed all around the camp would play the tapes from the previous night's English language broadcast of Radio Havana and the Voice of Vietnam. Radio Havana programs were informational programs concerning Cuba and politically orientated around the revolution. (S) (u)

The Voice of Vietnam always started out with the number of American soldiers killed by North Vietnamese and the NLF forces followed by tapes of American soldiers who were held captive in (S) (u)

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North Vietnam. Some of these tapes were from GIs who stated that they saw the "error of their ways"; others were the "letters home" format where the soldier would relay a personal message to his family and state that he was being treated well. Other parts of the Voice of Vietnam program would counter American press releases concerning the war. (u)

Every Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday night movies of a propaganda nature were shown in the camp. Some of these movies were Vietnamese films on the war, one showing the North Vietnam version of the "TET Offensive." Other movies glorified the Cuban revolution and revolution in general. (u)

The camp received a daily delivery of literature from Havana. The following publications were included in this delivery:

Gramma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba; the Spanish version daily and the English version weekly.

Juventud Revelde, the official organ of the Young Communist League (UJC).

Bohemia, a weekly Cuban magazine.

Verde Olivo, which was the Organa do Las Fuerzas Armadas Revolutionarias (organ of the revolutionary armed forces). (u)

The following books were passed out to each member of the VB:

"This History of An Invasion,"
the Cuban version of the "Bay of Pigs Invasion",

"South Vietnam", Cuban journalist version of the Vietnamese struggle against American imperialists.

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Also in the camp there were a few copies of a magazine called "Tricontinental" containing an article entitled "Mini Manual of the Urban Guerrilla". This article outlined a detailed plan of attack for an urban guerrilla, including assassination, ambush, bank robberies and bombings. This article was made mandatory by the Americans in the sense that everyone was asked to comment on it and also many of the Cubans would ask members of the VB what their feelings were towards the article. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (u)

During the last two weeks in camp before the Americans started on their two week tour of Cuba, Cubans passed out a questionnaire for which information was to be obtained for a book to be put out by the Cubans on the VB. This questionnaire asked for a brief personal history and as to whether an individual was a member of or had sympathies for any political organization. Some individuals did not fill out the questionnaire but were interviewed by representatives of "Gramma" and which interview was recorded. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (u)

Some American Blacks in the camp attempted a separatist movement, holding "Black only" caucuses and meetings excluding whites from activities and assuming the leadership of the vanguard of the revolution based on the fact that it is a "Third World Revolution." The Cubans attempted to mend this rift among the Americans by asserting that this division was being caused by enemy agents who had implanted themselves in the VB. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (u)

Approximately 50 members of the Weatherman faction of SDS were also isolating themselves for the most part from Americans in camp. Weatherman were not successful in recruiting for the most part, within the camp and after approximately the third week in the camp, Weatherman members advised the VB members that they were going "underground" and were attempting no further recruitment. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (u)

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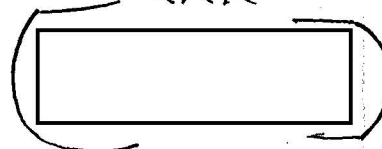
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The Second Contingent of the VB left Cuba at 9:00 PM on April 22, 1970, and arrived at St. Johns Harbor, New Brunswick, Canada, at 10:00 PM on April 27, 1970, aboard the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes" which docked at 4:00 AM on April 28, 1970. The passengers aboard the ship consisting of approximately 687 VB members began disembarking from the ship at 7:00 AM, where they were processed through Canadian customs. (u)

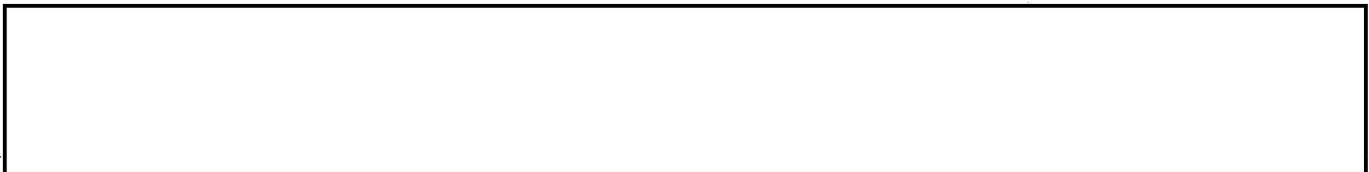
Before the ship docked approximately 200 members of the VB expressed an interest in attending demonstrations scheduled for May 1, 1970, in New Haven, Connecticut, in support of the Black Panther Party. (u)

These individuals were advised by brigade leaders to take buses from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, headed for New York City because of the fact that there would be no VB buses dispatched directly to New Haven, Connecticut. VB leaders advised that the VB would not participate as an organization in New Haven, but that those members of the VB who wished to participate as individuals were free to do so. [redacted] a Mexican citizen living in the United States and a member of the National Committee of the VB, stated the reason why the VB would not participate as an organization was because of the fact that they had been out of touch politically as to what was happening in the United States during the past three months and because such a move would play into the hands of the "Eastland Committee" because it might indicate that the instructions for such a participation came from Cuba. (u)



(u)

A characterization of SVCC formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is contained in the appendix attached hereto.



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[REDACTED]

~~(S)~~ (U)

[REDACTED]

~~(S)~~ (U)

[REDACTED] ~~(S)~~ (U)

The "Guardian", issue of May 9, 1970, on page 4, column 3, contained an article captioned "Venceremos Brigade Returns" which noted that:

"The 687 Americans of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade arrived in St. John, Canada, April 28 after two months of volunteer canecutting in Cuba's historic 10 million ton sugar harvest...The group made up of black, brown and white men and women ranging in age from 14 to over 60, cut more than 40,000 tons of sugar cane during their stay."

"Guardian"
May 9, 1970

C. Third Contingent

The "Rat", a New York City biweekly underground newspaper, in its issue of July 15, August 5, 1970, on page 28 contained an item captioned "Cuba!" which stated in part as follows:

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"So what will the third Brigade be doing in Cuba? Unlike the first two Brigades, which worked in the 10 million ton sugar harvest of 1969-70, the 500 members of the third Venceremos Brigade will harvest citrus fruit on the Isle of Youth. Oranges scarce 11 year ago, are now an important Cuban export and are becoming part of the normal Cuban diet.

"The Brigade will leave the U.S. approximately the last week in July and return about the third week in September. It will consist principally of students -- undergraduate and graduate community college and university, as well as students in their last year of high school -- and will be ethnically mixed -- black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, white, American Indian, Asian American, and other third world people of U.S. citizenship. In addition, it is hoped that many gay people will be included in this brigade. Their applications will be given third world status, meaning that they will have priority over white applicants whether they themselves are white or third world.

"Northamericans on the Brigade will be able to dig for themselves what it's like to live in a revolutionary socialist country. They will work hard with their Cuban brothers and sisters. They'll live in the Brigade field camp with them, rap with them and dig their music and dance. And they'll show the Cubans and all the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that they have real friends inside the United States, that there are Northamericans building a fighting movement right in the belly of the monster..."

"Rat"

July 17, August 5, 1970

Source made available a letter directed to "All Regional Committees of the Venceremos Brigade", sent from [redacted] for the National Committee of the VB and dated [redacted]. This letter stated as follows with respect to the following items: basic information, selection, interviews, regional quotas, money, and related matters:

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"155 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10024
[redacted]

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"TO ALL REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE:

"Applications and brochures for the third Venceremos Brigade are in the mail to you under separate cover. Both have been changed somewhat to reflect our experience with the first two Brigades and the different plans for the third Brigade.

"BASIC INFORMATION

"The third Venceremos Brigade will work at harvesting citrus on the Isle of Youth; living and working arrangements will be the same as before. The Brigade will consist of 500 students, two-thirds third world and one-third white, half female and half male. It will depart for Cuba approximately the last week in July and return to the U.S. around the middle of September. Some touring of the country is included before leaving Cuba, just as before.

"SELECTION

"This is a student Brigade. Non-students can be considered for future Brigades; please recruit students only this time. Students means from last year in high school through graduate students, including community colleges, four-year colleges, and universities. It was decided to make this a student Brigade for several reasons: August is the time of year that Cuban students go to the countryside to work; the Cubans who will be living and working with the third Brigade on the Isle of Youth will be university students.. Since students are an important part of the U.S. movement, and since most students are not in school during the summer, it was decided to bring Northamerican students together with their Cuban counterparts on this Brigade.

"The major problems on the first two trips arose mainly out of sloppy selection procedures: unwillingness to work, racist attitudes that came out in all kinds of ways, macho attitudes that denigrated women, and health problems. In order to tighten up, we are asking that regional committees select people provisionally

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on the basis of the application and an interview. Anyone obviously unsuitable for the Brigade should be turned down at this stage.

"The committee should then get to know the group provisionally selected - mainly through working together. The main work of the group should be raising the travel money necessary to send everybody (at least \$200 per person, but more in some places). Certain regions have in the past depended heavily on the New York tit and failed their money responsibility completely. That won't work any more; every person provisionally selected is going to have to devote a lot of time to fund-raising activities with the regional committee.

"Problems arising out of racism, male chauvinism, laziness, or inability to work within a leadership structure tend to surface as a groups works together. It is the collective responsibility of the regional committee and the provisionally selected group to identify these problems openly and confront the people involved. The regional committee alone has the responsibility of deciding whether someone should be eliminated on the basis of demonstrated attitudes or consciousness unsuitable for the collective working and living conditions in Cuba.

"Your provisional selections should all be in by June 30 at the very latest. Last minute additional are inappropriate this time, for a period of getting to know applicants by working with them is part of the selection procedure.

"There is a new section on the back of this application form for the regional committee to fill out. This was added because tightening up was necessary not only in our criteria for selection, but in our accountability for those selected as well. For each person interviewed, please fill out and send along with your list of those accepted. We will not put anyone on the visa list for whom we do not first have the application filled out by him and the committee's section completed.

"Send all completed applications and other visa list information to:

[Redacted]
New York, N.Y. 10016
[Redacted]

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"INTERVIEW GUIDE: SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

"The following is intended as a guide to help interviewing teams. The questions were chosen because they touch on the areas we need to know about before selecting a person.

"1. Do you have any medical problems? Can you still work, every day, despite these problems? Do you have all necessary medications to take with you? Are you afraid of heights? Can you climb trees?

"2. Do you have any legal problems (including non-citizenship)? How do you plan to resolve them? By what date can you definitely have them worked out?

"3. For men - Do you think women on the Brigade can do their fair share of the work? Would you be uncomfortable if the leader of your work brigade was a women? For women - Do you think you'll be able to do your fair share of the work?

"4. For whites - Have you ever taken orders from a black man or woman? A Chicano or Chicana? A Puerto Rican? Do you think you would feel uncomfortable following the leadership of a third world person? Are you willing to follow orders from whatever person is delegated as leader of your group, even if you don't decide on the leadership (male or female, black, brown, white, red, yellow, Cuban or Northamerican)? Develop further questions about following leadership in general and third world leadership in particular and about relations between the third world leadership in particular, and about relations between third world people and whites, based on the experience of the Brigades.

"5. Have you ever done hard physical work? are you prepared to do it every day, in both sun or in rain, even when you feel tired, sore, or slightly sick?

"6. Can you live with whites, blacks, latinos, Asians, Indians, men, women? Have you thought about it? How will you deal with hassles that come up (give examples)?

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"7. Are you prepared to spend most of the rest of your time from now until August with Brigade people, learning preparing for the trip, and raising money for travel expenses? Are you willing to contribute more than your own travel expenses?

"8. Are you prepared to do without dope for the entire time you're there? Would you pledge not only not to take any with you, but also not to accept any even in offered - and to deal effectively with anyone who did bring it? Only an agent would risk (obscene) up the Brigade by bringing dope. How would you react if you found someone with dope or acid? Would you stop it?

"9. Have you ever lived communally? Have you thought about what it means to live communally with people you don't know, some of whom you may not like?

"10. What political experience have you had? Groups worked with? (Get names, addresses, phone numbers of contacts in order to check background and get other people's opinions of applicant.)

"11. How do you relate to people with different political ideas? Different political levels?

"12. Do you think stealing from Brigade people is the same as stealing from people here? What would you do if things were being stolen from your tent? What would you do if you knew of someone who was stealing?

"13. Have you begun to learn Spanish? Have you been reading about Cuba?

"QUOTAS

"Regional quotas are listed below, giving the number of people that should come from each region after all the dropping out and weeding out.

Northeast

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Massachusetts - 50

(Boston 20)

(New Bedford 3)

(Springfield 2)

Connecticut - 20

(New Haven 10)

(Hartford 5)

(College towns 5)

Other - 5

(Main, Vermont, New Hampshire

Rhode Island)

Mid-Atlantic

New York State - 100

(New York City 75)

(Upstate 25)

Maryland - 15

(Baltimore 8)

(Campuses 7)

New Jersey - 20

(Newark 25)

(Other N. Jersey 5)

(South Jersey 10)

Washington, D.C. - 10

Pennsylvania - 30

(Philadelphia 15)

(Pittsburgh 10)

(College towns 5)

Delaware - 5

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"Suggestions:

- "1. Set up small gatherings in the homes of parents and their friends for Brigadistas to talk about Cuba, show slides, and ask for money. Ask each person to contribute an amount based on their means (e.g. \$25 from a working person who lives in a middle-class neighborhood).
 - "2. Identify parents/friends who support the Brigade and ask them to throw a fund-raising party. Use imagination in making guests want to part with their money - good food, drinks (for a contribution), films, poster/machete/straw hat auctions, music.
 - "3. Show Cuban, Vietnamese, or U.S. films distributed by Newsreel. Charge admission and make a strong pitch for extra contributions.
 - "4. Have individuals commit themselves to putting the squeeze on parents, friends, relatives, acquaintances for a specified amount. People should be able to get \$10, to \$25 from any person who can afford it and is at all simpatico.
 - "5. Go to work. Wash dishes, pump gas, drive a cab, wait on tables, be a messenger, do anything and contribute the money to the collective pot.
 - "6. Rent the film "Fidel" for one showing (@ \$250 if you claim that you are not charging admission) and show it 2 - 3 extra times in nearby locations. For info write: New York Review Presentations, 250 West 57th Street, New York, New York 10019.
- "Those who are capable of raising/contributing more money than others should use their more fortunate circumstances to help develop their sense of collective responsibility. Checks should be made payable to the Venceremos Brigade and sent to me at the above address.

"ETC.

"I'll let you know as soon as travel arrangements have been made.

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Midwest

Illinois - 30
(Chicago 25)
(Downstate 3)

Ohio - 15
(Cleveland 5)
(Akron-Dayton-Antioch 5)
(Columbus-Cincinnati 5)

Wisconsin - 20
(Milwaukee 10)
(Madison 10)

Indiana - 5

Iowa - 4

Minnesota - 5

Missouri - 6

West Coast - 125

Southwest - 50

Southeast - 50

"MONEY"

"The Venceremos Brigade collectively owes \$10,000 - all of it already spent on sending and bringing back the first two Brigades. Six thousand of that was lent to us against the money Simon & Shuster will give the Brigade when we hand over the manuscript for the Brigade book based on people's Cuba diaries. The remaining \$4,000, lent to us by generous and trusting individuals, must be repaid through fund-raising. The responsibility is collective. Each region must set a money-raising goal considerably above whatever their people will need for travel. Each person provisionally selected as well as everyone who have already gone to Cuba should work his ass off to reach the goal.

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Meanwhile, see that everyone provisionally selected gets a passport, a smallpox vaccination recorded on the yellow 'International Certificates of Vaccination,' a tetanus shot, if under 21 two copies of a notarized letter from parents authorizing travel to Mexico or Canada and a Mexican tourist card.

"If you have not been contacted recently by the member of the National Committee assigned to your region, please let me know immediately. My phone numbers are [redacted] (home) and [redacted] (work). Or write.

"We have heard that the FBI has been making visits. Advise your people to say they have nothing to say except in the presence of their attorney. If you could ~~send~~ me a report on the FBI/govt. activity with respect to Brigadistas, that would be helpful.

"If I left anything out, or if you have any questions, write or phone.

"Venceremos!"

For the National Committee
Of the Venceremos Brigade

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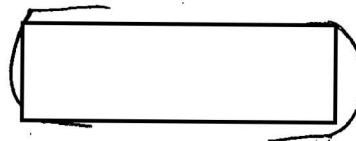
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Source made available the following documents concerning the third contingent of the VB, namely VB application form for the student brigade, August, 1970, statement of the VB Student Brigade, Summer, 1970, and an item captioned, "Venceremos Brigade, Documents You Will Need". These items are set forth as follows:



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VENCEREMOS BRIGADE APPLICATION FORM

Student Brigade--August, 1970
Application deadline--June 10

NAME ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~SECRET~~ Date of Birth _____

ADDRESS _____ SEX _____

PHONE _____ ALTERNATE PHONE _____ RACE _____

Are you a US Citizen? _____ (US Govt will deny re-entry to non-citizens)

Marital Status _____ If married, is husband/wife applying for

brigade? _____ Do you speak Spanish? _____ How well? _____ If you

don't speak Spanish, are you prepared to learn _____

If you are under 21, can you get parental permission to travel? _____
(You need notarized letters authorizing you to travel in Canada and Mexico)

Do you have any legal problems that could prohibit travel? _____

Are you prepared to obey all Cuban laws? _____ (Marijuana and all forms of drugs are illegal in Cuba.)

Do you have any physical or mental problems that could keep you from doing DAILY work in the fields? (EG: allergies or asthma, susceptible to severe heat, burn easily, fear of heights, etc.) _____

Name and Address of School _____

Major Subject _____ Year or grade _____

Extra curricular activities _____

Work experience and/or current job _____

REFERENCE: Can you list one or more persons familiar with your school, work or political activities?

Name _____ Address _____ Phone _____

SEND ORIGINAL APPLICATION FORM TO:

SEND TWO COPIES TO:

Venceremos Brigade
933 Channing Way
Berkeley, California 94710

Venceremos Brigade
PO Box 643
Cathedral Station
New York, New York

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Student Brigade -- Summer 1970

1970 is the year of the historic Ten Million Ton Sugar Harvest in Cuba. This harvest represents the culmination of 100 years of struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Young people from the United States have participated in this historic harvest, and while helping the Cuban people move forward have gained valuable insights into the Cuban society--as well as our own. For this reason, the Venceremos Brigade continues.

The Cuban Revolution is about hard work: collective work, volunteer labor, vanguard brigades of those who do more than their share of work. It's about cutting cane, planting rice, weeding coffee plants, digging holes to plant citrus trees, picking the ripe fruit. Through this work the Cuban people are struggling to develop their country. To do this, they have found they must create a new man, a man with communist consciousness. "Communism," says Fidel, "certainly cannot be established if we do not create abundant wealth. But the way to do this, in our opinion, is not by creating political awareness with money or wealth, but by creating wealth with political awareness."

Cubans set out to prove this by making all extra work, and the hardest work of cutting cane, voluntary. There are no financial or material incentives for this work in Cuba -- only the knowledge that more work means a better life for all Cuban people.

At the end of July, 500 more young Americans--this time primarily students--will go to Cuba to help the Cuban people develop their country and to learn from the Cuban Revolution. They will go to the Isle of Youth, for in Cuba as in the United States, youth is the vanguard of the Revolution, and it is by working with the youth that we can learn the most about Cuba. On the Isle of Youth, formerly the Isle of Pines, young people work developing new fields of agriculture of replace barren, desolate wasteland. Where one the only interruption of uncultivated land was gambling casinos, whore houses, dope smuggling and prisons, there are now young people at work, planting new crops, developing new strains of cattle, trying out new techniques.

Cuban youth is at the front lines in the fight to overcome economic backwardness. Brigade members working alongside them will experience firsthand the creation of this new society.

The Brigade will consist of Asians, Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Latinos and Whites. It will leave for Cuba at the end of July and return in time for school in the last weeks of September. Members of the Brigade will live in dormitory tents alongside their Cuban companeros. Early each morning they will arise with the sun, to go out for a hard day's work in the fields. During breaks and in the evenings, there will be discussions, talks, films and relaxation. The experience with living with and getting to know some of the most revolutionary youth in the world today.

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The Brigade is open to all who are willing to demonstrate their solidarity with the Cuban Revolution by putting in six weeks of hard work on the Isle of Youth. For students, it may well be the most important educational experience you have ever had.

VENCEREMOS

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VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

DOCUMENTS YOU WILL NEED

1. PASSPORTS are needed to leave Mexico for Cuba and to re-enter Canada. You should apply for yours right away. There is a passport office at the New Federal Building at Los Angeles Street and Temple. They cost \$10. You will need photographs when you apply and they must be obtained from an authorized passport photographer. There are several studios in the vicinity of the New Federal Building. You can get them on the same day and they cost about \$5.

You will need an official copy of your birth certificate when you apply for your passport. If you don't have one, write to the Department of Vital Statistics of the state you were born in. Hospital certificates of birth are NOT acceptable - only official CERTIFIED copies of your birth certificate will be accepted.

2. A SMALLPOX VACCINATION is necessary. You need to have an International Health Card stamped by the person giving you the vaccination. The cards can be obtained at the Department of Health.

3. MEXICAN TOURIST CARD can be obtained (for free) at any Western Airlines office, at the Mexican Consulate on North Main Street near Olvera Street, or at the Mexican Government Tourism Department at 3108 Wilshire Boulevard. Just tell them that you're planning to go to Mexico in the near future.

4. Bring your birth certificate AS WELL AS your passport on the trip.

5. If you are under 21 years old, you will need a NOTARIZED letter from your parents or guardian giving you permission to enter into and travel through Mexico and Canada. If you are under 21, you cannot go on the Brigade without that letter!

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE
P.O. Box 3808
Hollywood Station
Hollywood, California

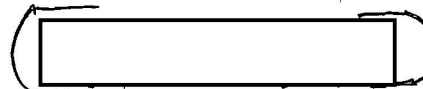
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Source advised that 401 individuals left the United States at Calais, Maine on August 24, 1970 to depart from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada for Cuba aboard the Cuban vessel "Conrado Benitez."



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The August 31 and September 1, 1970 issue of "Gramma" self-described as the official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba contained two articles regarding the arrival of the third group of the VB in Cuba. These articles are set forth as follows:

"NEW REPLACEMENTS FOR VENCEREMOS BRIGADE
ARRIVE IN HAVANA TODAY

"The third group for Venceremos Brigade, made up of 405 young people from the United States and Latin American residents in the United States, will arrive today at the Port of Havana, aboard the 'Conrado Benitez' who will dock at Pier 1.

"This group left via the port of St. John, Canada on August 24th and after a short stay in Havana, they will go on to the Isle of Pines, aboard the 'Jibacoa'.

"While on the Isle of Pines, the group will work with citrus crops. The two previous groups of Venceremos Brigade worked on the sugar crop."

"ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME BY PEOPLE OF HAVANA
FOR THIRD GROUP FOR VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

"The people of Havana gave a warm reception to the third group of Venceremos Brigade members who arrived here yesterday, aboard the 'Conrado Benitez,' coming from the Canadian port of St. John. They were welcomed officially by members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

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of Cuba, Majors JESUS MONTANE OROPESA, Minister of Communications; MANUEL PINEIRO LOSADA, Assistant Minister of Interior; and Captain JOSEL CHAVECO, Minister of Merchant Marine and Ports; along with ORLANDO FUNDORA, head of the Commission for Revolutionary Orientation; and JAIME CROMBET, First Secretary of the Union of Young Communists.

"There are 405 young people in the group, made up of United States citizens and Latin Americans residing in the United States. They will remain for four weeks, doing farm work in the citrus areas on the Isle of Pines, working with a delegation of young Cubans.

"The Brigade will travel aboard the 'Jibacoa' to the Isle of Pines."

"Gramma"
August 31, 1970 -
September 1, 1970

D. General

[REDACTED]

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On February 5, 1970, the VB had a film showing in Wohlman Auditorium, Columbia University. The film entitled "Fidel" dealt with the progress Cuba had made since CASTRO's takeover and was shown in Spanish with English subtitles. Admission to the auditorium was \$2.00 and in the two showings (one at 8:00 PM and one at 10:00 PM) an estimated 1500 to 1800 people attended.

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On May 12, 1970, there was a benefit for the VB at AU, NYC. The benefit was set up to help defray the expenses of getting mail out of bond in Canada and pay for the actual mail being brought to people back in the United States who had been to Cuba and could not bring back certain items in the United States with them. The program consisted of lectures and talks by people who had been to Cuba with the Second Contingent. Several anti-United States and pro-Hanoi and pro-Cuba propaganda films were shown.

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Cuba 2/4

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A fiesta or day of solidarity for Cuba was held at Tompkins Square Park, New York, New York, from 4:00 PM to 10:00 PM on July 26, 1970. The activity consisted of music, films, poetry reading and some speeches. The group in the park contained an estimated 500 people. Among the groups represented at this affair was the VB and the YWLL who each had tables set up to sell or distribute literature.

[REDACTED]

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The "Rat", issue of May 8-21, 1970 on page 7 contained an item captioned "Invasion" which stated in part that:

"..The Cuban people are responding to US aggression by bringing in the biggest harvest of their history. We, too, have our response. We pledge to publicize by every means available the history of CIA and Pentagon attempts to wreck the economy, assassinate the leaders, and destroy the Revolution of the

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Cuban people. For each act of aggression by the United States government or its mercenaries, we will respond with an act of friendship by the American people. For each Cuban worker who must be mobilized to defend his country, we pledge to send a medical book, a scientific journal, or a technical manual.

"On the eve of the victorious return of the second Venceremos Brigade -- which cut over seventy-five million pounds of sugar cane -- we are prepared to meet this pledge. A third Venceremos Brigade is being organized. This brigade will be made up of five hundred students from all over the country who will work alongside young Cubans, in the month of August, in the citrus fields on the Isle of Youth. There will be another trip in December for non-students and those who did not return to school or want to drop out. For information on the third and fourth Venceremos Brigades write to: The Brigade, Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York 10025. Like the 903 members of the first two brigades, these young Americans will also demonstrate that there is 'no blockade' strong enough to keep apart those people who are fighting for a better world.

"VENCEREMOS BRIGADES
BOOKS FOR CUBA
CUBAN HEALTH EXCHANGE
NATIONAL INFORMATION NETWORK ON LATIN AMERICA
(NINOLA)
COMMITTEE OF RETURNED VOLUNTEERS
NEW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

"BOOKS FOR CUBA is collecting books, mainly scientific and technical, that are of value for Cuba. Mailing addresses for books and a detailed list of books needed are available for BOOKS FOR CUBA, c/o National Information Network on Latin America (NINOLA), P O Box 548, Cathedral Station, New York 10025."

"Rat"
May 8, 1970

A characterization of the CRV is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

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III. CONNECTION AND AFFILIATION WITH
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Casa De Las Americas (CDLA)

A characterization of the CDLA
is contained in the Appendix
attached hereto.

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On March 14, 1970, a cocktail party was given at the CDLA honoring members of the VB. About 60 persons attended this affair.

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On March 14, 1970, there was a gathering at the CDLA in honor of the returning members of the VB. In addition to the CDLA members present, there were about 100 members of the VB at this affair.

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[REDACTED]

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On March 14, 1970, the CDIA held a buffet-dance to honor the people who went to make up part of the VB that had gone to Cuba to help with the sugar harvest. There were over 100 persons at the CDLA most of whom were friends of the "Brigedistas" as they were called in Spanish. There was a short welcoming speech on behalf of the club and then the dias was turned over to members of the VB. A young woman spoke in behalf of the VB mentioning the fact that she had received a telephone call from a leader of the Brigade presently in Cuba assuring her that they were well into the cutting of their quota of sugar cane and that they hoped to surpass the production of the previous Brigade. The young female speaker announced the formation of a car pool caravan to travel to Canada to meet the ship that would bring back to the United States the members of the Brigade presently in Cuba and took up a collection from among those present that evening to help cover the cost of hiring buses for the return of the VB members presently in Cuba to the United States. During the aforementioned speech about 25 persons, believed to be affiliated with the VB, sang Cuban revolutionary songs in Spanish that they had learned while in Cuba.

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On March 21, 1970, the VB held an affair to raise funds at the CDLA to pay for the buses that will bring back those presently in Cuba. About 160 members of the VB attended this affair and there was a showing of motion pictures and some slides. The money raised from this affair was from the price of admission, a collection, and profits on what they sold. ~~(S)~~(u)

([redacted]) ~~(S)~~(u)

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On March 22, 1970, the members of the CDLA held a gathering at their club to honor the returning members of the VB. There were approximately 75 members of the VB present at this affair at which slides, films and short talks were presented to exemplify the work done by the Brigade while in Cuba. ~~(S)~~(u)

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On the evening of April 30, 1970, there was a meeting of the CDLA in New York City attended by 200 persons consisting mainly of individuals who had visited Cuba with the VB. Most of the speakers talked about their recent experiences in Cuba and the group was advised that bus trips would be available to New Haven during the weekend of May 1st to May 3rd in order to attend the demonstrations in support of the members of the BPP. Present at the meeting was the wife of the Cuban Ambassador RICARDO ALARCON who came to the meeting alone. ~~(S)~~ (u)

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (u)

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On May 7, 1970, there was a meeting of the VB at the CDLA which was attended by an estimated 130 members of the VB. Those in attendance talked about the next Brigade that would go to Cuba and signatures were collected on two separate sheets--- one for those present who went to Cuba, and the other for those present who did not go. ~~(S)~~ (u)

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (u)

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On May 30, 1970, there was an affair in honor of the VB held at the CDLA. The affair was a failure because of the expected 200 people only a small percentage showed up. ~~(S)~~ (u)

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (u)

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At an affair held at the CDLA on May 30, 1970, to greet members of the VB who had recently returned from Cuba very few people showed up. However, color slides were shown which had been taken in Cuba during the stay of the Second Contingent in Cuba and it was announced that the Third Contingent of the VB would be composed mainly of students. ~~(S)~~ (u)

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On July 21, 1970, at the CDLA in New York City, there was a meeting of the VB. About 150 persons were in attendance at this meeting at which there were five Cuban delegates who were then participating at a youth conference being held at the United Nations in New York City. The delegates stated that they wanted to have this meeting with members of the VB in order to discuss the sugar cane harvest and something about politics in America. ~~(S)~~(u)



~~(S)~~(u)

B. Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)

A characterization of the YSA is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

On May 2, and 3, 1970, an Ohio Regional Conference of the YSA was held in the Ohio State University Student Union Building, Ohio State University campus, Columbus, Ohio, with about 88 persons present at this conference. During the conference, [redacted] gave a talk to those assembled about the trip he had made to Cuba in February, 1970, with the VB for a period of eight weeks. Among the things that [redacted] mentioned during his talk was that seminars were held nightly while he was in Cuba; that there was a Korean and Vietnamese Brigade present while he was there; that the Weatherman faction of SDS who went with the VB wanted to hear that violence was the only way to revolution, but that the Vietnamese indicated that mass demonstrations were the way to revolution [redacted] indicating that the Vietnamese view is the belief of the YSA); that there would be another VB trip to Cuba in August, 1970, to pick oranges; and that he made reference to Cuba's "Isle of Youth" as being the first real Communist society. ~~(S)~~(u)



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Source made available a letter addressed to All Organizers National Committee Members and Members-at-Large of the YSA dated June 11, 1970, and signed "Comradely, [redacted]". This letter is set forth as follows:

"Dear Comrades,

"Plans for a third Venceremos Brigade have been announced. This Brigade is to help pick fruit on the Isle of Youth, and is scheduled to leave the U.S. at the end of July and return in mid-September.

"On June 9, the National Executive Committee discussed the Brigade and adopted the following position on YSA participation in the Brigade: we are not sending a YSA delegation on this Brigade and are strongly discouraging any comrades from going, for three reasons.

"1. If any comrades went, they would miss the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference on August 8-15. This conference will be extremely important in preparing our movement for expanded activities this fall and all comrades should plan to attend.

"2. One of our main considerations in sending YSAers to Cuba has always been their ability to become informed enough about Cuban society to speak publicly with the authority that comes from real knowledge of Cuba. Based on the stated plans for this Brigade and on reports from the comrades who went on the last one, people who go spend the vast majority of their time helping harvest, having little contact with any Cubans other than those assigned to the Brigade. Brigade members are not able to travel throughout Cuba and become more than superficially familiar with various aspects of Cuban life.

"3. There are limitations on the amount of fruitful contact work that can be done on the Brigade itself, due to its political composition. Many of the people who went on the two

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"previous Brigades were unaffiliated ultralefts, political opponents such as members of the Young Workers Liberation League, etc. We have no indications that this Brigade will be significantly different.

"For YSAers, trips to Cuba have always been viewed as political assignments, with the primary objective of facilitating our propaganda in defense of the Cuban revolution. For the reasons stated above, we feel that the disadvantages of participating in this Brigade outweigh any gains that might be made.

"If locals or at-large members feel, for some pressing reason, that any exceptions should be made in the policy of not participating in the Brigade, the N.O. must be informed. In no case should members of the YSA apply or go on the Brigade without informing the National Office."

C. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

The July, 1969 issue of "New Left Notes", self-described as a publication of the SDS, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, carried the following article on Page two under the caption Venceremos Brigade:

"Applications for the Venceremos Brigade are now available from the NO and from the National Executive Committee of the Venceremos Brigade. Everyone interested in applying should write now for an application to the NO or to the Brigade. No bulk mailings of applications will be sent out; regional offices and chapters will not get applications to hand out. The address of the Brigade is: BRIGADE, Post Office Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York, 10025".

"New Left Notes"
July, 1969

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A source made available a copy of a one page leaflet issued by the Weatherman faction of SDS regarding the VB. Within the outline of the letters spelling the word "Cuba - is for the living" was carried the following legend:

"Venceremos Brigade, International Revolution, The Struggle against Imperialism, takes many forms. In VIETNAM it's the gun, in CUBA it's the machete - the tool which will bring about economic independence for the Cubans. YOU can join them in their determined struggle to harvest 10 million tons of sugar this year 1969-70.

"The entire country is mobilizing for their liberation from U.S. dominance and for the creation of a communist society. 216 young Americans black, brown and white, have been living & working with Cubans since last November.

"They, along with revolutionary workers from Vietnam are for 2 months experiencing life in the first Free Territory of the Americas. 800 more will take their place at the end of January '70. The Brigade is open to you & all who want to show their solidarity with the Cuban people. Fidel & Che know that their freedom rested on the freedom of all the people.

"Join Us! VENCEREMOS We Will Win!!
"call 365-0770

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[Redacted Box] (u)

On February 12, 1970, the Cuban cattle freighter "Luis Arcos Bergnes" was docked in the harbor of St. John, New Brunswick Province, Canada. This ship was returning from Cuba the First Contingent of the VB. This group numbered approximately 216 Americans who were returning to the United States via Canada. The ship was also waiting to take on board approximately 492 Americans who constituted the Second Contingent of the VB to travel to Cuba to assist the Cubans in their harvest of sugar cane. (u)

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In order to facilitate matters for the Canadian Immigration and Customs officials and the Cuban ship officers handling the boarding of the second group of the VB, a warehouse at the harbor terminal was utilized as a general meeting hall for the returning Americans and for those in preparation to leave. (u)

The warehouse facility enabled the Americans from the First Contingent and the Americans from the Second Contingent to meet and answer questions of interest to each group. During the meeting [] a leader of the Weatherman faction of SDS, was meeting with members of the Weatherman from both groups, those returning from Cuba and those preparing to go to Cuba. [] meeting with the Weatherman returning from Cuba was to inform them of the new policies established by the Weatherman for their organization in the United States during the past two and one half months that the First Contingent of the VB spent in Cuba. [] also met to ascertain from this group the amount of success the Weatherman had in recruiting Americans to the Weatherman philosophy while in Cuba. [] also instructed those Weatherman in the process of traveling to Cuba what he thought were the best techniques for recruiting new members for the Weatherman. [], a Weatherman member, was placed in charge of Weatherman recruiting while in Cuba with the Second Contingent of the VB. (u)

While the Weatherman groups met with each other, other members of the First Contingent of the VB were cautioning individuals of the Second Contingent to be prepared for a Weatherman recruiting drive while they were in Cuba. The reaction of most of the 216 Americans returning from Cuba to the Weatherman was largely negative. Many of these individuals stated that they resented the fact that the Weatherman came to Cuba to recruit Americans and not to express solidarity with the Cuban revolution. Other Americans stated that they were politically opposed to the Weatherman philosophy. (u)

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When the ship departed Canada and during the trip to Cuba, the non Weatherman members of the Second Contingent discussed what strategy they would employ to counter the Weatherman recruiting drive. Many of the VB members feared that the Weatherman would not work in the sugar fields in Cuba and thus give the VB a bad name since it was obvious their primary purpose of making the trip was to recruit Americans and not out of any commitment to the Cuban socialist struggle. During this trip many Weatherman and non Weatherman members argued bitterly over political philosophy. (u)

After arriving in Cuba and once the VB camp was set up the Americans were divided into sub brigades based primarily on geographical areas, thereby splitting up the Weatherman faction which numbered approximately fifty individuals out of a total of approximately 687 Americans in the camp. For the first three weeks in camp the Weatherman tried to recruit Americans without much success. During the third week in camp the Weatherman held a meeting after which they announced that they were attempting no further recruitment among VB members and that the Weatherman as an organization was going "underground" and would operate totally as an underground organization upon their return to the United States. (u)

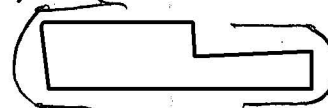
Weatherman members participated for the most part in cane cutting and cultural and educational activities with the brigade with as much enthusiasm as non Weatherman members. (u)

While in Cuba the Weatherman did not distribute any Weatherman literature in camp nor prepare any special statements on behalf of the Weatherman. (u)

During their stay in Cuba, the Weatherman tried to establish a friendly relationship with the black members of the VB. The majority of the blacks rebuffed the Weatherman and those who were aware of the Weatherman philosophy disliked them intensely. Many of the blacks, during political arguments with Weatherman, (u)

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would state that Weatherman type thinking was responsible for increasing oppression against black militants in the United States. The attitude that the black members of the VB had against the Weatherman increased tensions between the blacks and whites in the camp and also increased the tension between white non Weatherman members and the Weatherman. (u)



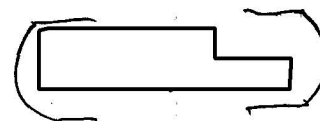
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D. Alternate University (AU)

A characterization of AU is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

A "Welcome Home Party" for the VB was held at AU on May 29, 1970, at which approximately 300 persons were in attendance.

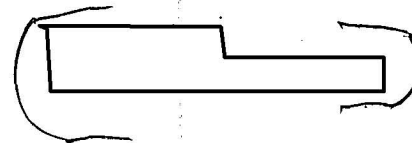


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E. Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA)

It was reported that several CP youth members from around the country were planning to travel to Cuba with the VB to cut sugar for a two month period and that the CP, USA was paying the expenses of CP youth members.



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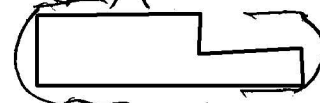
F. Center for Marxist Education (CME)

A characterization of the CME is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

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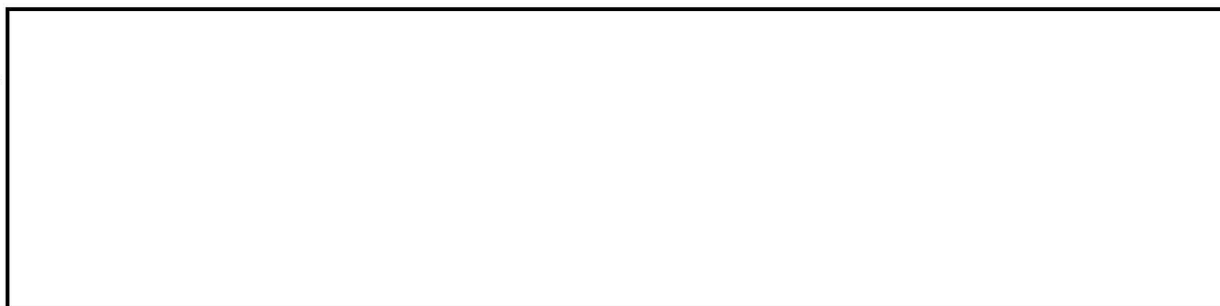
On March 6, 1970, LESLIE CAGAN, who went to Cuba with the First VB Contingent, gave an illustrated slide talk at the CME, 29 West 15th Street, New York City. The talk was "pure propaganda" and the pictures were carefully selected to present an appealing image. During the affair, LESLIE CAGAN managed to deride America and to extoll Cuba. (R) (u)



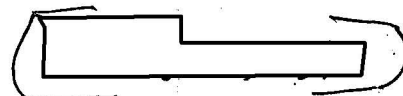
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IV. PROPAGANDA VALUE TO CUBAN GOVERNMENT



(R) (S) (U)



(R) (u)

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Source made available the text of a Cuban radio broadcast given on April 25, 1970, to the Cuban people by members of the VB. In the broadcast entitled "On the 10 Million Trail" the following statements were made:

"They began by saying: Revolutionary Comrades, our departure for the United States is the beginning of a new struggle and we leave taking a new level of political consciousness with us to the heartland of imperialism itself, to what we call 'The Babylon of the 20th Twentieth Century'. We leave this statement as a testimony of our undying love and gratitude to the people of Cuba, who have greeted us with a friendship that we have never known in our own land. Now the time has come to say farewell, but we know that revolutionaries never say good-bye, for they will always welcome each other in any battle being waged for the uplift of mankind.

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"Further on in their statement, the Brigaders have said: We have seen the liberation of the boundless energy of the people in their battle of the great 10 ten million ton Zafra which will mark a year wherein an entire people will begin leaving underdevelopment behind. We have also seen, here in Cuba, the liberation of the human spirit to an extent where the potential socialism can be seen not as a theory or a dream but as a reality. And with this new understanding we find a new optimism and a new dedication. We are returning to the U.S. dedicating ourselves to the struggle for something that is real. That is positive, that is worthwhile--the struggle for socialism. The harvest, once the symbol of Cuba's (?oppression), was transformed into the tool that is destroying imperialism, and the activities of the women in the Zafra have taken the revolution to an even higher level, since women are being recognized as an inseparable part of the struggle. It heightens the consciousness of North American women to see the women of Vietnam and Cuba active in the military forces and in full participation in all the areas of struggle.

"Then the statement from the Venceremos Brigade to the Cuban peoplesaid: There are many Cubans who because of their concern for us want to know what will happen upon our return to the United States. They ask whether we will be put in jail or face the kind of political repression that has been put on the Black Panther Party, Rap Brown, The Young Lords, or Reyes Tijerina. Already we had heard that Senator Eastland, who refers to us as 'Missiles of Terrorism', is attempting to instigate legislation that will prevent us from re-entering the United States, but this does not deter us, the statement continues, because we know that these are only the whimpers of an impotent old man speaking for a moribund capitalist society. The United States has already imposed an economic blockade on Cuba. Now it attempts to blockade our minds to keep us from knowing the truth about itself and Cuba. Think for a moment. Which can stand the test of truth better--Cuba or the United States? And after having met with the Vietnamese, the Koreans, with revolutionaries from Africa and Latin America, we can now apply one of the many lessons of Che when he said: What to do the danger or the

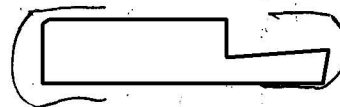
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"sacrifices of a man or of a nation matter when the destiny of humanity is at stake?"

"The Brigaders conclude their message to the Cuban people with these words. Your greatest gift to us has been your example of a revolution at work. Cuba is not only consolidating its own revolution, but it is creating a future a future ideal for the people of the world. You have made us strong, for that example has given us the hope that we too can struggle and win. We salute you, the Cuban people, as we try to learn and to follow your example of courageous struggle Los Diez Millones Van. Hasta La Victory Siempre, Pairia O Muerte, Venceremos."



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May 12, 1970

Source made available a translation of tape recordings concerning a question and answer period and interview with FIDEL CASTRO by VB members while in Cuba. A summary of the material is set forth below: (u)

"The question-and-answer period is opened by Castro, who encourages those present to ask questions. He mentions that there are some 80 political as well as cultural organizations represented in the Brigade. He explains that the United States has so many problems, and these are so complex, that there will never be a solution but that rather a combination of many solutions will have to be achieved, while Cuba can solve its own problems. It will develop its own economy, social structure, etc. without the help of the United States. The U.S. is not needed. The Americans have taught Cuba to live without them. (u)

"Castro advises the young people to maintain the inconformity that made them revolutionaries; to make the greatest effort possible, whether victorious or not; to develop their intelligence as much as possible. He quotes Marx and tells them that they must be optimists if they wish to be revolutionaries. (u)

"Castro goes on to explain his educational plan. Children in elementary school will be in school from morning until evening, in order to give their parents (particularly the mothers) a chance to work. They will have breakfast, lunch and supper in school, where they will also receive clothing and shoes. When they enter secondary school, they will transfer to boarding schools out in the country, where they will attend classes

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"half the day and work the other half. Great things will be accomplished in the field of education within the next ten years, qualitatively and quantitatively. Technological institutes will also provide military training and the students will be part-time soldiers or industrial workers. Universities will not be for minorities anymore, but for all. (u)

"Another topic of discussion was communism. Castro believes that a communist mentality can only be formed by communist teaching; that is, no individuality and no knowledge of the concept of money. A basic salary will be established for everyone, no matter what work they do. This will supposedly eliminate the corruption of professions. A doctor's main interest will be to cure and save lives, not to make money, since he will be making as much as a manual laborer. (u)

"Castro explains why the 'harvest of the 10 million' is behind schedule. There has been a poor distribution of work force and more workers are needed. Several European countries originally committed themselves to furnish needed supplies but later went back on their word. However, help was found '10,000 kilometers away'. England also contributed. The provinces of Havana and Matanzas have obtained good results while those of Oriente and Camaguey are much behind schedule. There are no more professional cane cutters, because they have either left the country or are engaged in some other type of work. (u)

"Castro predicts that the United States will have to pull out of Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary struggle in the U.S. is important. Protest against the war in Vietnam has helped the Vietnamese people and has tied imperialism's hands. The progressive and leftist forces in the U.S. and abroad have united. (u)

"Toward the end of the question-and-answer session, someone asks what will keep the family together once Castro's educational system is set up and he replies: 'Love'. (u)

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The July 27, 1970 issue of "Granma" contained an account of the July 26, 1970 policy speech delivered by Cuban Prime Minister FIDEL CASTRO. The "Granma" account set out the following as part of the open remarks by FIDEL CASTRO during his speech relative to the VB:

"They are not here, although they worked with us during long weeks in our country, but they sent us a warm message from the United States, as follows:

"Fidel: From the celebrated interior of the well known monster, we send revolutionary regards to our brothers and sisters in Cuba. In converting a reversal into a victory, Cuba has again demonstrated the strength of a people who have begun to recuperate from the illness of oppression.

"We, who are still infected with this illness, who feel it extended from Harlem, Augusta, Jackson and Kent, to Playa Giron, Indochina and Puerto Rico, know that we must fight this disease together.

"We, who are cut off from the system which gave birth to the assassins of humanity, salute you, Cuba. We know that Cuba, Viet Nam, and we ourselves will win. /s/ Venceremos Brigade".

"Granma"
July 27, 1970

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GLOSSARY

[redacted] X-u [redacted] X u

[redacted] attended an SDS meeting at Boston University in Boston, Massachusetts, in March, 1969. X

[redacted] X u

[redacted] was one of eleven members of the National Working Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC). (X) u

[redacted] (X) u

A characterization of the SMC is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted] (X) u

[redacted] attended a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) Marxist class held at 210 West 101st Street, New York City, on January 5, 1967 and April 16, 1967. (X) u

[redacted] (X) u

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A characterization of the PLP is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted]
The AU bulletin for the Spring of 1967 reflects that BARBARA COLLINS taught a course in "Revolution in Cuba".

AU Bulletin
Spring, 1967

[redacted]
[redacted] was Program Director for the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1968.

[redacted] *C 4*
[redacted] was present at a "Cuban Teach-In" sponsored by the Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV) and held at Teachers College, Columbia University, on December 13, 1969. *(C) 4*

A characterization of CRV is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted] *C 4*
On April 21, 1970, [redacted] was among the persons present at the CDLA, 876 Broadway, New York, New York, to discuss recent developments in Cuba. *(C) 4*

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On January 13, 1969, [redacted] was among those present at Teachers College, Columbia University, for a "Cuban Teach-In" sponsored by the CRV. *let u*

S.H.
[redacted]

[redacted] *(u)*

The March 16, 1968 issue of the "Guardian" listed [redacted] as a sponsor of the New University Conference (NUC).

The July 10, 1968 issue of the "New York Times" a New York City daily newspaper contained an item reflecting that the founders of the NUC conceive of it as a post graduate SDS.

[redacted] *let u*

[redacted] was in attendance during all three days of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) Convention held at Columbia University, New York City, from September 8 through 10, 1967, and was one of the co-leaders of the workshop concerning high school organizing. *let u*

[redacted] *(u)*

A characterization of the DCA is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] was arrested in
Charleston, South Carolina, on July 13,
1963, for trespassing in a local hotel
with Negro demonstrators.

Charleston, South Carolina
Police Department
August, 1963

[redacted]
On June 22, 1963, at Albany Georgia,
[redacted] voluntarily furnished to
Special Agents (SAs) of the Federal Bureau
of Investigation (FBI) during an official
interview, a signed statement in which she
admitted being a [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] is publicly known as the former
National Secretary of SDS.

[redacted]
[redacted] was one of the leaders of the
New York Newsreel in the New York City
area in 1968.

A characterization of Newsreel
is contained in the Appendix attached
hereto.

[redacted] was arrested on June 25, 1968, on
charges of riot, burglary and trespass, in
connection with the interruption of a program
in progress on Channel 13, WNEW-TV, New York
City, New York. During this interruption,
obscenities were shouted into the open microphone.
The program in progress at the time was called
"Newsfront" and concerned underground newspapers.

Records of the New York
City Police Department
New York City, New York
June 25, 1968

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was present at the general sessions of the SDS National Convention held June 18 through 22, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] of Liberation News Service (LNS) and SDS chaired an SDS meeting at the City College of New York (CCNY), New York, New York, on September 23, 1969.

[REDACTED]

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A characterization of LNS is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

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APPENDIX

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1.

ALTERNATE U.

The "Washington Square Journal", a New York University student newspaper, in its February 10, 1969, issue on page 1, carried an article entitled, "Alternate U; Offers No Grades, Credit", which stated in part as follows:

"A 'college' free of grades, credit and age restrictions created to give alienated Americans the tools to correct social injustices will officially open its doors today in a third-floor loft at 137 West 14 St., Manhattan.

"Aptly called 'Alternate U.', the night school will provide people disaffected from establishment education and the American Empire in general with a means of understanding and then coping with the forces that influence their lives and the human conditions."

The Spring, 1970 Catalog of Alternate U. reflects that the school is presently located at 530 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York. Among the courses listed in this catalog are: Revolution Cuba, Fascism, Marxism and Existentialism, Marxism Economy, Radical Draft Counseling, Anarcho-Communism, Anarchist World Program Workshop.

APPENDIX

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1.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Labor Party:

"AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

- "1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)
- "2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the * * * American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

On October 7, 1956, PETER HAWLEY, New York State Chairman, American Labor Party, publicly announced the American Labor Party State Committee unanimously approved a resolution dissolving the organization and ordering the liquidation of its assets.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

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According to the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (cont'd)

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture ENORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is... by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces... are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind; the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the United States of America.

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APPENDIX

CASA DE LAS AMERICAS

On May 14, 1970, a source advised that the Casa de las Americas (CDLA), an organization composed of pro-FIDEL CASTRO and pro-Communist individuals, formed in April, 1964, has its headquarters on the fourth floor, 876 Broadway, New York City.

The source advised that CDLA is ostensibly formed as a social club, but in effect it acts as a focal point for revolutionary peoples sympathetic to the Cuban government. Although it is not directly controlled by the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN), many Cuban personnel attend its functions and at least an indirect link with CMUN is present. CDLA has fund-raising affairs and contributes money to the CMUN. CDLA also gives financial support to other revolutionary groups representing countries other than Cuba. Through CMUN, various propaganda materials of a Communist nature are found at CDLA. & (X)(u)

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CENTER FOR MARXIST EDUCATION

The Communist Party (CP) of New York State established the Center for Marxist Education (CME) in October of 1969 in New York City. Its purpose is to provide a curriculum of courses, forums, socials, and cultural events that will bring the theory of Marxism-Leninism to CP members, as well as the public, who they hope to attract to the CP.

The CME is located at 29 West 15th Street, Fourth Floor, New York, New York.

The above information was furnished by a source on May 12, 1970.

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COMMITTEE OF RETURNED VOLUNTEERS (CRV)

A source on May 13, 1969, furnished CRV literature in which the CRV was described as being established in 1966 in New York, as an independent national organization of persons who have worked as volunteers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Its members have served in such programs as the American Friends Service Committee, the Peace Corps, International Voluntary Services, Frontier Interns, Yale-in-China and others.

The CRV, whose aims are educational and political, seeks to influence United States policy toward Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as towards emerging communities in this country. It has provided support for: "those who have chosen to resist the draft, overseas volunteers who have exercised their rights of expression, the end of travel restrictions on United States citizens, and the internationalization of volunteer service programs," among other aims and purposes.

A second source on December 16, 1969, also furnished CRV literature indicating that "forty members of CRV visited Cuba during the summer of 1969 to experience first hand life in a revolutionary society, and to express solidarity with the Cubans' defiance of United States hegemony in Latin America."

The Manhattan Address Telephone Directory, dated April 9, 1970, lists the CRV as being located 65 Irving Place, New York, New York, telephone #477-0404.

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THE "GUARDIAN" FORMERLY KNOWN AS
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN" WEEKLY GUARDIAN
ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The December 1, 1961 edition of the "Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications" contained the following information concerning the "National Guardian:"

- "1. ...'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly... it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'"

Beginning with the February 10, 1968 issue, the "National Guardian" became the "Guardian."

The May 9, 1970 issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly."

The December, 1968 issue of the "New York Times" carried an interview with the editors of the "Guardian." One of the editors stated: "Our job is to build a radical movement. To quote the Cuban Revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it...we are movement people acting as journalists."

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

A source advised in May, 1970 that the "Guardian" is located at 32 West 22nd Street, New York, New York.

A characterization of the American Labor Party is attached separately.

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LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE
THE NEW MEDIA PROJECT

The Liberation News Service is self-described as an underground news wire service, with headquarters in New York City, which publishes news packets twice weekly that are sold to radical New Left underground newspapers. It was founded in 1967, and reportedly has over 200 subscribers.

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THE NEWSREEL

The Newsreel, according to its own catalogue number 5, published in March, 1969, was founded in January, 1968, with its primary objectives set forth as "Newsreel hopes to serve as a medium of agitation, diffusion and exchange of revolutionary experiences as well as of the most noble ideas of men who struggle for the full liberty of humanity."

In November, 1969, a source furnished information which reflected that "Newsreel is a national political propaganda organization that has approximately 150 full-time activists in its nine regional offices. The group uses films and other propaganda in aiding the revolutionary movement. Newsreel members speak with people about the films whenever possible, and in each region, work with movement campaigns through their specific skills: filmmaking and distribution, research, poster and leaflet making and general propaganda work."

In March, 1970, a second source advised that The Newsreel office is located at 322 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York. This source further stated that The Newsreel had developed into an organization under the concept of a "communal type of leadership" in that all members were equal and all had equal voice in running the organization. Individual leaders could no longer be defined under the commune principles but all members identified with the New Left movement in all respects.

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PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEEF after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31, to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention, MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and LEVI LAUB, FRED JEROME, JARED ISRAEL, WILLIAM EPTON, JACOB ROSEN, JEFFREY GORDON and WALTER LINDER were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

Source advised on May 25, 1970, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE,
Also Known As Student Mobilization
Committee to End the War in Vietnam;
National Student Mobilization Committee

A source advised on May 16, 1969, that the Student Mobilization Committee originally grew out of the National Student Strike for Peace conference held in Chicago, Illinois, on December 28 - 29, 1966, which resulted in a call for massive anti-war demonstrations in New York City, New York, and San Francisco, California, on April 15, 1967. The National Student Strike for Peace was originally called by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), culminating in a takeover by the SWP element in the Summer of 1968 and the Communist Party element withdrawing. Source further advised the Student Mobilization Committee locally and nationally is controlled by the SWP and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), as evidenced by the YSA leadership and participation in Student Mobilization Committee activities.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Ninetieth Congress, First Session, dated March 31, 1967, entitled "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8 - 15, 1967)" on page 53 states in part, "Communists are playing dominant roles in both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee."

A second source on January 26, 1970, made available a copy of "The Student Mobilizer" dated January 21, 1970, which was self-described as being published by the National Office of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C. 20005. In this issue the program of the Student Mobilization Committee was set forth as follows: immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, an end to the draft, end all forms of campus complicity with the war in Vietnam, self determination for Vietnam and Black America and constitutional rights for GIs and high school students.

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STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE,
Also Known As Student Mobilization
Committee to End the War in Vietnam;
National Student Mobilization Committee (cont'd)

This source advised that the Student Mobilization
Committee occupies Suite 907 at 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20005, as of February 27, 1970.

A characterization of the YSA
appears separately

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A confidential source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was National Chairman during the period of 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of the black people in the United States. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

A second confidential source advised that in April, 1969, SNCC moved its National Headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City where it is presently located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, New York City.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced that the organization was dropping the word "nonviolent" from its title and would be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

A Federal warrant was issued for BROWN on May 14, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging him with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting to riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).

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STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (cont'd)

A third confidential source advised that as of May, 1970, SNCC has secured a lease on premises in Augusta, Georgia, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffee house" for GIs from nearby Fort Gordon, Georgia, to disseminate anti-establishment propaganda.

SNCC also has in the planning stage an agrarian reform program for black tenant farmers and the resumption of classes at the H. Rap Brown Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.

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1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both the NO forces and the PLP forces claim to be the true SDS. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding CASTRO's position that the duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution. Weatherman is regarded by RYM II as an adventurist, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although

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2.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (cont'd)

disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction, which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance, is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of the PLP is attached.

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1.

APPENDIX

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

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The Venceremos Brigade (VB) has been publicly described as a group of American volunteers travelling to Cuba, at the invitation of the Cuban Government, to assist in the harvesting of sugar cane.

The VB, organized in June, 1969, by a coalition of the "New Left" in open defiance of the United States Department of State ban on travel to Cuba, has already sponsored two contingents to Cuba. One group of over 200 Americans travelled to Cuba via Mexico in November - December, 1969, for a stay of almost two months. The second group of over 500 Americans departed by Cuban vessel at St. John's, New Brunswick, Canada, on February 13, 1970, and returned on April 28, 1970.

"Venceremos" translated means "we will win," a slogan of the late CHE GUEVERA, Cuban revolutionary leader.

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APPENDIX

1.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was founded in June of 1964 as a Marxist oriented youth organization which would be used as a recruiting ground for the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA). This organization merged with CP youth and independent Marxist youth in the formation of a new organization on February 7-9, 1970, at which time the DCA became defunct.

The above information was furnished by a source on May 1, 1970.

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APPENDIX

1.

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

A source advised on May 15, 1969, that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) maintains its national headquarters at 41 Union Square West, New York, New York, and has as its official publication the "Young Socialist." The YSA is the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and has been described by the SWP as the main recruiting ground for the SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE
Also Known As Young Communist
Workers Liberation League

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The Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) was formed at a convention at Chicago, Illinois, on February 7-9, 1970. Individual clubs were left the alternative of using the name Young Communist Workers Liberation League if they deemed it advantageous to use the word Communist. This organization will establish chapters throughout the country for the purpose of educating youth in Marxist-Leninist doctrine, hopefully to develop them for membership in the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA).

They maintain their national headquarters at 29 West 15th Street, 7th floor, New York, New York.

A source provided the above information on May 1, 1970.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
October 23, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bufile 105-195696
NYfile 100-166943

Title Venceremos Brigade

Character Internal Security - Anarchist
(New Left - Foreign Influence)

Reference is made to report of Special
Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New
York, New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

[redacted] (S)(u) with whom insufficient contact has been
had to determine his reliability. (S)(u)

(98)

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REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 6/7/71	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/15/70 - 5/24/71
TITLE OF CASE CHANGED VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB), aka American Brigade, C and Associates and Brasão Venceremos		REPORT MADE BY [redacted]	TYPED BY mah

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS-ANA (NEW LEFT - FOREIGN

INFLUENCE) APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

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DATE OF REVIEW

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

REFERENCE

New York.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Secret" because it contains information from [redacted]

which was so classified. (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No

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105-195696-1475 REC-23

EX-114

JUN 8 1971

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ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

of continuing value namely, (S)(u) [redacted] through [redacted] through [redacted] through [redacted] and [redacted] through [redacted] the disclosure of which might tend to identify these sources and thus have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the United States and thereby impair their future effectiveness. (S)(u)

Copies of this report are being disseminated locally to the 108th MI Group, Second OSI District, USAF and Naval Investigative Service Office, New York City, for information purposes.

Ten copies of this report are being furnished to the Bureau for appropriate dissemination purposes, and one information copy of this report is being furnished to selected offices in whose areas the Venceremos Brigade has been active in connection with the Third Contingent or the Fourth Contingent during the period of this report.

Individual investigations have been initiated on all members of the Third and Fourth Contingents of the Venceremos Brigade by the New York Office on those persons who reside in the territory covered by this office. In this connection, the ~~Washington Field Office~~ is checking the passport files of the United States Department of State concerning the identities of those individuals making up the Fourth Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. (S)(u)

By airtel dated 4/1/71, the Bureau advised that it would withhold taking any action regarding a request to designate the San Francisco Office as Office of Origin in this matter in view of reported information to the effect that the National Headquarters of the Venceremos Brigade had moved to 1239 23rd Avenue, Oakland, California.

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ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

The following individuals who are listed as officers of the Venceremos Brigade in the resolutions filed in connection with the Venceremos Brigade bank account maintained at the Chemical Bank, 756 Broadway, New York, New York, are the subjects of the following case files:



(Is on the SI of the New York Office, Priority I)



(Is on the SI of the New York Office, Priority III)



The following members of the National Committee who reside or who have resided in the area covered by the New York Office are:



(Is on the SI of the New York Office, Priority I)

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ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

[redacted]

(Is on the SI of the New York Office, Priority I)

San Francisco is Office of Origin on the following individuals who have acted in a leadership capacity with respect to the Venceremos Brigade: [redacted] (Bu file

[redacted], SF file [redacted] NY file [redacted]; [redacted] (SF file 100-53880, NY file [redacted]); [redacted] (SF file [redacted], NY file [redacted]).

[redacted] is subject of NY file [redacted] Bu file [redacted] and is on the SI of the New York Office, Priority I. [redacted] is subject of NY file [redacted] Bu file [redacted] and is on the SI of the New York Office, Priority III. [redacted] is subject of NY file [redacted] Bu file [redacted] and is on the SI of the New York Office, Priority I.

Los Angeles is Office of Origin in the case of [redacted] and San Juan is Office of Origin in the case on [redacted].

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

[redacted]
[redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted]
[redacted]

(by request)

[redacted]

(by request)

File Number Where Located

[redacted]

Instant report, page 15

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

[redacted]
[redacted] used to characterize
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[redacted] (S) (U)

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[redacted]

Berkeley, California
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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

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New York, New York
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Brooklyn, New York
(by request)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

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Identity of Source

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

[redacted]

used to characterize [redacted]

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LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow
and report on the activities of captioned organization.

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Report of:

Office: New York, New York

Date:

6/7/71

Field Office File #:

100-166943

Bureau File #: 105-195696

Title:

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

2/9/84
Classified by SP2TAP/K20

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5180 RCB/AB
CLASS. & EXT. BY 12/10/79

REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2 2

DATE OF REVIEW 6/7/91
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Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - ANARCHIST
(NEW LEFT - FOREIGN INFLUENCE)

Synopsis:

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY CL
DATE 12/10/79

1482 Sym/400
CLASSIFICATION RETAINED BY 6/23/78
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1,2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
para marked C & S otherwise U

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GROUP I

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SYNOPSIS (cont'd)

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DETAILS

For the purpose of clarity, individuals mentioned in this report will be characterized where suitable characterizations are available in the glossary of this report.

Where available, approved characterizations of organizations mentioned in this report are included in the appendix of this report.

A characterization of the Venceremos Brigade is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

I. ORGANIZATION (S)(u)

A. Background (S)(u)

[REDACTED]

(S)(u)

[REDACTED]

(S)(u)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Among such items was one captioned, (S)(u)

(S)(u)

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"Que Es La Brigada Venceremos?", which is set forth as follows: ~~(u)~~

"La Brigada Venceremos is a group of people who has as its purpose the expression of solidarity with the Cuban revolution and the third world struggles around the world as well as the third world struggles in the U.S. We know that in their struggle to liberate themselves, our revolutionary brothers and sisters in the third world are in fact liberating us. ~~(u)~~

"The basis of that expression of solidarity is doing concrete work. La Brigada Venceremos can therefore incorporated a wide range of ideologies because the brigade transforms those different ideologies into concrete work. For example, brigades have gone to Cuba to cut cane, plant citrus trees, fertilize fields and harvest lemons and grapefruits. In addition brigades worked on several construction projects, all of which are a direct contribution to the economic development of Cuba. ~~(u)~~

"We know capitalism has exhausted itself and that people in the U.S. are looking for a change. The people have to be shown how they can bring about social, economic and political change. We are about showing what that change looks like. We can draw upon the experience of having worked and lived in Cuba to show that, in fact, Socialism is a functioning alternative that can be seen in Cuba, as having transformed the lives of an entire country. ~~(u)~~

"La Brigada Venceremos brings back information about Cuba to the people of the U.S. to build support and to make it more difficult for the U.S. to carry out aggressive acts against Cuba. We educate the American people about the false informational propaganda that the government imposes on them not only with respect to Cuba, but with respect to the war in Vietnam, in the Middle East, in Africa and Latin America. We don't think that ideology is what motivates people into hard work, but that out of hard work comes ideology. ~~(u)~~

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"La Brigada Venceremos is uniting people around something that everyone supports. What pulls people together is not so much that everyone feels good about one another or loves one another, but that they all recognize the common enemy. There are problems that we cannot try to hide, but what brings La Brigada Venceremos together is the knowledge of what U.S. imperialism is doing around the world and how we must unite or fight against it. (u)

"Cuba and other third world countries are revolutionary countries, and because of that fact no one has the inevitable right to go to Cuba. Given the condition of the country we are going to, only people with revolutionary characteristics and qualities should be put into a revolutionary situation. (u)

"Because of the nature of this experience then, it is important that the area of recruitment be discussed in depth. This will happen later this afternoon. Suffice it to say for now that it is extremely important that there be uniformity in recruitment--that everyone across the nation understands that we want an emphasis on third world people, but that above all, our emphasis at all times must be for quality rather than quantity--and this must be so across the board. Our experience has shown consistently that certain areas put their applications through some rigorous steps for final selection, and when we get to the island we are met with the reality that other areas simply let people pass through with little or no scrutiny. Although there will have to be adaptation to any model of organization presented at this conference, the strong underlying push must be for quality. (u)

"Another important reason for uniformity in recruitment arises around the question of security. One of the ways we have attempted to have some uniformity is by drawing up a security sheet which you will find in the packet. We have put a time element on this which is going to cause a hardship on all of us, but we see it as important in order to secure ourselves as well as the (u)

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"Cubans, as well as the Movement. (u)

"From a movement point of view we are going to be dealing with organizations and asking organizations to propose people for the brigade. If we discover a pig, it puts into question the organization--just how together is the security of that organization. So you see it isn't security business between an individual and the brigade, but security between the brigade and the entire Movement. (u)

"Regarding the Cubanos, naturally we have an obligation to them to see that we've done our utmost to keep pigs out of the brigade. We are sending people to Cuba who are representatives of the Movement--whether people realize it or not or whether they want to accept it or not, we are a political reality to our friends and all those that we encounter on the island. If we send people who are pigs, they can play a divisive role. They also jeopardize the brigade because they undermine the solidarity between ourselves and the Cubanos." (u)

Another item was a sheet captioned, "'El Deber De Todos Los Revolucionarios Es Hacer La Revolucion' - - Che 'The Duty of Every Revolutionary is to Make the Revolution.'" This item is set forth as follows: (u)

"The work that we will do in the next two months is designed to prepare people for their Brigade experience in Cuba: understanding collective work, the history of Cuba, the development of socialism in Cuba today, and the relationship of Cuba--a liberated community--to the situation we face in the belly of the monster--Babylon. (u)

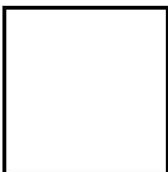
"We selected from the people who applied for the Venceremos Brigade individuals who we feel have a sincere political interest in going to Cuba, have some experience in dealing with problems of class, race and sex, and are eager to learn and apply their experience in Cuba to their community when they return. We have made the following assignments for cadre groups: (u)

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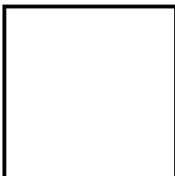
"Cadre Group I -



Cadre Group II -



"Cadre Group III -



Cadre Group IV -



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"The cadre groups will be expected to take responsibility in three different areas: Spanish classes, Educational, Benefits (fund raising). ~~(u)~~

"SPANISH CLASSES: ~~(u)~~

"Classes will be held once a week with cadre groups meeting separately. Keeping classes small and studying regularly will enable you to pick up some basic phrases and learn the cultural differences that exist between Cuba and here. Without knowing anything about the language, you would feel somewhat lost in Cuba, even though many Cubans and brigadistas are bi-lingual. It is important to learn as much as you can before you go. The more Spanish you know, the more you can learn from the Cuban people. ~~(u)~~

"EDUCATIONALS: ~~(u)~~

"All cadre groups will meet together once a week for general educationals. With a good background about Cuba and revolutionary struggles in other communities of ~~(u)~~

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"the world, you can dig deeper into the realities of the development of socialism and the principles of revolution. People from Latin America, Africa, Southeast Asia and Korea will be in Cuba, and you will have the opportunity to meet and work with them. ~~Q~~ (u)

"SCHEDULE ~~Q~~ (u)

"Session I: ~~Q~~ (u)

"Attend Midwest Conference on Imperialism and Liberation in the '70's, Feb. 12-14 At Chicago Theological Seminary, 5757 S. University. Films, speakers and workshops will focus on: (1) Imperialism as a system, (2) the response of the Liberation Movements, and (3) the Midwest's role in the Empire. (See enclosed leaflet and schedule). ~~Q~~ (u)

"Session II: ~~Q~~ (u)

"Pre-revolutionary Cuban History (discussion leader; FRANK)

"Readings: Economic Transformation of Cuba, Chapter I, EDWARD BOORSTEIN (analysis of imperialism) (u) ~~Q~~

Two articles on Cuban history

Cuba for Beginners, By RUIZ

"Session III:

"Military History of the Revolutionary War

"Readings: Guerilla Warfare by CHE

Episodes of the Revolutionary War by CHE

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"Session IV:

"Marxism-Leninism ()

"Readings: State & Revolution by LENIN

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"Session V:

"Political & Economic History, 1960-70 ()

"Readings: History Will Absolve Me, by FIDEL CASTRO

FIDEL's speech on the 26th of July, 1971

Man and Socialism in Cuba by CHE

CHE's message to the Tri-Continental

FIDEL's May Day, 1960 speech

"Additional suggested reading: Second Declaration of Havana Economic Transformation of Cuba The Youngest Revolution, Sutherland Article by MAURICE SEITLIN in 3/70 issue of Ramparts

"Session VI:

"Everyday Life in Cuba ()

"No required reading.

"BENEFITS

"Each cadre group will be responsible for setting

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"up a benefit to raise money for the Brigade. This will include printing propaganda, setting a location for the benefit, contacting groups in the city about it, and seeing that the benefit is a success. There are tentatively four excellent films available to us:

"Cadre Group I: 'Companeras Y Companeros' a film about Cuba done by Northamericans. (Expected at 3 Penny Cinema in mid-March)

"Cadre Group II: General benefit with bands, speakers, and possibly the film '79 Springs--the Life of Ho Chi Minh'--a beautifully creative film which shows the love of Ho Chi Minh for his country and his people.

"Cadre Group III: 'La Hora de Los Hornos' (The Time of the Furnaces)--a historical analysis of the Argentine situation in the context of the Third World as a political force. (Scheduled for March 19, 20 & 21--Friday, Saturday & Sunday.)

"Cadre Group IV: 'Lucia'--Cuban film about the revolutionary history of Cuba which portrays the struggle of women.

"Cadre should be creative in their approach to raising money. We need \$200 for each person going to Cuba. (u)

"CADRE GROUP EXPERIENCE:"

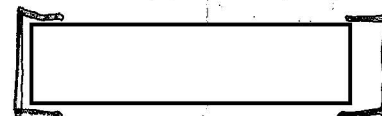
"In addition to mandatory Spanish classes, educationals and work on benefits, each cadre group will determine independently what other work--in the streets and in the community, they want and need to be involved in. Some people work full time; others are free alot of the time. All individual considerations should be taken into account when the cadres meet to discuss separate educationals and work projects. (u)

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"People will be evaluated by their practice in all situations. At this time, we do not know how many people will be able to go on the Venceremos Brigade. Some people may be eliminated due to their attitude towards work, their inability to begin to deal with all the (obscene) attitudes that capitalism instills in all of us. An important part of this entire experience in the cadre groups will be learning to use criticism and self-criticism. We shall study this and use it to overcome problems within the cadre groups. (u)

VENCEREMOS" (u)



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On March 23, 1971, the New York Office received an anonymous mailing from an unidentified individual enclosing a mimeographed leaflet which the mailer indicated had been handed to him on March 20, 1971, at the corner of Sixth Avenue and Eighth Street, New York City. This leaflet captioned, "Venceremos Brigade" is set forth as follows:

"La Brigada Venceremos is a group of people who want to express solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and the Third World struggles around the world, as well as the struggles in the U.S. Many Americans understand that the Cuban people want freedom, that the Vietnamese want freedom, and that many want their freedom right here in occupied America. The nature of the struggle for freedom throughout the world is classified as liberation struggles, independence wars, and revolutionary war, that is revolution, revolution, re revolution. If you support freedom for people all over the world, you support revolution.

"The expression of solidarity with the people of Cuba goes beyond merely making the political statement by going there. We expanded the concept of solidarity by doing concrete work while we were in Cuba. We have

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"organized three brigades and have seen almost 1500 people in one year go to Cuba. A fourth brigade will be leaving for Cuba shortly, it needs your support. The most dynamic experience of the Venceremos Brigade is that political consciousness is transformed into productive work; and it is this productive, concrete work itself which becomes the denominator for a revolutionary. Theory put into practice.

"Revolution in the colonized world means socialism. The world is exploited by international capitalism, that is Imperialism. The colonized people of the world choose revolution because their daily conditions leave them no other choice. People of the U.S. can see that capitalism has exhausted itself and are looking for other alternatives, modifications, or reforms: all of which verify that many Americans want a new system. Revolution in Amerika means socialism. A social, economic and political change is possible, is inevitable; revolution in Amerika is possible, is inevitable, La Brigada Venceremos is about showing what that change looks like, another society where the people live, talk, and understand socialism. Socialism is a functioning alternative. It gives people hope in the struggle, we begin to understand that we can't lose. It can be seen in the spirit of the Cuban people, of a whole country that has been transformed even in the face of great difficulties.

"La Venceremos Brigade brings back information about Cuba to the people of the U.S., to build support and to make it difficult for the U.S. to carry out aggressive acts against Cuba. We work to educate the American people about the false informational propaganda that the government imposes on them, not only with respect to Cuba but with respect to the war in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. The credibility gap is widening and the people are beginning to understand that the true motivations of the government are well covered up.

"Before we let ourselves get caught up in that

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"liberal objectivity s--t, we should make it clear that we didn't go to Cuba to come back and talk about the so-called both sides. WE WANT TO SEE WHAT THE OTHER SIDE LOOKS LIKE. We are presenting the Cuban side. All our lives we have been given only one side, the wrong side. The 'right' side is the side oppressed people choose. We present the other sides so that people can more easily make a choice - that choice being between capitalism which we have had all our lives, or socialism, which is the only alternative. If we're not about making the choice, then we're not about making revolution. Socialism, with all its problems, is better any day than capitalism. We have to talk about the problems that exist in a socialist society, and about doubts, but we also must explain how a truly socialist society can deal with those problems. It has to be a thorough process for us. It must, if America and the world is to survive. Cuba has given us an example. Venceremos!

"TO HELP US IN THIS STRUGGLE AND TO SEND THIS FOURTH BRIGADE TO CUBA, WE NEED HELP. FIRSTLY, WE NEED MONEY FOR TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER EXPENSES. YOUR CONTRIBUTION OF FINANCIAL AID WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED. WE ALSO HAVE POSTERS AND SHIRTS THAT WILL HELP US. SECONDLY, THINK ABOUT THAT CHOICE, SOCIALISM VS. CAPITALISM. YOU EITHER SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL LIBERATION, SOCIALISM OR YOU SUPPORT IMPERIALISM ABROAD AND EXPLOITATION AT HOME, CAPITALISM JOIN OUR STRUGGLE

HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!"

[B. Location] (u)
[1. Eastern] (u)

Box 643 Cathedral Station, New York, New York, 10025, was opened on June 13, 1969, under the name "Venceremos Brigade and Power to the People - Cuban Sugar Revolution." The individuals listed in connection with the Box were:

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[redacted] Chief Coordinator of
203 West 107th Street

[redacted] Coordinator of
600 West 115th Street

"Leviathan," Coordinator of
2700 Broadway Hall of New York City

[redacted]

(u)

"Leviathan" is publicly known as
a new Left political review or
magazine to be published monthly
beginning in March, 1969, by Editorial
Staff located in San Francisco,
California, and New York City.

[redacted]

[redacted]

(u)

Information furnished by [redacted] is not to be
made public except in the usual proceeding following the
issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] New York, New York. (u)

The VB is not believed to have a national office
and its only New York address is Post Office Box 643,
Cathedral Station, New York, New York. (u)

[redacted]

(u)

There is no permanent local office for the VB
at the present time. Persons affiliated with the VB have (u)

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been going to "one apartment or another for meetings and business." (S)(u)

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The VB has no offices and intends to have none. Their mailing address is "Venceremos Brigade, Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York." They operate out of private homes to avoid detection and to prevent the "bust" of any central location. If anyone of these "places" is called by persons unknown, all is denied. (S)(u)

[REDACTED]

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[2. Western] (S)(u)

The National Headquarters of the VB are located at 1239 23rd Avenue, Oakland, California.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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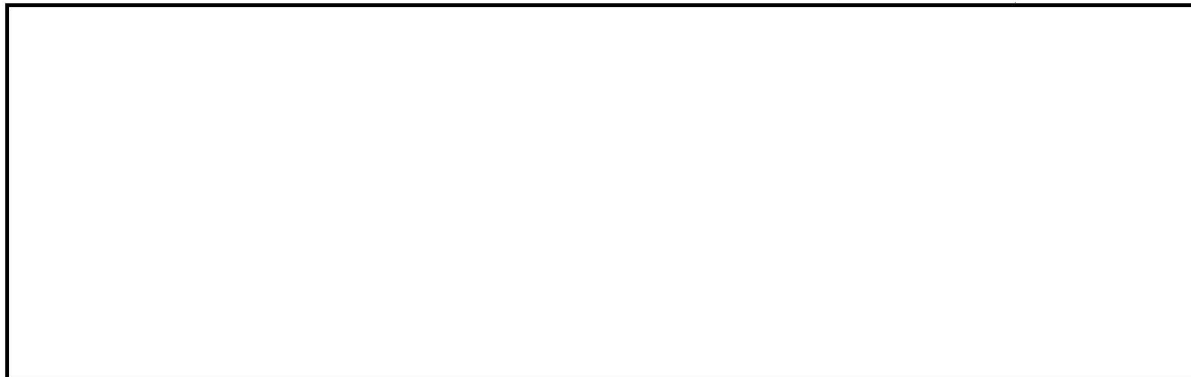
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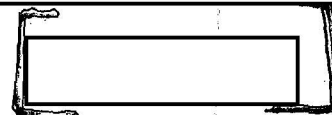
Cuba Mexico

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Information made available by [redacted] and [redacted]
is not to be made public except in the usual proceeding
following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed
to [redacted]

[redacted] Berkeley,
California. (u)

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C. Officers, National Committee Members, Organizational
Structure and Activities

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1. Officers (u)

a. Eastern (u)



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b. Western] ~~(u)~~

2. National Committee Members] ~~(u)~~

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[REDACTED]

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3. Organizational Structure and Activities ~~(S)~~ (U)

[REDACTED]

~~(S)~~ (S) (U)

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(S) Cuba

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Mex.

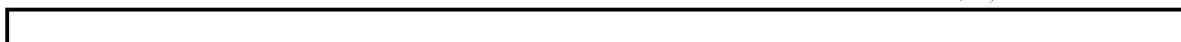
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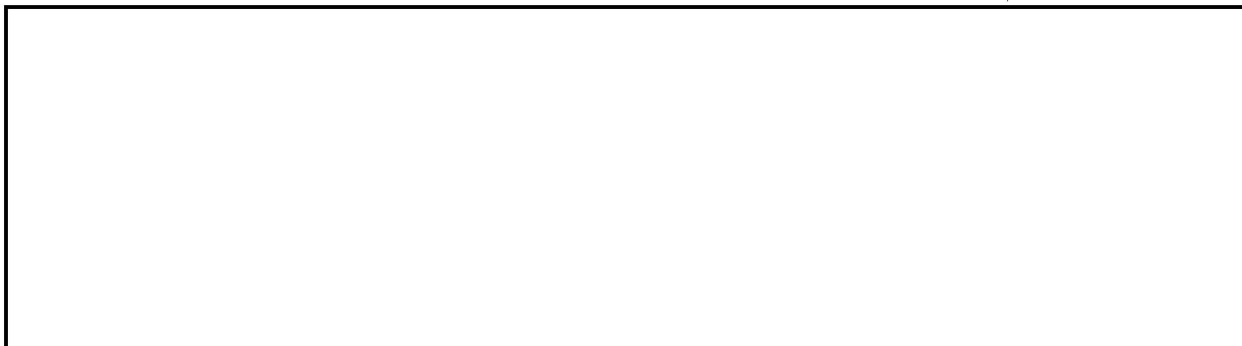
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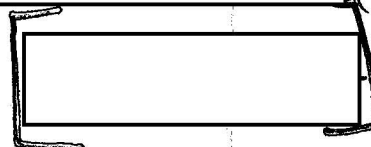
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[REDACTED]

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On September 14, 1970, the VB held a meeting at the Community Center at 23rd Avenue, Oakland, California, at which some 19 persons were present. The subject of this meeting was to discuss the reorganization of the VB and to

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discuss the possibility of a national organizing meeting of the VB taking place in November, after the return of the Third Contingent of the VB. Also discussed at this meeting was a letter of criticism that had been sent from the Los Angeles VB Committee to all regional VB committees. ~~(u)~~

Nationally, the VB is approximately \$13,000 in debt and the West Coast VB Committees have approximately \$1,000 in the bank. Fund raising propositions were discussed and the idea of having [redacted] from New York City, who reportedly was producing a VB film, show the film on west coast locations. ~~(u)~~

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It was stated at this meeting that a VB newsletter will be distributed by the west coast group, and that in addition to a discussion of the financial condition of the of the VB, the various means of gaining support for future brigades will also be discussed. Also discussed was a possibility of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) infiltration and the tightening of VB security measures. ~~(u)~~

The pamphlet entitled, "I Ain't Singing Charlie or What To Do When the FBI Calls," published by the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) will be distributed to returning VB members at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, in late October. ~~(u)~~

[redacted]

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A characterization of the NLG is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

Source made available a copy of the following communication from the Los Angeles Regional Committee of the VB (referred to above): ~~(u)~~

"It is important that we pay more than token regards to what we learn in Cuba; it is important that we follow through in applying these lessons concretely. ~~(u)~~

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"Everyday in Cuba we encountered organization, we saw the revolutionary efforts of the Dirrecion to keep us informed; the constant interaction and mutual exchange between us. The constant movement away from elitism. ~~Q~~ (u)

"In view of this, we of the Los Angeles Regional Committee feel that the National Committee has shown a serious lack of responsibility towards the Regional Committees, and a pronounced tendency towards elitism. For the smooth and efficient functioning of the Venderemos Brigade (and even for its continued existance) some criticisms must be made and some changes forthcoming. ~~Q~~ (u)

"The National Committee after severe critism brought on by direct confrontation with Regional Committee members, following the return of the last Brigade; responded in a highhanded, lackadaisical and altogether unsatisfactory manner, disregarding their importance and making little effort to correct the situation. ~~Q~~ (u)

Confidence grows out of understanding; no attempt was made to explain how the funds were broken down, or what the general picture was throughout the country. We had no idea why the costs were doubled over those of the last Brigade. ~~Q~~ (u)

"There was no consultation with the Regional Committees over the setting of quotas--with the result that there was an overwhelming proportion of people from the East Coast and New England. The Midwest and South were nearly forgotten. After the quotas were set the National Committee decided to change them, again without consultation with the various Regional Committees. ~~Q~~ (u)

"National Committee members should make a strong attempt to come to at least one, preferably two, meetings of every Regional Committee. A couple of National Committee members we know of specifically were in L.A. at the time of a Regional Committee meeting, but could not find the time to attend it. ~~Q~~ (u)

"The person in contact with the National Committee ~~Q~~ (u)

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"should be chosen by and from the Members of the Regional Committees on the basis of work. The National Committee appointed a member of the L.A. Regional without so much as a gestion or a word to us. As it turned out there were no objections, but its easy to see that this was due more to luck that to anything else. ~~(u)~~

"We can see that most or all of thes_ problems are due to the National Committees lack of responsibility in keeping the Regional Committees informed. The L.A. Regional Committee feels that the following changes will be a big step towards their elimination: ~~(u)~~

"1) That a National Committee affiliate be chosen by and from each Regional Committee on the basis of work, time available, and previous experience. That this perso_ be responsible for all telephone contact with the National Committee (relaying problems, questions criticisms, etc.).

"2) That someone from the National Committee visit each Regional Committee at the initial stages of organization for each Brigade, to give an opportunity at the beginning for an exchange of ideas, problems, and the development of coordinated orientation. ~~(u)~~

"3) The National Committee has a very important, central role in the Venceremos Brigade. It is the only body that has the potentials and the responsibility to be in contact with all the Regional Committees. In order that our organizational development not take place in a vacuum, the National Committee must see that the experiences of the various local groups be shared. A good and positive case in point is the National Committee's action communicating the exposure of the two pig-applicants, [REDACTED]

"4) That the National Committee allow these channels of communication to be channels of criticism. The National Committee must make a more sincere effort

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"at self-criticism and change. (u)

"The goal of these criticisms is to provide for the smooth and efficient operation of the Venceremos Brigade; for the development of mutual confidence. If the National Committee responds in a constructive and self-critical way, we can still develop the necessary confidence. If not, very basic changes in structure will be needed. (u)

"A copy of this letter will be sent to all Regional Committees, the National Committee and to Cuba. We'd like to hear your response, whether critical or in agreement. We encourage others to communicate in the same way. (u)

"Yours in struggle, (u)

"!VENCEREMOS! (u)

"Los Angeles Regional Committee
P.O. Box 3808
Hollywood Station
Los Angeles, Cal. 90023" (u)

[Redacted] (u)

On December 12, 1970, a meeting of National Committee members, Regional Committee members, and Regional representatives, was held at an undisclosed address in Oakland, California. At this meeting, discussions centered primarily around recruitment efforts for the Fourth Contingent of the VB, tentatively scheduled for departure in late February, or early March, 1971. According to source, Regional Chairmen were selected jointly by National Committee members and by Cuban delegations members. (u)

The recruitment drive was to start immediately and all applications were to be in the hands of the (u)

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National Committee no later than February 18, 1971. Emphasis will be directed toward "quality individuals" with leadership ability from groups sympathetic to the Socialist cause, and excluding dope addicts, individuals in poor health, and individuals not sympathetic to the VB ideals. The Fourth Contingent will be cut down to a total of no more than 300 participants and recruitment efforts will be concentrated on minority races other than black and Chicano. All individuals recruited should be between the ages of 19 and 28 years, but the VB will also accept applications from older people with an "open outlook" and a socialist background. (S)(u)

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(S)(u)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(S)(u)

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On December 5 and 6, 1970, a west coast regional conference of the VB was held in Oakland, California.

[redacted] members of the National Committee of the VB, were present. (S)(u)

The opening address on December 5, 1970, was made by [redacted] who emphasized that the fourth VB trip to Cuba would be a youth brigade; however, a minimum age requirement of 19 years would be strictly enforced.

[redacted] next spoke and presented what was listed on the conference agenda as the National Committee Report. He talked about the history of the VB and of the National Committee. He stated that the VB was organized as a result of an idea which occurred to some Americans who were in Cuba during the summer of 1968. Originally, the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS) intended to use the VB to broaden their own base and as a form of political education for their members. [redacted] and [redacted] envisioned a broader organization and they were responsible for bringing Third World People into the VB. Subsequently [redacted] and [redacted] were both brought into the VB to help with recruitment.

The first National Committee of the VB had no political guidelines. Earlier regional committees were loosely formed and communication between the eastern and western United States was poor. [redacted] a member of the second VB trip to Cuba, was also a member of the first National Committee. Due to poor communication between the National Committee of the VB organizers, it was discovered that ethnic caucuses had been formed to support their ethnic representative on the National Committee. From [redacted] speech, it was determined that the following are members of the National Committee:

- [redacted] - Recruitment
- [redacted] - Propaganda and Communications
- [redacted] - Orientation and Political Education

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[Redacted]

- Security Travelling Trouble-Shooter
- National Committee member from Los Angeles, but with no specific area of responsibility

[Redacted]

- Not officially a National Committee member but acts as an organizer for the VB in Puerto Rico.

Cuba

Members from the San Francisco area then presented a model for a regional organization of the VB. Three departments were established and the heads of these departments made the Central Committee for the regional organizations. The departments or areas of responsibility are Recruitment (which includes Security), Programs, and Education. Recruitment is responsible for selection of applicants, background checks on applicants, providing leadership for work cadres and general security. The Program Department is responsible for coordinating work for the work cadres, handling finances, coordinating regional fund-raising and for other general activities in the regional organization. The Education Department is responsible for the orientation program, for work cadres - the preparation of applicants for the trip to Cuba, for political education and for propaganda. The department heads select individuals to work under them and these individuals must have participated in a prior VB trip to Cuba. The work cadres are to be groups of no more than ten to twelve applicants under the leadership of a work cadre leader. The cadres will, through their collective effort, raise funds for the VB and will be screened for their political practices while functioning in the cadres. Assisting each cadre leader, who must be from the Recruitment Department, will be one member from the Program and Education Department.

[Redacted] then briefly discussed several documents which had been given out, including an instructional sheet entitled, "Instructions To Regionals", and application forms entitled, "Application For the Venceremos Brigade", and an interview report form entitled, "Interviewer Report For -- ", and a form provided to record any contact by the

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Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). According to [] the shorter application form was to be given out to individuals while the longer application form was to be retained and filled out during the interview of the applicant.

[] then spoke about recruitment and outlined the priorities of both individuals and geographic areas for the next VB trip to Cuba. The geographic priorities were established on the basis of little or no VB activity in that particular area in the past.

[] then spoke about cadres. He emphasized that the leadership provided by the VB people was to be guiding and not dictatorial. A careful evaluation of each applicant's behavior and attitude was to be made and recorded to aid in the final selection process.

On December 6, 1970, the conference continued. [] first spoke at this session on the topic of propaganda. She stated that one, [], a Cuban delegation member told her that propaganda should cover four major areas:

1. Solidarity with Third World struggles - Indo-China, Latin America and Africa;
2. Cuba information in invasions, society, travel, and the informational blockade established by the United States;
3. Repression against the VB - a legal argument should be developed using as a precedent the Spanish Civil War brigades and the Peace Corps;
4. Security - A discussion of how the FBI has tried to infiltrate the VB and the activity of Guzanos (exiled Cubans) against not only Cuba, but Chile, Uruguay, and other South American countries.

Reportedly a case study on methods used by the FBI is currently being compiled. All available local resources such as underground newspapers were being used to spread information.

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[redacted] was the last speaker and stated that the National Committee was considering establishing some type of subcommittee to extend information to the VB regional organization. He stated that applicants must be prepared for Cuba and that they must be given a thorough political, social, and economic orientation of Cuba in order to alleviate past problems of poor behavior resulting from ignorance.

With respect to travel of VB members, it was stated that [redacted] will be handling transportation on a nation-wide basis out of New York. [redacted] is head of the New York Region as well as being a National Committee member. [redacted] is the New York Regional Treasurer and [redacted] is in charge of applications.

The conference ended at approximately 3:00 PM on December 6.

[redacted]

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A characterization of SDS is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

Source made available a mimeographed letter issued by the Los Angeles Regional Committee, Post Office Box 3808, Los Angeles, California 90028, which was given to all individuals boarding the bus in preparation for travelling to St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, for travel to Cuba with the third contingent of the VB. This letter is set forth as follows:

Q(u)

"BIENVENIDAS BRIGADISTAS!

"A lot's happened since you left--but there's no time to go into it now--you'll find out soon enough.

"When you return drop us a card at the Brigade P.O. Box with information on how to contact you--we'll have speaking engagements ready and we should take immediate

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advantage of your experiences. As time goes on memory dims and work here be becomes more intense.

"You've heard by now that there'll be another Brigade leaving in February; interviewing, cadres, fund-raising and everything else will have to be started right away. You'll be carrying the bulk of the load--so check in when you get back.

"Everyone in the L.A. area has been visited at least once by the FBI. Their usual tactics are to invite you to lunch or ask you to identify some pictures. Ask for their names, first off, write these down with any other information available, including description. You are under no legal obligation to cooperate. Merely tell them that if they have anything to say, to speak to your lawyer. For Brigade purposes, [redacted] a comrade from the previous trip has volunteered. Her phone number is [redacted] as soon as they visit call her. So far they haven't checked up once. Also pay particular attention to the Lawyer's Guild paper-'I Ain't Singing Charley or What to do When the FBI Comes.'"

"All right, take care, we'll see you when you return and VENCEREMOS!"

[redacted]

A New York regional VB meeting was held on October 3, 1970, at the residence of [redacted] in New York City. It was pointed out by the National Committee that the selection of future regional committees will be made by the National Committee members based upon reports from members within the various regionals. (S)(u)

Also discussed was the idea of moving the National VB Headquarters to the west coast since the Cuban authorities had expressed a desire for more VB participants from the west coast area. (S)(u)

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CAROL BRIGHTMAN of New York was reported to have been purged from the VB National Committee. The VB National Committee is approximately \$6,000 in debt and it was stated that one of the chief problems involved between the National Committee and the various regional committees was the lack of communication concerning the allocation of funds. (S)(u)

[REDACTED] (S)(u)

The VB in the San Francisco area has distributed a questionnaire setting forth the type of information desired from those individuals interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI and also a copy of a National Lawyers Guild (NLG) leaflet entitled, "I Ain't Singing Charley, or What To Do When The FBI Comes." (S)(u)

The questionnaire was entitled, "Brigada Venceremos - General Information + FBI Harassment", and noted in part that:

"Note to person making contact with brigadistas: What we want to know is what the FBI is asking, not what our people are answering. Don't get into long raps about what people did or did not reveal to the pigs, but do warn them that they should not talk with any police agents about anything, and should also alert their families and friends to do likewise. Also, urge them to report any future harassment, questioning, etc. to the Brigade." (S)(u)

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D. Finances

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[redacted] no longer has custody of the basic documents from which the foregoing check information was obtained. ~~(S)~~(u)

Characterizations of New York Committee to Free ANGELA DAVIS and "Workers World" are contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] ~~(S)~~(u)

A characterization of CRV is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

Information made available by [redacted] is not to be made public except in the usual proceedings following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] ~~(S)~~(u)

[redacted] no longer has custody of the basic document from which the foregoing check information was obtained. ~~(S)~~(u)

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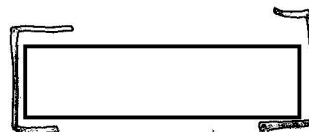
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II. ACTIVITIES] (u)

A. Third Contingent] (u)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Buses and private cars bearing members of the Third Contingent of the VB arrived at Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada, where the entire contingent were taken to a warehouse to await the arrival of a ship from Cuba on August 24, 1970. While in the warehouse, members of the VB were given food and organized into groups according to states. (u)

The Third Contingent of the VB went aboard the Cuban ship "Conrado Benitez" at approximately 5:30 PM, on August 24, 1970. The men and women were separated into dorms, while aboard the ship, and all members were required to be in their dorms at 11:30 PM. The brigade members got up at approximately 7:30 AM on August 25, 1970, while aboard the ship in Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada. The ship actually left Canada at approximately 5:30 PM on August 25, 1970, for the voyage to Cuba. (u)

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On August 26, 1970, a general meeting was called for the members of the VB by the Captain of the ship. The meeting was held to set forth the rules and regulations for the VB members while on board the ship. ~~(u)~~

At 1:30 PM, the VB members were called to the dining room of the ship to have their passports checked. The call was made by states. ~~(u)~~

On August 29, 1970, the VB, consisting of 405 members, were organized into sub-brigades, numbered 1-15 with approximately 25 to 30 individuals in each sub-brigade. The VB was told that this was the way they would work and travel during the brigade's stay in Cuba. The Cubans photographed all of the brigade members for identification cards to be used while traveling throughout Cuba. ~~(u)~~

The ship docked in Cuba at approximately 12:00 noon, on August 30, 1970, at which time all members left the ship. Each brigade was put on a bus and transported to a ferry, where sub-brigades were to be taken for their transportation to the Isle of Youth in Cuba. The bus trip took approximately two hours and the ferry trip from Havana to Cuba to the Isle of Youth took approximately six to eight hours. The Third Contingent of the VB arrived on the Isle of Youth at approximately 3:00 AM on September 1, 1970. ~~(u)~~

On September 1, 1970, at approximately 10:00 AM, a general meeting of the brigade was held in the recreation hall of the camp and the brigade was welcomed to Cuba by the leader of the camp. The **brigade** was told they would work in the fields, fertilizing, picking and planting fruit trees, and that the jobs would be rotated on a weekly basis. The Cuban leader of the camp told the **brigade** that he wanted the Third Contingent to fertilize approximately one million fruit trees. Work begun at approximately 4:00 PM, September 1, 1970, and some groups planted, others would pick and others would fertilize primarily, grapefruit and lemon trees. The group returned to the camp ~~(u)~~

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from the fields at approximately 7:00 PM and were told by the Cubans that approximately 11,000 trees had been fertilized that day. On September 2, 3 and 4, 1970, the brigade members would begin their workday at 5:00 AM, with breakfast and proceed to the fields, returning at 11:00 AM for lunch, and then returning to the fields at 3:00 PM, where they would work until 7:00 PM before returning to camp. At night the brigade members could rest or see a movie. The movie was shown at the camp and primarily consisted of Cuban documentaries, showing advances that the Cuban Government had made since the takeover of the country by FIDEL CASTRO. (u)

On September 5, 1970, the Cubans called a brigade meeting to discuss the production of the brigade and the progress made in fertilizing fruit trees. The brigade was told they could not leave camp on Sunday, September 6, 1970, because the Cuban government was taking a census. On the evening of September 5, the brigade visited a town near the camp and was told they were free to go anywhere and talk to any people but they had to be back to the bus and return to camp at 10:00 p.m. (u)

The week of September 7th - 12th, was spent by the brigade rotating in the field, planting, picking and fertilizing fruit trees. On September 12, 1970, the North and South Vietnamese delegation, consisting of approximately 30 members, arrived in the VB camp. The brigade was told that this delegation would be with the VB members until September 19, 1970, and that they would work in the fields with the VB. (u)

On September 13, 1970, the brigade journeyed to a prison, where FIDEL CASTRO was allegedly held captive in 1953. A tour was made of this prison by VB members and the North and South Vietnamese delegation. (u)

On September 14, 1970, the brigade went to the fields to fertilize fruit trees for the entire day. Each sub-brigade had two persons from either the North or South Vietnamese delegation with them. During the afternoon, various meetings and (u)

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discussions were held with the North and South Vietnamese, and these meetings were generally centered around the country's history of fighting wars and also US imperialism which was stated to be prevalent in Southeast Asia. (u)

On September 19, 1970, North and South Vietnamese delegation left the VB camp at approximately 7:30 AM in two buses. Brigade members were given rings by members of the Vietnamese delegation that allegedly had been made from US airplanes that had been shot down over North and South Vietnam. The brigade members were also given pins of HO Chi-minh, Viet Cong flags, books and North Vietnamese stamps. (u)

On September 20, 1970, a production meeting was held with the entire brigade present. This meeting was primarily held to stimulate a competitive spirit among the various sub-brigades in order that the goals set by the Cuban leaders could be met. (u)

On September 21, 1970, the entire day was spent fertilizing grapefruit trees and during the afternoon, other countries, namely Bolivia, Brazil, El ~~Salvadore~~, Laos and Zambia, who had sent the National Liberation Delegations to Cuba, held discussions regarding US imperialism in other countries and also gave a brief history of their country. The sub-brigades worked a full day in the field when the National Liberation Delegations from the ~~aforementioned~~ countries, were in the VB camp and only half of the day was spent working while the North and South Vietnamese were present. (u)

On September 22, 1970, a production meeting was held and the announcement was made that approximately 150,000 more trees had to be fertilized and that some of the sub-brigades which had finished filling their quota of trees would now assist other sub-brigades. (u)

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On September 23 and 24, 1970, the sub-brigades worked on the fertilization of trees and at noon on the 24th, it was announced that the VB had fertilized its one millionth tree. A general discussion was held by the leaders of the camp to show the **importance** of this accomplishment and that the members of the VB had definitely established their support of CASTRO and its government by working in the fields so hard. (u)

September 25, 1970, most of the day was spent fertilizing trees, and at the end of the day, a speech was given by a member of the **Cuban delegation regarding the economic advances** of Cuba since the revolution. (u)

On September 26, 1970, members of the VB began preparing to leave the camp. Each member of the brigade was given an identification card and a T-shirt with the VB emblem on it. They were also given a key ring, a pen and a writing pad. During the last few days on the Isle of Youth, there was a lot of racial tension in the camp and on September 26, 1970, there were several racial type fights in the camp. (u)

On September 27, 1970, the Cubans called a meeting to tell the brigade that on September 15, 1970, nine mercenaries had landed in Cuba. The mercenaries were captured in about two days and two Cuban leaders were killed. Telegrams were sent by members of the brigade to the **Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention** sponsored by the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Philadelphia. A telegram was also sent to FIDEL CASTRO by members of the brigade to show support of the VB to the Cuban people after the landing of the nine mercenaries on September 15, 1970. (u)

On September 28, 1970, the VB left the Isle of Youth, at approximately 7:30 AM by ferry for the trip to Havana. After lunch in Havana, the brigade went to a mass rally for the 10th anniversary of the **Civic Defense of the Revolution**, where FIDEL CASTRO made a speech. On October 1, 1970, the brigade was advised by the Cubans that it would have to be divided into two parts in order to facilitate their tour of Cuba. The Cubans said that a problem had come up and that they could not provide (u)

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for all 15 of the sub-brigades and that brigades numbered 1-8 would leave for Oriente Santiago to Cuba and that brigades 9-15 would stay at this camp and tour around Camaguey. After a few days, the brigades would rotate and sub-brigades 1-8 would come back to Camaguey, and sub-brigades 9-15 would go to Oriente. On October 3, and 4, 1970, a tour was held of the CP Youth camp at Camaguey. (u)

On the evening of October 5, 1970, the sub-brigades got together and again visited the Communist Youth camp. (u)

On October 7, 1970, the brigade members were transported to Camp El Pedro, where general discussions were held with the brigades by Cubans on life in Cuba. Particular emphasis was placed on the improvements in Cuba since CASTRO. (u)

On October 8, 1970, the brigades visited the site of the camp of Che Guevara during the revolution and a rally which was held on the occasion of the Third Anniversary of the death of ERNESTO CHE GUEVERA. (u)

On October 10, 1970, the VB visited an educational center containing approximately 5,000 students ranging in age from grammar school to college. The school was a very modern one with many athletic fields, dormitories and swimming pools. (u)

On October 11, 1970, the brigade held a meeting with Communist brigade members at Cienfuegos, where a visit was paid to a fertilizing plant. (u)

October 12, 1970, was a free day in Jibacao, and October 13, 1970, was a free day in Havana. (u)

While in Havana, some of the members of the VB went to various embassies such as Red China, North and South Vietnam and the Soviet Union. (u)

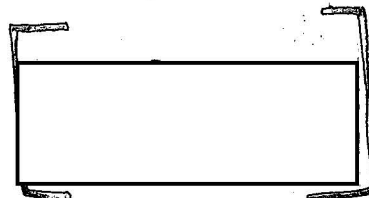
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On October 14, 1970, the members of the VB finished packing their belongings for the return trip to the US, and at 7:00 PM **boarded** buses for the trip to Havana. The members of the VB boarded the ship at about 9:00 PM on October 14, 1970. The trip to the US on the Cuban ship took from October 15, 1970, (the trip leaving Cuba at approximately 1:00 AM) until October 21, 1970, when the ship docked at Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada, at about 7:00 AM, on October 21, 1970. Members of the VB were picked up by buses and individual cars in Canada for the return to the US. *(u)*

On the last night on the ship in St. John, New Brunswick Harbor, a general meeting of the VB **was held at which time** members were told to stay in groups while leaving the ship and not to answer any questions or talk to anyone **when** the ship docked. *(u)*



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A characterization of the BPP is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

Source made available a leaflet which was distributed to recent **returnees** of the Third Contingent of the VB upon their return to Canada on October 21, 1970. This leaflet which is set forth below contains bus schedules for return VB members as well as information on the current status of the VB: *(u)*

"Hi sisters and brothers! Glad you're back. Below is the bus schedule; cars are here to transport brigadistas from those regions not mentioned below - New Mexico, Atlanta, Florida, Buffalo, New York City, and probably assorted others. Since no message was sent telling us who wanted to return to where, we had to assume people were going back to where they came from. If you're going elsewhere and there's an extra seat in the bus or car to that place, you're welcome to it, but if there's no room, you'll have to take care of it yourself. *(u)*

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"As usual, we're short of money. Specifically, we need money to pay for individual ~~Greyhound~~ fares for some people (e.g., Texas people getting off our chartered busses in NYC). We figure the fares for all the people in this situation will come to about \$1,500. We don't have a penny of it. It has to come from a redistribution of the wealth among yourselves. So we're going to make a collection for a change. Please throw into the pot any bread you feel you can spare. It will be given to whoever needs it for bus fare home. If any's left over, it will go toward the \$2,000 we still owe on these chartered busses here. ~~(u)~~

"We believe that the best way to deal with getting all your Cuban contraband into the country is to let it be seized at the border, where you'll get a receipt for everything taken. Write, asking for an application for a license to import foreign merchandise for personal use, to: John P. Sullivan, 33 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y. 10045. Fill it out, send copies of your receipt, etc. (as directed). When you get the license, write to Calais (get address when things are seized) asking to have your stuff shipped. They may write back asking for money, or they might send it C.O.D. if you ask them to. You should get everything back except rum and cigars, which the border guards will have consumed. ~~(u)~~

"If and when the FBI comes to call: Legally, you do not have to talk to them. You should tell them that you won't talk to them except in the presence of your lawyer. You should not be drawn into small talk at the door. You may not think you're giving any info, but a little piece here and there helps them build their files. Just repeat that you won't talk to them except in the presence of your lawyer. Many people have been getting calls in which the FBI tries to get info on a ruse - like, you were supposed to reply to a jury duty notice, or this is your insurance company, or this is so-and-so from the Brigade. Also, many brigadistas have been subpoenaed to testify before a grand jury regarding weatherman or bombings, ~~(u)~~

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etc. If you are subpoenaed, you should talk to a friendly lawyer before appearing. Please report all such contacts with the FBI or local red squads to your regional committee, so that we can form a picture of what level harassment is at nationally. (u)

"HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!" (u)

"VENCEREMOS!" (u)

The return bus schedule as mentioned above is set forth as follows:

<u>Bus Number</u>	<u>Final Destination</u>	<u>Intermediate Stops</u>	<u>Number of People Carried, and from which Regions</u>
1	San Fran.	none	47 SF
2	San Fran.	Detroit Seattle	6 Detroit 8 Seattle 3 Oregon (off in Seattle) 26 SF 4 Fresno (off in SF)
(u) 3	Los Angeles	Detroit Denver	8 Detroit 3 Denver 36 LA
4	Madison	Detroit Gary	4 Ohio (off in (Detroit)) 5 Indiana 24 Madison 14 Minnesota (off in Mad)
5	Chicago	Detroit	10 Ohio (off in (Detroit)) 19 Chicago 8 S. Illinois (off in Chi) 8 St. Louis (off in Chi) 2 Texas (off in Chi)
6	New York City	none	17 Puerto Rico 6 New Orleans 6 N. Carolina 1 Texas 2 Wash., D.C. 8 Baltimore 4 Philadelphia 3 Pittsburgh

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Bus
Number

Final
Destination

Intermediate
Stops

Number of People Carried,
and from which Regions

(u) 7

Boston

none

13 Boston
7 Vermont
6 New Jersey

5 Philadelphia
16 New York
City



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A source made available a leaflet entitled "Venceremos Brigade Cuba 1970" and subtitled "The Youth Made The Revolution And The Youth Will Keep It And The Youth Will Go On Making The Revolution Throughout Latin America And The World." This leaflet set forth as follows:

"They want to destroy us so that we do not serve as an example. We must try to be an example so that they cannot destroy us." --Slogan in a Cuban Factory.

"When Fidel Castro and the Rebel Army marched victoriously into Havana on January 1, 1959, the Cuban Revolution had just begun. The rebels had defeated the corrupt army of the dictator Batista, but Cuba was not yet a free society. The Cuban people did not own and control their land and resources or the wealth they produced. American businessmen did.

"Cubans weren't free to develop their own economy, to liberate their people from poverty, oppression and illiteracy. To be free, they had to kick out American businessmen and take back their land and resources. They had to make a socialist revolution.

"When the Revolution did this, it set an example for the rest of Latin America. And the United States government got uptight. As Fidel said, 'They were not concerned about the welfare of Latin Americans. No, they were worried about losing Latin America.'

"U.S. REACTION

"The United States tried to defuse the incendiary example of a socialist Cuba only 90 miles off its shore. The first step was stopping U.S. trade with Cuba. The second step was blockading all trade between Cuba and the rest of Latin America and Western Europe.

"The Cuban people fought back on every front to run their society by the for themselves. In 1961 they waged a literacy campaign whose effectiveness stunned all of

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Latin America: 97% literacy (now 100%). Schools and hospitals sprang up in the neglected rural areas. Uncultivated new crops. A one-crop economy became a diversified economy, with new roads and factories supplying Cubans with Cuban goods.

"When the U.S. saw that its economic warfare was failing, it began supporting mercenary invasions of Cuba, the most spectacular of which were the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and the invasion of Baracoa in 1970. Every attempt of the U.S. to destroy the revolution of the Cuban people has failed - and will continue to fail, because the Cuban people understand their revolution, are fully committed to it, and are armed for its defense.

"ISLE OF YOUTH - ISLA DE LA JUVENTUD

"Fidel has explained that the material benefits of economic development will be only a by-product of the building of the new man who has a socialist consciousness of himself and his society. Youth, with its energy and creativity, will be the moving force behind such a transformation of people's consciousness. Today in Cuba young people form vanguard brigades to work on almost every type of project, from planting citrus to operating ranches. It is on the Isle of Youth (formerly Isle of Pines), off the southern coast, where the efforts of young people in developing a new society are most striking.

"Before the Revolution, a huge prison housing 10,000 political prisoners and others sent there by the Batista dictatorship, was virtually all there was on the Isle. Now over 20,000 young people have moved there to study and work on a multitude of agricultural and other projects. The prison buildings have lost their bars and are being transformed into a hydraulic institute. Completely new towns are being constructed by youth. The objective of the Isle is the development of communist consciousness through the experience of collective work and living. Money is unimportant; attitude and actions are what count. Cubans say that the Isla de la Juventud will be the first communist region of Cuba.

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"The young people of Cuba are working with all their strength on the Isle of Youth, for they know that now the fruits of their labor belong to them instead of being robbed by U.S. corporations. Their work is an example to the rest of Latin America of what a people can do when it gets rid of exploitative foreign interests and runs its country itself.

"VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

"So what will the third Brigade be doing in Cuba? Unlike the first two Brigades, which worked in the 10 million ton sugar harvest of 1969-70, the 500 members of the third Venceremos Brigade will harvest citrus fruit on the Isle of Youth. Oranges, scarce 11 years ago, are now an important Cuban export and are becoming part of the normal Cuban diet.

" The Brigade will leave the U.S. approximately the last week in July and return about the third week in September. It will consist principally of students - undergraduate and graduate, community college and university, as well as students in their last year of high school - and will be ethnically mixed - black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, white, American citizenship. Everyone needs a passport (get it now).

" Living arrangements will be the same as for any agricultural work brigade in Cuba: dormitory tents in the fields. Living quarters for men and for women will be separate, so couples should not expect special facilities. The work will be hot, long, and hard, so people with health problems should not apply.

"Northamericans on the Brigade will be able to dig for themselves what it's like to live in a revolutionary socialist country. They will work hard with their Cuban brothers and sisters. They'll live in the Brigade field camp with them, rap with them, and dig their music and dance. And they'll show the Cubans and all the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that they have real friends inside the United States, that there are Northamericans building a fighting movement right in the belly of the monster.

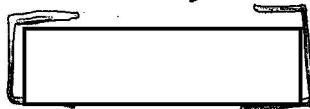
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"If you are in touch with the regional committee of the Venceremos Brigade in your area, get an application from them. Otherwise, write for one to:

Venceremos Brigade
P. O. Box 643
Cathedral Station
New York, N.Y. 10025"



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The October 16, 1970, edition of the "Miami Herald", a Miami Florida newspaper, carried the following article entitled "Youths Returning From Cuban Fields". This article stated as follows:

"A group of 405 young American volunteers is enroute back to the United States via Canada after six weeks in Cuba helping the CASTRO government harvest citrus fruits on the Isle of Pines.

"Havana radio, in a broadcast monitored in Miami, announced the departure of the group Wednesday night, presumably by ship bound for Canada.

"The volunteers, Third such United States Contingent to travel to Cuba in the past year, arrived in Havana August 31, 1970, aboard a Cuban ship sailing from Canada.

"At a farewell ceremony, JAIME CROMBET, head of Cuba's Communist Youth Union said, 'our hearts will be always open to all revolutionaries from all over the world and at the same time we will remain always firm to fight the enemy inside as well as outside'."

"Miami Herald"
October 16, 1970

B. Fourth Contingent

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Source made available literature distributed at a meeting held in Jackson, Mississippi, on January 3, 1971, in an attempt to recruit persons for the Fourth Contingent

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of the VB which was scheduled to go to Cuba in the Spring of 1971.

Among the items distributed was one entitled "The Fourth Venceremos Brigade To Cuba" which set forth in part as follows:

"The Fourth Venceremos Brigade will leave the first week in March from Canada and be back in the United States by May 15, 1971. The trip will include: two weeks travel by boat to and from Cuba; six weeks of work cutting sugar cane; and a two-week tour of Cuba. Approximately 300 North Americans will go on this Brigade, preferably people who are involved in collective or organizational work, who can be selected by their group to go. Exceptions can be made.

"The minimum age is 19 years. The cost is \$200 per person for travel to and from Canada. (All expenses in Cuba are to be sustained by the Cubans; you will need no money there.) The \$200 should be raised by the group sending a person, or in the community you are from. However, no person will be prohibited from going due to money.

"The enclosed application must be in by January 9. No Later. You must be prepared to be interviewed between January 9 and January 16. No passport or money is required to make the initial application and interview. If you are accepted, you must get a passport, raise the money for your trip, and be free for discussions and language classes from January 18 until the departure of the Brigade on March 1.

"Please send your application to the location nearest you."

Also distributed was a form "Application For The Venceremos Brigade" which is set forth as follows:

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APPLICATION FOR THE VENCERMOS BRIGADE
NY 100-166943

PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT PLAINLY

attach 3 recent
photos in this
corner (25¢
machine photos
o.k.: no need
for passport
photos

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FULL LEGAL NAME _____ DATE _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

AREA CODE AND PHONE NO. _____ DATE OF BIRTH _____

ETHNIC ORIGIN (e.g. Puerto Rican) _____ RACE _____ SEX _____ MARRIED _____ CHILD _____

CITIZENSHIP _____ PASSPORT NO. _____

IF UNDER 21 CAN YOU GET WRITTEN PARENTAL PERMISSION TO GO? _____

ARE YOU WILLING TO GET A MEDICAL CHECK UP BEFORE GOING? _____

HAVE YOU BEEN IN CUBA BEFORE? _____ IF SO, WHEN AND WHY _____

ARE YOU PREPARED TO OBEY ALL CUBAN LAWS? _____

DO YOU SPEAK SPANISH? _____ HOW WELL? _____

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND (list names of schools and dates; cont. on
back if necessary):

WORK EXPERIENCE (include names and addresses of employers; cont.
on back if necessary):

REFERENCES (3 movement people if possible; include address and
phone no.)

OTHER THAN DEMONSTRATING SOLIDARITY WITH THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, WHAT
ARE YOUR OTHER REASONS FOR WANTING TO GO TO CUBA? ~~SECRET~~

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Source made available a leaflet entitled "Facts On The Brigada Venceremos" which was being distributed in the Buffalo, New York area with respect to the Fourth Contingent of the VB. This leaflet is set forth as follows:

"Political Perspective:

"As members of the first three Venceremos Brigades we feel that the following 7 points make up the political perspective of the value of the Brigade:

1. political solidarity with the Cuban revolution
2. greater understanding of the impact of imperialism on the third world
3. political struggle and communication with other progressive north americans
4. greater understanding of the quality and nature of work and life in a socialist situation
5. intimacy with world wide revolutionaries who will work with the brigade or visit the camp site
6. development of an understanding of revolutionary concepts such as discipline, leadership, criticism, protracted struggle etc.
7. sharing with the Cubans our understanding of the north american movements and people and our sharing with our people back in the mother country our knowledge of Cuba

"Facts on Fourth Brigade

"Brigade March-May 1971

- 6 weeks work (cane cutting - probably in Oriente province)
- 2 weeks touring of Cuba
- 2 weeks travel by boat from Canada to Cuba and back

"10 weeks total brigade experience

"departure of U.S. on or after March 1, return approx. May 15

"Brigade will be made up of 250 - 300 N. Americans including Puertorriquenos from the Island. In Cuba the Brigade will be joined by about 100 Cubanos and the world wide revolutionary peoples.

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"Deadlines:

applications must be postmarked on or before January 9, 1971
interviews will be scheduled between Jan. 9-16
Jan. 18-20 decisions as to tentative acceptance into the brigade
(acceptance into cadres)
Jan. 20 - March cadre experience
Feb. 23 final decisions as to fourth Brigade will be made

"Cadre Experience

"Cadres will consist of approx. 5 applicants and 2 past brigadistas. Cadres will be responsible for fund raising, working on a project together, learning Spanish, political orientation (readings and films etc. on Cuba and other 3rd world struggles around the world), political discussions of revolutionary concepts and different movement ideologies, collective recommendations as to who should finally be accepted, social events between brigadistas and regional movement.

"We realize that many of the applicants will have other commitments, be they full time organizing or work, etc. This will be taken into account as to the number, length and timing of cadre meetings etc. However all tentative brigadistas must go through a cadre experience before going to Cuba. There are many political reasons for that decision one being the cut down of infiltrators by this process, besides the obvious preparation for the Cuban experience.

"Western New York Regional Committee
of the Brigada Venceremos
December, 1970

"Send applications or questions to:

"B.V. Regional Committee
Box 4
Norton Hall
S.U.N.Y. at Buffalo
Buffalo, N.Y. 14216"



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Source advised that approximately 233 individuals departed from various points in the United States on March 22, 24, 26, and 29, 1971, aboard scheduled airline flights as indicated from cities listed below for travel to Mexico City, as members of the VB. This group generally travelled under the name "Dunbar Associates and travel arrangements for these individuals were made by the Brighton Travel Agency, Incorporated of Brooklyn, New York.

March 22, 1971

Atlanta
Delta Airlines Flight 803 to
New Orleans and Eastern Airlines
Flight 905 to Mexico City
18 individuals

Chicago
American Airlines Flight 389 to
San Antonio and Braniff Flight
50 to Mexico City
11 individuals

Houston
Pan American Airlines Flight 501 to
Mexico City
6 individuals

New Orleans
Eastern Airlines Flight 905 to
Mexico City
11 individuals

Washington, DC
American Airlines Flight 93 to
Mexico City
12 individuals

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March 24, 1971

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Boston; Northeast Airlines Flight 070 to
John F. Kennedy International Airport,
New York and Aeronauves de Mexico Flight 405 to
Mexico City
8 individuals

Chicago
American Airlines Flight 389 to
San Antonio and Braniff Flight 51 to
Mexico City
4 individuals

Detroit
American Airlines Flight 479 to
Dallas and American Airlines Flight 93 to
Mexico City
7 individuals

New York
Aeronauves de Mexico Flight 405 to
Mexico City
43 individuals

March 26, 1971

Chicago
American Airlines Flight 389 to
San Antonio and Braniff Flight 51 to
Mexico City
1 individual

Dallas
American Airlines Flight 93 to
Mexico City
1 individual

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Detroit
American Airlines Flight 479 to
Dallas and American Airlines Flight 93 to
Mexico City
14 individuals

Kansas City
Braniff Flight 51 to
Mexico City
17 individuals

New Orleans
Eastern Airlines Flight 905 to
Mexico City
1 individual

San Francisco
Western Airlines Flight 73 to
Los Angeles and Western Airlines Flight 609 to
Mexico City
9 individuals

Washington, DC
American Airlines Flight 93 to
Mexico City
1 individual

March 29, 1971

Boston
American Airlines Flight 57
3 individuals

Chicago
American Airlines Flight 57
5 individuals

Los Angeles
Western Airlines Flight 609 to
Mexico City
23 individuals

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New York
Aeronauves de Mexico Flight 405 to
Mexico City
3 individuals

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San Francisco
Western Airlines Flight 73 to
Los Angeles and Western Airlines Flight 609 to
Mexico City
35 individuals

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The April 1, 1971, issue of "Prensa Latina" contained an article noting that the Fourth Contingent of the VB was officially organized at a camp in the Northwestern part of Havana province. The VB members were described as 221 radicals from 29 states and Washington, DC, who had arrived in Cuba by means of four flights beginning March 25, 1971. The last group reportedly arrived on March 29, 1971, via California from Mexico.

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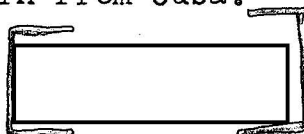
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An article continued that the VB members were officially welcomed by RAMON AJON, VB Camp Director, who remarked that "our people recognize the attitude of solidarity of the young United States radicals in this harvest, Cuba's main source of wealth". AJON according to the article made a proposal, approved by the VB members that an extra work day be held on April 19, 1971, in tribute to the 10th Anniversary of the Cuban regime's victory at Playa Giron over what AJON described as "the Mercenary Brigade trained and equipped by the United States". It was set out in this article that the VB will cut sugar cane in Cuba for six weeks and then will tour the country to obtain a view of achievements and problems of the Cuban people.

"Prensa Latina"
April 1, 1970

A characterization of "Prensa Latina"
is contained in the Appendix
attached hereto.

The Fourth Contingent of the VB is expected to arrive via ship at Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada, at the end of May upon its return from Cuba.



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C. General]

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"Parade Magazine", a weekly supplement to the "Long Island Press", a Long Island New York newspaper, in its issue of April 18, 1971, at page 16 contained an item captioned "Trained In Cuba", which is set forth in part as follows:

"Last year approximately 1,300 United States students travelled to Cuba via Canada through the auspices of the Venceremos (We Will Conquer) Brigade, which has a California office at 933 Channing Way in Berkeley.

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"The students helped with the sugar harvest, saw what communism was doing to Cuba, in some cases were favorably impressed and in others unfavorably.

"This traffic to Castro-land has been going on for almost a decade now, and it is difficult to determine whether the Cubans have radicalized the United States college students or vice versa."

"Parade Magazine"
April 18, 1971

The March 30, 1971, through April 30, 1971, issue of "Rat", issue number 21 at pages 21 and 30 contained an item captioned "Venceremos Brigade An Elitist Authoritarian Organization", which in part contained a letter from one LESLIE B. TANNER set forth as follows:

"Dear Sisters,

"My experience with the Venceremos Brigade was so bad that I felt impelled to put it in writing so that other sisters might gain insight from it. It appears that the revolution, as the Venceremos Brigade sees it, does not honestly recognize or take seriously the feminist revolution although they say they are struggling with sexism and support women's liberation. I was told there were other feminists on the Brigade, and our cadre leader reminded me that she was in a women's collective. However, I had never felt support from her and never got any feeling of where she was coming from. Other people in the cadre had had the same reaction. They felt she supported the struggles of 'all oppressed peoples' but that where her own oppression lay and how she struggled with that did not come through at all.

"What I'm saying is that I felt alone. For two years, with the women's movement I have not felt alone. It became clear that I had 'stepped out of my sphere.' Historically, women have always been told their struggle was not as important

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as other struggles-and today, we are being told the same thing! This is not to say that we should not relate to other peoples struggles but it must be done within the women's movement.

"What happened to me might serve as one of the examples will make us more aware more conscious of the fact that as feminists we must not compromise our principles-for any reason under the sun! If we do, we will forever remain in the bedroom and the kitchen.

"I hope you will print this. The women in my groups (Group 1-8, Lower East Side, NY) are angry and feel it is important to communicate this information to other sisters.

"In sisterhood and struggle LESLI B. TANNER."

"Rat" issue number 21
March 30, 1971 through
April 30, 1971

"Rat" is a New York City underground type newspaper which since January, 1970, has been published by an all women's collective.

"University Review" issue number 18 contained an item under the book review section noting a title "Venceremos Brigade: Young Americans Sharing the Life and Work of Revolutionary Cuba", and edited by SANDRA LEVINSON and CAROL BRIGHTMAN was being published by SIMON and SCHUSTER. The publishing price was \$8.95 (\$3.95 paperback).

The review notes in part as follows:

"In the 1820's Byron went to help free Greece, in the 1930's young men and women went to fight Franco, and in the 1960's, in the same noble tradition, groups of Americans, young and old, Black and White, Chicano and Indian, went to help in the 1970 Cuban zafra (harvest) with its goal of 10 million tons of sugar. This book is a selection from the letters, diaries and poems of a Venceremos (we shall conquer)

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brigade. As a literary work, it is uneven and repetitive, but taken as a whole, it gives a good picture of life in the fields of Cuba during that important time, and the reaction of Northamericans to a new, communist society."

"University Review" issue number 18

III. CONNECTION AND AFFILIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

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A. Casa de las Americas (CDLA)

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A characterization of the CDLA is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

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A dinner and dance was held at the CDLA, 876 Broadway, New York, New York, on July 25, 1970, to raise funds for the Third Contingent of the VB.

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The VB held a dinner dance on Saturday, March 13, 1971, at 109 West 96th Street, New York, New York.

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B. Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) - New York Mission (NYM)

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A characterization of the MPIPR - NYM is contained in the Appendix attached hereto. (u)

On January 18, 1971, the Central Committee of the MPIPR - NYM met at the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York, New York. Before the meeting began a representative of the VB in New York City spoke about the forthcoming VB trip to Cuba. He stated that any individuals travelling with the VB to Cuba must be between the age of 19 and 21, have some education and be a member of the leftist organization. He also mentioned that they must be good workers because they will be cutting sugar cane while in Cuba. (u)

C. Young Lords Party (YLP)

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A characterization of the YLP is contained in the Appendix attached hereto. (u)

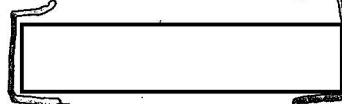
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The YLP Office at 256 East 3rd Street, New York, New York, contained a notice that the VB would hold a film showing at the Park Slope Day-Care Center, Brooklyn, New York, on March 14, 1971, at 2:00 PM, 5:00 PM and 8:00 PM. (u)

The VB film showing was held at 2:00 PM and 5:00 PM at the Park Slope Day-Care Center on President Street between 6th and 7th Avenues, Brooklyn, New York. The center being in the basement of a church at that location. Three films were shown: a Cuban film on sports, a Cuban film about children in the revolution, and a film about Mozambique. Approximately 10 to 15 individuals appeared for the 5:00 PM showing and it was indicated that the 8:00 PM showing would not be held because of a poor turnout. (u)



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Source made available a mimeographed leaflet captioned "The Venceremos Brigade in Brooklyn on Sunday", which stated as follows:

"Saludos!

"The Fourth Venceremos Brigade

"Will have a film showing at the Park Slope Day-Care Center on March 14, a Sunday at 2, at 5 and at 8 in the evening.

"The films include Cerro Pelado (A Cuban film), Mazambique, A day of Plane Hunting (a North Vietnamese film), and another film.

"The showing will be held in the basement of the Lyceum en President Street between 6-7th Avenue, (take D train to 7th Avenue, Brooklyn or IRT 7th Avenue to Grand Army Plaza).

"All four films for a dollar."

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D. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

According to [redacted], CPUSA Director of Public Relations, [redacted] of the VB had been given \$1,000 by the CP to assist in the travel of VB members to Cuba to cut sugar cane. Inasmuch as the VB is in financial difficulties [redacted] recently came to [redacted] for \$3,500 more and [redacted] had taken this matter under advisement. (S)(u)

E. Cuban Influence

[redacted] identified as one of the cadre leaders of the VB in Buffalo, New York, attended a meeting of the VB in New York City. After returning to Buffalo she made a statement to the effect that there were Cuban nationals at one of the meetings of the VB in New York City. (S)(u)

[redacted]

[redacted]

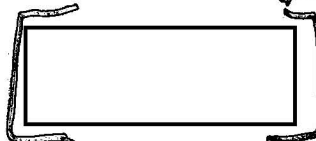
[redacted] and [redacted] had travelled to Cuba three weeks prior to the departure of the Third Contingent of the VB for the purpose of planning and organizing for the contingent. [redacted] and [redacted] were present with a number of high ranking Cuban officials to meet the members of the Third Contingent when their ship arrived in Cuba. (S)(u)

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The Cuban delegation of the Cuban Youth CP to the VB made the final approval on the selection of members on the National Committee of the VB in the United States and also for the regional representatives. (S)(u)



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IV. PROPAGANDA VALUE TO CUBAN GOVERNMENT] ~~(u)~~

Another government agency furnished the text of Havana, Cuba radio broadcasts concerning the activities in Cuba of the VB during the period October 3, 1970, through October 14, 1970. The following information was contained in these broadcasts on the dates indicated:

On October 3, 1970, and October 6, 1970, CARLOS LIMA, described as a Puerto Rican student and member of the VB, advised in a Cuban radio interview that United States "cultural imperialism" is an immense problem in Puerto Rico. He described medical, education and housing problems in Puerto Rico.

On October 4, 1970, a Cuban radio station broadcast an interview with MARIA ANTONIA CANDELARIA, described as a Puerto Rican school teacher, who traveled to Cuba with the VB; this interview was similar in nature to the CARLOS LIMA interviews.

On October 5, 1970, a Cuban radio station broadcast an interview with GRACIANO and MARIA del PILAR JAUREGUI, described as VB members. The JAUREGUI couple described the discrimination to which "chicanos" are subjected in the United States. They described what they termed the racial and cultural discrimination against "chicanos."

On October 12, 1970, a Cuban radio station broadcast an interview with MARIA QUEVEDO, described as a member of the second contingent of the VB. She indicated that the current, third, VB contingent working on the Isle of Pines, has not received the press coverage afforded the first two contingents, and then noted that there is a certain lack of romanticism in the work of the third contingent. She decried competition among the brigades and said that the primary stand of the entire VB is solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. She noted that individual VB members will return to their United States communities to share their Cuban experiences,

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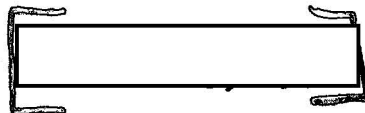
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that some will work in organizing further VB contingents, and that still others will help "politicizing" people in the United States about what is really happening in Cuba.

An October 13, 1970 Cuban radio broadcast noted that the 405 VB members are presently touring the six provinces in Cuba, having participated in tasks of fertilizing, planting and harvesting the citrus crop.

An October 20, 1970 Cuban radio transmission carried an interview of LAUA LEE RAMBOW, described as an American Indian and a member of the third contingent of the VB. RAMBOW described the manner in which older and younger American Indians today are struggling to attain cultural nationalism.

An October 14, 1970 Cuban radio broadcast indicated that the third contingent of the VB would leave that day for the United States. The broadcast continued that a farewell party had been held the previous night in honor of the VB, a farewell speech having been made by JAIME CROMBET, First Secretary of the Cuban Union of Young Communists. He stated that the confident and concrete demonstration of solidarity had been an outstanding revolutionary encouragement for both the youths and the Cuban people. CROMBET urged all youths to unite their efforts in the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people in the world. He added: "Our hearts will be eternally open to all revolutionaries in the United States, and at the same time, we will always be ready to combat the enemy, be it inside or outside, anywhere."



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The September 21, 1970, issue of "Granma" self-described as the official organ of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba at Havana, Cuba, contained an article captioned, "Venceremos Brigade Members Say Farewell To Indochinese Representatives Who Were Working On Isle of Pines".

This article set forth as follows:

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"Nueva Gerona--a farewell meeting was held here for the representatives from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam who worked for a week in the citrus groves here, along with members of the VB.

"Manuel Torres stated that blacks and whites, men and women, Vietnamese and North Americans, Laotians and Latins all worked for a common objective, 'a better future for all humanity, where all men and women will be brothers...'

"Torres emphasized that the battle of the people of Indochina is also our battle.

"Other speakers were Phona Phimachan, of the Laotian delegation; Le Thi Chi, from Vietnam; Lea Ibarra, of the VB.

"Among those on the platform were the Foreign Secretary of the Union of Young Communists, Javier Ardizones, Barbara Taso, Frances Young, and Melody Haitline, of VB, and Phan Thi An, member of the People's Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

"Granma"

September 21, 1970

The March 24, 1971, issue of "Granma" at page 1, contained an article captioned "First Group of Young Americans From Venceremos Brigade Arrives To Work On Sugar Harvest".

This article set forth as follows:

"Fifty-nine young Americans arrived at Jose Marti International Airport to help with the harvesting of the Cuban sugar crop, as members of the VB.

"ANGEL GUERRA, member of the National Bureau of the UJC; RAMON AJON, director of the camp for the VB; and several members of the Cuban delegation which will accompany the young Americans welcomed them.

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"Immediately this new contingent of Americans, which has come to show their support and to cooperate in the work of the harvest - just as other brigades did during the campaign of 1970 while a third group was helping with the citrus crop on the Isle of Pines - was taken to their camp near the Ruben Martinez Villena Sugar Mill, in the area of Aguacate.

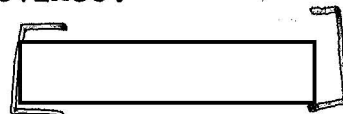
"Like the previous brigades, and the others who will soon arrive, bringing the number of brigade members up to 300, they will work at cutting cane. This time they will be ground at the Boris Luis Santa Coloma Mill in Madruga.

"The young Americans of this fourth contingent of Venceremos Brigade came from various states, and they are part of the radical and progressive movement in the United States.

"Cuban students and laborers will work with the Americans of the Venceremos Brigade." "Granma", March 24, 1971

Another government agency furnished the following information obtained from a Havana Cuba radio broadcast on March 7, 1971:

"On March 26, 1971, an additional 42 young Americans arrived in Cuba as part of the fourth contingent of the VB. This contingent began its volunteer cane cutting last Monday (March 22, 1971). The contingent now totals 164 persons. It was indicated that the VB contingent will work for six weeks in Aguacate, Havana Province."



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The other government agency mentioned above furnished further information obtained from a Havana radio broadcasted an additional 57 youths had arrived the previous evening (March 29, 1971). It was further noted in this broadcast that this VB contingent is composed of representatives from progressive and

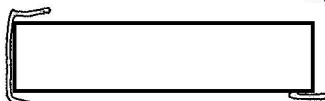
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radical organizations from 29 American States.



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Another government agency furnished the text of a April 13, 1971, Havana Cuba television broadcast of a press conference held by members of the Fourth Contingent of the VB at a Cuban work camp. Cuban and foreign journalists participated and the following VB members participated:

MAX HIMEL
NILDA ALVEIRO
RICK RICHARD
PATRICIA ROMNEY
GREGORIO SALAZAR
PHIL GARDINER
SKIP DELANO
(All names phonetic)

At the beginning of the conference, PATRICIA ROMNEY read the following statement (as translated from Spanish) in the name of all her comrades:

"We, the fourth Venceremos Brigade, join hands with our Cuban brothers and sisters in the struggle against American Imperialism and for the construction of a society of the new man and woman. We acknowledge that the United States has maintained its neocolonialist empire by dividing the masses with racial and class boundaries. We denounced the divide-and-conquer policy when we came to Cuba to demonstrate our solidarity through our work, not only with our Cuban brothers and sisters, but with the struggle of all the oppressed peoples and the Third World.

"In doing this, we smashed the criminal economic and mental blockade that the United States is trying to force upon Cuba. We acknowledge that racism is one of the basic divisive tools that the American white ruling class uses.

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"The realities of underdevelopment are not only manifested in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also in the urban and rural areas of America.

"The United States has never shown respect for the integrity of the peoples of the Third World and other oppressed people. We must point out the harassing and repressive policies of the U. S. Government against present and former members of the Brigade. The U. S. people are increasingly aware of the lack of truth in U. S. Government announcements; for example, the use of Lieutenant CALLEY as a scapegoat in trying to cover up for the Government's genocidal policies in Indochina, and U. S. Government sources' attempts to curb all information that does not emanate from them in connection with the just struggles of all peoples in the world.

"We will take advantage of this visit to bring back to the U. S. people the truth about the Cuban revolution and the imperialist and neocolonialist policies that are trying to obstruct it. On this tenth anniversary of the Cuban people's victory against U. S. aggression at Playa Giron, we reaffirm our support for the just struggles of the Vietnamese, Dominican, Guinean, and Palestine peoples. Wherever we look we see the need to fight against American imperialism, racism, and neocolonialism. Cuba won, we shall win."

Reporter: "Could you tell us something about the measures adopted by your Government, and the methods used by you to overcome them?"

Answer (No English voice heard in the background): "Regarding the question posed as to why we come to Cuba in spite of imperialism's efforts to stop us, we would like to say that the struggle that is taking place is universal. The peoples acknowledge it, and we are aware that we have to demonstrate our solidarity with our brothers and sisters in the Third World and also with Cuba. It has to be done by all means. By all means, we had to come to Cuba to show our solidarity with the Cuban people and with all oppressed peoples that struggle against American imperialism throughout the world."

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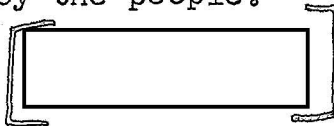
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Reporter ALBERTO LANDA from "Juventud Rebelde" newspaper:

"Your trip to Cuba has been the object of speculations. Many persons in the United States have tried to tie in the brigade members with sabotage actions that have recently occurred in the United States. I would like to know your opinion regarding this matter and, at the same time, what are the objectives of the U. S. Government and its agencies in connection with this problem?"

Answer (No English voice in background):

"In connection with the bombs that have been set off, we would like to make it known that we support the struggle at all levels. In connection with any ties between our visit to Cuba and the bombs, we want it known that we have come here to construct and help the Cubans construct. It would be interesting to note that there are talks about the bombs in the United States when bombs are precisely being used to destroy North Vietnam. However, we have come to Cuba to help construct something as opposed to this attitude of the U. S. Government. The United States Government is trying to establish some connection between us and the bomb blasts that have occurred in the United States simply because it does not want anyone to learn that we have come here to construct, and that we will return home to help disseminate the truth about what is really going on in Cuba. We will tell the U. S. people how a new society and a new way of life is being constructed, a society in which bombs would never be used to destroy the people."



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The April 18, 1971, issue of "Granma" contained an article captioned "Statement By The Venceremos Brigade 'We Came To Cuba To Demonstrate Our Solidarity Through Work'."

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This article is set forth in part as follows:

" 'Cuba won, Vietnam is winning and we will win...' With these words, the young people of the Venceremos Brigade concluded their press conference at their camp located in the area of Aguacate, Havana Province.

"A panel composed of seven young members of the Venceremos Brigade, which has been cutting cane for the last two weeks, answered questions put to them by both Cuban and foreign newsmen.

"At the beginning of the press conference, Pat Romney, on behalf of the Brigade, read a declaration in which its members underscored their solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and denounced the policy of U. S. imperialism toward the peoples of the Third World.

"The other members of the panel - Nilda Alverio, Marge Himel, Ric Ricard, Gregorio Salazar, Phil Gardiner and Skip Delano - joined Pat Romney in answering questions posed by the newsmen.

"Press Statement

"The statement read by members of the Brigade, is as follows:

"We, the fourth Venceremos Brigade, join hands with our Cuban brothers and sisters in the struggle against U. S. imperialism and for the construction of a society of the new man and new woman. We know that the United States has maintained its neocolonialist empire by dividing the masses along racial and class lines. By coming to Cuba to demonstrate solidarity by means of our work, not only with our Cuban brothers and sisters but also with the oppressed peoples of the Third World, we are denouncing the policy of 'divide and conquer.' In doing this, we are breaking the criminal economic and mental blockade the United States is trying to impose on Cuba.

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" 'We recognize that racism is one of the principal instruments for dividing used by the white ruling class of the United States. Colored people are waging a struggle everywhere in the world, just as they are within the United States. The realities of underdevelopment are reflected not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America but also in urban and rural areas of North America. We affirm that the common economic, cultural and racial exploitation of our brothers and sisters of the Third World has put them in the vanguard of the struggle for the liberation and development of mankind.

" 'The United States has never respected the integrity of the peoples of the Third World and other oppressed peoples, and the reality of the economic and armed intervention by the U. S. Government has obliged these peoples to view their struggles as the same struggle of all. OSPAAAL, the Organization of African Unity and the united struggle of the peoples of Indochina are examples of this. Therefore, the growing anti-imperialist white movement in the United States salutes the examples of the blacks, Latins, Indians and Asians both in the United States and in the Third World.

" 'Finally, we must point out the U. S. Government's policy of persecution and repression against past and present members of our Brigade. It is clear that the object of this policy of repression is that of maintaining the U. S. blockade, a blockade that is aimed not only at isolating the Cuban Revolution but also at isolating the minds of the U. S. people. The people of the United States are increasingly more aware of the lack of veracity of the information put out by the U. S. Government. One example of this is the utilization of Lieutenant Calley as a scapegoat in trying to disguise the Government's policy of genocide in Indochina. Despite attempts by U. S. governmental circles to repress any source of information other than that established by themselves in connection with the just struggles of the peoples of the world, we will take advantage of this opportunity to tell the U. S. people the truth about the Cuban Revolution and the imperialist and neocolonialist policy employed in trying to put obstacles in its path.

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" 'On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Cuban people's victory over U. S. aggression at Playa Giron, we reaffirm our support of the just struggles of the peoples of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Guinea and Palestine. Everywhere we look, we see the need to fight against U. S. imperialism, racism and colonialism.

" 'Cuba won, Vietnam is winning and we will win...' "

" Answering newsmen's questions, the young people on the panel asserted their legal right to come to Cuba, and Puerto Rican Nilda Alverio spoke of repressive measures used by the U. S. Government against Venceremos Brigade members...

"Concerning what the capitalist press has to say about the Venceremos Brigade, Marge Himel commented that the press as a rule claims that 'we come here to be trained in guerrilla methods. They can't think of any other reason and fail to understand that the Cuban Revolution means the creation of the new man and the new woman.'

"In answer to a question regarding what they had expected to find in Cuba, the young people said, 'We had expected to find a society very different from the one we live in, and it turned out just that way', adding that they had seen it in their relations with others at work, in the great spirit of the Cuban people, 'who know they are building communism, a society that will benefit all the people.'

"Nilda Alverio related that a 21-year-old black comrade in her brigade exclaimed one day that she had been the victim of repression for 21 years and that she felt free for the first time in her life. 'That's how we feel', Nilda remarked...

"Marge Himel related her experiences in her contacts with the Cuban people, both in Havana and in the town of Aguacate, commenting that she had been impressed by the high political level implicit in the many questions children asked her and by the fact that the people of Cuba do not regard the people of the United States as their enemies.

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"The sentiment of the entire Brigade was summed up by SKIP DELANO when he said 'We have learned to love the Cuban people.'"

"Juana Carrasco"

"Granma"
April 18, 1971

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GLOSSARY

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[redacted]

[redacted] attended an SDS meeting at Boston University in Boston, Massachusetts in March, 1969.

[redacted]

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[redacted]

~~(u)~~

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~(u)~~

[redacted] attended a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) Marxist class held at 210 West 101st Street, New York City (NYC), on January 5, 1967 and April 16, 1967. ~~(u)~~

[redacted]

~~(u)~~

A characterization of the PLP is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

[redacted]

The Alternate U. (AU) bulletin for the Spring of 1967 reflects that [redacted] taught a course in [redacted]

AU Bulletin,
Spring, 1967

A characterization of AU is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

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[redacted]

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

[redacted]

[redacted] was [redacted] for the
Student National Coordinating Committee
(SNCC) in 1968.

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

A characterization of the SNCC is contained in
the appendix attached hereto.

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

[redacted]

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

[redacted]

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

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[redacted]

The March 16, 1968 issue of the "Guardian" listed

[redacted] as a sponsor of the [redacted]

[redacted] (NUC).

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The July 10, 1968 issue of the "New York Times", a NYC daily newspaper, contained an item reflecting that the founders of the NUC conceive of it as a post graduate SDS.

A characterization of the "Guardian" is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was in Havana, Cuba for the July 26, 1970 celebration for Cuban Liberation.

[REDACTED] (u)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was one of the leaders of the NY Newsreel in the NYC area in 1968.

[REDACTED] (u)

A characterization of Newsreel is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

[REDACTED]

Records of the New York
City Police Department,
NY, NY
June 25, 1968

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

of Liberation News Service (LNS) and
SDS shared an SDS meeting at the City College of
New York, NY, NY, on September 23, 1969.

[REDACTED]

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A characterization of LNS is contained in the
appendix attached hereto.

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APPENDIX

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ALTERNATE U.

The "Washington Square Journal," a New York University student newspaper, in its February 10, 1969, issue on page 1, carried an article entitled, "Alternate U; Offers No Grades, Credit," which stated in part as follows:

"A 'college' free of grades, credit and age restrictions created to give alienated Americans the tools to correct social injustices will officially open its doors today in a third-floor loft at 137 West 14 St., Manhattan.

"Aptly called 'Alternate U.', the night school will provide people disaffected from establishment education and the American Empire in general with a means of understanding and then coping with the forces that influence their lives and the human conditions."

The Fall, 1970, Catalog of Alternate U. reflects that the school was at that time located at 530 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York. Among courses listed in this catalog were:

Introduction to Marxism-Leninism, Das Kapital, Anarcho-Communism, Revolutionary Cuba, Redefining Marxism in the Light of Phenomenology, Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Revolution, Workshop in Film and Revolution and Self Defense Workshop.

A source advised on January 26, 1971, that Alternate U. was at that time defunct.

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APPENDIX

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AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Labor Party:

"AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

- "1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)
- "2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the * * * American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

On October 7, 1956, PETER HAWLEY, New York State Chairman, American Labor Party, publicly announced the American Labor Party State Committee unanimously approved a resolution dissolving the organization and ordering the liquidation of its assets.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

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According to the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (cont'd)

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is... by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces...are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the United States of America.

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CASA DE LAS AMERICAS

On May 14, 1970, a source advised that the Casa de las Americas (CDLA), an organization composed of pro-FIDEL CASTRO and pro-Communist individuals, formed in April, 1964, has its headquarters on the fourth floor, 876 Broadway, New York City.

The source advised that CDLA is ostensibly formed as a social club, but in effect it acts as a focal point for revolutionary peoples sympathetic to the Cuban government. Although it is not directly controlled by the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN), many Cuban personnel attend its functions and at least an indirect link with CMUN is present. CDLA has fund-raising affairs and contributes money to the CMUN. CDLA also gives financial support to other revolutionary groups representing countries other than Cuba. Through CMUN, various propaganda materials of a Communist nature are found at CDLA.

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COMMITTEE OF RETURNED VOLUNTEERS (CRV)

A source on May 13, 1969, furnished CRV literature in which the CRV was described as being established in 1966 in New York, as an independent national organization of persons who have worked as volunteers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Its members have served in such programs as the American Friends Service Committee, the Peace Corps, International Voluntary Services, Frontier Interns, Yale-in-China and others.

The CRV, whose aims are educational and political, seeks to influence United States policy toward Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as towards emerging communities in this country. It has provided support for: "those who have chosen to resist the draft, overseas volunteers who have exercised their rights of expression, the end of travel restrictions on United States citizens, and the internationalization of volunteer service programs," among other aims and purposes.

A second source on December 16, 1969, also furnished CRV literature indicating that "forty members of CRV visited Cuba during the summer of 1969 to experience first hand life in a revolutionary society, and to express solidarity with the Cubans' defiance of United States hegemony in Latin America."

A third source on September 30, 1970, made available the September, 1970 issue of the "CRV" (Newsletter) which announced the CRV was located at 840 West Oakdale, Chicago, Illinois, 60657; telephone 312-477-3340.

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THE "GUARDIAN" FORMERLY KNOWN AS
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN" WEEKLY GUARDIAN
ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian:"

- "1. ...'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly... it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'"

Beginning with the February 10, 1968, issue, the "National Guardian" became the "Guardian."

The May 9, 1970 issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly."

The December, 1968 issue of the "New York Times" carried an interview with the editors of the "Guardian." One of the editors stated: "Our job is to build a radical movement. To quote the Cuban Revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it...we are movement people acting as journalists."

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

A source advised in May, 1970 that the "Guardian" is located at 32 West 22nd Street, New York, New York.

A characterization of the American Labor Party is attached separately.

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LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE
THE NEW MEDIA PROJECT

The Liberation News Service is self-described as an underground news wire service, with headquarters in New York City, which publishes news packets twice weekly that are sold to radical New Left underground newspapers. It was founded in 1967, and reportedly has over 200 subscribers.

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APPENDIX

MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO
(PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)

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The Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) was organized in November, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico. It has a current membership of about 700 - 800 persons with several thousand sympathizers. The MPIPR is organized in missions which are located in various towns throughout Puerto Rico. There are also members and sympathizers in the continental United States. The MPIPR National Headquarters is located at 1122 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

At the time the MPIPR was organized, it indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leader of the organization, in a speech in 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria, 1964, if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States.

MARI BRAS, in an editorial appearing in the March 15, 1970, issue of "Claridad," the MPIPR newspaper, stated that "in Puerto Rico there is an incipient armed struggle on the part of pro-independence individuals who consider it their patriotic duty to conduct warfare against the empire which dominates us. We believe that every Puerto Rican has the right to make war against the invaders of our country. And war is mainly killing and dying."

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous public meetings and demonstrations at which they protested compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Vietnam. The MPIPR has further urged the boycott of elections in Puerto Rico.

On April 21, 1970, during the course of a program on WTSJ Television in San Juan, Puerto Rico, MARI BRAS stated that the MPIPR has innumerable contacts with revolutionary organizations in South America, Canada, Cuba, Europe, Africa and Asia. Through 1969, the MPIPR had a permanent representative stationed in Havana, Cuba.

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MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA
DE PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MPIPR) -
NEW YORK MISSION (NYM)

A source advised on August 15, 1961, that the New York Mission (NYM) of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) was organized on August 6, 1961, in New York City.

A second source advised on May 13, 1970, that the NYM is also known as the "Mision Vito Marcantonio." The source further advised that the NYM continues to support and promote all of the aims and principles of the MPIPR as set forth by the headquarters of the MPIPR in Puerto Rico.

On December 5, 1967, the second source advised that on December 3, 1967, the offices of the NYM were moved from 336 East 13th Street, New York, New York, to the Casa Puerto Rico, which is the meeting and social hall of the NYM at 106 East 14th Street, New York, New York.

On May 13, 1970, the second source advised that the NYM continues to utilize the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York, New York, as its official office and meeting hall.

A characterization of the MPIPR
is set out separately.

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NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The Committee on Un-American Activities, House report 3123, September 21, 1950, cites the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) as a Communist front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party.

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A confidential source advised during April, 1969, that the President of the NLG stated at a NLG banquet held in New York City on April 12, 1969, that the NLG has organized young people to work in a radical movement which is seeking to destroy a corrupt, violent society.

A second source advised on April 17, 1969, that the President of the New York Chapter of the NLG spoke at above banquet stating that the purpose of the NLG is to advance the "social revolution" taking place in this country. In furtherance of this purpose, the NLG has established Student Guild Chapters and given counsel to draft resisters and military personnel seeking peace.

A third source furnished information on October 20, 1969, that the NLG is going through a change which is evidenced by dissension between the young and old members of the guild.

[redacted] Hanford and Henderson Corporation, 71 Murray Street, New York City, advised on May 20, 1970, that the NLG currently occupies the 9th floor at 1 Hudson Street, New York, New York, with a lease effective until April, 1974.

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NEW YORK COMMITTEE TO FREE ANGELA DAVIS

ANGELA DAVIS was apprehended in New York City on October 13, 1970, for Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution in the State of California. A warrant had been issued charging her with kidnapping and murder. DAVIS is a self-admitted Communist Party (CP) member who had been a teacher at the University of California at Los Angeles.

A confidential source advised on October 16, 1970, that the National Office of the CP of the United States of America (USA) is setting up a defense committee for ANGELA DAVIS. JAMES TORMEY who is in charge of the Defense Committee CP, USA, is responsible for this task.

The "Daily World", an east coast communist newspaper, issue of October 24, 1970, carried an article which stated "The New York Committee to Free Angela Davis" was formed October 23, 1970, and JOSE STEVENS, described as "the Harlem Organizer of the Communist Party" was elected chairman of the committee.

The "Daily World" issue of October 30, 1970, carried an advertisement stating the New York Committee to Free Angela Davis is located at 29 West 15th Street, 7th floor, New York City.

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THE NEWSREEL

The Newsreel, according to its own catalogue number 5, published in March, 1969, was founded in January, 1968, with its primary objectives set forth as "Newsreel hopes to serve as a medium of agitation, diffusion and exchange of revolutionary experiences as well as of the most noble ideas of men who struggle for the full liberty of humanity."

In November, 1969, a source furnished information which reflected that "Newsreel is a national political propaganda organization that has approximately 150 full-time activists in its nine regional offices. The group uses films and other propaganda in aiding the revolutionary movement. Newsreel members speak with people about the films whenever possible, and in each region, work with movement campaigns through their specific skills: filmmaking and distribution, research, poster and leaflet making and general propaganda work."

In March, 1970, a second source advised that The Newsreel office is located at 322 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York. This source further stated that The Newsreel had developed into an organization under the concept of a "communal type of leadership" in that all members were equal and all had equal voice in running the organization. Individual leaders could no longer be defined under the commune principles but all members identified with the New Left movement in all respects.

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PRENSA LATINA

Prensa Latina (PL) is a Cuban news agency organized June 16, 1959, with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, and branches throughout the world. Its New York Office is located in Room 367, United Nations Secretariat Building, New York City. It follows an editorial policy which is anti-United States and pro-Soviet Union.

On April 16, 1962, PL filed a statement with the United States Department of Justice conceding that the agency receives the sum of \$125,000 (Cuban) monthly from Radio Difusora Nacional, an agency of or under the supervision of a ministry of the Government of the Republic of Cuba.

On April 18, 1962, PL entered a plea of nolo contendere in Federal District Court, Washington, DC, to a charge of failure to comply with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, and was fined \$2,000.

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PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31, to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention, MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and LEVI LAUB, FRED JEROME, JARED ISRAEL, WILLIAM EPTON, JACOB ROSEN, JEFFREY GORDON and WALTER LINDER were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

Source advised on May 25, 1970, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

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A source advised that the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYMII) faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held a national conference at Atlanta, Georgia, from November 26 to 30, 1969. At this conference it was decided to form a new organization to be known as Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), characterized as a mass anti-imperialist youth organization, said organization being proposed as separate and distinct in form and content from SDS. The "Principles of Unity" adopted by the conference included a struggle against white supremacy and male supremacy; fights against imperialism, anticommunism, fascism and oppression of youth; and support of the right of self-determination of all "oppressed nations," also support of the right of all "oppressed and exploited" peoples "to armed self-defense." It was agreed that RYM would not be a Marxist-Leninist organization; however, source said this was decided in order to indicate an organization broad enough in form to be acceptable to everyone. A temporary National Steering Committee (NSC) made up of eight females and two males was elected to govern RYM until national officers could be elected during the Spring of 1970.

RYM publications have listed the RYM National Office (NO) at Post Office Box 5421 and Post Office Box 77012 C, both Atlanta, Georgia, and a second source has advised that the NO has no office space but would probably be considered as located at Apartment 27, 1067 Alta Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta.

Second source advised that women dominated the founding conference and have continued to dominate NSC meetings to the point that "women's liberation" has apparently become the RYM's principal issue - also that RYM's poor financial condition has resulted in its failure to publish a paper. During early 1970, RYM has decided to cater to the working class rather than youth, since the potential for social revolution lies in workers.

A third source has stated that it was decided at the March, 1970, NSC meeting that RYM women had decided the organization will be molded into a "working class, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, problack nationalist, people's women's liberation organization."

A characterization of the SDS is set out separately.

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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A confidential source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was National Chairman during the period of 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of the black people in the United States. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

A second confidential source advised that in April, 1969, SNCC moved its National Headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City where it is presently located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, New York City.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced that the organization was dropping the word "nonviolent" from its title and would be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

A Federal warrant was issued for BROWN on May 14, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging him with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting to riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).

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STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (cont'd)

A third confidential source advised that as of May, 1970, SNCC has secured a lease on premises in Augusta, Georgia, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffee house" for GIs from nearby Fort Gordon, Georgia, to disseminate anti-establishment propaganda.

SNCC also has in the planning stage an agrarian reform program for black tenant farmers and the resumption of classes at the H. Rap Brown Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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Students for a Democratic Society, commonly known as SDS, came into existence at a founding convention held during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," Marxist-Leninist ideology of various shadings became predominant during 1968-1969 with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. SDS moved from involvement in the civil rights struggle to an anti-Vietnam war position to advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist line linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. All major factions within SDS embrace Marxism-Lenism and identify internationally with China, Cuba and North Vietnam as countries leading the worldwide struggles against the United States. However, the Soviet Union was regarded as imperialist and with the Communist Party, United States of America, "revisionist" in nature.

SDS operated under a national constitution which called for an annual National Convention (NC) and quarterly National Council meetings wherein programs were initiated and debated. Three national officers were elected annually with a National Interim Committee to run the organization. Regional offices and college chapters elected delegates to the national meetings but each functioned independently on local matters. Its official publication "Fire" (formerly "New Left Notes") last appeared in December, 1969.

Internal factionalism of serious proportions developed during 1968 - 1969 and the following three factions evolved as a result of a split at the June, 1969, NC: Weatherman, Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The effect of the split on SDS chapters throughout the country was divisive. Some aligned with one or the other of the three major factions. Others, unable to identify with any faction, disassociated with SDS completely and changed names.

The SDS national office in recent years was located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was closed in February, 1970.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (cont'd)

The Weatherman and RYM groups no longer consider themselves associated with SDS, and the WSA group refers to itself as the true SDS.

Characterizations of Weatherman, WSA and RYM are set out separately.

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APPENDIX

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VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) has been publicly described as a group of American volunteers travelling to Cuba, at the invitation of the Cuban Government, to assist in the harvesting of sugar cane.

The VB, organized in June, 1969, by a coalition of the "New Left" in open defiance of the United States Department of State ban on travel to Cuba, has already sponsored two contingents to Cuba. One group of over 200 Americans travelled to Cuba via Mexico in November - December, 1969, for a stay of almost two months. The second group of over 500 Americans departed by Cuban vessel at St. John's, New Brunswick, Canada, on February 13, 1970, and returned on April 28, 1970.

"Venceremos" translated means "we will win," a slogan of the late CHE GUEVERA, Cuban revolutionary leader.

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WEATHERMAN

Initially called the "Action Faction," Weatherman came into being immediately before the June, 1969, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention (NC). At this NC Weatherman won all three national officer positions and a majority of the National Interim Committee as well. Subsequently, they took over the SDS National Office (NO) in Chicago, and controlled its funds, paper and national records. Although internal struggle existed until late 1969, Weatherman for all major purposes controlled SDS nationally from June, 1969, until its NO closed in February, 1970. At this time it no longer considered itself part of SDS.

The term Weatherman emerged from an ideological paper prepared by its leaders entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" ("New Left Notes" June 18, 1969). This statement outlined the basic stance of Weatherman: Marxist-Leninist in content but with strong advocacy that action not theory would bring about revolution in the United States. This posture was complemented with an international identification to the Cuban revolution and CASTRO's statement that the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution.

During October, 1969, Weatherman riots in Chicago resulted in more than 260 arrests for mob action and related charges. A program of armed struggle was finalized during a December, 1969, "War Council" wherein terrorist tactics and political assassination were contemplated. The basic strength of Weatherman was then revealed to be some 300 - 350 nationally and geographically apportioned to the Midwest, New York, and some Northwest.

As its rhetoric of violence escalated, Weatherman leaders increasingly discussed the necessity of an underground operation wherein more than 90 percent of the organization would be submerged; "affinity groups" of three - five members would function independently. In February, 1970, Weatherman leaders announced a program of "strategic sabotage" with police and military installations as primary targets.

In February, 1970, Weatherman abandoned the SDS NO, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and throughout the country entered an underground status.

A characterization of the SDS is set out separately.

~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE/
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

~~SECRET~~

A source advised during August, 1969, that at the National Convention (NC) of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held in Chicago, Illinois, during June, 1969, a split arose between the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the National Office (NO), the NO becoming known as the Weatherman faction. The PLP faction drew the largest support among those in attendance at the NC.

Source further advised that during late Summer, 1969, the PLP faction of SDS established its National Headquarters (NH) on the second floor of a loft-type building at 173A Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The campaign on which the PLP faction centered was to build a worker student alliance or a campus worker student alliance. Thus, they adopted the names of Worker Student Alliance (WSA) or Campus Worker Student Alliance.

Source stated that the "New Left Notes," printed in New York City, is the official publication of the WSA faction.

A second source advised during January, 1970, that within the SDS, the WSA is a caucus of which the PLP constitutes the leadership.

A third source advised during July, 1970, that during demonstrations staged in the Boston area during the Spring and Summer of 1970 by the NH, the main theme of previous demonstrations staged by the NH shifted from protestations of the Vietnam War and other United States foreign policy matters to attacking domestic issues such as racism and unemployment and demonstrating support of the "workers' struggle."

Characterizations of the SDS
and PLP are set out separately.

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NY 100-166943

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APPENDIX

"WORKERS WORLD"

On May 1, 1970, a source advised that the "Workers World" is the official newspaper of the Workers World Party, published twice monthly, with editorial offices located at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York.

A characterization of the Workers World Party is set out separately.

~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

On April 17, 1959, a source advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group, under the leadership of National Committee member SAM BALLAN, split from the SWP.

The source stated that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of LEON TROTSKY, and retreating from the fight for the World Socialist Revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery, individuals characterized by the minority as petty-bourgeois.

The minority program, according to the source, advocated unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, and has as its goal, the building of a revolutionary party, with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing Capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

On May 12, 1960, this source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 1, 1970, a second source advised that the Workers World Party, which maintains headquarters at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York, supports the Peoples Republic of China in its ideological dispute with the Soviet Union, but at the same time has called for a peaceful solution to recent Sino-Soviet border disputes.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

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APPENDIX

YOUNG LORDS PARTY

~~SECRET~~

In an article appearing in "The New York Times," December 30, 1969, page 30, PABLO GUZMAN, also known as Yoruba, then Deputy Minister of Information for the Young Lords Organization (YLO) in New York, stated the YLO was composed of revolutionaries, was one with the Cuban revolution, desired a socialist society, and independence for Puerto Rico.

According to a source, YORUBA spoke at C. W. Post College, Greenvale, New York, on March 5, 1970. In the speech, YORUBA delivered a scathing attack on all whites and declared that "from now on" the black and Puerto Rican brothers will unite against "the pigs." He pledged an organized campaign of violence and singled out Jews and white liberals as the main enemy "of our people."

A second source advised that the YLO is composed mostly of Puerto Rican youths and originated as an organization at Chicago, Illinois. The YLO is based on the philosophy of MAO Tse-tung and HO Chi-minh, with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Young Lords Party (YLP), according to a statement read over its radio program, "Palante," on station WBAI-FM on May 25, 1970, declared itself autonomous from the YLO National in Chicago, with a National Headquarters then located at 1678 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. According to this statement, the YLO in New York was first formed in July, 1969, as the New York State Chapter of the YLO and subsequently received a degree of autonomy as the YLO-East Coast Region. The split was attributed to a lack of political leadership on the part of the YLO National in Chicago.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

June 7, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bufile (105-195696)
NYfile (100-166943)

Title Venceremos Brigade

Character Internal Security-Anarchist
(New Left - Foreign Influence)

Reference is made to report of Special Agent
[redacted] dated and captioned as above
at New York, New York.

b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/14/72	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/25/71 - 1/31/72
TITLE OF CASE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB) aka American Brigade, C and C Associates and Brigada Venceremos		REPORT MADE BY [redacted]	TYPED BY jss

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - NEW LEFT

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)~~

REFERENCE

~~DATE: 12/14/83
cover page only~~

Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/7/71, at
New York.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Secret" because it contains information from [redacted] on 5/27/71, 5/28/71, and 5/29/71; and from [redacted] on 12/6/71, which was so classified.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 60200NC/SEC/PAJ/KPT
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1-6 2/13/20029
Buckete on cover page it classified per OGA letter 2/5/04.
#981107~~

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

☐ NONE

CONVIC.	AUTO	FUG	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES

ACQUIT- TALS

CASE HAS BEEN

34

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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b2
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Copies of this report are being disseminated locally to the 108th MI Group, Second OSI District, USAF, NYC, and Naval Investigative Service Office, NYC, for information purposes.

Ten copies of this report are being furnished to the Bureau for appropriate dissemination and one information copy of this report is being furnished to selective offices in whose area the VB has been active in connection with the Fourth Contingent of the VB or concerning attendance at the Latin-American Seminar, held in Cuba, during December, 1971 to January, 1972, or in recruiting and participation in the activities of the Fifth Contingent of the VB which is scheduled to go to Cuba early in 1972.

Individual investigations have been initiated on all members of the Fourth Contingent of the VB by the New York Office on those persons who reside within the territory covered by this office. Similarly, investigations will be initiated on all individuals residing within this area who are members of the Fifth Contingent of the VB.

The following individuals, who are listed as officers of the VB (New York Region), in the resolutions recently filed in connection with the VB bank account maintained at the [redacted] New York, New York, are the subject's of the following case files:

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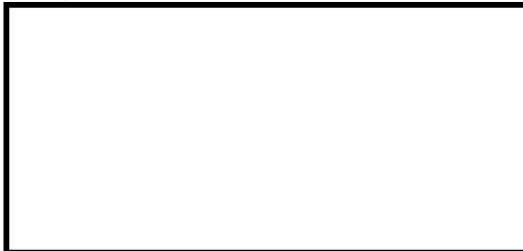
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Of the eight current members of the National Committee of the VB, the following two individuals reside in the area covered by the New York Office:



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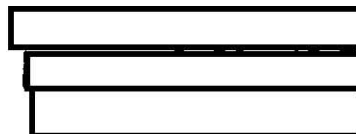
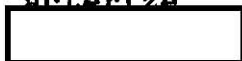
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LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report on the activities of captioned organization.

- P* -

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of
Date

[redacted]
2/14/72

Office New York, New York

b7C

Field Office File #

100-166943

Bureau File # 105-195696

Title

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

Classified by 361 VRT/AMJ
Declassify on: OADR
P. 9, 14, 15 only

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

Synopsis

[Large redacted area]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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b1

DETAILS:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF
DATE 10-31-81

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Info on pg 46 thru 52 unclass per OADR letter 2/5/04.
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For the purpose of clarity, individuals mentioned in this report will be characterized where suitable characterizations are available in the glossary of this report.

The Venceremos Brigade was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of "New Left" organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to that country by the United States Department of State. The ostensible purpose of the travel was to assist the CASTRO Regime in the harvesting of sugar cane and other agricultural products and to give young Americans the experience of living in a revolutionary communist country.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Background

On November 30, 1971, source made available a copy of a printed letter from the "Brigada Venceremos" addressed "Dear Friend," and signed [redacted] for the National Committee. This letter is set forth as follows:

b7C

"Dear Friend"

"Over the last two years, the Venceremos Brigade has organized more than 1500 North Americans involved in the struggle against imperialism to participate in a program of solidarity with Cuba and Latin America. The best known aspect of this program has been sending groups to Cuba to work in the annual sugar harvest.

"This aspect is certainly continuing. Another brigade of 300 is scheduled to leave in February '72 to live and work in socialist Cuba for two months. But the experience of the past two years has led us to the point of significantly expanding the political conception and activities of the Brigade.

NY 100-166943

"No longer is it sufficient to express solidarity symbolically through the physical work we do in Cuba. Solidarity must be expressed concretely - in our day to day activities in this country, all year around. Toward this end, the Brigade is being developed into one of the major vehicles in this country for disseminating information and propaganda on Cuba and the liberation struggles taking place throughout the underdeveloped world. It is our view that the development of an anti-imperialist understanding requires making the concrete link between the struggles taking place around the world and the steadily growing movements against exploitation within the United States. We have defined this as our primary political objective.

"Already, much of our work along these lines is being done with the scores of radical and progressive organizations from which brigade members are recruited. We have initiated a monthly newspaper containing news and analysis of struggles throughout the underdeveloped world, are setting up a resource and information center, distributing literature, films, books, posters, etc., speaking, and more. b7C

"The plans and possibilities are extensive. The necessary funds, however, simply do not exist. Convinced of the extreme importance of this work, we have developed the human and organizational resources to carry it on, and at this time must be about the business of making the project financially feasible. We therefore urge you to contribute what you can to this indispensable effort. Please send your generous contribution to: Venceremos Brigade, P. O. Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

"Venceremos, We Will Win



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~~SECRET~~
The October 27, 1971, issue of "The Paper", a student newspaper at the City College of New York (CCNY), at page 5, contained an item captioned "Cuban Va!" by BERNARD HUGHES, which contained an article on the VB set forth as follows:

"The function of the Venceremos Brigade is to organize groups of North Americans to go to Cuba. These North Americans must have a political consciousness that has been exhibited through practice. Practice is obtained through an organization, the community, a school, or any group that is building an anti-imperialist consciousness in people. The Venceremos Brigade gives people an opportunity to put into practice socialist ideas of work and collectivity. People meet, work with, and learn from people in liberation struggles from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Through physical work is expressed a solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, to help the Cubans in their struggle against underdevelopment, the result of three hundred years of colonialism and imperialism.

"Observers will see people involved in working to develop a socialist society, and also see how the United States Government is trying everything within its means to strangle the Revolution economically and to keep the peoples of the world from knowing the truth. Lastly, the Brigade hopes to facilitate dialogue among our fellow North Americans around the issues of racism, sexism, and classism.

"Fifteen hundred North Americans and Puerto Ricans have gone so far. These were mostly white students and activists, and a smaller percentage of third world people.

"A tremendous effort is now being made to recruit third world people. We emphasize this because of the leadership roles third world people have inside and outside of the United States. There is a necessity for third world people to live in a third world society that has achieved its own liberation. It is of extreme importance that third world people learn the steps that were taken to gain that freedom. The common oppression that poor whites share makes it important that white workers also participate in this experience.

NY 100-166943

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"Participation in the ~~struggle~~ means three months of preparation before leaving. Applicants will be interviewed and selected ~~for~~ cadre if they show serious attitudes toward struggle.

"Once they are in the cadre, applicants study the political history of Cuba and participate in discussions around what they have read, combined with their own personal experiences.

"Then a final selection will take place where the people who have shown excellent initiative and work attitudes are selected. We must emphasize that discussions around racism, sexism, and classism will take place often. Physical Education and Spanish classes will also be held. Fund-raising projects will be instituted to raise money for the trip. All participate in fund-raising.

"The brigade will mean hard work! All applicants should be in good health. Brigaders will work for six weeks in the cane fields, probably the hardest physical work one will have ever done.

"Brigaders then travel throughout Cuba and continue to see what a people who control their own destiny have accomplished in twelve years. Education, housing, a far reaching health care program, and employment have been provided for people who had never had it before.

"There is no unemployment in Cuba. Prostitution and drug abuse have been practically eradicated. Public phone calls are free; a bus ride is a nickel; rents are either free or 10% of family's income. Health care is always free.

"Brigaders will meet with people who have a true revolutionary love for their own people and peoples of the world.

"The brigade will leave some time in February. The deadline for applications is October 20, 1971. Find out if your organization has been contacted. If it hasn't and you are interested write immediately to: Venceremos Brigade, P. O. Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025. Please write also if more information is requested.

"In Cuba the struggle continues. Brigadists will return to work and build here. The collective spirit that the Cuban experience instills in us will make our work here more clear.

"We will see how our goals are directly related to the overall world struggle for liberation. CUBA HAS WON - VIETNAM IS WINNING - AND WE SHALL WIN."

"The Paper"
October 27, 1971

B. Aims and Objectives

Source made available a copy of "Turquino" dated October, 1971, which was described as a publication of the VB intended for internal use within that organization. Page 2 of this issue contained an item captioned "Political Objectives", which set forth the four political objectives of the VB as follows:

P O L I T I C A L O B J E C T I V E S

"La Brigade Venceremos has four political objectives on which all BV policies and decisions will be based. All the activities of the Brigade should promote the fulfillment of these objectives. Consequently, it is important that everyone, working on the Brigade, fully understands them.

- (1) "To develop solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and other struggles of the Third World.

"This solidarity should be based on ^{an} understanding of the ideology and the practice of the world anti-imperialistic movement. It will be developed through practical and educational work, participation in the Cuban sugar harvest, propaganda, etc.

- (2) "To promote and develop the political formation of the progressive forces in the US through the Brigade process in Cuba and in the US.

"The brigade process should create better attitudes toward work, study, organization, leadership, discipline - which are all necessary within the US movement. Brigadistas will see that such attitudes are necessary for that transformation of society through working in Cuba where all work together toward the common goal of building socialism. Brigade activities here at home should also be developed to fulfill this objective.

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- (3) "To educate the US movement to an anti-imperialistic consciousness and to the necessity for and the possibility of unity in strategic terms.

"It is important to see national liberation struggles throughout the world as different fronts in the same battle against imperialism. Each contributes to the weakening of the imperialist system. Total victory over imperialism cannot be achieved unless all anti-imperialist forces, both internationally and within the US, unite against their common enemy. These concepts must be developed and struggled for, if they are to become reality.

- (4) "To facilitate dialogue among different US movement groups as they work in the context of a common and constructive task.

"The BV is one of the few political activities that brings together activists of different races, backgrounds, and levels of political understanding. It provides an opportunity for us to learn lessons from each other by working together for common political objectives.

"From these objectives, we can draw many conclusions. Most important is that the Venceremos Brigade is a political education project, which has certain objectives to fulfill."



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The VB's long range goals are as follows:

1. Build an "underground" based on VB and Communistic principles for the purpose of driving the world into a socialist camp.
2. Build an organization that relates to the interest of working classes.
3. Support and aid Cuban propaganda programs.
4. Place emphasis on military and industrial espionage. The information obtained is to be made available to all socialistic (Communistic) countries, with the Cuban Government getting the primary preferences over all the information obtained.



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Source made available a copy of the October, 1971 issue of the VB national publication "Turquino". With respect to the current location of the national office of the VB, the following item appeared on Pages 3 and 4 of this issue:

"NATIONAL OFFICE

"The national office was set up in order to facilitate better communications between CN members, to produce and mail out the various recruitment materials to the Zones, provide a central location to receive and distribute nationally, films, posters, books, and other materials.

"In many Regionals, the recruitment materials were received late due to the underestimation of postage costs and the lack of money on hand to mail them. Another problem faced was the lack of work commissions which meant that CN members had to produce the materials themselves which cut down the time they were able to spend traveling to regionals.

"The office, due to lack of money, was located in one member's home, which made it difficult to store the large quantities of posters and materials. The responsible for the NO, in addition, headed a zone and found it extremely difficult under the circumstances to perform both functions well. It was clear that centralization was not working; therefore, we decentralized. There is no more National Office. We decided that materials to be used nationally be Regionals will be worked up by designated CN members and a copy mailed to each Zone to be produced and distributed by each Zone head. This method will cut down postage costs distribute productions tasks more evenly, as well as minimize the possibility of Regionals receiving materials late. The newsletter is the only piece of material that will continue to be produced and distributed centrally."

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Source advised that it had always been stated and assumed by the leadership of the VB in New York City that the National Headquarters of the VB was maintained in the San Francisco, California, area. All orders, directives and plans were given from that office and the New York Regional Office is only a Post Office box; namely, Box 643 Cathedral Station, New York, New York, 10025, and that the VB leadership in the New York area acts as a Regional Coordinating Committee which follows the orders of the National Committee. ✓



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As of November, 1971, the National Office of the VB was located at [redacted] Oakland, California, in the residence of [redacted]. ✓

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As of November, 1971, the New York address for the VB was Post Office Box 643 Cathedral Station, New York, New York, 10025. ✓



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D. Officers and National Committee Members

Source made available a copy of the December, 1971, issue of "Turquino", which on page three listed the following regarding the members of the new National Committee. These individuals were identified as:

ANGELO ALICEA	Brigade 4	1
BETTE BROUSSARD	Brigade 2	
TERRY CANNON	Brigade 4	
EDDIE DENMINGS	Brigade 3	✓
BELVIN LOUIE	Brigade 1	
SANDY POLLACK	Brigade 1	1
GAIL REED	Brigade 3	
GEORGE SINGH	Brigade 1	

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This item also noted that "this Comite includes three women, five men, one Asian, two blacks, one Chicano, one puerto riqueno and three whites.

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The VB National Committee is a newly organized body which spent a month and a half in Cuba recently and as of September 8, 1971, had a meeting with Cuban officials concerning the 5th VB Contingent. According to [REDACTED] Mid-west Regional Coordinator for the 5th VB Contingent and a member of the VB National Committee, the goal of this contingent is 300 participants with an emphasis on black and third world peoples. [REDACTED] further advised that at that time the National Headquarters of the VB was in the Bay area of San Francisco, California.

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The following persons are currently members of the National Committee of the VB:

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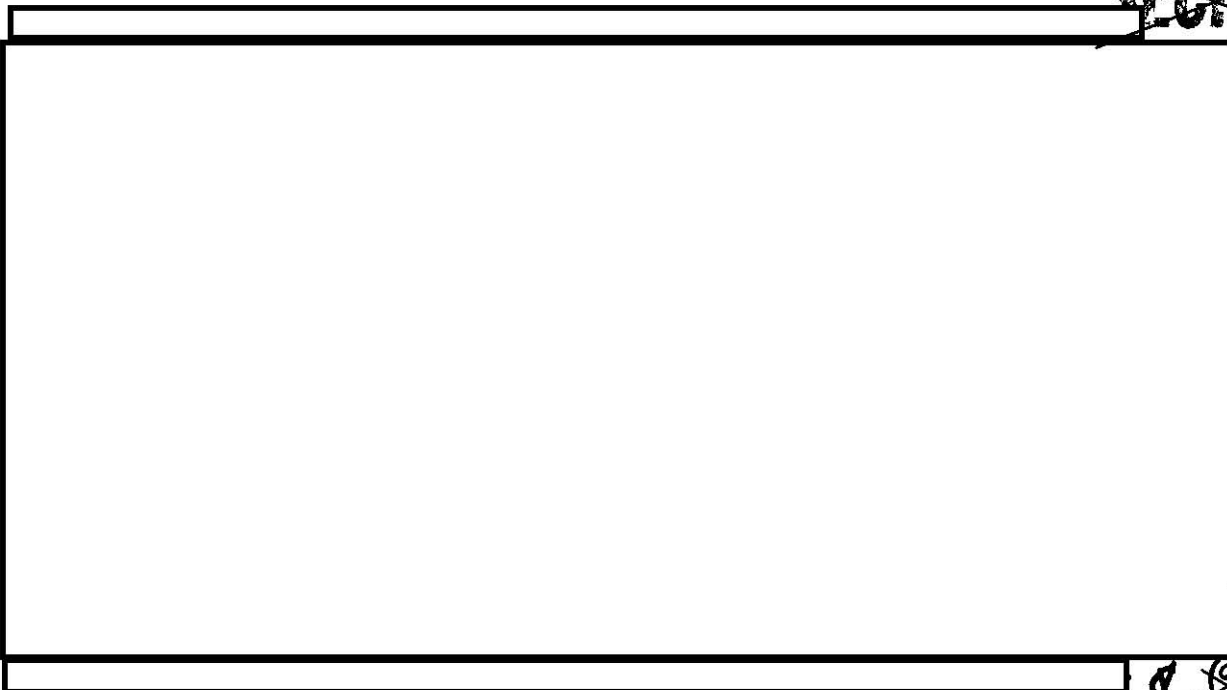
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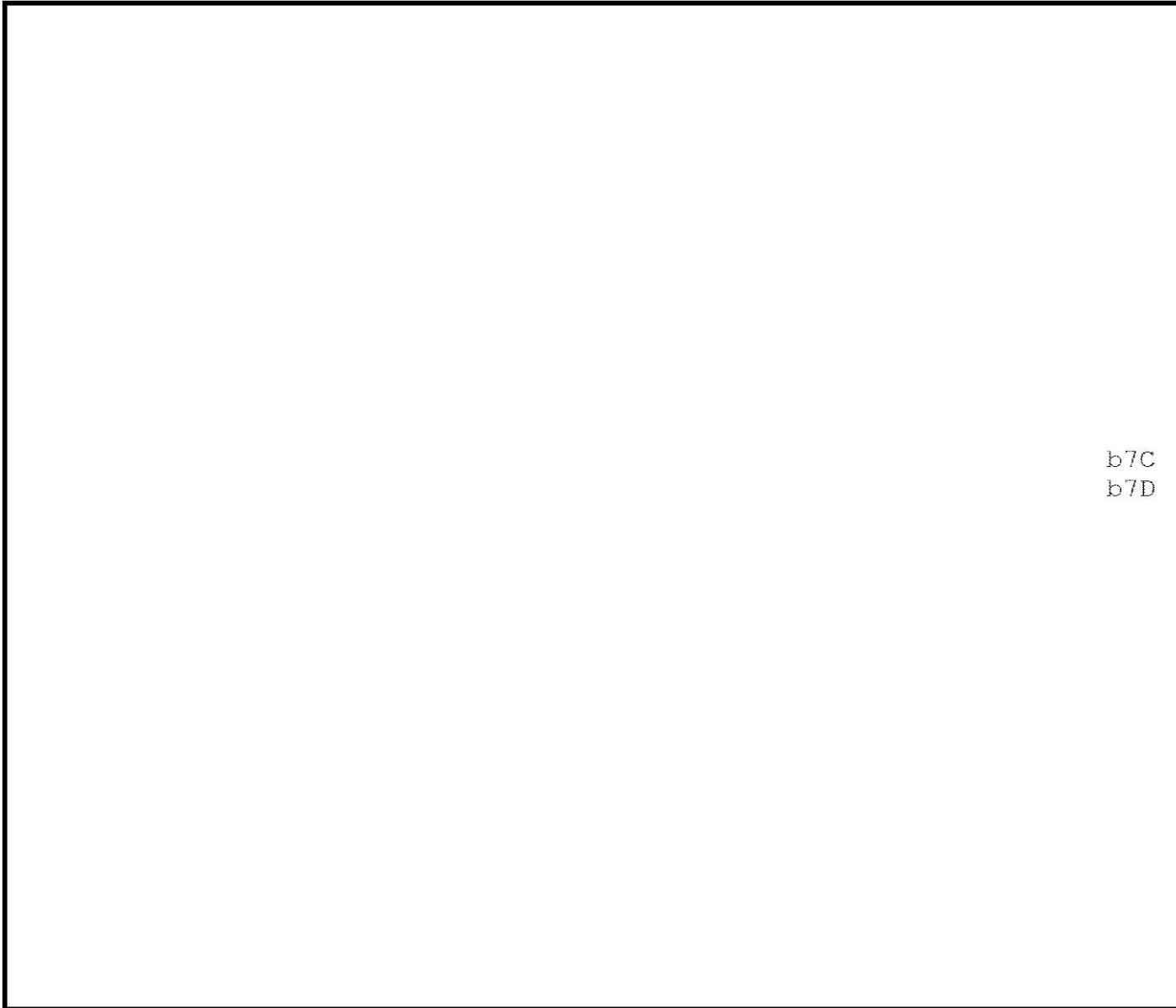
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Information made available by NY T-7 is not to be made public except in the usual proceedings following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [REDACTED],
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New York, New York.

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E. Finances



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Information made available by [redacted] and [redacted]
is not to be made public except in the usual proceedings
following an issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to
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[redacted] New York, New York.

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[redacted] and [redacted] no longer have custody of the
basic documents from which the foregoing check information
was obtained.

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The National Committee account of the VB previously
maintained in the [redacted]
Berkeley, California, was closed on September 28, 1971, due to a
lack of activity. The VB travel account number [redacted] previous
maintained at that bank was closed on April 23, 1971, and it
was noted that this account had no activity during the time
it had remained opened.

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Information furnished by [redacted] is not to be made public except in the usual proceedings following an issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]
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[redacted] Berkely, California.

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F. Publications

Source made available a copy of the November, 1971, issue of the VB publication "Turquino". This issue relates the political objectives of the VB and gives notice to the fact that "Turquino" will not be issued again until February, 1972, due to the unavailability of personnel responsible for its publication. It contains an indepth discussion as to the policy to be followed in recruiting for the Fifth VB Contingent, particularly with regard to Gay Liberation and defines commitment to the VB not as an "option" but as an "imperative" to take the revolutionary path and dwells at length with the problems attendant upon the training of Cadres for the Fifth VB Contingent.



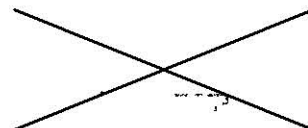
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Source made available a copy of the October, 1971, issue of "Turquino". This issue contained items relating to the political objectives of the VB, has outlines for political education, the "quota" assigned to each regional for people to be sent to Cuba in connection with the Fifth Contingent, guidelines for interviewing as well as problems concerning Cadre leaders during the Fourth VB Contingent.



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Source made available a copy of the September, 1971, issue of "Turquino", in which "Turquino" was identified as:



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"Turquino is the internal voice of the Brigada Venceremos for political orientation. As a monthly newsletter, the contents will be geared for the brigade activities of that specific month (for example, cadre work, propaganda or recruitment). It should provide constant clarification of the BV objectives in practice, and suggest ideas and examples for regional programs. Clearly, contributions and criticisms from regionals are absolutely necessary for Turquino.

"The newsletter is meant as a guideline-not as a blueprint. What does this mean? First, that everyone working in the regionals should understand thoroughly the basic ideas, principles, and approach presented in Turquino. Second, that since each area has different conditions, the guidelines must be applied with this in mind. It is here that the regionals can and should take the initiative-based on their understanding of the specific conditions they encounter.

"Turquino is especially important since it represents the efforts of an entirely new Komite Nacional to analyze the Brigada Venceremos to this point--and from there, to lay the groundwork for the Fifth Contingent."



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Source made available a copy of a booklet entitled "Brigada Venceremos - Bulletin - May", which was published by the Brigada Venceremos, Oakland, California. In an item captioned "The Political Purpose of La Brigada Venceremos" appearing on Pages Eight through Ten of this booklet, it was stated that:

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"1. La Brigada Venceremos is a group of people who want to express solidarity with the Cuban revolution and the Third World struggles around the world, as well as the struggles in the U.S....

"2. The expression of solidarity with the people of Cuba goes beyond merely making the political statement by going there. We expanded the concept of solidarity by doing concrete work while we were in Cuba....

"3. The colonized people of the world choose revolution because their daily conditions leaves them no choice. People of the U. S. can see that capitalism has exhausted itself and are looking for alternatives, modifications, or reforms; all which verify that people want a new system....

"4. La Brigada Venceremos brings back information about Cuba to the people of the U. S. to build support and to make it more difficult for the U. S. to carry out aggressive acts against Cuba....

"5. La Brigada Venceremos is uniting people around support of Cuba, because we have a sense of the common enemy, and not that everyone has to love everybody else before work can be done...."

The article ended with the following statement:

"The international attention focused on the brigade must be taken seriously. The brigade, in many ways, represents the official statement of solidarity with Third World struggles and we must see ourselves in that light. Therefore, it is very important who goes on the brigade itself; the quality of the people is more important than mere numbers. The attitudes of the brigadistas must be considered in view of a struggle that gets harder at every step. We must prepare to meet the

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"challenge. This is what La Brigada Venceremos is about-meeting each time a more demanding situation. We have to grow politically so that we can send a better brigade, so that the political statement we make in the fields of Cuba will be complemented by our example in the heart of the monster."



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G. Security



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II. ACTIVITIES

A. Fourth Contingent

The American Contingent to the Fourth VB, numbering in all from 221 to 226 participants, arrived in Havana, Cuba, throughout the week commencing March 22, 1971. Four separate groups of up to 70 persons each comprised from persons travelling from all parts of the United States, gathered in Mexico City, Mexico, while flights of the Cubana Airlines transported them to Cuba.

Upon arriving in Cuba, large groups of persons met the arrivers at Havana and welcomed them. A large billboard of "Welcome to the Venceremos Brigade" was displayed at the airport. The group itself was placed on buses and transported to Camp Averhoff in Havana Province, near the town of Aguacate, some two or three hours by bus from Havana. At the camp, another welcoming committee met and mingled with the group before tent and bed assignments were made. Males and females were separated except for married couples and each person furnished the Cuban authorities at the camp a list of personal properties and valuables. Ten persons were assigned per tent on the basis of the geographic area in the United States and eventually, the entire Fourth VB Contingent was divided into about 10 sub-brigades of 20 to 30 persons each, with six to eight Cubans assigned to each sub-brigade. Each sub-brigade was housed in four or five tents. Later, a delegation from Indochina, consisting of 40 persons, from North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia joined the American Contingent for a period of one week and four of these delegates were assigned to each American sub-brigade. In a similar manner, a delegation of 14 Africans joined the brigade for a three day period. All

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of these persons stressed that the peace movement in the United States gave a great boost to the morale of those fighting the South Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam.

Thereafter, until the entire American Contingent came about March 30, 1971, members of the brigade walked to the fields each day gradually increasing the working day to eight to ten hours. Afterwards, they were transported to the fields by truck. The work was back-breaking and the heat oppressive. A typical day began at 6:00 a.m. Following breakfast, trucks were boarded at 7:00 a.m. and the groups taken to the fields where they cut cane until 10:00 a.m. Following a 15 minute break for refreshments, cutting was resumed until about noon while they returned to Camp Averhoff for lunch and a siesta until about 3:00 p.m. At 3:00 p.m., they were taken back to the fields where they worked until about 8:00 or 8:30 p.m., with a second break at 5:00 p.m. The groups were then returned to the camp at about 8:00 p.m. for dinner which was not served until after 9:00 p.m. The rest of the day was free except for Tuesdays and Thursdays when everyone was expected to view propaganda films. The work week was 5 and a half days, Saturday afternoon and Sunday afternoons being free of work. Time available to members of the contingent apart from the regular work day, was very limited from the outset. After the work of harvesting sugar cane had been completed, on or about May 8, 1971, the group was taken in buses for a two week guided tour of the island. On May 23, 1971, the entire American Contingent boarded buses at Camp Averhoff and were transported to Havana where they boarded the Cuban ship "Jose Antonio Eccheverria" for return to the United States by way of Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada. The "Jose Antonio Eccheverria" arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, on May 28, 1971, and unloaded members of the VB Contingent on the morning of the following day. The members then returned to the United States by chartered buses, private automobiles and air transportation; the majority travelling by buses.

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While in Cuba and shortly after the Fourth Contingent was totally in camp, the Cuban officials asked that each of the various political, racial or cultural groups gather in caucuses and prepare a presentation to be made to the entire VB of their views and work in the United States. A Cuban official, usually one RISO, gave a propaganda speech to the Fourth Contingent about once a week. He talked a great deal about the corrupting influence of United States imperialism around the world. In his last speech, just before the VB returned to the United States, he urged that they be prepared for a long, long struggle and to make certain that new recruits to the various "movements" know this. He also stressed that too much of the "movement" is talk and that what is needed is action. He said that real revolutionaries will fight for the revolution and that while one may regard himself as a revolutionary because he is a Marxist-Leninist, more than a theory is required. Even if death is the price, a true revolutionary, he said, will not turn back from the struggle.

Following the initial meetings and discussions, regular caucus meetings were held and the following were the chief agreements on what the activities and emphasis of the VB members should be on their return to the United States:

Popularize the Cuban revolution through information centers and maintain contact with Cuba for current information:

Organize and participate in demonstrations against the establishment:

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Stress action over theory and do whatever is necessary, including engaging in violence, where appropriate, to bring about revolution:

Work to build a genuine people's revolutionary movement by overcoming differences of race, culture and ideology, which has held various groups apart:

Work harder to increase disaffection with the government among GIs through coffee houses near military bases.

It was not specifically detailed as to how this was to be accomplished beyond talking with GIs and exposing them to movement propaganda on evils of United States imperialism, the war in Vietnam and the decadence of American society.

The Cubans did not participate in the above caucuses.

Source opined that though all the persons participating in the Fourth VB Contingent professed to be revolutionaries in meetings and conversations with one another, they were actually widely separated from each other in their political views, educationally, culturally and in the extent of their individual commitment on the course of action they were prepared to follow in the United States to further the revolution. While there were undoubtedly those who would, under appropriate circumstances, engage in violence against the authorities, most seemed to have at best, a vague idea of what revolution really means.

Cuban camp officials scoffed what they described as the allegations of the American Government that they gave guerrilla warfare training to VB participants and no

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such training was given to this contingent to the source's knowledge. However, in source's opinion, the life style of the VB Contingent provided by the Cubans was a guerrilla style, that is, long hours, hard work and a continual propagandizing of the Cubans to inculcate a missionary zeal for the success of the Cuban revolution and to popularize it as a model for Latin America generally.

During the period of the harvest, representatives of Cuban publications "Granma", "Prensa Latina" and "Rebellious Youth", circulated among the members of the Fourth Contingent conducting interviews and other researchers and writers did likewise. These persons generally sought biographic data concerning VB members and particularly sought information regarding their principal "movement" activities in the United States.



Volume One, Number 24, Summer 1971, issue of "Off Our Backs", a women's liberation paper published in Washington, D.C., contains an article entitled "Cuba, Que Linda Ses Cuba" by HEIDI SUE STEFFENS, describing her observations while in Cuba as a member of the Fourth Contingent of the VB. This article states in part as follows:

"The Brigada Venceremos has been in existence for two years. The 1st, 2nd and 4th Contingents cut suger cane, the 3rd Contingent picked citrus fruit. The format of the 4th Contingent was to work for six weeks in the cane fields, and then go on a bus tour of Cuba for two weeks.

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"Our brigade was made up of 221 North Americans; most of us were in our 20's, but we ranged from 16 to 55. There were more women than men, more white people than third world people, more straight people than gay people, and more people from the northeast and west coast than anywhere else in the country. Most of us were into some aspect of movement politics. A small handful were freaks.

"We cut cane for six weeks in 10 sub-brigades which were organized by state-side geographic regions. The brigades consisted of 24 to 32 people; North Americans, six Cuban university students, a jefe (chief) and a productivo (person in charge of quality of production). All of the jefes were men, two of the productivos were productivas (women). Our camp was located in Havana Province, two hours from the city of Havana, near a town called Aguacate. We lived ten in a tent. The sexes were separated, so were the North Americans and Cubans. We worked five-and-a-half days a week, had production meetings on Saturday afternoons and then had the rest of the day free.

"There were a choice of several organized trips on Sundays. We ate adequately in a large dining hall; our work clothes were washed by a laundry, everything else we washed by hand in cold water. People who wanted to sleep together did so in the canefields surrounding the camp.

"Beginning the second week, we awoke each morning at 6:00 a.m., had a breakfast of a roll and coffee, and climbed into trucks by brigade for the ride to the cane fields. We worked from 7:00 a.m. until noon with a 20-minute break around 9:30 a.m. for merienda (snack). At noon we would go back to camp for a large lunch and free time until 3:00 p.m. when we would meet back at our machete racks and depart for the fields until 7:00 p.m. There was also

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"an afternoon merienda. Following a large supper there was usually a movie, lecture, cultural activity, party, or meetings. Getting enough sleep was difficult, but necessary. We learned to rest in the afternoons.

"We were cutting burned sugar cane, which is a new method being introduced throughout Cuba. It vastly increases productivity, but also creates fields full of ashes so that you leave the fields each morning and afternoon totally covered with soot. It took a week of hot showers back here for me to get all of the little black specks out of my pores. We cut with machetes, and wore straw hats or scarves, wire-mesh goggles, heavy work gloves, long pants, long-sleeved shirts, and work boots. Strong North American macheteros on the Brigada Venceremos cut about 1,000 arrobas a day, an arroba is 25 pounds of cane. On the best Cuban cane-cutting brigades, the macheteros cut between 2,000 and 3,000 arrobas a day.

"The Work

"The work was incredibly hard. Nothing I had ever done before prepared me for this kind of sustained physical exertion; and the values which this society taught me had nothing to do with placing so high a value on hard physical labor. And yet, I loved it. Our lives while we were in Cuba were centered around this work. The Cubans with whom we worked talked constantly about the importance of the zafra (sugar harvest) to the building of the Cuban Revolution. Granma, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, was full of references to the zafra. The entire island and its people are involved in building itself and realizing its vision--and at this point that vision depends in large part on the zafra."

"Off Our Backs" Summer
1971 Issue

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B. Latin American Seminar

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Source made available a two-page form letter of instructions being sent by the National Committee of the VB to persons chosen to attend the Latin American Seminar in Cuba. This letter was issued by [] VB National Committee member and Midwest Zone Coordinator for the Fifth VB Contingent. The letter is set forth as follows:

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"Here are the up-to-date arrangements for the Latin American Seminar:

"1) Educational preparation-By now your regional should have received Latin America: Proving Ground for US Neo-colonialism by Z. Romanova, and Che's Message to the Peoples of the World. Coming shortly are papers on underdevelopment, and race relations en Cuba. These will be the major materials you will be expected to have read, discussed, and understood as thoroughly as possible, before you go.

"2) Travel preparation-You will need a Mexican Tourist Card. These are issued through any Mexican Consulate, and at international airports. If neither of these are close to you, write the Mexican Consulate, 201 North Wells St., Chicago, Ill. Or call them at 312 ST2-5888, and ask for an application. Do this immediately.

-Your passport number must be sent to me now if you haven't already done it.

"3) Departure date-December 5, from Chicago. This means you must be in Chicago by the morning of Saturday, December 4. We will have a short, and very important conference Saturday afternoon and evening for final preparations. Details on this will be sent to you soon.

"4) What to expect en Cuba-Only one major thing has been changed: you will be doing construction work, instead of agricultural work in the mornings. You will be living in a school with workers and their families, just outside of Habana, for the first two weeks of the conference. After the end of the third week, you will return by boat to St. John's.

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"5) What to bring-a complete and up-to-date report from your regional, dealing specifically with the progress of cadre work and fund-raising. Include also a summary of regional discussion about the Brigade in general-its history in your area, relationship with movement organizations, suggestions for improving the BV in your area or nationwide, etc.

-a complete list of organizations, bookstores, media groups, and research groups in your area that would most obviously want to take advantage of the knowledge and perspectives you bring back from the seminar. (That is, would want to use them for political education internally, for propaganda, etc.) This is essential

-2 reels of Sony recording tape

-any summaries of research done on US involvement in Latin American from research groups in your area.

-work clothes, including heavy shoes or boots and gloves (note to women: bring a few dresses, since you will be spending some time in Habana; note to men: bring one set of clothes that don't fall into the "blue jeans and t-shirt" category for the same reason.)

"6) On returning-You will return through St. John's, and arrangements are now being made for transportation to your home base. For now, each regional is being asked to raise \$175 for this purpose. However, the cost can be drastically lowered if we can make arrangements to pick up people by car from New York. If your regional can send a car, notify me right away.

"If you have any questions, please phone me at [redacted]

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"Adelante en la lucha!"

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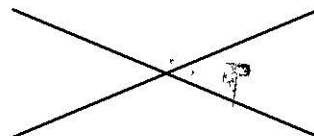


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The Latin American Seminar scheduled for November 15 through December 15, 1971, had been postponed and was scheduled to begin early in December, 1971. Two of the attendees were to meet in Houston, Texas, and proceed to Mexico City, and the



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other persons attending were to proceed to Mexico City from various locations in the United States, on December 5, 1971. While in Mexico City, the participants in this seminar would be staying at the Hotel Geneve, Mexico City, prior to their departure to Cuba.



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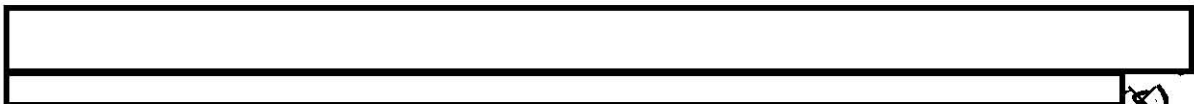
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C. Fifth Contingent

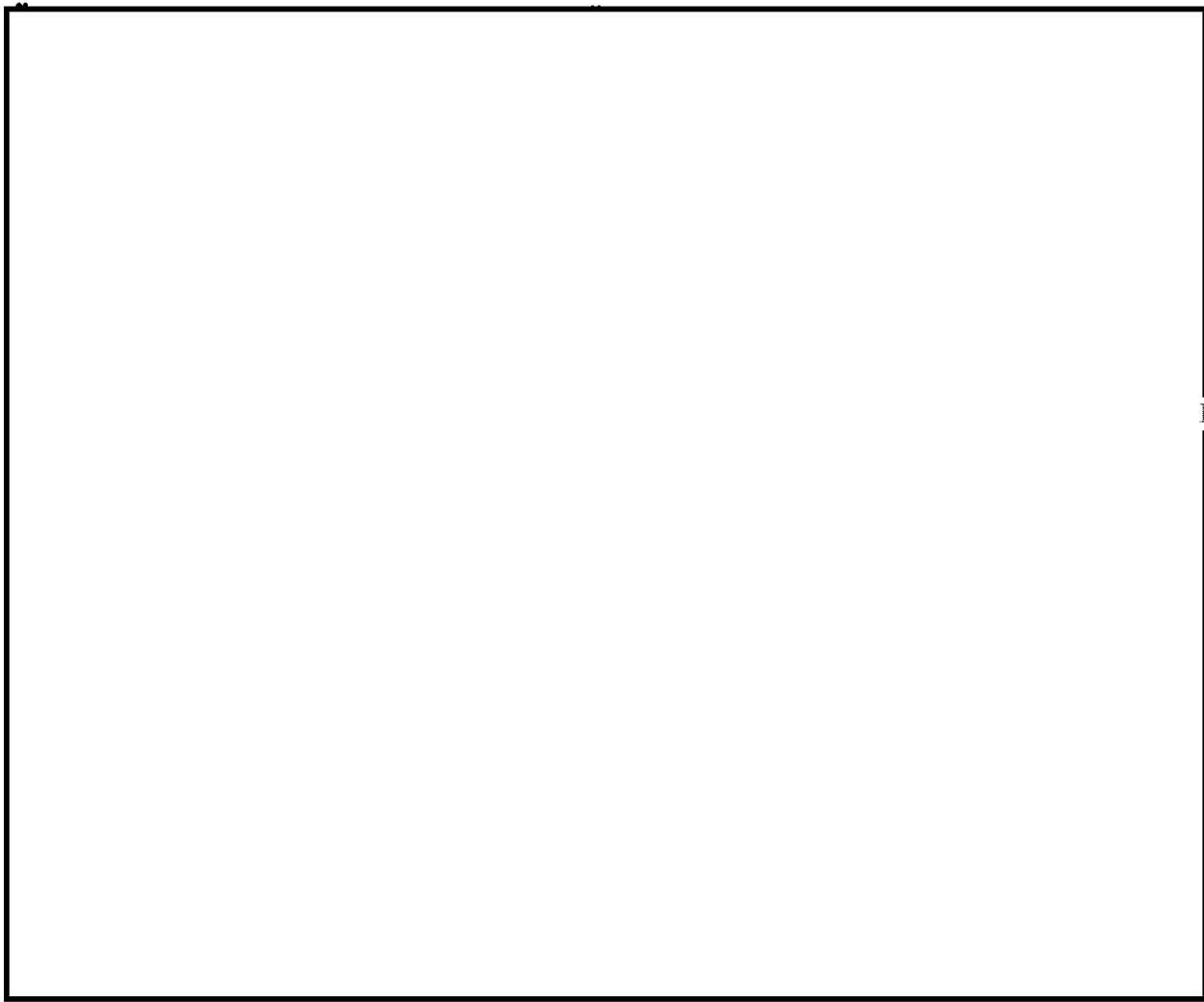


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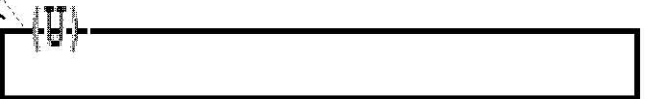
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On November 8, 1971, the final interviews for participation in the next VB Contingent were completed in the New York City area. The interviews began with a completely new application form being filled out and references given. Other areas covered were political development and growth, languages spoken (Spanish preferred), education and criminal records. The applicants were advised that the results of the interviews would be made known in some one to three weeks.



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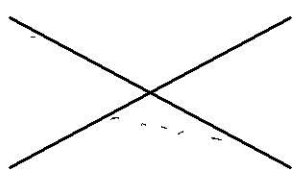
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At a New York VB Cadre meeting, held in January, 1972, it was announced that the proposed VB trip to Cuba might be postponed until the middle of March, 1972, since there was an apparent problem in the obtaining of a Cuban vessel for transportation. The exact time of the departure of the contingent was still unknown.



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D. New York VB Cadre Meetings

A general meeting was held in New York City on October 22, 1971, which meeting was "closed" to those VB applicants who had received a hand-delivered invitation to the meeting on October 20, 1971. Eight former VB participants controlled the discussion, which was a basic outline of the VB selection procedures, political training and the importance of being discreet so as not to attract Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) infiltration. Throughout the meeting, the applicants were closely observed by the VB members in attendance.



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The second organizational meeting of the New York City area VB, was held in New York City, on October 29, 1971. Each applicant was requested to orally give a short biography of himself and his history in the movement. While this group was meeting, at one location, another group of VB applicants met at another location in the New York general area. At the meeting, it was stated that the upcoming VB Contingent would be a "project brigade" in that there would be no personal political differences, no homosexuals, and that the emphasis was placed on having more applicants from the "Third World" (Negroes and Puerto Ricans).



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It was announced that the cadre meetings (training classes) would start in the New York area on November 24, 1971, at 29 West 15th Street, New York City, which is the location of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL).



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The YWLL is a front organization of the Communist Party, USA. It was formed as a Marxist-Leninist Youth Group in February, 1970.

On November 24, 1971, the New York City area VB Contingent for the Fifth Brigade, met at 29 West 15th Street, New York, New York. There were 40 individuals in attendance and this was a regional meeting and the first for its "candidates", who had been formerly selected for the next contingent of the VB.

[redacted] one of the New York City organizers, gave a brief talk of welcome to the candidates. She introduced a representative from the VB National Headquarters, who stated that the VB is reorganizing and will direct its appeal to Third World "special people" and that the goal of the VB is to make "every candidate" a "dedicated communist".

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The group was then broken down into "cadres", five cadres of eight candidates. At each cadre meeting, the candidate gave a short history for involvement in the movement. Candidates were directed to get their passports, inoculation and Mexican tourist cards. On selected weekends, the candidates will form work collectives to raise money to help send their less fortunate comrades to Cuba. In closing, it was announced that there would be three types of meetings:

1. Regional meetings at the Casa De Las Americas (CDLA)
2. Regional meetings at 29 West 15th Street, New York City (YWLL)
3. Cadre meetings at various apartments in the New York City area



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The CDLA is an organization in New York City formed ostensibly as a social club in April, 1964. It is composed of pro-FIDEL CASTRO, pro-communist individuals. CDLA distributes Cuban propaganda and has provided financial assistance in the past to various revolutionary groups and to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

On December 2, 1971, a VB Cadre meeting was held in New York City, at which time the subjects of discussion were political education and fund raising.



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At a VB Cadre meeting held on December 9, 1971, it was announced that the final selection of candidates had been made and that this list would be turned over to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN) on December 15, 1971. At this meeting, the topics of discussion were:

1. Internationalism and imperialism
2. Racism and sexism



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On December 19, 1971, cadres of the New York City VB acted as work crews and waited on tables at the 11th Anniversary dinner sponsored by the United States Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (USCANLFSV), held at the Washington Square Methodist Church on that date.



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The USCANLFSV was formed in April, 1965, as an Ad Hoc organization to actively support and seek recognition of the National Liberation Front, while simultaneously advocating the immediate withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. This Committee continues to be operated by one [redacted] its Chairman. The headquarters of the Committee is located at 5 West 21st Street, New York, New York, and its mailing address is Box C, Old Chelsea Station, New York, New York 10012.

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A New York City Regional VB meeting was held on December 13, 1971, at which there were 45 candidates in attendance from the Fifth New York VB Cadre. At this meeting, [redacted], identified as a labor organizer for the Communist Party, USA, spoke on the history of the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement. At this meeting, it was announced that the New York City Regional VB has no funds and that they have to raise \$8,000.00 by February 10, 1972, or the contingent from the New York region will not go to Cuba.

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The Fifth New York VB Cadre held a workshop meeting in New York, on January 9, 1972, at which there were nine individuals in attendance. Among the items discussed, were imperialism, sexism and racism.

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III. CONNECTIONS AND AFFILIATIONS
WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Casa de las Americas (CDLA)

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B. Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL)

Source made available a letter from the YWLL International Committee addressed to all sections, branches and "CC" members, dated October 8, 1971, concerning the next contingent of the VB. This letter is set forth as follows:

"For the past two years, the Venceremos Brigade has been sending large numbers of progressive and radical youth as a concrete demonstration of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, as well as to provide North Americans with the learning experience which comes from working and living in a socialist society.

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"Based on the experience of the past four brigades, however, the political conception and objectives of the VB have been significantly expanded. No longer is it simply a project that sends people to Cuba and hopes that participants will apply what they learn in some way, but rather it is being transformed into a year-round anti-imperialist project. It hopes to serve the US movement as a major source of information and propaganda about the struggles in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

"If the brigade is to have a significant impact in terms of raising the level of anti-imperialist consciousness in the broad movements in this country, it must begin to relate more directly to these movements. Therefore, special emphasis is being placed on recruiting broad forces - getting away from the traditional image of the brigade as the movement's travel agency. The major task at this point is to transform the brigade into a project that has the participation of people who are involved in broad movements and therefore have the ability to connect the everyday struggles taking place here with the international anti-imperialist struggle. Because of this shift of emphasis, League participation on the brigade especially is important. The next brigade is scheduled to be in Cuba from Feb. to April, 1972. Organizing for it has already begun. While large numbers of League members cannot leave their work for 2 months, we do recommend that larger sections encourage at least one member to go.

"In the past participation of a League caucus on the brigade has been a significant contribution. Aside from sending members to Cuba, it is possible for League branches to work with the regional committees organizing the brigade. Assistance in terms of recruiting, political education and propaganda is more than welcomed by the brigade. Applications are being accepted until the end of October, so time is rather short. Of any further questions arise as to where brigade committees can be located, etc., Please consult with MATTY BERKELHAMMER at the National Office, 212 929 2010 or 212 929 1427."



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Source made available a memorandum from the YWLL International Committee concerning the "World Federation of Democratic Youth International Work Brigade to build a model school in Cuba." This memorandum is set forth as follows:

"Nov. 16, 1971

"Memo: To all Sections, Brigades, and CC Members
"From: YWLL International Committee
"Re: WFDY International Work Brigade to build a model school in Cuba

"In solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and its vanguard youth organization, the Union of Communist Youth of Cuba, the World Federation of Democratic Youth is organizing an international voluntary work brigade to build a model school in Cuba.

"The brigade will be composed of approximately 100 young people from around the world, and will remain in Cuba for 6 months from Jan. 1, 1972 to July 26, 1972. The school will be built under the direction of Cuban constructors and with material provided by the government.

"After completion of the school some time in June, the brigade will stay in Cuba for a rest of 1½ months and participate in the July 26 meeting.

"This material act of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution is extremely important. It has been especially recommended by the leadership of the Cuban revolution and Commander FIDEL CASTRO. It is particularly important that youth from the U.S., the country which is the main threat to the peace, independence, and progressive socialist development of Cuba, participate in this brigade.

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"(Incidentally, this brigade has no organizational ties to the Venceremos Brigade which, coincidentally, will be in Cuba during much of this same period.)

"The YWLL has been asked to send up to 5 people from the U.S. to participate in this very important brigade. They can be League members or non-League members. We particularly recommend that unemployed workers be considered.

"Transportation to Cuba, most probably through Mexico (for not too much money) will have to be financed by the individual or section involved. Transportation back will be worked on while the people are in Cuba, and WFDY may be able to assist in this.

"What we are asking for concretely is this: Can you recommend someone from your area who you think would make a good contribution on this brigade and not at the same time severely weaken the functioning of the League in your area?

"Please consult with people and then write in to the N.O. a brief personal and political biography of the person you recommend. Please note that the final decision will be made by the N.O. No one that you speak to should be given the impression that they are going until and unless it is OK'd by the N.O.

"P.S. On the Venceremos Brigade itself, we would appreciate the following information:

- "1) Are there any League members from your area who are going? Who are they?
- "2) Does the League have contact with the Regional Venceremos Brigade in your area and what kind of relationship exists?"



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World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY)

"The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., revised and published as of December 1, 1961, on page 177, describes the WFDY as, "Cited as being among 'international communist fronts*** functioning at the present time.'" (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.

IV. PROPAGANDA VALUE TO CUBAN GOVERNMENT

On April 26, 1971, another government agency furnished the text of an April 23, 1971, Havana, Cuba, radio broadcast in English. The broadcast was described as being the third part of a press conference with VB members, who came to Cuba to assist in the sugar harvest. One unidentified VB member was asked what attitude the U.S. establishment press had taken towards VB. The VB member replied that the North American press usually says that the VB travels to Cuba to receive guerrilla training. This individual went on to say that the United States press does not understand that the Cuban Revolution is much more than armed struggle, that it concerns a building of the new man and the new woman, the building of new schools and new factories, the cutting of cane, etc. Further, the interviewee continued, VB members are in Cuba to express solidarity with the Cuban Government, to help them in their task of making the revolution work, and especially to return to the United States to tell people what the Cuban Revolution is really like.

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Another unidentified male VB member complained that the United States mass media works hand in hand with the United States ruling class to exploit, oppress, mislead and misguide the American people.

The next question at this press conference was posed by JANE MacMANUS (phonetic), who identified herself as a free-lance United States journalist. She inquired about the criteria for VB selection and the expectations regarding application of Cuban experiences upon the return of VB members to the United States.

An unidentified male replied VB members basically were roughly between the ages of 20 and 30. They also were required to have some background of movement involvement, and were asked about their attitudes towards such things as the Cuban Revolution, the Vietnamese liberation struggle, the black liberation struggle, and their respective attitudes towards hard work and discipline, collective living and collective work. They also were asked about their individual attitudes towards communism and how they would apply their trip to Cuba in the revolution struggle upon their return to the United States.

An unidentified female interjected that, upon their return to the United States, she felt that every VB member planned to tell the truth about the United States and about the Cuban Revolution. She then extolled the results of the Cuban Revolution.

Another American identified by the Cuban radio announcer as LIONEL MARTIN of the "Guardian," New York City, asked the VB panel how they handled their own differences in ideological points of view during their stay in Cuba.

Another unidentified female responded that more important than their individual differences was the fact that all have a common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

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On April 27, 1971, the above-mentioned source furnished the text of an April 24, 1971, Havana, Cuba, radio broadcast in English. This broadcast was described by its announcer as the fourth part of a press conference with VB members. The first few questions concerned alleged United States genocide in Vietnam. The replies by unidentified VB members were extremely critical of the United States' role in Vietnam and of alleged torture and mass murders engaged in by United States forces.

A Peruvian correspondent then asked how VB members expected to communicate to the American people their experiences in Cuba, given the control of the news media in the United States.

An unidentified male replied that one way to communicate would be through the underground press or movement papers. He said that another way, possibly one of the best, is simply to talk to people, on the street, community centers, any place where people are.

Later in the press conference, the VB panel was asked if the VB would continue its trips to Cuba despite pressure in the United States.

An unidentified female responded that this pressure was an attempt to intimidate by the United States ruling class. She said that the VB would continue its trips to Cuba and would demonstrate to these repressive forces that VB members are not afraid and are unintimidated.

A Latin American correspondent, otherwise unidentified, noted that the United Press International (UPI) releases to Latin America always indicated that VB members are alienated people. He asked the VB panel to comment on this.

An unidentified female responded that the members of the current VB contingent range in age from 16 to 40, with diverse occupations, including students, workers, teachers, doctors and lawyers.

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On April 29, 1971, the above-mentioned source furnished the following text, as translated, of an April 27, 1971, Havana, Cuba, domestic radio broadcast:

The VB members received in their camp the 40 Vietnamese youths who will cut cane with them during the next week in the Martinez Villena mill's cane fields. Camp Director RAMON AJON welcomed the Vietnamese youths and stated it was a great honor to be accompanied by representatives of the heroic Indochinese peoples. He also mentioned that during the current week, the VB members will attain the second million arrobas (25 pound unit) of cut cane and urged all to victory with Vietnamese spirit.

Immediately after, the Cambodian Royal Government for National Unity Ambassador to Cuba, TOCH KHAM DEUM, addressed the event and said that peace in his country can be achieved if the NIXON administration withdraws totally and unconditionally its troops and those of its puppets from Indochinese invaded territory.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam Ambassador to Cuba, NGUYEN NGOC SON, expressed his thanks to the Cuban people for making possible a meeting with representatives of the American people. He also expressed his and his people's solidarity with United States demonstrators against United States aggression in Indochina, who have waged violent confrontations against repressive forces in several United States cities.

Finally, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam Ambassador to Cuba, NGUYEN MINH PHUONG, in his remarks at the event, condemned the NIXON administration's repressive actions against the antiwar demonstrators. He saluted the spring offensive taking place in the United States by those persons who want to see an end to the aggression against Indochinese peoples, and added that victory is nearby if all remain united.

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On May 8, 1971, the above-mentioned source furnished the text, as translated, of a May 6, 1971, Havana, Cuba, domestic service radio broadcast in Spanish. This broadcast related to an interview with KIP DELANO (phonetic) of Richmond, Virginia. The broadcast was made at the work camp of the VB in Aguacate, Havana Province, Cuba. DELANO was described as a member of the fourth VB contingent, who served as a United States soldier in Vietnam and would tell the broadcast audience of his enlistment and experiences in Vietnam.

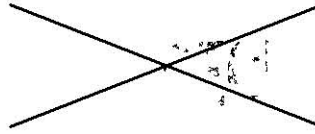
DELANO indicated that he joined the army in 1967 and was involved in Vietnam exclusively with chemical warfare. He said that he tried to be a poor soldier in Vietnam and upon his return to the United States immediately began to work in the soldiers' movement against the war. He said that middle class and working class youth in the United States are opposed to United States aggression in Vietnam, and that United States soldiers in Vietnam are fragging their officers. He said that fragging means to execute by means of hand grenades.

On May 8, 1971, the above-mentioned source furnished the text, as translated, of a May 7, 1971, Havana, Cuba, domestic radio broadcast in Spanish.

A portion of this broadcast was given to an interview of JOAQUIN ROSA (phonetic), described as a Puerto Rican member of the VB currently in Cuba. During this interview, ROSA indicated that he was a Vietnam veteran. ROSA indicated that men are virtually being forced into the United States Army, that the educational system is so bad in the United States that military service is the only avenue open to many of its graduates. He said that Puerto Ricans of all political persuasions are becoming aware of the aggressive acts being carried on by the United States in Vietnam.

On May 13, 1971, the above-mentioned source furnished the text, as translated, of a May 12, 1971, Havana, Cuba, domestic radio broadcast in Spanish.

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A portion of this broadcast was given to an interview with RIP RICAR (phonetic), described as a member of the current VB contingent. During the interview, RICAR stated that he also was a Vietnam veteran. RICAR said that the great majority of soldiers sent to Vietnam are Negroes or soldiers with a third world place of origin. He said he valued his trip to Cuba as a means of understanding the way of life in a socialist society.



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The "Guardian" is self-described as "an independent radical news weekly" which takes a strong left position but is not identified with any organized group. It is considered to be the largest radical weekly in America.

On May 27, 1971, another government agency furnished the text, as translated, of a May 26, 1971, Havana, Cuba, domestic radio broadcast. During this broadcast, it was indicated that the current contingent of the VB was then at sea aboard the Cuban freighter "Jose Antonio Echeverria" en route to Canada. The broadcast quoted ROSA MARTINEZ of this VB contingent as follows:

"During my stay in Cuba cutting cane, the thing which had the greatest impact on me and helped my political formation was the volunteer work."

MARTINEZ was described on the broadcast as a young Indian girl residing in Los Angeles, California.

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Another member of this VB contingent, interviewed for this radio broadcast, said that volunteer work greatly helps him physically and mentally and, at the same time, is another way of proving to himself his political convictions. According to the broadcast, this statement was made by WILLIAM SMITH of Seattle, Washington.

The broadcast indicated that the VB contingent at sea is devoting itself to volunteer work, including cleaning and painting of the ship and even the dining room tasks.



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GLOSSARY

[redacted]
[redacted] was [redacted] of
the Movimiento Pro-Independencia
De Puerto Rico (MPIPR) (Puerto
Rican Independence Movement)-
New York Mission (NYM).

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[redacted]

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The MPIPR - NYM, also known as the
"Mision Vito Marcantonio", which
was organized on August 6, 1961,
in New York City, continues to
support and promote all of the aims
and principles of the MPIPR as set
forth by the headquarters of the
MPIPR in Puerto Rico. The Casa
Puerto Rico (CPR), 106 East 14th
Street, New York, New York, is the
official office and meeting hall
of the MPIPR-NYM.

The MPIPR is a prominent Marxist-
Leninist organization seeking
complete independence for Puerto
Rico. Although it does not openly
advocate the use of terrorist
activities in the struggle for
independence, its leaders have
publicly expressed sympathy for
those engaged in such activities.
It supports the forces of the Castro
Cuban Revolution and maintains a
permant representative in Havana, Cuba.

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GLOSSARY (Cont'd)

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[REDACTED] attended a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) Marxist class held at 210 West 101st Street, New York City (NYC), on January 5, 1967 and April 16, 1967.

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The PLP was founded in 1962 by individuals expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for following the Chinese communist line. Its objective is the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism and MAO Tse-tung thought.

[REDACTED]

The Alternate U. (AU) bulletin for the Spring of 1967, reflects that [REDACTED] taught a course in [REDACTED] a".

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AU Bulletin
Spring, 1967

GLOSSARY (Cont'd)

AU, which existed in NYC from February, 1969, until January, 1971, was founded as a "college" for the propagation of radical ideas through grade free courses varying from Marxism-Leninism to Workshops in Revolution and Self-Defense.

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[redacted]

[redacted] was [redacted] for the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1968.

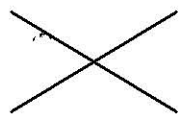
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The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization advocates the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States.

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GLOSSARY (Cont'd)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] K attended meetings of the West Side Communist Party (CP), Group Five, in June, July, September and December, 1970.

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[REDACTED]

The October 28, 1967, issue of the "National Guardian" identified [REDACTED] as a [REDACTED].

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"National Guardian"
October 28, 1967

The "Guardian", formerly known as the "National Guardian", is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" which takes a strong left position but is not identified with any organized group. It is considered to be the largest radical weekly in America.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
February 14, 1972

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bufile 105-195696
NYfile 100-166943

Title Venceremos Brigade

Character Internal Security - New Left

Reference is made to report of Special Agent
[redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York,
New York.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NEW YORK

DATE
10/16/72

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
2/1/72 - 10/6/72

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB) aka
American Brigade,
C and C Associates and
Brigada Venceremos

REPORT MADE BY

TYPED BY

jlr

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

CLASSIFIED BY 60290auc/oc/mjt/ab
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1 2/13/2029
#98107

REFERENCE

Report of SA [redacted] dated 2/14/72, at
New York.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "Confidential"
inasmuch as it contains information from confidential sources;
namely, [redacted] and
[redacted] sources of continuing value, the disclosure of which
information could reasonably be expected to cause "damage" to
the national security.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

NONE

ACQUIT-
TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [] YES [] NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS [] YES [] NO

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PIES CONT'D ON COVER PAGE B
2 - New York (100-166943)

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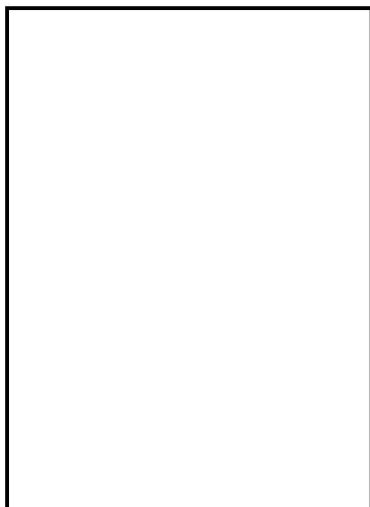
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ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

Six (6) copies of this report are being furnished to the Bureau for appropriate dissemination and one (1) information copy of this report is being furnished to selected offices in those areas where the VB has been active in connection with the Fifth Contingent of the VB or where the VB has indicated that there are currently regional organizations in existence.



[redacted], who was previously a leader of the New York VB Regional, but has since been expelled from the VB, is the subject of [redacted] and is currently on Category II of the ADEX of the New York Office.

Of the members of the National Committee of the VB, the following two individuals reside in the area covered by the New York Office:

- C -

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NY 100-166943

[Redacted]

(currently on Category I of the ADEX)

[Redacted]

(currently on Category I of the ADEX)

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

[Redacted]

File Number Where Located

[Redacted]

NY 100-166943-instant report

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

NY T-3

[Redacted] (U)

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NON-SYMBOL INFORMANT ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Identity of Source

[Redacted]

New York, New York
(by request)

[Redacted]

Portland, Maine
(by request)

File Number Where Located

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CAUTION: NOT TO BE DISSEMINATED TO RESIDENT AGENCIES -- DETACH

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

[REDACTED]

Office: New York, New York

Date:

10/16/72

Field Office File #:

100-166943

Bureau File #: 105-195696

Title:

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Synopsis:

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) continues to utilize the address of PO Box 643, Cathedral Station, NY, NY 10025. Sources indicate that there are no "headquarters" as such and that the VB National Committee (NC) meets in the Bay Area of California. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This contingent returned to the US via Canada, travelling to St. John, New Brunswick, aboard the ship "Thirtieth of November", arriving in St. John 5/12/72. Details of activities of the Fifth Contingent while in Cuba set forth. General activities of the VB in the US detailed, including a group of children, generally under 14 years of age, who travelled to Cuba in August, 1972.

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SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY... II
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON... Indefinite

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DETAILS:

All information contained in this report is classified "Confidential" unless otherwise noted.

For the purpose of clarity, individuals mentioned in this report will be characterized, where suitable information is available to so characterize them, in the Glossary of this report.

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of "New Left" organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to that country by the United States Department of State. The ostensible purpose of the travel was to assist the CASTRO Regime in the harvesting of sugar cane and other agricultural products and to give young Americans the experience of living in a revolutionary communist country.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Objectives

Source made available literature of the VB captioned "Criteria for Selection of Regionals", which set forth the political objectives of the VB as follows:

"(1) To develop solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and the peoples of the Third World.

"(2) To promote and develop the political formation of the progressive forces in the US through the Brigade process in Cuba and in the US.

"(3) To educate the US movement to an anti-imperialist consciousness and to the necessity for and the possibility of unity in strategic terms.

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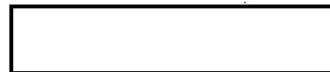
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"(4) To facilitate dialogue among different US movement groups as they work in the context of a common goal and constructive task."

This item further described the VB as a political education project and not an organization. Further, that the VB does not take a stand one way or another on organizations in the United States, but that in order to fulfill the objectives of the VB, the group will carry out activities in support of "anti-imperialist forces in the Third World". Even though the VB is not structured along strict "democratic-centralist lines", the work of the group does require guidance and discipline.

In this item, it was stated that the VB was not "a left-winged travel agency" and that participation in Cuba was just one piece of the total project of the VB and that equally important with the travel to Cuba, were the Brigade activities carried out in the United States.

In addition, this item indicated that the VB was not a "catch all" for the United States movement and that the Brigade does not "represent" the United States movement. Brigade participants were stated to be chosen through a process of selection based on the Brigade's political objectives as well as other criteria and that the VB would attempt to reach out to as many people and organizations as possible who could identify with the objectives of the VB and who would benefit from and make a contribution to the VB project.



B. Structure and Selection of Applicants

The item "Criteria for Selection of Regionals", above-referred to, listed the following cities and states as the regional areas in the structure of the VB:

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Chicago
Bay Area
Boston
Los Angeles
Detroit
Houston
New York
North Carolina
Kansas City
Newark

With respect to the "Criteria for Selection of Regionals," the following four points are taken into consideration:

"1. The areas openly supports the Cuban Revolution or has the basis for developing support.

"2. Areas where the movement has had a history of strength and has continued to be strong.

"3. Areas where the brigade has done past work and where there are a number of past brigadistas. Also where there are conditions for good recruitment existing at the present time.

"4. The new national committee is composed of a member from each of the areas listed below."

In addition, the VB is broken down into four committees as follows:

1. Fund Raising
2. Political Education
3. Recruitment
4. Propaganda

Each committee has a chairman who sits on a Central Committee and each of the committees has long and short range goals in carrying out the political objectives of the VB.

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With respect to the selection of applicants for the VB, the initial selection begins after all applicants have been interviewed by members of a regional committee. The entire regional committee meets and participates in this selection, which is predicated upon information on hand about the applicant, the four political objectives of the VB, some nine priorities and six criteria, the regional quota and National Committee (NC) guidelines and work in the committees prior to recruitment. After the decisions have been made, applicants are notified by the Regional Committee that they have been either selected or not. The new recruits are then placed in "cadre groups" and start working in the "cadre training program". It is here that the final selection process begins and during this period, which generally lasts from two to three months, the regional committee has a chance to work with and become acquainted with the new recruits. Of importance is the question of how well the recruit will be able to implement the four political objectives of the VB both in Cuba and upon the recruit's return to the United States. The final selection is in fact a recommendation made by the regional committee to the NC with the ultimate decision being made by the NC. This final selection is predicated upon such factors as leadership potential, attitude toward collective work, attitude toward political education programs, multiracial relations, movement experience and the ability to understand and implement the four political objectives of the Brigade.

C. Location

The VB continues to utilize the address of Post Office Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.
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The National Office of the VB is located in the San Francisco, California area.

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[REDACTED]

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D. Leadership

At a VB cadre meeting held in New York City on January 27, 1972, it was announced that the VB National Office was located in San Francisco, California and that all of the national officers were being appointed, after carefully being selected by the Cuban government. These officers, according to source, included [REDACTED] of San Francisco; [REDACTED] [REDACTED] location unknown; and [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] of New York City.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U)

[REDACTED]

June 27, 1972
August 25, 1972

The above information is not to be made public except in the usual proceeding following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

E. Finances

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U)

[REDACTED]

F. Publications

The November, 1971 issue of the VB publication "Turquino" contains the notice that "Turquino" will not be issued again until February, 1972 due to the unavailability of personnel responsible for its publication. In addition, this issue states the political objectives of the VB, discusses recruitment policy, defines commitment to the VB as not being

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"way your answer can be distorted and used against brothers and sisters. That is why it is so important NOT TO TALK AT ALL TO THE FBI when they come.

"The FBI agents will probably try to make you feel you are incriminating yourself by not talking, but don't be misled. Your silence or refusal to answer in this situation cannot be held to incriminate you in any way. Remember, no FBI agent asks idle questions; there is no such thing as small talk with a Pig. A long answer, a short answer, a truthful answer, a lying answer, a political rap, all of these supply some sort of information which is of use to the State.

"THERE IS NO LAW THAT SAYS YOU HAVE TO TALK TO THE FBI. When you shut the door in their face, you have broken no law. When you open the door and when you open your mouth to answer even one question (like 'what is your name' or 'does so and so live here') you have broken a law - a law of trust between sisters and brothers that we do not aid people who want to discredit and destroy the Peoples' struggle. Even letting the FBI into your house gives them information. They see your books, your posters, and other things which you forgot makes you an 'enemy' of the state in their minds and more importantly in their files. SO DON'T EVEN ASK THEM IN TO TELL THEM YOU HAVE NOTHING TO SAY.

"The FBI has in the past contacted people who are close to Brigadistas - family, friends, neighbors, employers. Generally, they will only do this if they have trouble finding you, but they may also do it because they know parents and employers are often more open to talking to the FBI, or have no idea how harmful to you their casual talk can be. We suggest that if it is at all possible, you tell the people close to you:

1. That the FBI might come asking about you;
2. That you have broken no law in going to Cuba;
3. That anything they say to the FBI, including giving them your address, can only hurt you and will never help you;

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"4. That there is no law requiring them to talk to the FBI, and nothing can happen to them when they refuse to talk;

"5. That when the FBI comes they should not be allowed in and no questions should be answered - not even 'are you so and so's mother' or 'have you seen her recently'.

"6. That if the FBI visits them asking about you, they should let you know about it.

"If you or anyone connected with you is contacted by the FBI, please immediately tell the Brigade Regional Committee or the person who gave you the application. These people can also answer any question you may have."



Weatherman, formerly a faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), controlled the SDS National Office from June, 1969, until its closing in February, 1970. Weatherman then entered an underground status and adopted a tactic of "strategic sabotage", with police and military installations designated as primary targets.

SDS was founded during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan, and in the 1960's functioned as the leading New Left campus-based student organization in the United States. From a stance of "participatory democracy", the SDS moved to a radical-revolutionary position. It maintained a national office at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, until February, 1970. Internal factionalism during 1969 produced

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three main factions: Weatherman, Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), and Worker Student Alliance (WSA). The Weatherman and RYM no longer consider themselves associated with the SDS. The WSA faction continues to use the name SDS.

II. ACTIVITIES

A. Latin-American Seminar

Twenty-seven individuals returned to St. John, New Brunswick, Canada on January 21, 1972, from Havana, Cuba aboard the Cuban vessel "Camaguey" and at that time, 19 of the returnees applied for admission to the United States at Calais, Maine. Source further advised that it was learned that these returnees had been members of previous VB contingents to Cuba and that they returned to Cuba for a "refresher course" and not to assist the Cubans in the harvesting of citrus fruits or sugar cane. (U)



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B. Fifth Contingent

Source made available a copy of a letter set out by the VB dealing with the Fifth Contingent, which is set forth as follows:

"VENCEREMOS BRIGADE
P.O. Box 643
Cathedral Station
New York, New York
10027

"Dear Friend

Presently, the fifth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, a political education project, is being organized for

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"departure to Cuba, in early 1972. The up-keep of the brigade and transportation of the people involved, has placed us in a financial crisis that cannot be over-emphasized. At a time when the 'Movement' is fragmented and splintered, the Venceremos Brigade is the only project bringing people from various organizations and movements together to work and learn collectively in an extensive 4 to 6 month period. In relation to the collective effort of the brigade on a regional and national level to build a unified movement, this collective effort in support of the Venceremos Brigade is extended to you.

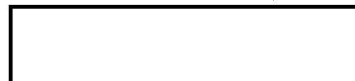
"In the months before leaving, regionals will be involved in political education, work projects and fund-raising functions in preparation for the trip. In response to the misinformation that had developed around Cuba and the Third World liberation struggles, the brigade is in the process of developing a program to counter this through films, books, slide shows, revolutionary albums, speakers, and a tentative Brigade paper. These materials are available and fund-raising activities and dates are listed.

"Four (4) contingents of the Venceremos Brigade, in support of the Cuban Revolution and in solidarity with Third World liberation struggles, have gone to Cuba to participate in the Sugar harvests and development of citrus fruit on the Isle of Pines, since January 1970. Over 1500 workers, students, community organizers, G.I. organizers, - Third World and White - have committed their efforts in an attempt to build a unified movement. Your contribution will enable people on the Brigade to reach its objectives of working, living, and learning in a socialist society and to return with that knowledge and solidarity to build from.

"As we are in desperate need, approximately \$230 per person, please reconsider this as not only another plea for funds, but as a meaningful project for which you would write a check.

"Venceremos,

"Fifth Contingent
Venceremos Brigade"



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Source advised that on March 6, 1972 and March 10, 1972, approximately 150 persons comprising a contingent of the VB, would be departing from various sections of the United States via air for travel to Mexico City and subsequently, travel to Cuba. According to source, approximately 90 persons would be departing the United States on March 6, 1972 and some 60 persons would be leaving the United States on March 10, 1972.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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On March 10, 1972, a group of individuals from New York City departed John F. Kennedy International Airport (JFK Airport), New York City aboard Aeronaves de Mexico Flight 405, for Mexico City. Upon arriving in Mexico City, they proceeded to clear Mexican Customs and were photographed by the Mexican Police and their baggage searched. While at the airport in Mexico City, this group was met by other VB members from throughout the United States and the entire group subsequently boarded a Cubana Airlines plane and departed for Havana, Cuba.

While on the Cuban plane, the members of the group were given questionnaires to fill out, which included their life history and movement experience, and Cuban intelligence officials interrogated some of the passengers. The group arrived in Havana, Cuba in the early morning of March 11, 1972 and were met by a reception group consisting of Cuban officials, Cuban bands, photographers and television cameras. After clearing the Cuban Customs, the group boarded buses which carried them to the VB camp near San Antonio de Los Bonas, located in Havana Province. At the camp, this group was met by other VB members who had arrived a few days before. This Fifth Contingent of the VB was made up of a total of 138 individuals.

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While in Cuba, the purpose of the VB was to assist the Cubans in a large government project of constructing houses. These houses were made out of poured concrete and had corrugated asbestos walls and roofs and stucco placed on the outer walls. The floors were made of crushed clay. The VB members were used to dig the footers for the foundations and only three houses were finally constructed that had been assigned to the VB as a quota. The members of the contingent also assisted in constructing a 20 unit apartment building.

At the camp, the group was separated as to sex and assigned to living quarters in old barracks. A typical day at the camp began at 5:30 a.m. and after breakfast at 6:00 a.m. the group would depart the camp and travel to the work site by truck or bus. Work began at 8:00 a.m. with a coffee break at 10:00 a.m. and lunch was generally from 12:00 noon until 1:00 p.m. Work began at about 2:00 p.m. and ended at 5:30 p.m. for the return to camp. Dinner was served from 6:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. and generally after dinner, there were propaganda presentations.

The group worked five and one half days per week, where they partied at the camp on Saturday evening and Sundays were given to resting or relaxing.

Source advised that in his opinion, the Cuban Revolution was economically a failure since the current sugar crop had been hit by drought. There was no evidence of any member of the VB receiving guerrilla warfare training or training in espionage activity. When such topics were mentioned to the Cubans, the latter would immediately change the topic of discussion.

During the stay at the camp, United States "skyjackers" appeared on two occasions.

It was accepted by the VB members that the Cuban government completely controls and helps to finance the VB. Cuban translators on two occasions related that the VB is a propaganda tool of the Cubans in the United States as well as in Cuba. The Cubans constantly presented political indoctrinations, which were "presentations" held each evening at the VB camp and Cuban news casts heavily slanted against the United States, were presented concerning the war in Vietnam.

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There were representatives of other countries in the form of delegations which were in Cuba to assist in the building projects. This included an "International Brigade" composed of 150 individuals representing 52 countries. This included a 12-man delegation from North Vietnam, which on April 12, 1972, visited the VB camp and presented each VB member with an aluminum ring made from the 3,000th United States plane shot down over North Vietnam. Captured United States weapons from Vietnam were displayed at the camp and are on display in Cuban museums.

The Soviets in Cuba are generally teachers and military instructors and the Cuban Army is equipped with Soviet made rifles, light-weight tanks, mortars and anti-aircraft guns.

The Cubans regard the VB as the "heroes and vanguard of the North American revolution" and after the VB broke camp on April 15, 1972, the Cubans took the entire VB on a tour of Cuba and the members were given warm receptions in every city and town that they visited.

During the stay in Cuba, officers of the Cuban Ministry of Intelligence were constantly with the VB members from the moment the latter departed Mexico City to the time they disembarked at St. John, New Brunswick on May 12, 1972. Two Cuban translators were also active as guides and counsellors for the VB while in Cuba.

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in Cuba is second in nature and continues to exist only at the pleasure of the Cuban government.

While in Cuba, the VB members were given an invitation to attend the closing session of the "Union de Jovenes Comunistas" (Cuban Young Communist League), Second Congress, held in Havana. This was an honorary appearance of the VB as "special guests" of Premier CASTRO and at the session CASTRO spoke for over four and one half hours, criticizing the young communists for "not going far enough to further the Cuban Revolution".

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Premier CASTRO also invited the entire VB contingent to attend the May Day parade and other festivities held in Havana on May 1, 1972, where the VB members sat in the reviewing stand along with Premier CASTRO and other top Cuban officials.

During the period April 17, 1972 - May 1, 1972, the Cuban government took the VB on a tour of Cuba where they visited such places as the Bay of Pigs, the Center Union of Las Villas, the Vado des Yeso Town, Santiago de Cuba and Turquino Mountain. Throughout the tour, the VB members were afforded time to meet and speak to Cuban nationals.

The Cuban press were constantly with the VB taking photographs and motion pictures, and on one occasion, a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) television crew filmed the VB at work.

The VB departed Cuba on May 2, 1972 at 11:00 p.m. aboard the Cuban ship the "Thirtieth of November". On May 12, 1972, the ship docked at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada. While on the return trip, VB members were given constant political briefings aboard the ship by VB NC members and in particular, [redacted], a VB NC member from San Francisco, California, who stated "that if the Cubans develop two people to contact and continue their friendship in the US, they consider the VB a success and well worth the million dollars they spent."

[redacted]

Individuals who were members of the Fifth VB Contingent to Cuba during March through May, 1972, returned aboard the Cuban vessel "Thirtieth of November", which docked at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada on May 12, 1972. These returnees were permitted to transit Canada directly to the United States by charter bus and private auto. Three individuals were admitted to the United States by private auto at Bridgewater, Maine and all the other returning individuals were transported by Consolidated Bus Corporation buses and private cars and were admitted to the United States at Calais, Maine. (U)

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C. "Venceremitos"

[] VB NC member, indicated that the VB was planning a special trip to Cuba for 10 to 14 year olds in August, 1972. In this connection, source furnished a four page mimeographed information sheet captioned "To All Regional Committees; Brigada Venceremos", which stated in part as follows:

"This summer, the Brigada Venceremos has been asked to use its resources to organize a delegation of young people (10-14 years) who will spend the month of August in Cuba. They will be participating for two weeks in the program of the International Pioneer Camp at Varadero. This means that their activities will include all types of sports and cultural activities--plus programs put on by the other children in the camp, designed to teach about life and the revolutionary struggle in their country. In all, children from about ten nations will come to the camp--including delegations from such countries as Chile, the Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the German Democratic Republic--and, of course, Cuba.

"The program will also include visits in Habana and a tour of the island--concentrating on places of special interest to children (perhaps Pionero, the zoo, CLIK brigades and so on), and also places which are important in the revolutionary history of the Cuban people (Moncada for example)...

"How will the trip be carried out? First, the 20 Venceremitos, as they'll be called, will be chosen from four major cities: New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. The movements in these areas have a long history, and we will be most likely to find children there whose parents have already encouraged their participation in political activity. We also thought it was essential that a group of five children go from four cities, rather than 1 child from 20 cities. It

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"not only make preparation and coordination easier for us, but gives the children a common experience, and a group of Venceremitos to work with when they return. Finally, we thought it was necessary to recruit from some areas where the BV itself was concentrating, so that we could maintain a longer tie with the Venceremitos, in terms of daily work.

"The group of Venceremitos will be both girls and boys, and racially mixed. We expect to recruit from families of brigadistas; movement groups that have 'children's sections'; breakfast programs; free schools and so on. We also want to choose young people whose parents will give them strong encouragement.

"The Venceremitos will have with them five adult guides--who will be responsible for their preparation before the trip as well. As a part of the preparation, the Venceremitos will be doing some type of work with the regional committees in each of the four cities, which can be continued when they come back.

"As you can see, in all ways, this is something entirely new for us. We don't have much experience as a movement working with younger people--and the Brigade certainly reflects that. This is then, in the best sense of the word, an experiment--and a very important one--which will give us a foundation in experience, to analyze and adapt.

"We need the cooperation of each regional committee to send the Venceremitos to Cuba.

"First, of course, the difficult problem of money. Because the Venceremitos will have to fly both ways, we are estimating a \$500 per person cost--which means over \$12,000 counting the adult guides.

"We are expecting that most of this money will have to come from contributions--contributions that we can solicit from liberal educational associations, 'educators', church groups, women's groups and peace groups--to name some. One thing we have in our favor is that this kind of project appeals to whole new sections of people--basically liberal or leftist people in education.

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"While children will be going from only four cities, we see it as a responsibility of the whole brigade to make sure they make it to Cuba. It is especially necessary that we all work to raise money, since the families of most of these children won't have nearly the funds--and shouldn't have to bear the expense, at any rate.

"Therefore, we are putting out a fundraising pamphlet that will explain the Venceremitos. It is up to all of us--in each regional and at the National level--to use this in the best ways possible to approach people and organizations for contributions. (this certainly doesn't rule out fundraising projects.)

"We only have a few weeks. That is our biggest obstacle. By July 1, all donations should be turned in to: New York, New York. 10025. Ask people to make checks payable to the Venceremos Brigade.

"In addition to fundraising, the Cn and Venceremitos guides would appreciate receiving any examples of children's propaganda or political education materials that you think might be helpful in preparing the Venceremitos. As we said--we don't have much experience at this.

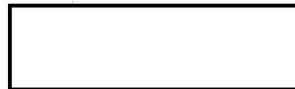
"Suggestions for ways to incorporate younger people in our activities--especially during the 26th of July should also be sent to the CN--so that they can be shared with other regionals.

"It is our hope that the Venceremitos will be an education for us all--and especially an education in responsibility.

"Viva les ninos revolucionaries!

"Venceremos!

"--Comite Nacional" (U)



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The "Daily World", an east coast communist newspaper, issue of July 13, 1972, Page 7, Column 3, contained the following item pertaining to the aforementioned activity of the VB:

"LOS VENCEREMITOS

"This summer, the Venceremos Brigade will be using its resources to organize a delegation of young people from about ten nations, including the U. S., aged 10 to 14 years, to spend the month of August in Cuba. Their activities will include sports and culture activities, programs by the children themselves, visits to Havana, a tour of the island, particularly places of interest to this age group, and, of course, places important in the history and current events in Cuba. (U)

"The 20 U. S. Venceremitos, as they'll be called will be chosen from four major cities, representing varied racial and national groups. To accomplish this we need cooperation, first of all to raise the necessary money--more that \$12,000 for the children and for five especially trained guides, and secondly and just as important, we need any examples of children's political education materials that you think might be helpful in preparing the Venceremitos. (U)

"All contributions and material, so urgently needed, should be sent as quickly as possible to La Brigada Venceremos, P. O. Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, N. Y. 10025. (U)

"Muchas gracias; (U)

"KATHY BRIGADISTA, San Francisco" (U)

The "Guardian" issue of August 30, 1972, on Page 15, contained an item captioned "Children Visit Cuba" which is set forth as follows:

"On Aug. 3 some 23 children from various parts of the U.S. departed for Cuba, becoming the first American children's delegation to visit the blockaded island. The black, Chicano,

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"Puerto Rican, Asian and white children-mainly from the families of workers and ranging in age from 9 to 14-joined with children from 10 other countries in an International Pioneers Camp.

"The group, organized by the Venceremos Brigade, is called the 'Venceremitos,' or 'Little Winners.' They are part of the more than 1500 Americans who have gone to Cuba for month-long stays to learn and work, to cut sugar cane, plant citrus trees and build houses.

"The organizers of the children's delegation said they were prompted to do so out of a sense of 'responsibility to future generations.' 'We want to teach our children new values,' they explained, 'to give them responsibilities and experiences that will help them learn how to lead the future struggle.'

"When the group left, however, it had not yet raised enough money for the return trip. A fund raising letter sent out by the children read: 'We are appealing to you to contribute whatever you feel you can to help us. If we came from rich parents we wouldn't have to appeal to you for donations, but we are the children of workers, and we require your support.'

"Financial assistance or information requests can be sent to: Venceremitos, c-o Venceremos Brigade, P.O. Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y." (U)

The "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" which takes a strong left position but is not identified with any organized group. It is considered to be the largest radical weekly in America.

The "Daily World" issue of September 1, 1972, on Page 2 and 11, captioned an item "Children return from Cuba trip with happy stories of solidarity", datelined New York, August 21, 1972, which stated in part as follows:

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"The youngest delegation of Americans to Cuba came back yesterday, arriving tired, happy and excited at Kennedy International Airport. They had spent two weeks at the international children's Pioneer camp in Varadero, Cuba, and an additional two weeks touring Cuba.

"The group, "Los Venceremitos," consisted of 23 children of different races and nationalities, ranging in age from 10 to 14, from New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles, and of five young adults from the Venceremos Brigade, which organized the trip.

"Amid the confusion of last minute good-byes to each other and surrounded by suitcases, knapsacks and odds and ends accumulated during their stay in Cuba, several Venceremitos enthusiastically recounted their experiences to the Daily World.

"They all agreed what they liked best was the people they met. At the camp and during their tour they were with young people from the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Bulgaria, Chile and other countries as well as Cubans...

"Some expressed a desire to form a Young Pioneers organization in the U.S., possibly by starting with a Pioneer camp that might exchange campers with other countries.

"There will be a home-coming party and dinner with entertainment for the Venceremitos on Sept. 16 at Casa de las Americas. The cost is \$3 for adults and \$1 for children". (U)

The Casa de las Americas is an organization in New York City formed ostensibly as a social club in April, 1964. It is composed of pro-FIDEL CASTRO, pro-communist individuals. Casa de las Americas distributes Cuban propaganda and has provided financial assistance in the past to various revolutionary groups and to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

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D. New York VB Activity

At a VB cadre meeting held in New York City on January 27, 1972, the following announcements were among those made by [redacted], who had been the New York area representative to the Latin American Seminar recently held in Cuba:

At the Latin American Seminar, a split occurred within the VB leadership and as a result of this, [redacted] proposed that more emphasis be placed on Third World problems and to put Third World people in leadership capacity. The representatives of the National Office of the VB turned [redacted] proposal down and the Cubans were also against these proposals because they wanted a feeling of "solidarity" within the VB. [redacted] stated that while in Cuba, he had been "caught" talking to an individual who was tabbed as being "counter-revolutionary" and he was accused of seeking relationships only with counter revolutionaries. According to [redacted] both the Cubans and the VB National Office representatives then had asked him to resign his leadership position in the New York area. [redacted] further announced that the New York Region of the VB would hold a general meeting on January 30, 1972, to determine if that region would send representatives on the next VB contingent, and that the Third World members of the region would hold a caucus on January 29, 1972 to discuss if they would continue to support the VB.

[redacted]

A New York VB Regional meeting was held on January 30, 1972, which began at twelve noon and ended at 8:00 PM. The main topic of discussion was the resignation of the entire New York Regional Staff over the refusal of the National Committee of the VB to accept the Third World proposals and the alleged "set-up" of [redacted] as a counter-revolutionary by the Cubans while he was in Cuba as a delegate to the Latin American Seminar. According to the source, these facts regarding the internal destruction within the VB has been furnished to the

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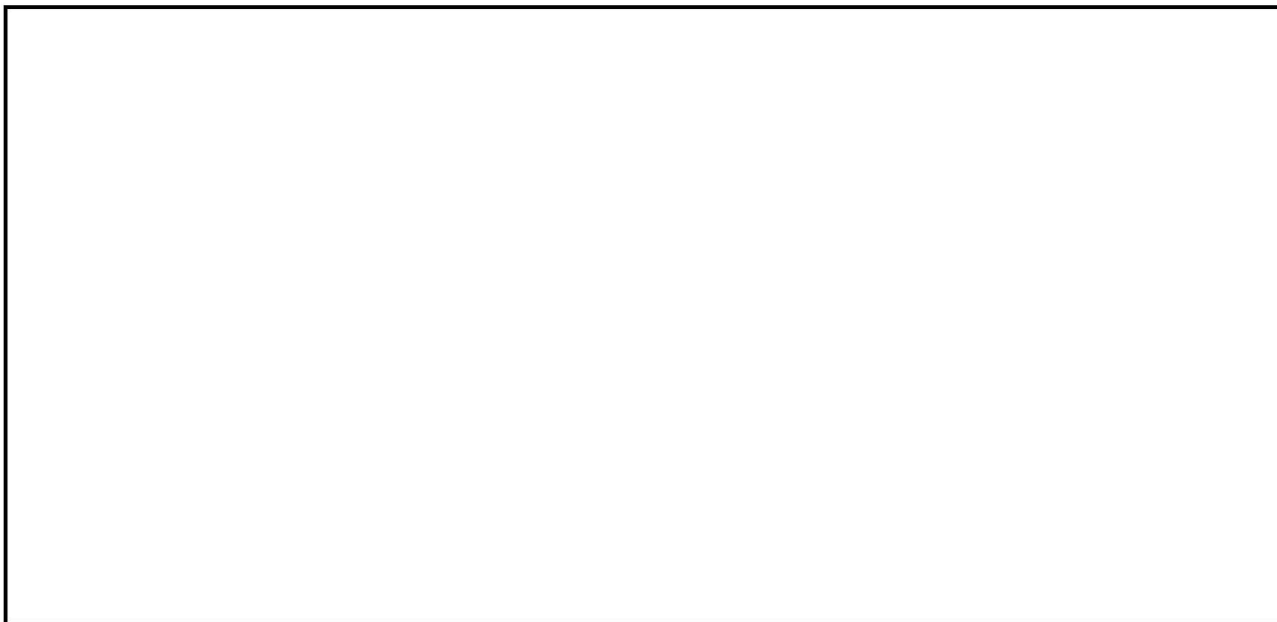
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underground press and to other VB Regionals in the United States. VB fund raising activity has stopped in the New York area as a result of this dissension.



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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The defunct New York Regional members reportedly still had the only access to the New York VB bank account and funds may have to be borrowed from other VB Regionals in order for New York area members to become part of the next contingent for travel to Cuba.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The New York VB Regional held a meeting on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Under discussion at this meeting was the recent split in the New York Region of the VB as well as programs to raise money for the upcoming trip to Cuba.

[REDACTED]

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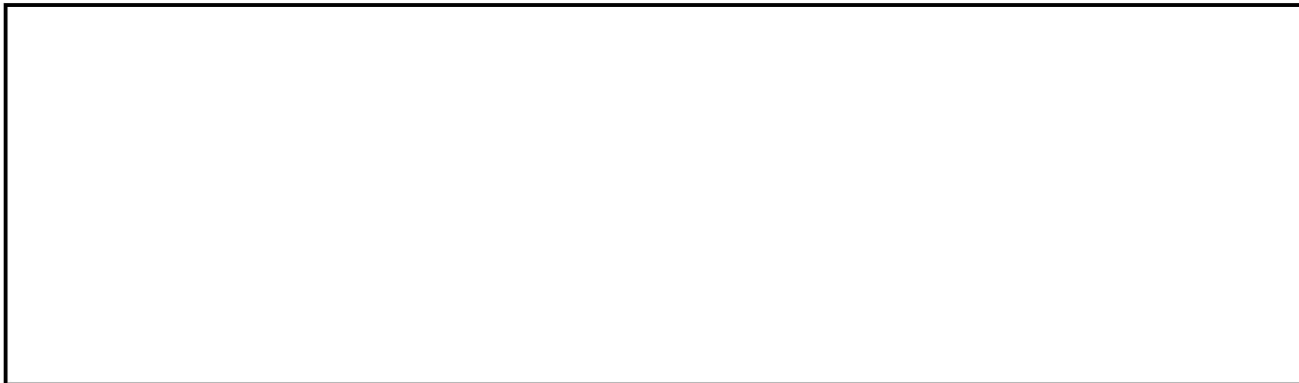
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A VB fund raising affair was held at the Washington Square Methodist Church in New York City at 2:00 PM on February 19, 1972. Cuban films were shown and approximately \$65.00 was raised by this event. (U)



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The VB held a demonstration in support of the Cuban Revolution at Union Square, New York City on July 26, 1972. There were approximately 125 to 150 individuals in attendance. The demonstration began at 7:00 PM and ended at 9:15 PM.  acted as master of ceremonies. Speakers at the demonstration spoke against United States imperialism and a

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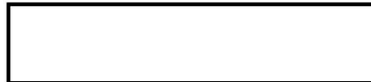
movie entitled "Vietnam for the Vietnamese" purportedly made in North Vietnam, was shown. (U)



III. AFFILIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Casa de las Americas (CDLA)

During the evening of February 26, 1972, the VB presented movies about Cuba at the CDLA, 106 West 14th Street, New York City. [redacted] spoke briefly about the American capitalistic invasion of Latin America after the movies were shown, and his remarks were then translated into Spanish. (U)



IV. PROPAGANDA VALUE TO THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT

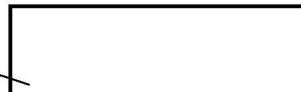
Source furnished a summary transcript of a Cuban radio broadcast made on March 11, 1972. A translation of this summary is as follows:

The second group of the Fifth Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade arrived early today at Jose Marti Airport, Havana. This group consists of 84 young Americans, 51 men and 33 women, who have come from different parts of the United States. (U)

These revolutionaries and radicals from the North were met at the airport by Enrique Rivero, Director of the Camp; Agustin Toledo, Sub-Director of the Cuban Friendship Institute; and Manuel Torres, Foreign Relations Secretary of the Union of Young Communists. (U)

This group, like the 54 young Brigade members who arrived last Monday, will work at building homes in the village of Los Naranjos. This is part of Plan Ceiba, Havana Province. (U)

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GLOSSARY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was secretary of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) - New York Mission (NYM).

[REDACTED]

The MPIPR - NYM, also known as the "Mision Vito Marcantonio", which was organized on August 6, 1961, in New York City, continues to support and promote all of the aims and principles of the MPIPR as set forth by the headquarters of the MPIPR in Puerto Rico. The Casa Puerto Rico (CPR), 106 East 14th Street, New York, New York, is the official office and meeting hall of the MPIPR - NYM.

The MPIPR is a prominent Marxist - Leninist organization seeking complete independence for Puerto Rico. Although it does not openly advocate the use of terrorist activities in the struggle for independence, its leaders have publicly expressed sympathy for those engaged in such activities. It supports the forces of the Castro Cuban Revolution and maintains a permanent representative in Havana, Cuba.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] attended meetings of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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GLOSSARY (Cont'd)

[redacted] (Cont'd)

held in New York City during April, 1972, and was described as a member of the New York SNCC who is considered a key person in terms of overall political strategy for SNCC.

[redacted]

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization advocates the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States.

[redacted]

[redacted] attended meetings of the West Side Communist Party (CP), Group Five, in June, July, September and December, 1970.

[redacted]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
October 16, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bufile 105-105696
NYfile 100-166943

Title Venceremos Brigade

Character	Internal Security - Revolutionary Activities
1. Name	
2. Address	
3. Date of Birth	
4. Place of Birth	
5. Education	
6. Occupation	
7. Political Beliefs	
8. Social Connections	
9. Travel History	
10. Other Information	

Reference is made to report of Special Agent dated and captioned as above, at New York, New

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FD-263 (Rev. 1-7-72)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE SEP 28 1973	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/7/72 - 9/12/73
TITLE OF CASE VENCERMOS BRIGADE (VB) aka American Brigade, C and C Associates Brigada Venceremos		REPORT MADE BY [redacted]	TYPED BY eps
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS	

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REFERENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

NY report of SA [redacted] dated 10/16/72.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

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2/18/04
CLASSIFIED BY 62290ame/SCC/park
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1 2/18/2029
Annot mCPF classified per OLC letter 2/5/04
#981107

This investigation is based on information which indicates that captioned organization is engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18, United States Code 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy),

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
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APPROVED [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	USSS [redacted]	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.
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53 NOV 1 1973

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ADMINISTRATIVE (Continued)

2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), 1541-46 (Passport and Visa Matter), 792-98 (Espionage) and Title 50, United States Code 851-58 (Registration of Persons Who Have Knowledge of, or Received Instruction or Assignment In, Espionage, Counterespionage, or Sabotage Service or Tactics of Government of Foreign Country or Foreign Political Party).

The VB was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of New Left organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to Cuba by the United States Department of State. Investigation of the VB has revealed that aside from the VB's ostensible objectives of harvesting sugar cane and other agricultural products and assisting in construction of housing, the VB has stated it will seek to educate people about imperialism and to foster a revolution against it. Individual members of the VB have made statements to the effect that the most significant effect of the Brigade would be to build a revolutionary movement in the United States around those who go to Cuba. In the past, various VB members, acting in a leadership capacity, have been known to be members of revolutionary organizations. VB members are known to have been contacted by various hostile intelligence services while in Cuba and it is known that the VB is being used by these intelligence services for spotting purposes as well as recruiting intelligence agents and support personnel. The VB is currently headquartered in New York City.

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ADMINISTRATIVE (continued)

This report is being classified "Secret - No Foreign Dissemination" since the unauthorized disclosure of this information could reasonably be expected to result in serious damage to national security by jeopardizing [redacted] a source who has furnished sensitive information and who is expected to continue to furnish similar information in the future. The disclosure of the information furnished by [redacted] in this report could disclose the identity of the source as some of the information reported herein was known only to a limited number of persons. (S)(U)

Six copies of this report are being furnished to the Bureau for appropriate dissemination at the seat of government and one information copy of this report is being furnished to selected offices in those areas where the VB has been active in connection with the Sixth Contingent of the VB or where there have been regional organizations or representatives of the VB.

Details of the activities of the Sixth Contingent while in Cuba are not being set forth in extensive form inasmuch as these facts have already been covered and appropriately disseminated by Houston airtel and LHM dated June 22, 1973, reporting on the information furnished by [redacted] and WFO airtel and LHM dated July 12, 1973, reporting on the information furnished by [redacted] both of which sources were members of the Sixth Contingent of the VB. (S)(U)

[redacted] who is listed in the enclosed report as being in charge of the Regional Committee of the VB in New York is the subject of [redacted] and is currently on the ADEX.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[redacted]
[redacted] (S)(U)

[redacted]

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Identity of Source

File Where Located

[Redacted]

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Used to characterize

[Redacted]

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Used to characterize
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LEADS

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and
report on activities of captioned organization.

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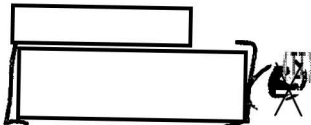
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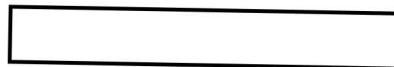


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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SEP 28 1973

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Report of:

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Office: New York, New York

Date:

SEP 7 1973

Field Office File #:

100-166943

Bureau File #: 105-195696

Title:

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY

Synopsis:

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) maintains no office in the New York area and [REDACTED] is the

[REDACTED] Departure of the Sixth Contingent for Cuba and its subsequent return to the US set forth. Interest of the Young Workers Liberation League in the VB detailed. Also, interest of the North Koreans in the Sixth Contingent of the VB while in Cuba as well as Cuban control of this contingent set forth.

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1 2/18/2029
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P4 on pg 14 classified per OGA letter 2/5/04

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NY 100-166943

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DETAILS:

All information contained in this report is unclassified unless otherwise noted.

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of "New Left" organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to that country by the United States Department of State. The ostensible purpose of the travel has been to assist the CASTRO Regime in the harvesting of sugar cane and other agricultural products, and more recently to engage in construction projects, and to give young Americans the experience of living in a revolutionary communist country.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Background

The October 14, 1972 issue of "Human Events", a weekly Washington, D.C. publication, contained an article entitled, "The Venceremos Brigade, Fidel Castro's Sugar Cane Cutters", which read in part as follows:

"The 'Venceremos Brigade,' the grandiloquent designation under which packs of radical U.S. youths are sneaked over to Cuba ostensibly to cut sugar cane but actually to undergo revolutionary training, is due for public airing.

"A House Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Rep. Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.), will hold three days of hearings in Miami, Fla., starting October 11..."

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"The 'Venceremos (we shall conquer) Brigade' was formed in June 1969 by a group of radical organizations--foremost among them the extremist Students for a Democratic Society and the Young Socialist Alliance, affiliate of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers party, largest best-organized and most aggressive radical youth group in the U.S.

"YSA members are thoroughly indoctrinated and dedicated Marxists. They function under rigid regimentation. Many have participated in Venceremos contingents.

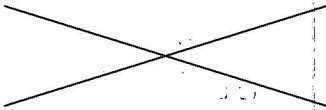
"Announced purpose of these VB packs is to cut sugar cane. Actually they are sent to camps for training in guerrilla warfare, agitation and other revolutionary activities.

"Efforts are under way to coordinate VB recruiting on an organizational basis. So far, it has been loosely structured. The aim is to develop the Brigade into a type of 'identity' organization, with officials and a staff. To further that purpose, a monthly newsletter is being circulated.

"It is title Tur_uino--for Pico Turquino, or Turkey Peak, highest point in Cuba's Sierra Maestra Mountains where Castro and his band of 12 rebels holed up in 1956.

"According to Turquino, the so-called 'political objectives' of VB include: 'Solidarity with the Cuban revolution,' furthering the development of 'progressive' (meaning revolutionary) forces in the U.S., 'educating the left-wing movement to concepts of anti-imperialism,' vigorously supporting 'national liberation struggles' throughout the world, and 'fighting the enemy' (meaning democracy, free enterprise and individual liberty)..."

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"Enrollees to be 18 or over, which eliminated young high school students who had been accepted in previous contingents and some of whom had proved 'unsatisfactory'; enrollees to have 'prior experience in the 'movement' in the U.S.,' meaning membership in the SDS, YSA and other radical organizations; have a 'full understanding and realization of the nature and scope of the 'struggle' in the U.S. and abroad'; be a leader 'who has the possibilities of additional revolutionary development'; and be 'willing to commit himself to political work for the VB.'

"Clearly, from this list of stringent requirements, recruits for the fifth contingent were not being sent to Cuba to cut sugar cane. Castro has plenty of native workers for that.

"The Venceremos were going to Cuba for direct training in revolutionary techniques and functions..."

"Human Events", October 14, 1972

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was founded during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan, and in the 1960's functioned as the leading New Left campus-based student organization in the United States. From a stance of "participatory democracy", the SDS moved to a radical-revolutionary position. It maintained a national office at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, until February, 1970. Internal factionalism during 1969 produced three main factions: Weatherman, Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), and Worker Student Alliance (WSA). The Weatherman and RYM no longer consider themselves associated with the SDS. The WSA faction continues to use the name SDS.

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As the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) serves as the main source of recruitment into that organization. The YSA is described in the masthead of its official publication, "The Young Socialist Organizer," as "A multinational revolutionary socialist youth organization."

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

B. Structure

During the past year the VB has tried to improve its organizational structure and while it is still undergoing this process of reorganization, it is a more sophisticated organization than it was one year ago. The VB in the United States was formerly broken down into approximately 32 regions and was so loosely structured and geographically scattered that the leadership found it impossible to control many areas of the country. In the summer of 1972, it was decided, therefore, to reduce the number of regionals to nine, the areas for the location of these regionals being chosen on the basis of their recruitment potential. The National Committee was likewise determined to exercise a greater degree of control over the new regional organizations which were located in the following areas:

Los Angeles
San Francisco
Texas
Kansas City
Philadelphia
Chicago
Detroit
New York
North Carolina

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The Cuban Government apparently does not want the VB to become an "organization" in the strict sense of the term. The VB considers itself a political education association and it recruits and trains individuals, preferably those who have been active in "movement activities", for travel to Cuba. The Cubans likewise believe that they are reaching a larger and more diverse segment of the American people by supporting established "movement" groups as well as the activities of these groups, rather than by operating as an independent organization. The Cubans definitely believe that the VB would lose its effectiveness if it attempted to operate independently. The larger and more established "movement" groups with which the VB has developed relationships are the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the Communist Party (CP), the Revolutionary Union (RU) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF).

The major decisions of the VB are definitely influenced by the desires of the Cuban Government and while the regionals do have some independence their actions are subject to veto by the Cubans.



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The YWLL is a front organization of the CP, USA. It was formed as a Marxist-Leninist Youth Group in February, 1970.

YAWF is the youth group of the Workers World Party (WWP).

The WWP was founded in 1959 by individuals who disagreed with policies of the SWP. The WWP dissidents advocated unconditional support of the Soviet Union and the building of a revolutionary party geared to the overthrow of capitalism. More recently the WWP has called for peaceful solutions to Sino-Soviet disputes, however, the WWP generally supports the People's Republic of China in its ideological differences with the Soviet Union.

The RU was founded in early 1968 and is a militant, semi-clandestine organization. Its objectives, as set out in its publications, are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working-class unity and leadership in the struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

Source made available a memorandum dated November 22, 1972, from the Peace and International Commission of the YWLL, directed to all sections, branches, members, and key contacts regarding "League Policy on Venceremos Brigade", which in part stated that

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the VB had currently established regional committees in ten areas of the United States in order to recruit for the upcoming Sixth Contingent of the VB for travel to Cuba. These areas were set forth as follows:

New York
District of Columbia
Philadelphia
Kansas City, Missouri
Detroit
Chicago
Bay Area (San Francisco, California)
Los Angeles
Houston (San Antonio, Austin, Texas)
Fayetteville, North Carolina

[REDACTED]

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C. Leadership

Source made available the memorandum dated November 22, 1972, of the YWLL referred to above, which in addition to the location of the regional committees in the ten areas of the United States, listed the following persons as being in charge of these areas:

New York-- [REDACTED]
District of Columbia-- [REDACTED]
Philadelphia-- [REDACTED]
Kansas City, Missouri-- [REDACTED]
Detroit-- [REDACTED]
Chicago-- [REDACTED]
Bay Area-- [REDACTED]
Los Angeles-- [REDACTED]
Houston, San Antonio, Austin-- [REDACTED]
Fayetteville, North Carolina-- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[redacted] advised on June 18, 1973, that [redacted]

[redacted]. (Confidential) (X)(u)

[redacted] (X)(u)

[redacted]

[redacted] is an active member of the New York City VB Regional Committee and is in charge of arranging for transportation and political education for the VB in this region. (X)(u)

[redacted]

[redacted] advised on July 2, 1970, and December 16, 1970, that [redacted] attended meetings of the West Side CP, Group 5, in June, July, September, and December, 1970. (X)(u)

D. Location

[redacted] New York, New York, [redacted]

[redacted]

Applications for participation in this contingent are received by [redacted] at his home address.

The VB has discontinued its former New York City Post Office Box (Post Office Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025) inasmuch as the National Office of the VB is currently located in Oakland, California.

[redacted]

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Post Office Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025, is no longer utilized by the VB and was discontinued in the latter part of 1972.

[REDACTED]

The VB National Office, which is located in San Francisco, California, receives its mail through a Post Office Box there.

[REDACTED]

Source made available a leaflet announcing recruitment for the Sixth Contingent of the VB which announcement indicated that applications could be obtained at 637 Alcatraz, Oakland, California.

[REDACTED]

The VB Office is located at 637 Alcatraz, Oakland, California.

[REDACTED]

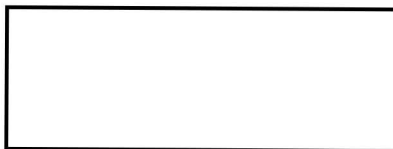
The November-December issue of "Triple Jeopardy", the publication of the Third World Women's Alliance (TWAA), 346 West 20th Street, New York, New York, on page 2, contained an announcement of the VB in which the VB was described as "An Anti-Imperialist Political Education Project, In Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution," which stated that recruitment for the Sixth Contingent of the VB began on October 8 (1972) and added that applications for participation in this contingent could be received from:

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The Venceremos Brigade
Post Office Box 4705
San Francisco, California
Telephone Number 658-2647

and/or



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The TWAA, which is affiliated with the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was organized by a black women's caucus within SNCC and is headquartered in New York City. Its announced objective is the elimination of what it considers to be the triple oppression of women in America: imperialism, racism, sexism, and the solution to this triple oppression as being socialism through armed struggle.

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960, during the period of civil rights activity in the south. The organization has in the past advocated the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States. SNCC National Headquarters is currently located in New York City, but is devoid of leadership.

E. Security

Source made available a copy of a letter dated October 30, 1972, from the Chicago Region of the VB which, addressed to "Dear Brigadistas:", requested the recipient

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to advise the Chicago Region if any of the recipients were called to testify before the hearings held by the House Internal Security Subcommittee recently in Miami. In addition, this letter included a form on harassment which it was stated would help the Chicago Region determine whether a pattern existed as to any investigations being carried out by the government.

This form on harassment is set out as follows:

"GENERAL INFORMATION ON HARRASSMENT"

"NAME _____ DATE _____

"ADDRESS _____

"TELEPHONE _____ OR LEAVE MESSAGE: _____

"BRIGADE CONTINGENT: _____ WORK BRIGADE: _____

"HAVE YOU BEEN CONTACTED BY ANY POLICE AGENCIES? _____

"HAVE ANY POLICE AGENCIES CONTACTED ANY MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY, NEIGHBORS, LANDLORD, ETC.? _____

"IF SO, GIVE A BRIEF EXPLANATION: WHICH AGENCY, DATE OR APPROXIMATE DATE OF CONTACT, PLACE, MANNER, AND ANYTHING YOU LEARNED ABOUT THEM (Name of agent; kind of car driven, license plate number; threats; etc. Above all, what questions did they ask?) Use other side of this form if necessary.

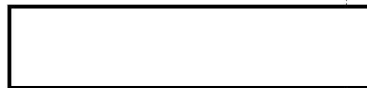
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"Have you been busted since your return? Give details.

"Have you been personally harrased by right-wing groups or persons? Give details.

"BE SURE TO REPORT ANY FURTHER HARRASSMENT TO THE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE REGIONAL COMMITTEE."

"VENCEREMOS BRIGADE"



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II. ACTIVITIES

A. Sixth Contingent

The selection of participants in the Sixth Contingent of the VB began as early as September, 1972. The Sixth Contingent of the VB was divided into two groups. The first group consisting of 51 individuals from such areas as Kansas, Texas, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Virginia, assembled in Mexico City at the airport on March 19, 1973. This group departed by plane from Mexico City about 1:00 AM on March 20, 1973, and arrived at Jose Marti Airport in Havana, Cuba at approximately 2:00 AM on March 20, 1973. On the following Sunday, a second group of 51 individuals, primarily from California, assembled at the airport in Mexico City and also flew to Havana, Cuba, by plane on Cubana Airlines as did the first group.

On the completion of their stay in Cuba the Sixth Contingent left their campsite on May 15, 1973, and were transported to Havana where the entire contingent of 101 individuals boarded the Cuban ship, "20th Anniversary" for their return to the United States.

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One of the original 102 members of the Sixth Contingent had left Cuba earlier due to a death in his family.

Also boarding the Cuban vessel were approximately 15-20 persons from the United States who had visited Cuba ostensibly under the auspices of a Health and Welfare Group concerned with hospitals and rest homes in Cuba.

The voyage from Cuba to Canada took seven days and the ship arrived at Montreal, Canada, on May 22, 1973, where the members of the contingent were met by two buses which took them to New York City where the group broke up and the members travelled to their respective home states. (S)(u)

B. "Los Venceremitos"

A group of children known as "Los Venceremitos", chaperoned by two adults, were scheduled to travel from New York City and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by plane to Mexico City from which point they intended to travel to Cuba. This group, consisting of nine children and two adults, was scheduled to depart from the United States on August 2, 1973. (S)(u)

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C. Venceremos Brigade Activities

1. Casa de las Americas (CDLA)

The CDLA is an organization in New York City, formed ostensibly as a social club in April, 1964. It is composed of pro-FIDEL CASTRO and pro-Communist individuals. CDLA distributes Cuban propaganda and has provided financial assistance in the past to various revolutionary groups and to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

On May 24, 1973, an affair was held to welcome members of the VB who had just returned from Cuba. (X)(u)



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2. Center for Cuban Studies (CCS)

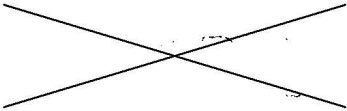
On September 10, 1973, [redacted] advised that the CCS, 186 West 4th Street, New York City, is an organization comprised mainly of United States citizens which has as its purpose propagandizing in favor of the CASTRO regime in Cuba. Further, the CCS holds classes on Cuban political history, which classes support the political thesis of CASTRO's Communism.

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Source made available a letter on the letterhead of the CCS dated June, 1973, which read as follows:

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"Dear Brigadista,

"On behalf of the Center for Cuban Studies I want to send our greetings to all the returned brigadistas of the 6th Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. Enclosed is some information that we are sending to all the companeras and companeros so that you will know that the Center is yours and exists to help you in your work and in the steady growth of your understanding of Cuba and Latin America as a whole.

"Currently, we don't have a listing of the complete contents of our library to send you. However, it is extensive (even after the bombing which actually destroyed very few of our books and periodicals) and since we have a xerox machine here, we can try to help you with your requests for information, especially for your work around the 26th of July activities and any other outreach work that you might be doing.

"Also enclosed is a brochure describing Tricontinental Import Company which is handling subscriptions for Granma, Bohemia and Cuba. This is sent, not with the idea of individual subscriptions from you. (it is expensive and you probably have regular access to these anyway), but because you might be able to persuade your local town, school or university library that they should subscribe. This is probably the first opportunity that they've had to begin a collection of contemporary Cuban periodicals and might be interested.

"In addition to offering our services to you, we also hope that you will contribute copies of any materials that you write or otherwise produce to the Center. We have a clipping and article file which is probably used more often and with more enthusiasm than any other part of our library."

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"Besides many Cuban materials, alot of what composes this file are notes and articles from trips by Northamericans, and any contributions that you can make to this (notes, interviews, articles published and unpublished, descriptions and experiences on visits, etc.) would be greatly appreciated and very well-used by many other folks.

"And if you have managed to collect some Cuban materials which you think are special and that we may not have, let us know and we can send you the money to make copies of them for our library. Or of course you can always contribute them directly.

"If you want to be on our regular mailing list, let us know. We hope to maintain our contact and help each other in our work. ! Saludamos el sexto contingente de la Brigada Venceremos!"

"! Viva el XX Aniversario!
"! Adelante!"



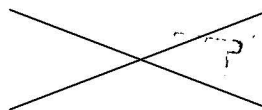
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III. SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE

A. Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL)

Source made available a memorandum from the YWLL dated November 22, 1972, and previously referred to, concerning "League Policy on Venceremos Brigade", which is set forth as follows:

"The Sixth Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade is presently being organized. It will be composed of about 150 U.S. youth who will leave for Cuba in mid-March, 1973, to work on a construction project. They will return in the beginning of June. The deadline for applying is December 5, 1972."



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"The League has always supported the Venceremos Brigade as a positive contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle and a concrete act of solidarity with the Cuban revolution. We view it as an important vehicle for helping to break down the blockade of Cuba imposed by U.S. Imperialism and for enabling U.S. youth to view first hand the achievements of socialist Cuba.

"Recruitment for past Brigades has sometimes been characterized by anti-communism. This depended to a large degree on the political orientation of the Regional Committees, which were sometimes dominated by Maoists or others with strong anti-Soviet, anti-YWLL and anti-CPUSA attitudes. On the last Brigade, for example, numerous YWLL ers were rejected merely because of their political affiliation.

"Despite these and other problems on past Brigades, the League has always sought to work with, support, and build the Brigade. The present National Committee of the Brigade has the perspective of basing the Brigade on those organizations which have a 'defined position of support for the Cuban Revolution.' Therefore they are eager to develop closer working relations with the League.

"Specifically, they want us to help recruit League members and others to go on the next Brigade, and to help work with the Regional Committees in their recruitment, propaganda, political education activities, etc.

"The Brigade now states in its principles that they 'do not have a strategy and tactics for revolutionizing U.S. society,' and that they are 'not a party or pre-party formation which seeks to advance a particular analysis of U.S. conditions for revolution.'

"They view themselves primarily as an educational project whose main goal is to do propaganda and internal political education work. Their propaganda priorities are Vietnam, Cuba, Latin America, and Africa."

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"Our basic approach to the Brigade is that we view it positively and wish to give it positive assistance and support. Nevertheless the Brigade is a mass organization within which we must play an ideological role.

"The new perspective of the Brigade is an advance over past positions, and represents an attempt to overcome some of the problems that affected earlier Brigades primarily because some of the organizers attempted to transform the Brigade into a 'vanguard' organization in the U.S.

"While working to build the Brigade, our political contribution should also be:

"1) To guarantee that the Brigade focuses on a campaign to break the U.S. blockade of Cuba, to withdraw troops from Guantanamo base, and to halt U.S. attempts to subvert Cuba through economic, political, military and diplomatic sabotage. This is the main contribution that progressive U.S. youth, living in the country which is the main threat to the Cuban people, can make. We see the development of Cuban - U.S.A. friendship as one of the main goals that the Venceremos Brigade can achieve. The perspective should be to break down the blockade so that U.S. youth can travel unrestricted to Cuba to see for themselves developments there, instead of having to go indefinitely through semi-underground channels through the Brigade.

"2) To broaden the concept of the Brigade so that progressive, democratic-minded U.S. youth who may not be anti-imperialist will also be eligible to go on the Brigades, as long as they are open to learning about Cuba and don't hold crystallized anti-Cuban or anti-Soviet views. This would greatly increase the effectiveness of the Brigade in bringing a true picture of Cuban life to broad sections of U.S. youth. Also it would act as a restraint on the Brigade becoming a tightly-knit, anti-imperialist organization which would move in the direction of trying to be a 'vanguard' of the U.S. movement, despite their disclaimers that this is not their intention."

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3) To fight for a higher level of black-white unity within the Brigade and for the elimination of 'white caucuses,' 'white student' and 'white working class' reports and other such conceptions. 4) To involve the Brigade in other initiatives that the League is involved in, such as the Hospital Campaign, the preparation for the Youth Festival and other united front activities.

"Currently the Brigade has established Regional Committees in 10 areas of the country in order to recruit for the 6th Contingent.

"These areas and the person in charge of them, are as follows:

- "1) N.Y. [redacted]
- "2) D.C. [redacted]
- "3) Phila. [redacted]
- "4) Kansas City, Mo. [redacted]
- "5) Detroit [redacted]
- "6) Chicago [redacted] & [redacted]
- "7) Bay Area [redacted]
- "8) Los Angeles [redacted]
- "9) Houston-San Antonio-Austin [redacted]
- "10) Fayetteville, North Carolina [redacted]

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"The specific things that the League should do in these areas are:

- "1) Contact the Regional Brigade to discuss how we can work together.
- "2) Help in the recruitment of League people and others for the 6th contingent. Because of shortness of time, this must be done immediately. League people should go on the Brigade only on the recommendation of the Section leadership."

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"While we want to send someone from every area where possible, we also must guarantee that we do not hurt our work in the U.S. by sending too many people at one time. Our main contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle consists in building a broad anti-monopoly movement among youth and a strong League here in the U.S.

"3) Where possible, to assign 1 or 2 people to work with the Regional Committee. Preferably these should be League members who have gone on past Brigades and have some familiarity with the Brigade. League cadre working in the Regionals should caucus together to develop a common approach.

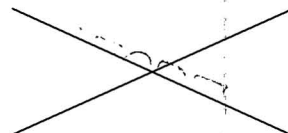
"4) Assist the Regional Committees in the development of their political education, propaganda and other activities.

"5) Those youth in the Brigade who are interested in the League should be brought to our activities. We must have an active policy of recruiting to the League from all organizations that we work with, including the Brigade."



Eleven individuals who were members of the YWLL or Communist Party, USA (CP,USA) participated as members of the Sixth Contingent of the VB.

During their stay in Cuba, YWLL members seemed eager to meet with the Young Communist League of Cuba (UJC), a political organization subordinate to the Cuban Communist Party. Much of the activities of the YWLL members took place aboard the Cuban vessel upon the return trip of the Sixth Contingent to the United States.



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[Redacted]

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IV. FOREIGN INFLUENCE

A. North Korean

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] ~~(S)~~ (U)

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[REDACTED]

~~(S)~~ (U)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

B. Cuban

[REDACTED]

~~(S)~~ (U)

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~~(S)~~ (U)

[REDACTED]

~~(S)~~ (U)

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[REDACTED] (S) (U)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S) (U)

[REDACTED]

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~~SECRET-NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Bufile 105-195696
NYfile 100-166943

SEP 28 1973

Title Venceremos Brigade

Character Internal Security

Reference is made to report of Special Agent dated and captioned as above, at New York, New York.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTING OFFICE: NEW YORK
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: NEW YORK
DATE: 11 17 1974
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 9/13/73 - 7/1/74
TITLE OF CASE: [redacted]
REPORT MADE BY: [redacted]
TYPED BY: [redacted]

CHANGED
VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB) aka
American Brigade,
C and C Associates,
Brigada Venceremos,
Venceremos Brigade Association

CHARACTER OF CASE

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED IS 2.12-80
2.13-80
SP-2TAP/Jen/11

DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION: 9.13.73

The title of this case is being marked "Changed" to reflect the name Venceremos Brigade Association as it appears in the bank records.

REFERENCE

NYrep of SA [redacted], dated 9/28/73.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "Secret" to protect the identity of [redacted]. In the event the information received from [redacted] is downgraded, the report should be classified "Confidential" because the information received from [redacted].

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED
COPIES MADE:

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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- 1-Boston (100-40301)(RM)
- 1-Charlotte (100-10883)(RM)
- 1-Chicago (100-48030)(RM)
- 1-Detroit (100-36698)(RM)
- 1-Kansas City (100-13907)(RM) (cont'd)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.
[redacted]	STATE VSSS ISS/SLU	7/31/74	0-14; 0-14+ 0-14; 0-6, 0-6

Notations

53 AUG 7 1974

0-7 to NY, copy attached
7/30/74 TED/urb

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- 2-New York (100-166943)

ADMINISTRATIVE (cont'd)

[] would be so classified. ~~Q~~ (u)

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NY 100-166943

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Six copies of this report are being furnished to the Bureau for appropriate dissemination at the Seat of Government and one information copy of this report is being furnished to selected offices in those areas where the Venceremos Brigade has been active in connection with the 7th Contingent of the VB or where there have been regional organizations or representatives of the VB. U

[redacted] who is referred to in the enclosed report as being [redacted] is subject of NY file [redacted], Bufile [redacted] and is currently on the ADEX. U

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As of the present time, the NYO is not aware of any permanent space occupied by the VB in New York City. The NYO will be constantly alert for any information concerning any permanent headquarters used by the VB. U

It is noted that [redacted] and [redacted] is on the ADEX of the NYO. U

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Insufficient information is contained in the files of the leaders of the VB to document them other than their positions with the VB. U

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (S) (U)
[redacted] (S) (U)

(S) (U) [redacted]

(S) (U)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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LEAD

NEW YORK

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AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow
and report on activities of captioned organization. U

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NY 100-156943

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NON-SYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Identity of Source

File Where Located

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] (S) (U)

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~~SECRET~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

JUL 17 1974

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File

100-166943

Bureau File #: 105-195696

Title:

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY

Synopsis:

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) currently maintains the address of Post Office Box 3169, New York, New York 10001. Current officers set out. Prior to departure of the 7th contingent of the VB, the VB had 12 regional offices throughout the United States. Locations of regionals and regional coordinators set forth. Since December, 1973, the VB issued a monthly publication entitled "Venceremos!". The 7th contingent comprised of approximately 131 people departed from various points of the United States to Mexico City, Mexico via air and then to Cuba in April, 1974 and returned from Cuba via air through Barbados, British West Indies to New York City, NY in June, 1974. Activities of the VB including subversive affiliations set forth. U

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CLASSIFIED BY 6392
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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

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B. "Los Venceremitos"	13
III. SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE.....	14-15
IV. FOREIGN INFLUENCE.....	15-17

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DETAILS:

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Information set forth in this report is unclassified unless otherwise indicated. U

The Venceremos Brigade (VB) was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of "New Left" organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to that country by the United States Department of State. The ostensible purpose of the travel has been to assist the CASTRO Regime in the harvesting of sugar cane and other agricultural products, and more recently to engage in construction projects, and to give young Americans the experience of living in a revolutionary communist country.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Background

The "Center for Cuban Studies Newsletter", November, 1973, Volume 1, Number 2, reflects that the VB is a year-round political education project which seeks to build anti-imperialist solidarity with national liberation struggles around the world through the Brigade experience in Cuba, and through other educational activities such as their initiation of the Expocuba event. The Brigade seeks participation of United States (US) progressive people based on their support for the Cuban revolution and their desire to aid in socialist construction there. U

The Center for Cuban Studies is an organization comprised mainly of US citizens whose purpose is to propagandize on behalf of the Cuban CASTRO Government. U

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Page 2 of the above newsletter contains the following item pertaining to the VB: U

"Six weeks of productive work, presentations about all aspects of life in revolutionary Cuba, a two-week tour of the island, -- a two-month long opportunity to meet and learn from Cuban workers, students, and their revolutionary society! Another contingent of the Venceremos Brigade is being organized now and is scheduled to leave in mid spring. U

"The Venceremos Brigade is a year-round political education project which seeks to build anti-imperialist solidarity with national liberation struggles around the world through the Brigade experience in Cuba, and through other educational activities such as their initiation of the EXPOCUBA event. The Brigade is multi-racial and seeks participation of the United States progressive people based on their support for the Cuban Revolution and their desire to aid in socialist construction there. U

"Six contingents of the Venceremos Brigade have traveled to Cuba; the first four doing cane cutting in the harvest of the ten million tons, and the last two constructing housing in the Cuban countryside. They have worked side by side with the Cuban people and have contributed not only to the building of socialism in Cuba, but to the anti-imperialist formation of the movement in our country. U

"Those who have been on the Brigade think that this is the best way for North-Americans to experience Cuba, short of living there, and have found it to be an extraordinary learning process and personal experience. For more information about applications, how you can help the Brigade, or other information, write the Venceremos Brigade at G.P.O. Box 3169, New York, N.Y. 10001." U

Box 3169, [redacted] (u) advised that Post Office [redacted] was rented by the VB (business) and was rented by [redacted] of [redacted]

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The February, 1974 issue of "Venceremos", a publication of the Venceremos Brigade, reflects on the Table of Contents. Page the following: U

"The Venceremos Brigade is an educational project, whose main focus is developing a better understanding of and support for the Cuban revolution in the United States. U

"The over 2,000 Brigade members ("Brigadistas") that have worked and lived in socialist Cuba have seen for themselves the new society the Cuban people are building. They return home to a country where millions more people are blockaded from knowing about Cuba. Brigadistas have launched a conscious assault against this blockade by sharing their experiences in Cuba over the past four years. U

"The purpose of this newsletter is to more consistently inform people in the US about the Cuban revolution as seen through the eyes of US citizens who have visited and worked there on the Brigade and other trips. VENCEREMOS will focus on important events and developments in Cuba which we think will have special interests for leaders here." U

B. Structure

During the past year the VB has been further re-organized into its present structure of 12 regional offices. In years past it was formerly broken down into 32 regions. The 12 regional offices are presently located in the following 13 areas: U

Chicago, Illinois
 Champaign, Illinois
 Western Massachusetts
 Nashville, Tennessee
 North Carolina
 New York

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The Bay Area, California
Los Angeles, California
Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Maryland - Washington, D. C.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Kansas City
Detroit, Michigan

C. Leadership

[redacted] (u)
[redacted] (u)
following list of VB Regional Committees and their leaders: u

Chicago, Illinois - [redacted]
Venceremos Brigade
[redacted]
Chicago, Illinois 60609

Champagne, Illinois - [redacted]
Venceremos Brigade
C/O [redacted]
[redacted]
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Western Massachusetts - [redacted]
[redacted]
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

Nashville, Tennessee - [redacted]
[redacted]
Nashville, Tennessee 37208

North Carolina - [redacted]
[redacted]
Spring Lake, North Carolina 28390

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New York - [redacted]
Venceremos Brigade
Box 3169
New York, New York 10001

Bay Area - [redacted]
[redacted]
Oakland, California 94609

Los Angeles - [redacted]
[redacted]
Los Angeles, California 90018

Atlanta - [redacted]
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Baltimore, Washington, D. C. - [redacted]
[redacted]
Baltimore, Maryland 21230

Philadelphia - [redacted]
[redacted]
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19194

Kansas City - [redacted]
[redacted]
New York, New York 10001

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Detroit - Coordinator, [redacted]

[redacted]
Highland Park, Michigan 48203 (CONFIDENTIAL) (u)

[redacted] advised that checking account number [redacted] at a New York City bank is maintained under the name Venceremos Brigade. As of January 10, 1973, the authorized signatures for this account were: [redacted], [redacted] and [redacted] (u)

[redacted] further advised that account number [redacted] in the name of Venceremos Brigade was closed in August, 1972. (u)

On March 1, 1974, a checking account, number [redacted] was opened in the name Venceremos Brigade Association. The following background was furnished when the account was opened: (u)

Address:

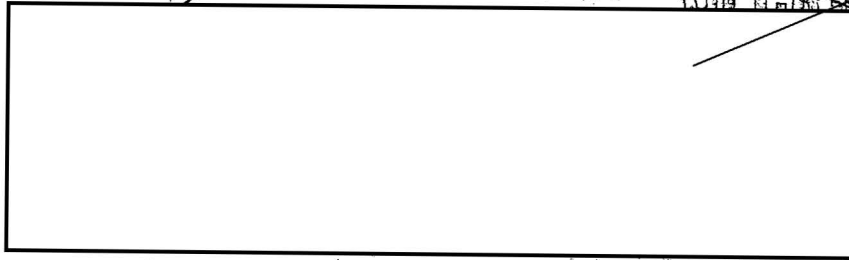
Previous Address:

Bank Reference:

[redacted] further advised that the principal officers were: (u)

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The opening balance for the account was [redacted]
The type of business was listed as "educational" and the year
established was indicated as 1973. U

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D. Location

On February 19, 1974, [] made available a copy of a report, dated February 5, 1974, from the VB, National Executive, General Post Office Box 3619, New York, New York to the regional committees of the VB. (S)(u)

[]

[] (S)(u)

E. Security

On [] advised that [] advised [], both mentioned above, that regionals who have not secured a lawyer should get one. She further advised that "when you need one it is already too late. She further stated that if you have no contacts at all perhaps we can get the National Lawyers Guild here to recommend one". (S)(u)

National Lawyers Guild is a communist front organization of lawyers and law students dedicated to Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and New Left ideals for radical change of the social, economic, and judicial systems in the United States. U

[]

[] (S)(u)

II. ACTIVITIES

A. Seventh Contingent

[]

[] (S)(u)

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On June 5, 1974, a representative of United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), John F. Kennedy Airport, Queens, New York, advised that the first group of the Seventh Contingent of the VB returned to New York at John F. Kennedy Airport on that date via British West Indies Airlines.

The "New York Post", a daily newspaper published in New York City, New York, on page 7 contains an article entitled "US is Returning Seized Passports". This article reflects that passports were being returned to 59 of 76 VB members who had arrived at John F. Kennedy Airport. The article further states that the airport immigration officials who confiscate the passports stated they were acting on orders of the State Department. ROBERT B. LINDSAY, acting assistant commissioner for inspections of INS stated "it was a mistake, a misunderstanding". He said that neither the State Department nor Federal Bureau of Investigation agents at the airport had authorized the confiscation. U

On June 12, 1974, Mr. J. O'CONNOR, an official of the British West Indies Airlines, John F. Kennedy Airport, Queens, New York, advised that the remainder of the group of the VB members who went to Cuba arrived at John F. Kennedy Airport on June 12, 1974 from Barbados, West Indies, via flight number 420. U

B. Los Venceremitos

On February 19, 1974, [] advised that tentative plans for a Los Venceremitos project for the Summer of 1974 would be discussed. It was expected that this will consist of a delegation of about 20 children in the age group of 10 to 14 years for a summer visit to Cuba. A committee would be formed to carry out all the work of selecting and sending the children. R(u)

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III. SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE

On March 4, 1974, [] advised that a strong appeal to raise funds for two persons going to Cuba with the VB was made at a meeting of the Workers World Party (WWP), 12 East 12th Street, New York, New York, on March 4, 1974. (X)(u)

The WWP founded in 1959 by individuals who disagreed with policies of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The WWP dissidents advocated unconditional support of the Soviet Union and the building of a revolutionary party geared to the overthrow of capitalism. More recently, the WWP has called for peaceful solutions to Sino-Soviet disputes, however, the WWP generally supports the People's Republic of China in its ideological differences with the Soviet Union. U

The SWP is a Trotskyist organization founded in the United States during 1938, with headquarters currently in New York City. While the SWP, like the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government at this time or violations of other Federal or State laws, the SWP believes that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the United States is inevitable. The objective of the SWP, like the CPUSA, is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs. U

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On March 30, 1974, [] advised that on that date the VB sponsored a film at the Casa De Las Americas (CSLA), New York City. The VB sponsored this along with the Center for Cuban Studies. (S)(u)

The CDLA is an organization in New York City, formed ostensibly as a social club in April, 1964. It is composed of pro-FIDEL CASTRO and pro-communist individuals. CDLA distributes Cuban propaganda and has provided financial assistance in the past to various revolutionary groups and to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. U

IV. FOREIGN INFLUENCE

On April 1, 1974, [] advised that on [] [] who is employed at Prensa Latina, was previously employed by an official Chilean Government agency with offices in New York City, New York. She left this position upon learning of the overthrow of SALVADOR ALLENDE's Marxist government. The source advised that [] lived and worked in Cuba in the early 1960's and is presently on the VB selection committee. (S)(u)

Prensa Latina, the official Cuban news agency, was organized in June, 1959, with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, and branches throughout the world. It follows an editorial policy which is anti-United States and pro-Soviet Union. U

[]

[]

(S) U

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[redacted] further advised that the VB believes that it is necessary to encourage discussion of the present situation in Chile especially because it is a point of common interest among the various ideological divided left-wing groups in the United States. This meeting was, therefore, relatively well publicized in an effort to attract strong support from "Movement" groups. The following groups were prominent both in their support and their attendance at this meeting: Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and the SWP. (U)

The YWLL is the youth arm of the Communist Party, USA. It was formed as a Marxist-Leninist Youth Group in February, 1970. U

YAWF is the youth group of the WWP. U

The YSA is a multi-national revolutionary socialist youth organization. It is the youth group of the SWP and is controlled and dominated by that organization. U

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~~(Secret)~~ (U)

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On [] advised that the National Committee (NC) of the VB is selected by Cuban Government officials who also approved selections for the various VB contingents submitted by the NC of the VB. The names of some of the participants in the VB contingents are actually furnished to the NC by the Cuban officials. ~~(S)~~ (u)

The main function of the NC of the VB is the selection and organizing of the various VB contingents traveling to Cuba. The committee also makes arrangements for various other people and groups, such as news media and health seminars, to travel to Cuba. The committee also arranges for weekend jaunts to Cuba for various individuals sympathetic to the Cuban Government. ~~(S)~~ (u)

~~SECRET~~

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 12-17-73)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
☐ Alexandria
☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
☐ Butte
☐ Charlotte
☐ Chicago
☐ Cincinnati
☐ Cleveland
☐ Columbia
☐ Dallas
☐ Denver
☐ Detroit
☐ El Paso
☐ Honolulu

☐ Houston
☐ Indianapolis
☐ Jackson
☐ Jacksonville
☐ Kansas City
☐ Knoxville
☐ Las Vegas
☐ Little Rock
☐ Los Angeles
☐ Louisville
☐ Memphis
☐ Miami
☐ Milwaukee
☐ Minneapolis
☐ Mobile
☐ Newark
☐ New Haven
☐ New Orleans
☒ New York City
☐ Norfolk

☐ Oklahoma City
☐ Omaha
☐ Philadelphia
☐ Phoenix
☐ Pittsburgh
☐ Portland
☐ Richmond
☐ Sacramento
☐ St. Louis
☐ Salt Lake City
☐ San Antonio
☐ San Diego
☐ San Francisco
☐ San Juan
☐ Savannah
☐ Seattle
☐ Springfield
☐ Tampa
☐ Washington Field
☐ Quantico

TO LEGAT:

☐ Beirut
☐ Bern
☐ Bonn
☐ Brasilia
☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Caracas
☐ Hong Kong
☐ London
☐ Madrid
☐ Manila
☐ Mexico City
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Singapore
☐ Tel Aviv
☐ Tokyo

RE: **VENCEREMOS BRIGADE**
IS

Date July 30, 1974

☐ For information ☐ Retention optional ☒ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by _____
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

Reurep, 7/17/74

Furnish copy of report to AQ in view VB activity in AQ Division. Correct spelling of Champagne on pgs. 4 and 5 to Champaign. In future, attach ~~cover~~ pages to only two copies of report. cover

Enc.

Bufile **105-195696**

Urfile **100-166943**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-9-81 BY SP1 JEN-JA
file copy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 12 1974

TELETYPE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affs.	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR 014 AL CODE

6:20 PM URGENT JULY 12, 1974 LVM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (7-15270)

SAC, BOSTON (7-361)

SAC, DENVER (7-320)

SAC, LOS ANGELES (7-1627)

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (7-355)

SAC, PHOENIX

(CALL OFFICES VIA WASHINGTON)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (7-355) (P)

ATT: GID AND INTD.

HEARNAP. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-10-81 BY SP4JRM-JAN

V.B.

RE: [REDACTED], AKA: ITSMV.

RE ALBANY TEL TO BUREAU DATED JULY 9, 1974, UNDER
ITSMV CAPTION.

FOR INFORMATION OF PHOENIX, SUBJECT ARRESTED VERMONT
STATE POLICE (VSP), BENNINGTON, VERMONT, JULY 11, 1974, [REDACTED]

REC-82

18 JUL 27 1974

105-195696

NOT RECORDED
170 JUL 23 1974

TELETYPE TO
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

565
53 JUL 26 1974

AUG 26 1974

ORIGINAL FILED IN 7-15270

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PAGE TWO, AL 7-365

[REDACTED] ARIZONA AUTHORITIES

ADVISED VSP THERE CAN BE NO PROSECUTION IN ARIZONA WITHOUT
SUBJECT'S ADMISSION. NO WARRANTS OUTSTANDING.

SUBJECT INTERVIEWED AT GREAT LENGTH ON JULY 11, 1974,
AFTER BEING REMOVED FROM WOODSTOCK, VERMONT, CORRECTIONAL
FACILITY FOR SECURITY REASONS. SUBJECT RELATED ENTIRE
ADULT LIFE AND ADMITS TO THEFTS AND SALES OF ABOUT SEVEN
DIFFERENT VEHICLES AS FOLLOWS:

FALL OF 1971, ALFRED, MAINE, SCOUT, DISPOSITION TWO
YEARS PROBATION; SUMMER 1972, WATERTOWN, MASS., SAAB,
(PROSECUTED ON THIS CHARGE AND RESTITUTION MADE); FALL 1970,
FRAMINGHAM, MASS., [REDACTED] ARRESTED NYSP DURING

[REDACTED] CHARGES
SUPPOSEDLY DROPPED AS MASS. STATE POLICE NEVER INTERESTED
IN EXTRADITION; FALL 1972, BOULDER, COLORADO, JEEP, ARRESTED
ALONG WITH [REDACTED] IN SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF., ON

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND SERVED EIGHT MONTHS; FEBRUARY (?),
1974, PUTLAND, VT., [REDACTED],
ARIZONA, APRIL (?), 1974; APRIL 2, 1974, MESA, ARIZONA,

[REDACTED]

FOLLOWING ARREST APRIL, 1973, BY SAN BERNARDINO
AUTHORITIES, SUBJECT SENTENCED TO SIX MONTHS SAN BERNARDINO
COUNTY JAIL AND MET [REDACTED], AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND LEARNED OF [REDACTED]
AND [REDACTED], ALL OF WHOM WERE DEFENDANTS ALONG WITH
[REDACTED] IN CHINO PRISON ESCAPE CASE WHEREIN ONE
GUARD WAS KILLED AND ANOTHER WOUNDED. SUBJECT BEGAN
ACCEPTING REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS AT THIS TIME AND BECAME
SYMPATHETIC TO [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]. CHINO DEFENSE COMMITTEE
(CDC) (CALLED EL CENTRO DEFENSE COMMITTEE IN ERROR IN RE
ALBANY TELETYPE) WAS HANDLING ESCAPEES DEFENSE AND HELPED
SUBJECT ON HER RELEASE FROM JAIL. FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE
WARRANT HAD BEEN PLACED IN CALIFORNIA RE STILL PENDING
COLORADO CHARGES AND CHINO DEFENSE COMMITTEE WAS
INSTRUMENTAL IN GETTING HER BAIL REDUCED AND THEN POSTED
BAIL FOR HER. [REDACTED] WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE RETURNED TO
COLORADO ON HER OWN BUT NEVER DID.

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PAGE FOUR, AL 7-355

SUBJECT STATED [REDACTED], IS
EXTREMELY MILITANT AND WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE VENCEDEROS BRIGADE (VB) IN THE RAY AREA AND IS STILL
IN JAIL.

AFTER SUBJECT'S RELEASE SHE RESIDED WITH CHINO DEFENSE
COMMITTEE PEOPLE AT [REDACTED], SAN BERNARDINO. CDC
WAS FIGHTING FOR CHANGE OF VENUE AND WAS SUCCESSFUL FOR A
COUPLE OF DEFENDANTS. CDC PERSONNEL NO LONGER RESIDE AT
[REDACTED] ADDRESS AND MOVED TO [REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES. AT THAT TIME, THE FOLLOWING PERSONS MADE UP

CDC: [REDACTED] P, ONE OF THE
DEFENSE ATTORNEYS. [REDACTED]: [REDACTED]: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] S, [REDACTED] DEFENSE ATTORNEY. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ACTUALLY RESIDE AT

[REDACTED]. CDC FORMERLY HAD BOTH UPSTAIRS

APARTMENTS AT [REDACTED] BUT CURRENTLY

ONLY OCCUPY [REDACTED].

RESIDENTS AT PRESENT ARE [REDACTED],

[REDACTED]

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PAGE FIVE, AL 7-355

SUBJECT RELATES THAT IN ADDITION TO CDC IN LOS ANGELES,
ANOTHER CDC UNIT WAS WORKING IN OAKLAND AREA HEADED BY
[REDACTED]. SUBJECT CLAIMED TO HAVE MET [REDACTED] ON ONE OR
TWO OCCASIONS AND SAW HER IN PRETRIAL HEARINGS ON A FEW
OCCASIONS, BUT SUBJECT CLAIMS NO CLOSE PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP.
CDC IN OAKLAND CONSISTED OF [REDACTED] WHO WAS LIVING
WITH [REDACTED],
CONVICTED OF FEDERAL HARBORING CHARGES - BEEN READING
APPEAL; ~~NORT~~NEWMAN, ALSO CONVICTED HARBORING CHARGES;
[REDACTED] WHO WAS TO BE KEY DEFENSE WITNESS UNTIL
SHE WAS ARRESTED FOR BANK ROBBERY SAN FRANCISCO AREA, OCTOBER
OR NOVEMBER, 1973): [REDACTED] SUBJECT
STATED [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WERE NOT REALLY MEMBERS,
BUT WERE THERE A LOT AND FOLLOWED PROCEEDINGS.

SUBJECT STATED ALMOST ALL OF THESE INDIVIDUALS
MENTIONED HAD PREVIOUS TIES WITH UR AND HAD ATTEMPTED TO
UNITE PRISONERS IN CALIFORNIA PENAL INSTITUTIONS TO
EVENTUALLY LEAD REVOLUTION AND STATED AIMS OF UR AND CDC
WERE ONE IN THE SAME WITH THE ADDITION OF RESENTING CHINA
ESCAPEES. THE SUBJECT STATED COMPLAINTS OF UR AGAINST

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PAGE SIX AL 7-365

CAPITALISTIC AMERICA INCLUDES WIDESPREAD "RACISM", "AGEISM",
SEXISM", ETC.

IN SPRING, 1974, SUBJECT LEFT CDC HOUSE ON BONNIE BRAD
AND TRAVELED TO VERMONT WHERE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(A CHICANO) AND HIS GIRLFRIEND [REDACTED]
BERKELEY, CALIF., TELEPHONE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ARE
STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, AND [REDACTED]
IS NOW TOURING FRANCE. [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] NOT KNOWN TO BE VB
OR CDC MEMBERS OR SYMPATHETIC; HOWEVER, [REDACTED] HAS WORKED IN
CHICANO MOVEMENT. HE SUPPOSEDLY WORKS ON NAVAL BASE IN SAN
AREA AND WAS SUBJECT [REDACTED] IN THE SECOND OR
THIRD WEEK OF APRIL, 1974, SUBJECT TRAVELED TO 366 NORTH
BONNIE BRAD, LOS ANGELES AND STAYED OVERNIGHT. AT 11:30 P.M.
TO MIDNIGHT, BILL HARRIS UNEXPECTEDLY DROPPED IN. SUBJECT
HAD NOT MET [REDACTED] BEFORE AND HE WAS CONCERNED OVER WHO SHE WAS.
[REDACTED] AND ASSURED HIM [REDACTED] WAS "O.K." AND [REDACTED] AND

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PAGE SEVEN, AL 7-365

[REDACTED] THEN WENT INTO KITCHEN BY THEMSELVES TO DISCUSS
SOMETHING. [REDACTED] WAS OBVIOUSLY IN A HURRY AND ONLY
STAYED ABOUT 30 MINUTES. SHE HAS NOT SEEN HIM SINCE.
SUBJECT STATES [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ARE VERY CLOSE. SUBJECT
BELIEVES WHY AND, [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ARE
SYMPATHETIC TO [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WOULD DEFINITELY HARBOR
AND PROVIDE MONEY TO THEM. SUBJECT FELT [REDACTED] WOULD EITHER
BE IN SUBSEQUENT CONTACT WITH ONE OF ABOVE THREE OR
POSSIBILITY EXISTS THEY COULD LOCATE [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] AND
[REDACTED] CURRENTLY IN BAY AREA BUT SHE DID NOT HAVE
EXACT ADDRESS. [REDACTED], [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WOULD NOT
COOPERATE WITH FBI OR ANY OTHER AUTHORITIES UNDER ANY
CIRCUMSTANCES AS THEY ARE TRUE REVOLUTIONARIES. SANDY
IS GIRLFRIEND OF ROBERT SEASOCK AND GOOD FRIEND OF JULY
[REDACTED].

CONTACTS IN PHOENIX AREA WHO MAY OR MAY NOT KNOW CIA
MEMBERS ARE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] OR [REDACTED]
THESE TWO ARE CURRENTLY APPEALING CONVICTION ON FEDERAL

VIOLATION OF CHARGES OF OBSCENITY.

SUBJECT CLAIMS THAT PEOPLE ARE VERY PARANOID ABOUT

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PAGE EIGHT AL 7-365

TALKING ABOUT MR AND SLA AS THEY ARE CONVINCED THEIR PHONES ARE TAPPED, THE HOUSE AT [REDACTED] IS BUGGED AND MAIL COVERS ARE ALL OVER THE PLACE.

CDC PERSONNEL ARE CURRENTLY OUT OF MONEY AND WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO [REDACTED].

SUBJECT WAS DISPLAYED VAST ARRAY OF PHOTOS, INCLUDING SEVERAL SUSPECTED OF KNOWN SLA MEMBERS. SHE IMMEDIATELY PICKED OUT PHOTOS OF [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SHE RECOGNIZED [REDACTED] NEWS MEDIA PHOTOS, [REDACTED] AS HAVING ATTENDED SOME PRETRIAL HEARINGS AND COULD NOT REMEMBER WHERE SHE RAN ACROSS [REDACTED]. SHE PICKED OUT PHOTO OF [REDACTED] AS RESEMBLING BUT PROBABLY NOT IDENTICAL TO [REDACTED]

SUBJECT FACES ARRAIGNMENT JULY 13, 1974, AND MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE EXTRADITION TO NEW HAMPSHIRE AND/OR COLORADO. SHE IS INTERESTED IN COOPERATING WITH FBI. SUBJECT CLAIMS SHE IS FED UP WITH ENTIRE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE AND NO LONGER WANTS TO BE A PART OF IT.

ALBANY IS NOT AWARE OF PROGRESS MADE BY SAN FRANCISCO

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PAGE NINE, AL 7-365

AND LOS ANGELES CONCERNING LOCATING ADDRESSES AND ASSOCIATES
OF THE [REDACTED] AND THEREFORE ALBANY CANNOT EVALUATE
WORTHWHILENESS OF SUBJECT'S INFORMATION.

LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO ARE REQUESTED TO EVALUATE
INFORMATION IN CONNECTION WITH HEARNAP, IN ADDITION
EVALUATION IS REQUESTED CONCERNING POSSIBLE USE OF SUBJECT
AS INFORMANT FOLLOWING WHATEVER ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE WORKED
OUT RE LOCAL AND FEDERAL ITSMV CHARGES.

DUCENIX CONDUCT INDICES CHECK ON NICK GOLDSTEIN, WAYNE
BIRSHARA AND CONDUCT ITSMV INVESTIGATION WITH OFFICER T. P.
DARE, MESA PD, RE [REDACTED], VIN 1153043000, 1974
[REDACTED], AND ALSO RE THE
[REDACTED] WHICH SHE WAS IN POSSESSION OF, STOLEN
APRIL 2, 1974, [REDACTED], [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], MESA, ARIZONA.

BOSTON AND DENVER PROVIDED INFORMATION IN VIEW OF
ITSMV CHARGES IN THEIR DIVISIONS.

END.

FOR ANY CORRECTIONS/QUESTIONS PLS CONTACT THE ALBANY OFFICE.

END

"