

City of Portland, Oregon
Bureau of Police
TACTICAL SUPPORT DIVISION
Intelligence Report

Distribution		
<input type="checkbox"/> CENTRAL	<input type="checkbox"/> DEVS	<input type="checkbox"/> TRAFFIC
<input type="checkbox"/> EAST	<input type="checkbox"/> JUVS	<input type="checkbox"/> SID
<input type="checkbox"/> NORTH	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMAND SUPPORT	
O/S AGENCY	_____	
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J. R. W.

Date: 12-1-78

To: Lt. Winters

From: Officer Mischke
Officer Falk

Subject: City Hall Security Check

On November 30, 1978, we conducted a brief security check of the Mayor's office, the Commissioner's offices and an over-all look at the security of the City Hall. The following will be a brief summary of the good and bad points of the different areas checked.

The Mayor's office complex, room#303, is located on the third floor in the south-east corner of the building. Entrance to the Mayor's office is through a set of doors which lead directly to a receptionist. The Mayor's office itself is in a hallway which is slightly offset from the receptionist's area, so one cannot see back to the Mayor's office. Inside the Mayor's office, he has a bullet-proof glass window, which is directly behind his seat when he is sitting behind his desk. The glass is clear, and it is possible to see both in and out of the window. Although it is a bullet-proof glass window, we do not know exactly how bullet-proof it is.

In the next room, which is in the corner of the building, is located a conference room. This room has 3 windows of ordinary glass, which one can see in easily. The Mayor spends quite a bit of his time in this particular conference room.

Across the hall from the Mayor's office is a small group of conference and utility rooms. In one of the rooms, is a copy machine which is used by quite a few people who enter into the Mayor's complex through side doors, which enter into the hallway. For absolute security, these doors into the hallway bring about a weakness in the existing security of the complex. Also, the availability of people to see into the windows of the complex is an additional weakness. If people were surveilling the establishment, they would be able to keep track of movement and location of the people working within. We suggest a taping or refinishing of the windows in such a way as the people inside can look out, but people on the outside cannot look in. This should be done in the Mayor's complex, as well as all the other Commissioner's office areas.

There are 4 doorways leading from the office complex to the outside hallway.

In Commissioner Jordan's office complex, room#404, we find this location on the 4th floor of City Hall in the southeast corner. This is directly over the Mayor's office complex. Upon entering the complex, you come up to a receptionist who can observe all traffic coming towards her down the hall. She cannot look around the corner in the hallway to her left to see anybody approaching the office area. Just across from her doorway is a men's room.

Inside the office complex, one cannot look directly into the Commissioner's office, as long as the doors are properly closed. Inside the Commissioner's office, the windows are transparent and people can look both in and out. The overall layout of

the office is very compact. There is one doorway leading to the outside hallway.

Commissioner Schwab's office, room#414, is located on the 4th floor on the north-east corner of the building. Upon entering the reception area of her office, we notice that one could stand outside the door in the hallway, look through an open door, and see her seated in her office. This was brought to her attention, and this particular door will be kept closed, thereby making it impossible for someone standing in the hallway to observe her actions. Her windows are also transparent so one can see both out and in. Across the hallway from her reception area is a women's restroom.

There are two doorways leading to the outside hallway.

Commissioner McCreedy's office complex, room#311, is located in the northeast part of the building on the 3rd floor. It is rather a large, sprawling complex with a men's restroom across the hall from the reception area. The windows are all transparent and there are 4 different doorways from the complex out into the hallway.

Commissioner Ivancie's office complex, room#211, of City Hall is located on the 2nd floor in the northeast corner of the building. Across the door from the reception area is a men's restroom. There are 5 doors leading from the complex into the hallway and one door leading from one of the side rooms into a neighboring room. This is a large, sprawling complex with many doors. The windows are also transparent. On the east side of this complex is a balcony. This balcony acts as a weather cover for vehicles driving into a small parking area by City Hall. It would be easy to climb onto this balcony and then walk directly up to the windows leading into the Commissioner's office. All these windows are again transparent and there are no coverings on these windows, such as gratings or heavy screens.

Upon checking the City Council chambers, we find that the Mayor and the Council people are extremely exposed and extremely vulnerable to any sort of attack. If a person were seated in the balcony, you would be looking directly down on top of the Council. If you were seated in the chambers on the main floor, the council members are seated just on a little higher level from you. There is nothing in front of the Council members and the crowd except wood desks. There has been talk about putting some sort of metal plating in the desks, which would offer a place for the Commissioners or Mayor to hide until a violent situation could be rectified. If these desks were plated with metal to stop bullets, the plating would have to be in front of the desk towards the crowd, and in top of the desk. This would give a person protection from people in the balcony.

It seems there is no general communications surveillance or alarm system within the City Hall building. The uniform police guard sits at a desk inside of the door on the 5th Street side. At that position, he cannot fully observe the main corridors, elevators and stairwells. We also did not see a systematic checking of the premises while we were there.

The secretaries and receptionists seem to have very little idea of security matters and security procedures. The inter-departmental mail from the different divisions of the city come into a mail room within the City Hall and then are distributed to the various offices. All mail coming in from the US Postal Department is delivered to the individual offices by US Postal carriers.

The vehicles used by the Mayor and by the Commissioners are parked on either side of the Courthouse. Although the people involved in handling these cars seem to think that these cars are out in the open, therefore people would be

seen if they tampered with the cars. These cars are extremely vulnerable, as there is no one keeping them under surveillance at all times, and they are not in a secure location.

We feel the following areas need thought and improvement.

First of all, there needs to be an integrated security surveillance and alarm system. This should be manned by a police officer with monitors, and a alarm and communications system panel. This system should be manned 24 hours a day. The Commissioners and Mayor need communications for emergency situations and an alarm system between themselves, other members in the complex, and a main security panel. This panel should also be hooked up to the police communications system, in case of any major problem. If the police officer who is manning the panel has to be away for security checks of the building, he should have some sort of built-in beeper system which will alert him that he is needed in another area. Along with this system, there should be a security check which includes checking restrooms for bombs, checking unlocked rooms for people in hiding, checking doors to make sure they are locked, and monitoring people who are in the various meeting rooms and offices, especially during normal after-business hours.

The windows of the Commissioners' and the Mayor's offices should all be taped or tinted, so the person in the office can look out, but the people on the outside cannot look in and observe the movements of the officials.

The windows that face towards the balcony on Commissioner Ivancie's office should be covered with some sort of iron grill work or heavy screens which will keep intruders out of the office area.

The bullet-proof window behind the Mayor's desk should be kept to make sure that it is truly bullet-proof.

The doors that lead from the office complexes into the hallways should be reduced in number, so as to cut down the chance of a person getting into a side door and coming through a series of offices into the principal's office. This, of course, will probably be influenced by the local fire codes.

In the Mayor's office complex, there is a copy machine which is used by other people on the floor. They have easy access into the side of the complex to do their work at the copy machine. This flow of traffic should be eliminated.

The secretaries and office staff in City Hall should be given classes on security and should review movies, such as "Postmark Terror". This movie would heighten their sense of security in accepting and opening mail, as well as impressing upon them that their is a security problem.

The automobiles that are used by the Commissioners and by the Mayor should be in a secured place to reduce the chance of terrorists tampering with the vehicle.

There has been a City Hall security port, which was written in February 6th, 1978, by Officer Mike Wherity. Some of the points that we have raised in the above were raised in his report, and we suggest that this report be reviewed.

WF/ev

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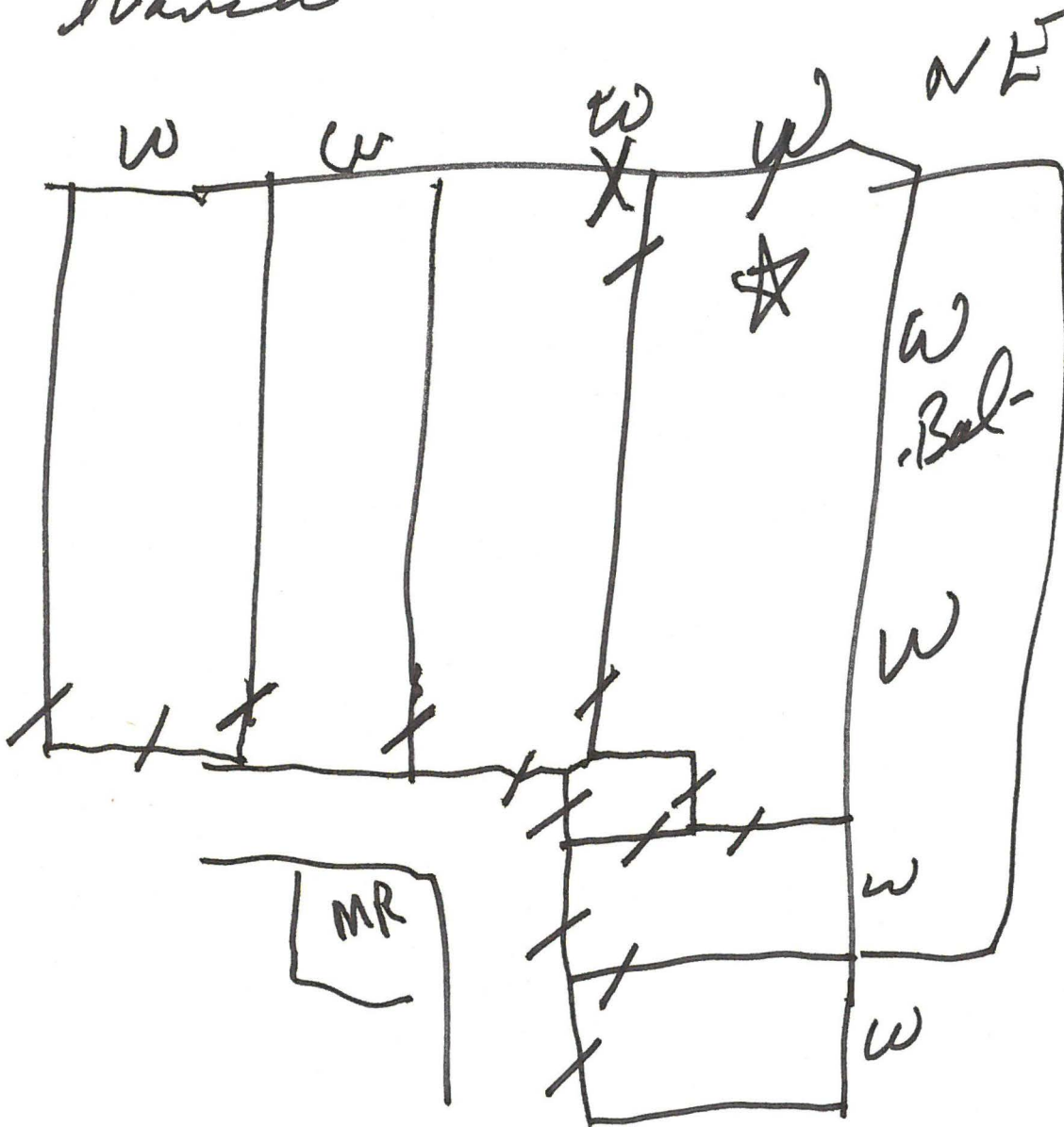
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To: *Francis 211*

From:

Subject:



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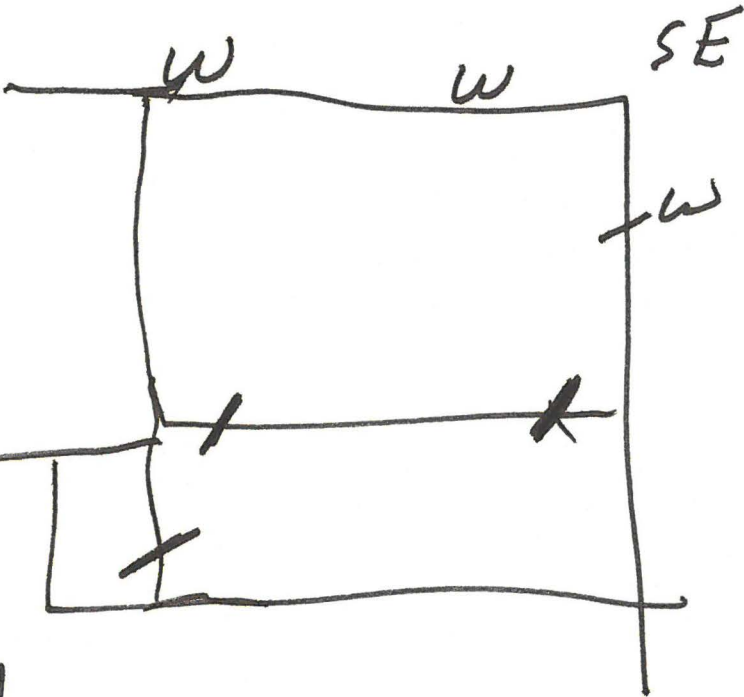
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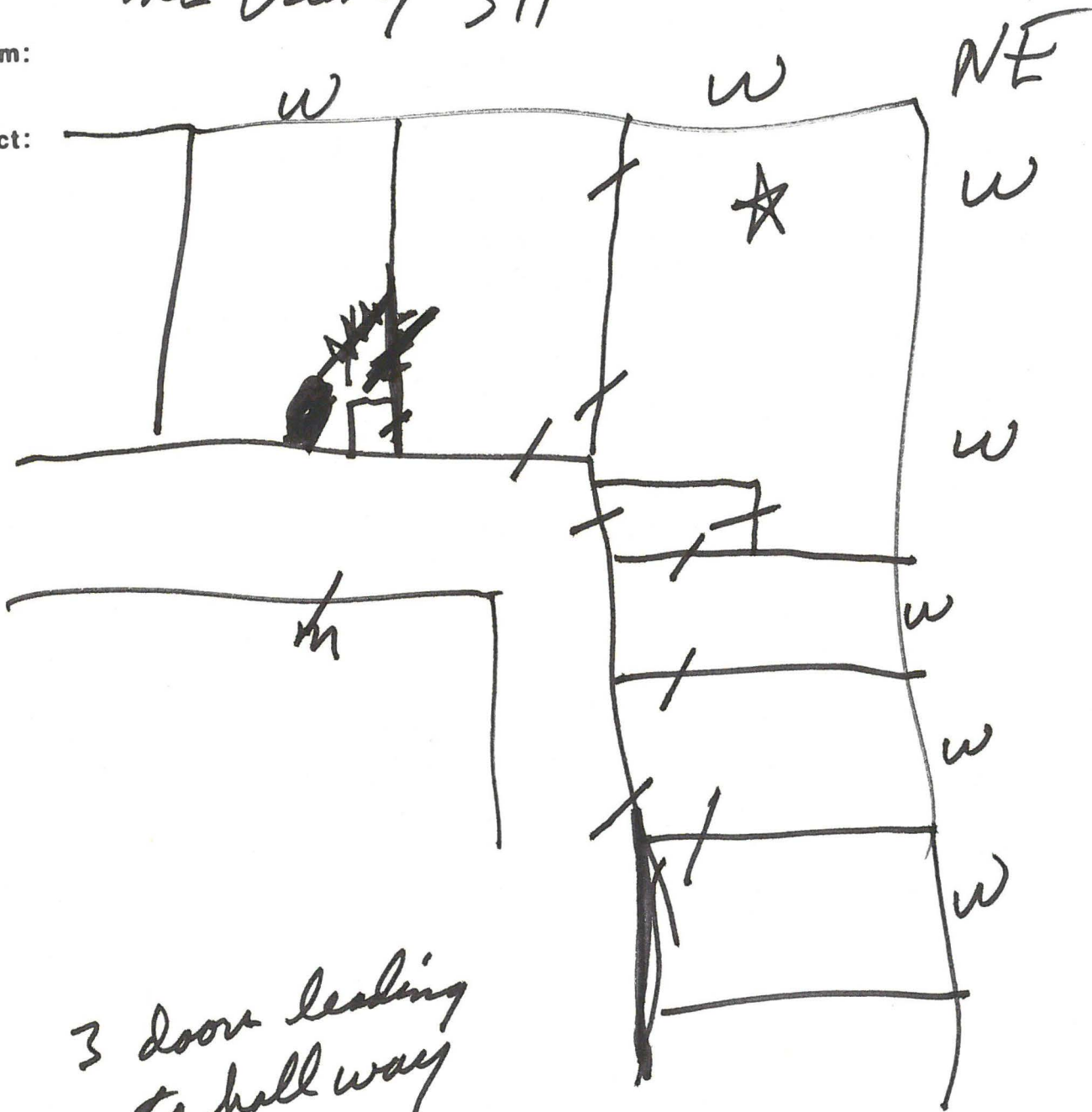
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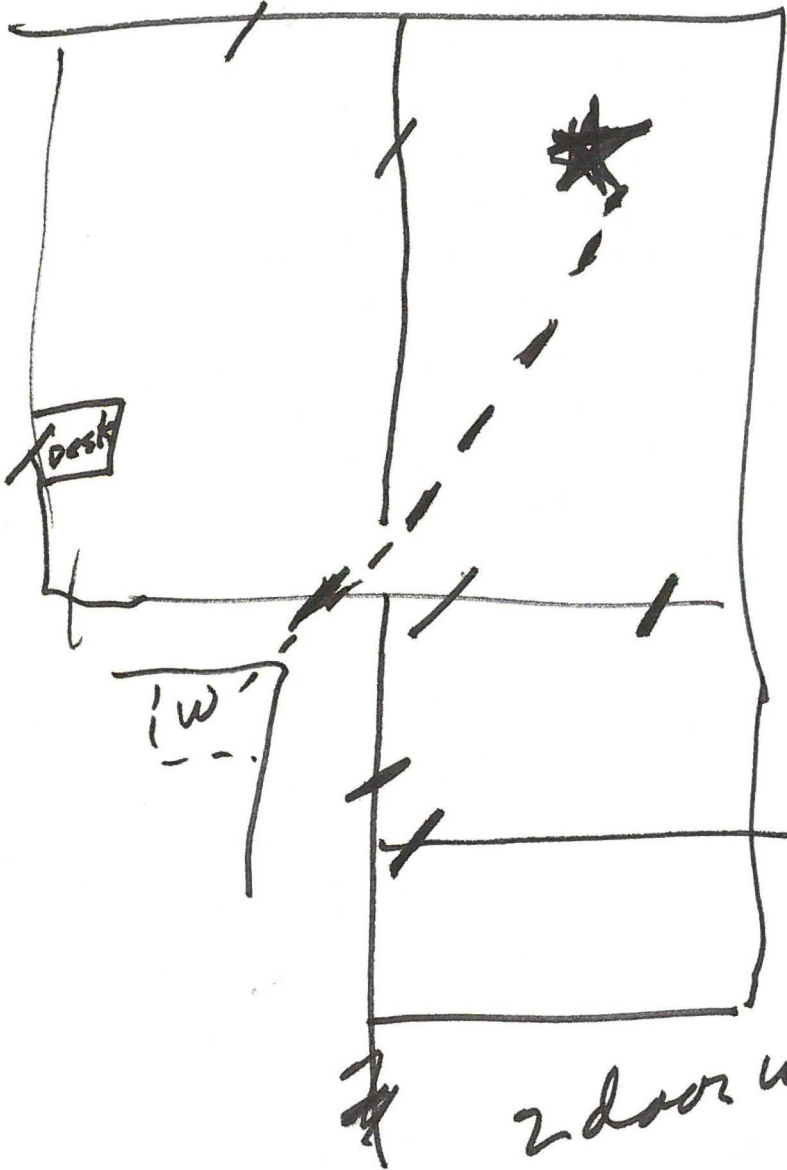
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2 door ways

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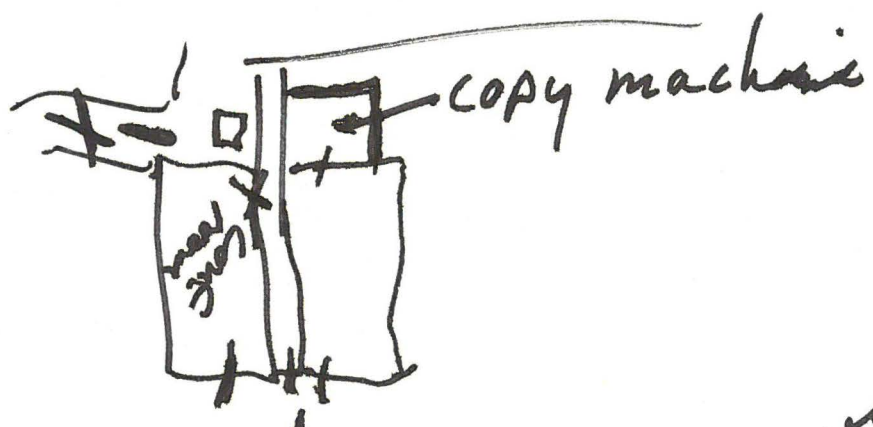
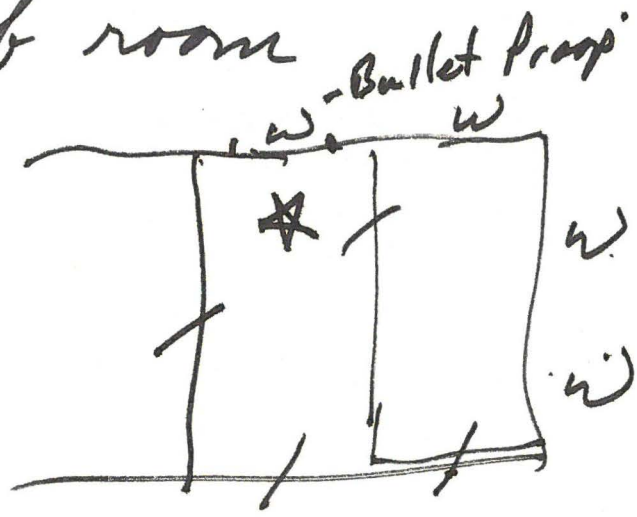
To:

mayor 303

From:

need one way glass - big windows
conf room

Subject:



there are 4 door ways leading
from the office complex
to the outside hall
way.

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Date: 9-21-78

To: Lt. Winters

From: Officer Falk ✓

Subject: Seminar on International Terrorism

I was scheduled to take part in a seminar on international terrorism on the days of September 19 and September 20, 1978. I understood that there would be some sort of a field problem or exercise taking place on the afternoon of the 19th, and a critique on the morning of the 20th.

On September 19, 1978, the seminar began in a classroom at the Portland International Airport. The morning classes were strictly a once-over-lightly of the terrorist picture. We understood that there was going to be a simulated terrorist occupation of some sort in the afternoon. It was our understanding that there might be participants from the class taking part in the operation and that there should be no "John Wayning it". Also, there might be a possible medical problem built into the situation. We were instructed that this was not a canned training operation. That the proper authorities would be notified that they had a terrorist-hostage situation on their hands, and they would be left alone to take the appropriate action they deemed necessary.

At approximately 2:30 p.m. on September 19, 1978, we boarded a military bus, which was parked within the compound of the airport terminal. We had been instructed that there would be a TV video tape camera operating during the procedure, so we did not pay too much attention to the cameraman, as well as several other people seated in the rear of the bus. After everybody was on the bus, 2 terrorists ran up alongside the bus, entered the bus, standing up in front, firing their weapons, yelling that we were all captured and were now hostages. Also, a male and female from the rear of the bus stood up, also firing handguns. We were told to put our hands on top of our heads and bend our heads down so we could not see as to where we were going. The manner in which this operation was executed was extremely professional and necessary to provide the effect required. We were then transported in this manner to a building within the compound of the US Air Force area. The bus proceeded to drive into a building and the doors were closed behind us.

We were taken off the bus at gunpoint, 2 at a time and put up against the wall in a spread-eagle position. I was one of the 2 who were put face down on the floor and shortly thereafter, drug away from the wall. They then brought us, one at a time, into a spread-eagle position away from the other group and we were searched.

The search was performed by females and it was an extremely thorough search. No areas were overlooked. This added to the overall psychology and humiliation of hostages. There was much verbal abuse, much of it along sexual lines, such as the terrorist woman searching males claiming that they didn't have much in the crotch area. Another comment screamed out was "Poor baby is so scared he almost pissed his pants". We were left in the spread-eagle position, being searched, until I believe some of the hostages were having difficulty maintaining the position and

were shaking noticeably, including myself. They then turned us one at a time, securely taping our wrists together with our hands in front of us. In my particular case, they taped the head of my watch tightly against the outside of my left wrist, thereby maintaining an anchor to frustrate, or make difficult, an attempt to work loose. We were then moved out of the main room of the building to a side room and seated on the cement floor with our feet and legs in front of us, our hands taped and up in the air in front of us, and our heads bowed down so we could not see the other parts of the room. The cement floor was cold, but the rest of the room was hot.

At this time, a reading of the political statement and demands was read to us. The tension level in the room, as far as terrorists and hostages were concerned, was extremely high, which is normal at this particular period of time in the operation.

The terrorists consisted of 6 people, 4 males and 2 females. They were equipped with 3 AR16s, 1 Uzie, 1 AK47, and 1 carbine with a 20 round magazine. They also had hand grenades, gas masks and their own food and water. It was obvious, the way they took us off the bus, searched us and positioned us in the building, that they were well-trained.

As the initial movement of hostages was completed, the terrorists realized they had the situation under control and the tension dropped slightly.

The terrorists then began making their phone calls to make contact with the authorities and to start the typical political terrorist-hostage procedure, which is part of the terrorist tactics. It seems as if they were having great difficulty making contact with the proper authorities, and when they did, they had difficulty making people understand what was going on. They started getting rather uptight and the tension started to increase within the room.

I believe the following situation is a built-in situation, in the problem - one of the hostages started calling one of the terrorists names and added obscenities and racial slurs. The net result was that that particular hostage had a paper bag put over his head and his feet also taped. This, of course, demonstrated to the rest of us the wrong thing to do, which would make the situation very dangerous for the person with a sack over his head. The reason for this is, that person now does not have a face in the terrorist's eyes. He is no longer a human being and has become just an object and would be much easier to kill than someone looking the terrorist in the eye.

It was becoming easy to observe the anxiety and the tension rising and falling in response to certain actions and certain situations. Until this point, I could not see value in the whole operation. But being inside, and seeing the actions close up, I know realize that I was beginning to learn about situations like this, and have a much more in-depth comprehension of actions and responses during this situation. At this point, I wish to establish a time frame. The bus capture happened at approximately 2:30 p.m. We arrived at the building and progressed with the search approximately 2:40 p.m. We are now approaching 4:00 p.m.

At 4:00 p.m. a bomb was detonated to demonstrate to the people on the outside that the terrorists possessed explosives. It should be noted that all phone calls, at this time, were instigated by the terrorists, with very little, if any, response from the outside. Tension at this time, had subsided and the terrorists were even in somewhat of a jovial mood, especially when the bomb went off. The tension with the hostages was still high and had not subsided.

Also, during the phone calls, a time of 5:00 p.m. was established as a time limit, at which time the terrorists claimed they would execute one hostage unless the outside people would start negotiations.

At 4:07 p.m. a sniper was spotted on top of a roof of a neighboring building. There were numerous phone calls by the terrorists to have the sniper removed. Finally, the demand was made to remove the sniper or one hostage would be executed. After approximately 23 minutes of phone calls and demands that the sniper be removed, the terrorists executed one hostage. A few minutes after the execution, and the hostage was thrown outside, the sniper moved off the roof. It should be noted that this is one-half hour before any of the hostages were scheduled to be in trouble by the terrorists. Also, during this time, the leader of the terrorists, while on the phone, evidently had been called names and had responded accordingly, which in a real situation very possible would have cost many of the hostages their lives.

Because of our situation, in an extremely uncomfortable situation, plus the added tension, the exact times were extremely hard to keep track of. In fact, time passed very quickly and I, myself, was suspect that the terrorists were intentionally speeding up the time to play with our minds. I found out later this was not the case.

Sometime after 5:00 p.m. during the negotiation for the money (3 million dollars), the release of political prisoners, the release of FBI documents on local terrorist organizations, and the acquisition of a getaway airplane, the terrorists called the number that was established as the link between them and the authorities, and there was no answer. The comment by the terrorists was that it is after 5:00 and everybody went home, which is an extremely clever propaganda mind-bending comment. At other times, there were calls in which the authorities were to call their number at a certain time and the calls were not returned. This had a dual effect to the situation in the room. The terrorists were getting frustrated, as well as their beliefs being confirmed that the authorities would play games with them and stall for time. This was one of the earlier situations which included the execution of a hostage a half-hour before the time limit, which had a devastating effect on the hostages. I believe at this time, the hostages started having doubts on the competence of the people on the outside who were supposed to be either securing their release by negotiation, or securing their release by military action. One must keep in mind that the hostages were police, as opposed to, for instance, tourists picked at random. It should also be kept in mind that the police hostages are aware of problems involved on the outside, whereas ordinary civilians would not be aware and they might react with less patience than the police.

During the negotiations, a figure of 1 million dollars was set on and the terrorists were evidently told that the money was on it's way. The tension now began to decrease sharply, both for the terrorists and the hostages. In fact, at this time, there began a dialogue, slowly at first, among the terrorists and the hostages. The exception to this was the leader, Raoul. When he came into the room, things were shaped up, but as soon as he left, the tension began to drop and an interchange between the terrorists and the hostages began.

At this point, there now began a delaying of the delivery of the money. Tension slowly began to pick up on the part of the terrorists. A phone call was made regarding the money and evidently the negotiator claimed that the delivery would be delayed. At this time, shouts came from the big room of the building by other terrorists that "here they come with the money". At this point, both groups realized that this is probably a trick and there might be a military action against

them. Tension went up sharply, terrorists entered the room with machine guns ready to kill the hostages and pull the pins out of their grenades. The money and the exchange of 2 hostages was made, and because of the mix-up over the phone messages, both the terrorists and the hostages suffered anxiety. This mix-up caused what should have been a situation which tension dropped and made it into quite the opposite, where the hostages were almost killed, and tension was probably almost to the highest point during the whole terrorist kidnap. The terrorists always kept people at key points within the building to observe outside activity, but this mix-up seemed to move the situation toward what I thought was an unnecessary direction, where tension is high and the terrorists are alerted or suspect that a trick is going to be played on them, and the hostages are beginning to be reinforced in the idea that the people on the outside are inept. Also, at this time, the terrorists are now being supersensitive to all noises, movements on the outside, as well as those within the building and among the hostages.

Some time passed, and the tension died down. It looked as if the terrorists felt that they were going to come out of the situation with their demands somewhat intact. At this point, the terrorists began requesting food for the hostages from the outside authorities. The terrorists stated that they had plenty of food and water for themselves, but the hostages had nothing. During these phone negotiations, the person who previously had a bag over his head was permitted to talk to the outside authorities over the phone. This person made a mistake by not being able to relay any information as far as the inside situation to the people on the outside - he didn't even make an attempt. Also, evidently no attempt was made by the negotiator to relay any information to the hostage so that the hostage could pass this along to the other hostages as the situation would allow him.

The following was built into the program. One of the hostages who suffers from diabetes, went into a coma. Phone calls were made from the terrorists to the outside stating that they would throw out the sick person. This was done and to our knowledge, which was passed on to us from the terrorists, so we didn't know for sure, the sick man laid outside the building for quite a length of time and died. This instance, of course, was used as a propaganda tool to the terrorist's benefit.

It seems as if, during the negotiations, all items had been negotiated except the airplane for their getaway. It was obviously a great deal of stalling on delivery of the airplane, and one of the comments was that the airplane would have to come from Travis Air Force base, which is in California. The tension among the terrorists greatly increased as it was obviously a stall. It looked as if they expected an attack at any time. During this time, people were seen outside creeping around the building, which also added to the tension among the terrorists. Time limits set by the terrorists had been passed, and they took out another hostage and shot him. It should be noted that this was the only hostage who had any contact with the people on the outside.

The terrorists now were in an extremely high state of anxiety and tension. They were now putting on gas masks, as they expected a gas attack. They were also extremely sensitive to any lights, sounds, and movements near the building.

The physical state of the terrorists was now deteriorating. The female terrorists were extremely physically tired, and became sloppy in their own security. The hostages were also becoming extremely tired and frustrated. The hostages were now all deeply involved with escape plans, signals and getting the tape off their wrists. It should be noted that this was being done under the watchful eyes of

the terrorists.

There was some outside movement, and the terrorists now put out all the lights within the building. They used 2 flashlights to observe the hostages, and kept the hostages extremely well covered with their automatic weapons. During this time, an attempt was made by several hostages to break out of the room and they were taken by the terrorists out and shot. To me this was extremely bad time for the hostages to attempt a breakout. All they would have done was broken out of the small room into the large room which was still covered by the terrorists.

At 9:00 p.m., there was a phone call and the terrorists answered the phone. At this time, we heard a crash at the front door and obviously someone was breaking in the front door of the building. This front door is quite a ways away from the small room where we were being held and we did not hear any diversions. The terrorists in the big room yelled "Kill the hostages" and at this time, the terrorists in the little room pulled the pins from their grenades, threw them among the hostages, and killed the hostages with automatic weapons fire.

Later, we found out that the 9:00 p.m. phone call was to instruct the terrorists that the action had been canceled. The training exercise was over. Evidently, the team that crashed in through the door of the building did not know this, the other terrorists did not know this, and the hostages did not know this. It looks as if signals or communication was mixed up with the assault team, which could have happened just as easy in the real thing as in this training exercise. Also, the military people who crashed the front door had much less firepower than the terrorists inside. Had it been a real situation, the hostages would have been killed and probably the assault team wiped out. Maybe they would have gotten some of the terrorists.

Looking back over the situation, a lot of forces came into play, even though this was a training exercise and we realized this. By the methods used by the terrorists, we became disoriented as to location and time. Time went by extremely fast, and I believe this was mainly that we were police and began working on escape plan and methods of freeing our hands from the tape almost from the beginning. Some of us were concentrating on memorizing information about the terrorists, the building and the activities on the off chance that we would either be exchanged or somehow escape. Another item that came into the situation was the weariness and soreness and our degenerating of our physical condition. This was caused by cold floors, by cramped positions, lack of circulation which began immediately in our hands because of the taping, which most of us corrected ourselves by working the tape loose. There was also a great deal of mental stress, due to the propaganda put out by the terrorists, which was excellent in content. It didn't work so well on us because we were police, and it just heightened our anger towards the terrorists, but it would have worked extremely well on citizen-type hostages.

I think the most glaring problem in the whole exercise was that the hostages lost confidence in the support of the outside people. They did not identify with the terrorists, but felt that the outside people were too inept to secure their releases. It didn't take very long, sitting on the floor with your hands taped up over your head, and your head down in your lap, listening to screw-ups and seeing hostages taken out and executed without getting the idea, if there was to be any action, it would have to be initiated by the hostages. The tension went up dramatically beginning with the obvious stalling over the airplane, and never came back down. The tension was contagious among the terrorists, as well as the hostages. This brings up the possibility of an interesting situation.

The negotiators are dealing with the terrorists. They are negotiating back and forth.

If the hostages lose touch with the outside world, and begin to feel that the negotiators cannot secure their safe release, they may begin to take the situation into their own hands. If a military strike is getting ready to possibly knock out the terrorists and possibly free the hostages, the hostages could botch up the whole situation by taking the action in their own hands. Looking at it from a hostage standpoint within the past situation described in this report, I would be very in favor of a possible hostage oriented action. You get the feeling that you're on your own and there is no help. This was the feeling among the hostages, and the hostages had welded themselves together into an independent body looking out for themselves. When you look at this situation, a whole new set of problems could emerge. Maybe it's because they were policemen, that they took this particular direction to follow, but one also has to keep in mind that in any hostage group, there may be policemen or military people in the group.

Realizing that this was an open ended training operation, I hoped that we learned from this exercise. It's not something that we should stand around pointing our finger at the other person and saying "it's your fault that the thing didn't fly". It should be used as a basis for training and education and we should build from here.

What bothers me more about this whole operation was the feelings I had at the critique on September 20, 1978. All the different factions that took part in the exercise met to talk about pros, cons, pluses and minuses. It seemed to me, the people who were in the headquarters, or control unit on the outside, which was involved with the negotiation and the overall tactics still believed that they had the situation under control. It seems as if their ego's maintained that they were doing the right thing regardless of the fact that the hostages were killed and possibly some of the terrorists still survived.

I think this training exercise shows that we're not ready for a real political terrorist strike. In my estimation, we did very poorly in the training exercise. But I hope we will pick up the pieces and put together a procedure and operation that will function when the real thing comes.

WF/ev

TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY
Testimony of Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

PART 3

JULY 5, 1974

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TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY

FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1974

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:40 a.m., in room 2300, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; David Martin, senior analyst; Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator; and R. J. Short, senior investigator.

Senator THURMOND. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are to give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. SCHWARZ. So help me God.

TESTIMONY OF DR. FREDERICK CHARLES SCHWARZ

Mr. SOURWINE. Sir, would you give the reporter your full name?

Dr. SCHWARZ. My full name is Frederick Charles Schwarz.

Mr. SOURWINE. And are you a long-time student of communism?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes; I have been studying communism for at least 34 years. I had my first debate with a Communist in the year 1940. My opponent was Max Julius, a member of the Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party. I have debated many Communists since. Many years ago I issued an open challenge to debate any Communist on any aspect of Communist doctrine or practice. I have studied communism consistently during the past 34 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have been, over many years, a very active lecturer on this subject, have you not, and teacher?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I have been consistently lecturing, writing, teaching, and debating on the subject of communism. I have served as president of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and as director of numerous freedom seminars, antiradical seminars, and anticommunism schools.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I believe that qualifies Dr. Schwarz as an expert in this area.

Senator THURMOND. He is an expert on communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are going to talk to him about that.

Senator THURMOND. That's fine.

Dr. SCHWARZ. I propose to explain the doctrines which transform normal, decent people into killers such as the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army; to explain why individuals like Willi Wolfe and Angela Atwood became urban guerrillas.

Senator THURMOND. Now, let me ask you, do you think Patricia Hearst is a member of that group now?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I am sure she is now.

Senator THURMOND. Do you think she was when they captured her?

Dr. SCHWARZ. No.

Senator THURMOND. You don't think so?

Dr. SCHWARZ. No, and I will tell you why.

Senator THURMOND. I wondered if all that screaming when they captured her was just put on; that she had made up her mind her life was dull; that she got tired of living with this boy and just wanted to do something different.

Dr. SCHWARZ. I don't think so. The Hearst Foundation offered \$4 million to be distributed to people selected by radicals. If Patricia Hearst had been a member prior to her kidnaping, the logical thing would have been for her to have returned temporarily while the money was distributed and to have rejoined the group later. At that time there were no legal charges against her.

However, I think she may have been conditioned by her education and associations so that she felt guilty about her family wealth, and guilty about the privileged position America occupies in the world, and this may have made her susceptible to the arguments advanced by members of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Senator THURMOND. You mean she was brainwashed?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I don't like to use the term "brainwashed" too loosely. I believe she was brainwashed after her kidnaping but not before. I use the term "brainwashing" to indicate an intellectual and emotional transformation which is brought about by the application of the forces of exhaustion, confusion, physical pain, and emotional tension. These produce a mental and emotional breakdown characterized by diminution of physical activity, fragmentation of memory, and deep depression. Release from pain and depression is obtained by believing the ideas of those who have administered the torture.

Consider the position of Patricia Hearst. She is suddenly seized and dragged screaming from her apartment. She watches her lover being physically attacked and her kidnapers firing guns at random down the street. She is thrown in the back of a covered van where she is tied up, blindfolded, and gagged. She, like any normal person, would be terrified. In acute discomfort and unable to sleep, it would not be long until she was exhausted and completely confused. She is constantly bombarded by the arguments of her captors who are completely convinced of their truth and who are prepared to die for what they believe. She knows that her death is probable and imminent, and she longs to live. A state of moral and emotional disorientation soon develops which is brought about by physical and mental exhaustion combined with pain and fear, and it is characterized by a deep and unbearable depression.

There is only one pathway to deliverance from her intolerable situation—that is complete intellectual and emotional surrender. She accepts the arguments as they have been presented to her. She renounces her former associations and standards, and lavishes love and affection upon her captors. She has become a new creature—born again.

Nothing less would solve her problem. Defiance would mean death. Pretending to join them would not relieve the unbearable mental and emotional anguish she was experiencing.

In this manner she was converted and became a genuine member of the Symbionese Liberation Army. It's typical of new converts that they are very enthusiastic so she is probably an enthusiastic member also.

Senator THURMOND. The leader of the crowd was killed, wasn't he?

Dr. SCHWARZ. It's doubtful that he was the real leader. In all probability the real leader was Bill Harris. The Symbionese Liberation Army followed the customary pattern of revolutionary movements. It was originated by intellectuals, and it endeavored to recruit activists into its service.

University students are relatively easily recruited into the revolutionary cause. However, they lack something as revolutionary activists. Their training has not conditioned them to kill and they tend to stop short of the act of wanton killing.

Consider the Weathermen. Their rhetoric is extreme and they have engaged in numerous bombings. However, they usually make a phone call and give warning before the bomb explodes so that the number of deaths has been minimal. It is easier to find conditioned killers among the inhabitants of the prisons and among the returned veterans. The revolutionary intellectuals went into the prisons to recruit their killers. The courts helped them by opening the prison doors to revolutionary literature and organizers. In prison they found Donald DeFreeze and presented him as the field marshal.

The Symbionese Liberation Army emerged from the radical movement of northern California. Many organizations in that area talked violence. Some individuals grew impatient because deeds did not match rhetoric. The Symbionese Liberation Army was a group that tried to make their deeds match their rhetoric.

Senator THURMOND. How many people do you think they have now?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I don't know the actual number, but I think it is small. One of the concepts of urban guerrilla warfare is to keep organizations small and independent so that when the members of one organization are captured, they cannot inform on other organizations because they do not have knowledge concerning them. There are probably a considerable number of individuals who have had contact with members of the Symbionese Liberation Army and who are sympathetic to it but who did not actually become members.

Senator THURMOND. It's a wonder some of them didn't squeal on them.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Some of those who have had contacts have informed the authorities of what they know but their knowledge is limited.

Senator THURMOND. Oh, they have?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I cannot prove this but I believe that as we are sitting here, there are at least 100 meetings in progress discussing how programs similar to those of the Symbionese Liberation Army can be carried out. These meetings would be held in homes, in college dormitories, in communes, in ghettos, and in all sorts of unlikely places. Those present at the meetings would be professed revolutionaries because of their belief that the United States is imperialistic, and they would be excited and inspired by the courageous example of the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army but would have no direct

links with it. The news media would be the vehicle through which they learned of the heroic deeds and thus the news media serves as the revolutionary recruiting mechanism. Violent revolutionary acts which are publicized by the news media are known as the propaganda of the deed.

The news media is cooperating magnificently. Bill Harris, Emily Harris, and Patricia Hearst produced a tape recording for propaganda purposes and sent it to Radio Station KPFK in Los Angeles. Within a few minutes it was broadcast across the Nation. The objective is to use the institutions of a free society to destroy freedom. The courts are used to open the doors so that prisoners can be recruited into revolutionary armies and the news media are used to publicize the deeds of one organization so that hundreds of similar organizations may be formed.

Senator THURMOND. Well, now, these groups are not connected, they don't know they exist.

Dr. SCHWARZ. No; usually they don't even know of the existence of other organizations.

Senator THURMOND. But it does inspire revolutions. Let me ask you this, now, Do you think the Communists are behind this in any way, or is it just the revolutionary nature in mankind that wants to do this?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The Communists provide the doctrine, many of the techniques of organization, and hope to be the final benefactors. Most, if not all, of the revolutionaries claim to be anti-imperialists. They are recruited by a doctrine which was first clearly expressed by Lenin in his book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." This doctrine teaches them that the United States is an armed thief robbing and murdering the people in the poor countries of the world. Once they are convinced this is true, they believe that their duty is to destroy the United States. The doctrines that recruit them are primarily Communist doctrines.

Senator THURMOND. Do you think these leaders are connected with Communist leaders, or do you think they are just going on their own to be revolutionary?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Probably there are Communists among the urban guerrillas but many of them would deny that they are members of any Communist Party. Traditionally, communism teaches that the working class is essentially revolutionary and that the task of overthrowing capitalism will be achieved by a mass revolution led by the working class. The official Communist Parties still teach this. Numerous impatient revolutionaries have become disillusioned with the working class in the United States. They claim the workers have been bribed with the profits of imperialism so that they are no longer revolutionary. Since the working class will not rise in revolution, some other method must be found to destroy imperialist society.

Before the mass of the people will revolt, they must develop a revolutionary consciousness. The working class is not developing this consciousness in the present conditions that prevail. In order to develop this consciousness, they must experience oppression in a very real way. In a democratic society, the oppression is real but concealed so that the workers are unaware of it. Therefore, the democratic society must be destroyed and replaced by an authoritarian society which will make the people conscious of oppression. If sufficient urban

guerrilla bands can be formed and will engage in assassination, kidnapping, bombing, arson, bank robbery, and similar violent acts, the people will be afraid to move about the streets and will demand an authoritarian government to provide order. This popular demand will lead to the installation of some form of police state. This police state will deprive the people of cherished liberties and generate a revolutionary consciousness. In due course quarrels will develop among the authoritarian leadership and this will open the door to popular revolt. At this stage the Communists emerge and endeavor to lead the revolution and through it impose Communist dictatorship.

The breakdown of an authoritarian state leading to the emergence of a strongly organized Communist Party is illustrated by what has taken place in Portugal.

Senator THURMOND. Let me ask you: in Portugal, are they working with the Communists?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The leader of the Portugal Communist Party is a member of the government. The Minister of Labor is a Communist. The Communist Party is the best organized political party in Portugal and has infiltrated the army, the trade unions, the news media, women, and youth organizations.

Senator THURMOND. Was that takeover planned by real Communists, or was it revolutionary?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The Communists of Portugal have been working for years to overthrow the dictatorship that governed that country. The Communist Party has the ability to live underground in a fascist state whereas democratic parties do not possess this ability. The actual revolt in Portugal was probably not organized by the Communists but they were in a favored position to take advantage of the revolution when it occurred.

Senator THURMOND. Is their headman a Communist?

Dr. SCHWARZ. No; Spinoza is not a Communist but some claim he is a prisoner of the Communists and that they will dispose of him when the time is ripe. We need to remember what took place in Russia in 1917. In February of that year there was a mass revolution which granted freedom of action to the Communists. In November the Communists seized power and imposed their total dictatorship and have ruled Russia ever since.

Senator THURMOND. Go ahead.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Lenin had made a thorough study of the conditions that make revolution possible. He said that three conditions were necessary: (1) Mass discontent; (2) An organized, disciplined party to organize the revolution; and (3) A crisis within the existing government. When these three conditions exist simultaneously, a revolutionary situation exists.

Some modern Leninists believe that an authoritarian government is a necessary stepping stone to the Communist revolution. When such a government is formed, it robs the people of their personal liberty and generates discontent. Almost inevitably, quarrels between the leaders develop. In these conditions a great opportunity is presented to the organized Communist party which has been preparing to promote revolution.

Senator THURMOND. What do you think is the greatest threat to this country today?

Dr. SCHWARZ. From the long range viewpoint, the doctrine of imperialism, which is taught in many schools and which recruits many idealistic youth into the revolutionary army. The revolution is made more likely when, in the name of civil liberties, the powers of the security agencies are so restricted that they are unable to control the subversive organizations.

Senator THURMOND. That is one of the things I am concerned about now. The Congress is demanding to know and make public everything the FBI and the CIA do.

Dr. SCHWARZ. It is possible through a devotion to civil liberties to create conditions in which urban guerrillas flourish. If the security agencies created by the democratic state are unable to control them and to provide security for the people, there is a demand for an authoritarian society. In the name of civil liberties, the doors of the prisons have been open to Communist and revolutionary literature. Many revolutionary organizations are being formed among the prisoners.

Senator THURMOND. Why is this allowed?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The courts have forced the doors open. They have done so in the name of extending liberty.

Senator THURMOND. That's the trouble.

Mr. SOURWINE. One of the reasons, Senator, forgive me, this is in the area of my competency, is the fact that the Communists have concentrated on this particular area of the law and have a "board of experts," so to speak. They take these cases into various areas around the country, and can make it tough for a local U.S. attorney who has not specialized in such cases. The Justice Department has disbanded its Internal Security Division.

That leaves some U.S. attorney who knows little or nothing about communism except what he comes up on in 2 weeks to fight a team that has been maneuvering in this area, and imaginatively putting together a program, for 30 years.

Senator THURMOND. And why have they abolished internal security?

Mr. SOURWINE. Perhaps it was popular, sir, to abolish it. They also abolished the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Senator THURMOND. And why did they do that?

Mr. SOURWINE. I think the reason was that it was obsolete.

Senator THURMOND. I was surprised—

Mr. SOURWINE. It is a long story, Senator, and I am afraid that what I say here may oversimplify it. This subcommittee, as you know, recommended 12 or 14 years ago that they either abolish this list or update it and provide additional information. Since that time we have brought it up, officially or unofficially, every time we had a change of Attorney General; and we haven't had one, until General Saxbe, that wanted to either step in there and bring it up to date, and provide the basic information about listed organizations, or to abolish the list outright. So the situation has just hung in limbo.

Senator THURMOND. All right.

Dr. SCHWARZ. The press is strangely silent about Communist involvement in agitation for civil liberties. For example, the press is featuring the recent rally in Charlotte, N.C., as a big rally for civil rights and against the death penalty. The word communism is not even mentioned but the facts are as follows: the Communist Party,

U.S.A., formed an organization called, The National Coalition Against Political and Racial Oppression, under the chairmanship of Angela Davis. The official sponsoring committee contains 20 Communists. They have been successful in recruiting many non-Communists to serve on the committee also. This coalition sponsored a rally in North Carolina to protest the death penalty and 5,000 attended. In all the reports I have read, it is merely described as a civil rights rally and the role of the Communist party received no mention. However, the Communist newspaper, The Daily World, has been promoting this rally for some considerable time.

Senator THURMOND. If the press did their job, they would tell who Angela Davis is, what she stands for, and how the organization was formed.

Dr. SCHWARZ. It is significant news that she is a member of the politburo of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and that the organization of which she is chairman, The National Coalition Against Political and Racial Oppression, was created by the Communist Party.

Senator THURMOND. Do you think the Communist Party should be allowed to operate here?

Dr. SCHWARZ. It is difficult to answer that by a simple yes or no.

Senator THURMOND. I don't think we should allow any party to operate that advocates overthrowing the Government by force.

Dr. SCHWARZ. The problem is to design laws which are constitutional and which will prevent the activities of the Communist Party. It is easy to outlaw the use of the name "Communist" but the Communists attempt to carry on their activities using some other name. I saw this happen in Australia. During the early days of the Second World War, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were allies. The Australian Communist Party was doing everything it could to help the Nazis by hindering the Australian war effort. The Australian Government, which at that time was a labor socialist government, outlawed the Australian Communist Party. At that time the party conducted a big rally in the Sydney Domain each Sunday. The leader was a well-known Communist labor union leader, Stan Moran. When the Communist Party was outlawed, he abolished the Communist meeting and commenced the people's meeting. He continued to conduct the people's meeting until the ban on the Communist Party was lifted when he once more called it a Communist Party rally. All that the Australian law achieved was to outlaw the use of the word Communist. It had very little affect upon their activities. If the Communist Party is outlawed, the laws should be written so that the activities of the party are stopped. This is not easy to do.

Senator THURMOND. Certainly not in the Congress as it is constituted today.

Mr. SOURWINE. Senator, we tried. Congress outlawed that party as far as they thought they constitutionally could, and the courts tore it down.

Senator THURMOND. That's right. I don't believe you could outlaw the party today. There are people over here who call themselves liberals, who are accomplishing Communist goals.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Lenin used the expression "Building communism with non-Communist hands". The genius of communism is that they are often successful in getting 100 people to work for them uncon-

sciously for every one who is a conscious servant. They recognize that a large number of people share a certain emotion such as opposition to capital punishment or devotion to civil liberties. They then form an organization to oppose capital punishment or to promote civil liberties. They enlist many non-Communists into these organizations. However, the Communists are careful to keep control of these organizations in their hands so they can use them for Communist purposes. Communists call this the scientific utilization of social forces.

Senator THURMOND. It would be better if the newspapers didn't publish anything about the activities of urban guerrillas since their acts inspire others. However, they have a duty to publish the news. How would you reconcile that?

Dr. SCHWARZ. From time to time the newspapers do make agreements to refrain from giving publicity to certain causes. I was informed that the newspapers agreed more than 20 years ago not to publicize the activities of Gerald L. K. Smith. He organized the Christian Nationalist Crusade and has a strong anti-Jewish emphasis. I believe the lack of publicity handicapped his work greatly.

Senator THURMOND. They destroyed him and his organization in that way.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Consider the shoot-out between the Symbionese Liberation Army and the police that took place in Los Angeles. The news media did not publicize all that was taking place. I was in Long Beach, less than 20 miles away, and I listened to the reports on radio and watched the events on TV. At the conclusion, the reporter said, "Now, we can tell you something we did not feel we should report before. Gangs of young blacks have been gathering around the periphery of the shoot-out and they were starting to throw stones and bottles at the police and firemen." If the siege had continued into the night, it is possible, if not probable, that there could have been a major riot.

The press has given that little publicity.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think Ed Montgomery wrote the story.

Dr. SCHWARZ. However, the press played it down. The press constantly selects the news they publish. If they believe a story will help a group they oppose, that story receives minimal or no coverage. If they believe it will help a group of which they approve, the story is featured. A process of selection goes on constantly. Is it too much to ask that those people who are engaged in the violent destruction of our society should not be presented as heroes? The press should not allow itself to be used as the recruiting mechanism for revolutionaries.

Senator THURMOND. The Washington Post never mentions my name unless it is unfavorable. Recently they published an article about my family. It was principally about my wife and children and included photos and that type of thing. However, in the middle they included a statement about what a sorry Senator I am. They used my wife and children to get people to read the article and then dig at me.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Selection is an essential element in the presentation of the news. It is a rare newsman who can keep his personal prejudices out of the selective process.

Senator THURMOND. You have done a great job. Keep up the great work.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Thank you, sir.

[Discussion off the record.]

Mr. SOURWINE. Dr. Schwarz, you recently wrote a letter in which you said—quote—"Kidnaping, assassination, and random murder are now becoming popular features in American life. This has not happened accidentally, but as a result of careful planning. The plans were formulated by Communists and collaborators with Communists."—unquote.

Would you tell us in your own words what you know about this?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Urban guerrilla warfare has recently become prominent within the life of the United States. The most recent major manifestation of this was the conduct of the Symbionese Liberation Army which was characterized by murder, kidnaping, arson, and bank robbery and which culminated in the violent conflict in Los Angeles in which six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army were killed.

The soldiers of the Symbionese Liberation Army were carrying out programs described in the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" which was written by Carlos Marighella of Brazil. This minimanual was translated into English and published by Communist Cuba. It is the textbook which most modern urban guerrilla movements use. However, Marighella did not initiate the science of urban guerrilla warfare. He was influenced by General Alberto Bayo who was a military leader on the republican side of the Spanish Civil War. When the republican forces were defeated, he went to Latin America where he became an instructor in the theory and practice of urban guerrilla warfare for the Communist revolutionaries.

Within the spectrum of Marxist-Leninist movements in this hemisphere, there has been considerable controversy concerning the most effective pathway to power. Mao Tse-tung advocates rural guerrilla warfare and many revolutionaries follow him. Castro conquered Cuba through rural guerrilla warfare. However, Che Guevara tried to conquer Bolivia and then South America through rural guerrilla warfare and he failed.

Urban guerrilla warfare is an alternative to rural guerrilla warfare. It believes the guerrillas should be based in the cities and not in the country and that they should engage in terroristic acts of violence which become the propaganda of the deed.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you refer to "careful planning" which as you say, "brought about kidnaping, assassination, random murder," whose planning? What planning? Where?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I would like to answer that question under five headings: (1) Recruitment, (2) Organization, (3) Program, (4) Objective, (5) Assisting forces.

RECRUITMENT

Most of the guerrillas are recruited from college students. The first step that leads them towards recruitment is that they are taught and that they believe the doctrine of imperialism. If this doctrine is true, their consequent conduct can be considered humanitarian.

Mr. SOURWINE. Weren't at least half of the members of the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army college graduates?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Of the six who were killed, I believe five were college graduates. Of the three known members who remain alive, two are college graduates and the third, Patricia Hearst, was a college student.

The doctrine of imperialism is the most powerful force to recruit college students and graduates into the revolutionary ranks. The doctrine of imperialism is the ideological serum which transforms the gentle, courteous, humane student, Dr. Jekyll, into the malevolent and homicidal revolutionary, Mr. Hyde.

The principal source for the doctrine of imperialism is "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," by Lenin. This book is presently, I believe, the world's most influential book. It is creating revolutionary enemies of the United States all around the world. The doctrine of imperialism may be summarized somewhat inadequately as follows:

Capitalism is a diseased social system. The germ that causes the disease is profit which Karl Marx called the surplus value of labor. Profit accumulates and becomes capital. Accumulated capital is owned by progressively fewer people so that it becomes monopoly capital. Monopoly capital finally becomes finance capital which is owned by banks and utilized by industries.

Finance capital is the indicted agent of imperialist theft. In order to invest finance capital profitably, a proportion of it is exported to underdeveloped countries where it pays the workers starvation wages, extracts agricultural and mineral wealth and transports them as raw materials to the mother country, primarily the United States. In the mother country, these raw materials are processed and transformed into industrial commodities which are sold at an enormous profit. It is not unusual for the finished product to be sold back to the country from which the raw materials were extracted. By this process, the industrially advanced or mother country robs the underdeveloped country of its wealth. It follows that the investment of foreign capital in an underdeveloped country is a technique of theft and impoverishment.

A portion of the enormous profits of imperialism is distributed to the workers in the mother country thus granting them a standard of living much higher than that of workers in the rest of the world. This transforms them into a workers aristocracy and hinders the formation of their revolutionary consciousness.

Investments in underdeveloped countries must be protected. This is the role of diplomacy, foreign policy, and, in the last resort, military force. This accounts for the numerous military bases the United States maintains throughout the world. It also accounts for most of the wars in which the United States has been involved.

Thus the doctrine of imperialism teaches that prosperity in the United States is the result of theft and murder carried out in the underdeveloped countries of the world. One example of the influence this doctrine exerts is provided by the Weathermen who became urban guerrillas engaged in violent activities such as bombing and arson. They originated in America's leading universities such as Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, and California at Berkeley. Most of those who joined the Weathermen had been outstanding students and came from very wealthy homes. In the basic Weatherman document, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Show Which Way the Wind Blows," their acceptance of the doctrine of imperialism is expressed in these words:

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

of the masses of people of the world. The US empire, as a worldwide system, channels wealth, based upon the labor and resources of the rest of the world, into the United States. The relative affluence existing in the United States is directly dependent upon the labor and natural resources of the Vietnamese, the Angolans, the Bolivians and the rest of the peoples of the Third World. All of the United Airlines Astrojets, all of the Holiday Inns, all of Hertz's automobiles, your television set, car and wardrobe already belong, to a large degree to the people of the rest of the world.

Those who became Weathermen believed this so sincerely that they became articulate and active enemies of their own country and dedicated their lives to the violent overthrow of the capitalist system. They felt they must engage in criminal activity.

To many American citizens this Weatherman statement appears ridiculous. Unfortunately, it does not appear ridiculous to many university students. Recently I traveled by bus from New York to Philadelphia. A student from the University of Pennsylvania sat beside me. We discussed revolutionary activity on the university campus, and he gave no indication of being a radical. However, I quoted the above Weatherman description of the United States of America and, his reply startled me: "What's wrong with that?"

The mighty propaganda apparatus of the world Communist movement focuses upon the teaching of the doctrine of imperialism. Unfortunately most of their accusations are not answered in the classroom.

Here is the May 1974, edition of the World Marxist Review which is classified as the "theoretical and information journal of Communist and Worker's Parties." It expresses the doctrines of the Communist parties of the world which support the Soviet Union and is published in the following languages: Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Persian, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, and Vietnamese.

A major article in this edition is entitled "Indictment of Imperialism." The opening statement is, "The crimes of imperialism are growing and so is the bill presented to it by the peoples of the world." The article then proceeds to list the alleged crimes of imperialism and covers 20 pages in so doing. The influence of unanswered charges such as these upon susceptible student minds can't be exaggerated.

When an idealistic 20-year-old student is convinced that his native country is the enemy of the people of the world and the primary cause of poverty, oppression, and war, he feels a responsibility to destroy the system which prevails. At this point certain options are open to him.

One option is to join one of the orthodox Communist parties which are functioning within the United States. These parties affirm the doctrine of imperialism and teach that world peace and prosperity can be achieved only through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism within America. The members of these parties are disciplined and are required to study. Their work to promote revolution is under the direction of senior Communists. These believe revolution must come through the activities of masses of people and not through individual terrorism. These parties include the Communist Party, U.S.A., which supports the Soviet Union, the Socialist Worker's Party which is the Trotskyist Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party which is independent, and a host of smaller groups

such as the Revolutionary Union which supports the Chinese Communists and the policies of Mao Tse-tung.

A second option is to join one of the groups which follow the teaching of men such as Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse teaches that the American state, which he calls the welfare through warfare state, can be overthrown by adopting a new attitude toward the human body. The body should be treated as an instrument of pleasure rather than labor. Anything unpleasant should be renounced while anything pleasurable should be indulged. If this principle is followed, the work ethic is scorned and a major portion of time is spent in sexual and other indulgences. This results in society being deenergized and weakened. The family and political institutions degenerate so that the state cannot withstand the encircling Communist might.

The name I have selected for this teaching is political sensualism. Groups practicing it include undisciplined groups such as the yippies, zippies, and a considerable number of the hippies.

The third option is urban guerrilla warfare. This concentrates on immediate courageous, desperate action and appeals to certain impatient youth who desire activity, excitement, and immediate results.

A national organization to promote urban guerrilla warfare may be formed but this is unnecessary. A few people can form an urban guerrilla unit and operate independently. They are linked to other groups ideologically but not organizationally. They follow the general principles of urban guerrilla warfare such as those laid down in the Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla but they do not report to any central authority. When such a unit is formed from a group of personal friends, it is very difficult for the authorities to infiltrate it. If the members of such a group are captured, they are unable to inform on anyone outside their own group. If one unit is destroyed, the publicity given to the destruction may stimulate the birth of numerous similar units.

PROGRAM

The program of the urban guerrillas consists of (1) murder, (2) kidnaping, (3) bombing, (4) arson, (5) bank robbery. Their program is, of course, not limited to these activities but usually includes them.

1. Murder. The murder or assassination may be either discriminate or indiscriminate. Selective individuals may be killed for a variety of reasons. A leader of the government or police force may be killed to set an example and to terrorize the opposition. If the individual is selected carefully, this may gain the support of the groups which hate him. Killing thus becomes a recruiting mechanism. It can also be used as punishment for those who desert the organization or oppose the leadership.

Indiscriminate killing tends to terrorize the general population and create demands for more effective police power to establish law and order. If the community becomes sufficiently terrorized, it may demand punitive action which shortcuts the due process of law. This is a step toward the creation of a police state.

2. Kidnaping. Kidnaping may be used in order to obtain large sums for ransom or it may be used to secure new recruits. While the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst does not appear to have been designed for the purpose of securing a new recruit, this was the ultimate result.

Various urban guerrilla organizations in South America have used the tactic of kidnaping for ransom very effectively. American corporations have paid enormous ransoms to secure the release of kidnaped executive personnel.

3. Bombing. The bombing may be directed against property, people, or both. Weathermen selected the various properties of the Bank of America as a primary target for their bombing. They did this to emphasize the role finance capital, which is owned by banks, plays in the alleged exploitation and pauperization of the underdeveloped countries of the world. This bombing was designed to harass the enemy and to make a doctrinal point rather than to kill.

4. Arson. The property of the capitalist enemy is vulnerable and arson is one of the most effective ways to destroy it. It is one of the crimes most difficult to prevent and it is also difficult to capture and punish the arsonists.

5. Bank Robbery. Even dedicated revolutionaries require food, clothing, and transportation; and this requires money. When they are cut off from their families and other legitimate sources of income, the robbery of banks is one method by which funds can be secured. According to their revolutionary moral code, robbing banks is virtuous.

When these programs are carried out, they generate great publicity and every attempt is made to publicize the ideas, doctrines, and objectives of the perpetrators. Those who sympathize with the doctrines and objectives of the guerrillas, classify their actions as political protest rather than criminal conduct. If the guerrillas are caught, tried, and imprisoned, they are frequently classified as political prisoners rather than criminals.

This type of violent activity makes a strong impression on the public mind and is called armed propaganda. Such activity breeds new similar activity.

Mr. SOURWINE. If I may interrupt, sir, do you think it would be useful at this point to put into the record the 14 action models, to use his words, which Marighella set the urban guerrillas to carry out?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I think that would be excellent. The 14 action models are:

- (a) Assaults.
- (b) Raids and penetrations.
- (c) Occupations.
- (d) Ambush.
- (e) Street tactics.
- (f) Strikes and work interruptions.
- (g) Desertions, diversions, seizures, expropriations of arms, ammunition, explosives.
- (h) Liberation of prisoners.
- (i) Executions.
- (j) Kidnapings.
- (k) Sabotage.
- (l) Terrorism.
- (m) Armed propaganda.
- (n) War of nerves.

THE OBJECTIVE

Most of these small urban guerrilla organizations do not believe that they are powerful enough to destroy the capitalist state and create a socialist state. However, they do believe that together they can create such chaos and fear that the continuation of a democratic

society will be impossible. Their immediate objective is the destruction of democratic free society. Any authoritarian society is preferable, including military and fascist dictatorships. The people must be made aware of their oppression. Their theoreticians affirm that the people are oppressed in a democratic society but for some peculiar reasons they are unaware of their oppression. The majority are convinced that they can improve their economic and social well-being and progressively eliminate injustice and poverty through the democratic system with its general elections and due process of law. As a result of this, the people do not acquire a revolutionary consciousness and do not become revolutionaries.

A number of reasons are given to rationalize the failure of the workers to become revolutionaries. One of these is that the workers have been bribed by the profits of imperialism and another is that their consciousness has been changed in the wrong direction by the products of the consumer society. Workers have become so attached to their automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, color television, and the ownership of their own homes that they have developed a vested interest in the maintenance of the corrupt system and have become conservative.

Summarized, the argument goes something like this: A revolution is imperative to destroy the welfare through warfare state.

There can be no successful revolution without a large number of people developing a revolutionary consciousness.

A democratic free society inhibits the development of a revolutionary consciousness.

The democratic society must be destroyed and replaced by an authoritarian society.

Once an authoritarian society is established, people become aware of their oppression. Freedom is like breath. While you have it, you are usually unconscious of it. Once you lack it, the hunger for it becomes all-consuming. Once the people feel the oppression of authority on their own flesh, they will generate a revolutionary consciousness.

Most authoritarian societies have a limited life expectancy. Sooner or later the ruling group loses its cohesion and quarrels break out among the leaders. At this point, the institutions of authority become paralyzed and revolution becomes possible.

If the revolution is to prove successful, it requires leadership. This presents the Communist party with an historic opportunity.

Communist parties can function and live underground and retain remarkable vitality and strength. This is not true of democratic parties. Their members are accustomed to obeying the law and are not skilled in the techniques of secrecy and deception essential for underground operation. Consequently democratic parties disintegrate and die in a dictatorial regime.

When revolution breaks out, Communist parties have individuals ready to assume the leadership role. Their organization remains intact. Overnight, Communist magazines and newspapers appear as if by magic. Individuals suddenly announce their membership in the Communist party and assume leadership roles. They attempt to influence and control labor organizations, women's organizations, youth organizations, and cultural groups. Sometimes they succeed. The

present situation in Portugal provides an example. Thus the objective of the urban guerrilla warrior is the destruction of democratic free society.

This was explained by Ted Gold, one of the leaders of the Weathermen, in their general conference. He said, "Well, if it will take fascism, we'll have to have fascism." (Guardian, January 10, 1970.)

ASSISTING FORCES

The students who become urban guerrillas are aware of their limitations and realize they must have the assistance of individuals, groups, and institutions within our free society if they are to succeed in their objective of destroying free society. One problem is that urban guerrillas should be able to kill without inhibitions and their background and past experiences have not prepared students adequately for this role. Typical college students have not been trained for killing and retain inhibitions against the taking of human life. This limitation has apparently handicapped the Weathermen so that their activities do not fully match their rhetoric. For example, Bernardine Dohrn, one of the Weatherman leaders, eulogized the Manson gang who killed Sharon Tate and many others and presented them as models to be emulated. Her precise words were: "Dig it, first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, they even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach! Wild!" (Guardian, January 10, 1970.)

However, in practice, the Weathermen do not appear to have been able to match the indifference to human life of those they praised. They seemed to have killed almost as many of themselves as of those whom they consider the imperialist enemy. They have planted hundreds of bombs but their custom has been to call the authorities and give adequate warning time so that casualties have been minimal.

The best places to seek psychologically conditioned killers is among the inhabitants of the prisons and among the returned veterans. Many of the prisoners have already killed and their environment has made them callous towards taking human life. The same thing applies to certain veterans. If such conditioned killers can be recruited into the revolutionary ranks of the urban guerrillas, they will not hesitate to shed blood, innocent or otherwise.

The role of the prisoners as the military arm of the revolution was expressed by the convict, George Jackson, who was killed on August 21, 1971, while trying to escape from San Quentin prison. In an interview published in the "Black Panther" of August 29, 1971, George Jackson said:

I'll reiterate that I feel that the building of revolutionary consciousness of the prisoner class is paramount in the overall development of a hard left revolutionary cadre. Of course, the revolution has to be carried by the masses. But we need a cadre; we need a bodyguard; a political worker needs a bodyguard. We see ourselves as performing that function. The terms of existence here in the joint conditions the brothers for that type of work. Although I have become more political recently, from listening to Comrade Newton, and from reading the Party paper, I've gained a clearer understanding of the tie-in between political and military activities. I still see my function as military.

Realizing the potential that exists in the prisons, the revolutionaries have been seeking to recruit prisoners into their ranks. Their task has been made much easier by court decisions. The courts have ruled that

the prisoners are entitled to receive Marxist and other revolutionary literature. Consequently, such literature is circulating widely in the prisons. Letters from prisoners are frequently published in revolutionary periodicals such as the Daily World, the Guardian, and the Militant. Revolutionary organizations are flourishing within the prisons.

Personal recruitment takes place as the revolutionaries gain access to the prisoners. Some of the revolutionaries operate as lawyers and others as cultural and rehabilitative workers.

The founders of the Symbionese Liberation Army made a special effort to recruit prisoners. They had some success. Their field marshal, Donald DeFreeze, who called himself Cinque, was recruited while he was a prisoner and he later escaped. There were a number of other black prisoners who were apparently attracted to the Symbionese Liberation Army and there was a temporary impression that their role in that army was greater than it was. However, Cinque appears to have been the only permanent black member, and he was killed along with five white members who were originally students.

The doctrine of imperialism depicts the colored races as the primary victims of American capitalism. This is extended to include the minorities within the United States, particularly the black minority. They are regarded as the natural enemies of the U.S. Government and the attempt is made to harness their anger and use it for murderous acts.

The Symbionese Liberation Army also recruited from the returned veterans. The first public act of the Symbionese Liberation Army was to assassinate Marcus Foster, the black superintendent of schools of Oakland, Calif., with cyanide-impregnated bullets. Two men have been arrested and charged with this murder. Both are returned veterans and were formerly members of the organization known as "Vietnamese Veterans Against the War."

A deliberate attempt is being made to recruit prisoners and veterans as soldiers in the urban guerrilla army.

Mr. SOURWINE. Doctor, may I intrude? I wanted to ask you if you are taking issue with Marighella's statement about the suitability of students for guerrilla warfare. Let me read a brief paragraph:

Students are being noted for being politically crude and coarse, and thus they break all the taboos. When they are integrated into urban guerrilla warfare as is now occurring on a wide scale, they show a special talent for revolutionary violence, and soon acquire a high level of political, technical, military skill. Students have plenty of free time on their hands; and because they are systematically separated, suspended and expelled from schools by the dictatorship, and so they begin to spend their time advantageously in behalf of revolution.

Dr. SCHWARZ. I would agree with that statement in general terms. However, in the United States, the students have been very effective as revolutionary agitators but not so effective as revolutionary killers. Others adapt more easily to that role, and the student leaders seem to be aware of this and seek to recruit them. The revolutionary doctrines to which these students give their allegiance also teach them that they must recruit from the revolutionary masses.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is the most ruthless and brutal organization that has yet made its appearance on the American scene. Their deeds have matched or surpassed their words.

The name "Symbionese" is an adaptation of the word "symbiosis." Symbiosis describes two organisms living together in mutual benefit. They formed the army as a symbiosis of students, criminals, and returned veterans. There were, however, other aspects to this symbiosis. It also applied to different racial groups living together in cooperative harmony.

To return to the question of students and violence: In Palo Alto, Calif., an organization was formed called Venceremos and it professed dedication to the use of violence to destroy the American economic and social systems. Members would engage in certain violent acts. However, Venceremos broke up because some members believed that it was not living up to its words. There was too much talk and too little action. Some of the members, who desired more violence, graduated into the ranks of the Symbionese Liberation Army where there was violence aplenty.

The results obtained from court decisions and legislative acts do not always coincide with the wishes of those who initiate the court actions or promote the legislation. To increase civil liberties for all American citizens is a most desirable goal. To increase civil liberties of the prisoners in the jails seems a worthy part of this goal. To grant the prisoners access to literature and to open the prison doors to religious and cultural rehabilitative workers seems an advance for the cause of civil liberties.

When this results, however, in the recruitment of violent revolutionaries who engage in murder, kidnaping, arson, bombing and bank robbery in order to destroy the democratic society, there is an alarming diminution in civil liberties! Marcus Foster lost all his civil liberties very suddenly. This is a dilemma which civil liberty groups and courts should keep in mind.

Mr. SOURWINE. Isn't it true, from a strategic standpoint, that the Communists themselves and most of the groups, including terrorist groups, that follow this line of destroying imperialism actually move along three separate lines:

1. To weaken, discredit and destroy the government itself as such.
2. To change, weaken and destroy the political system, democracy and all that goes with it; and
3. To weaken and destroy the economic system?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not only in this country, but in every country they attack?

Dr. SCHWARZ. As a general principle that is right. However, the Communists design programs in each country in the light of conditions that prevail in that country. They have great flexibility and in order to recruit supporters, they identify themselves with causes which have many supporters. Their program is expressed by the formula, "Find out what people want, promise it to them, go to work to get it for them so that you can come to power over them." The mainstream Communists are very patient.

The urban guerrillas can be regarded as a Communist fringe group or sect. They combine many of the doctrines of communism with some of the practices of anarchism. They don't give priority to study, organization, discipline and mass action. They take it for granted that

the American economic, political, and governmental systems are utterly evil and that any means to destroy them is legitimate. They engage in armed propaganda or the propaganda of the deed. They depend upon the news media to publicize their deeds and win recruits for their cause. The success of their program rests upon the cooperation given by the news media. To date the revolutionaries have no cause for complaint.

Freud teaches that every human being is the possessor of aggressive tendencies derived from the death instinct. In some individuals this tendency to aggression is dominant. Such individuals will become excited by the press accounts of the brutal acts of the revolutionaries and will be recruited for the cause. To the urban guerrilla, the violent deed is a recruiting act.

I believe a little history may be appropriate at this point. The role of violence has been a subject of intense discussion since Karl Marx made his statement that "force is the midwife to deliver the infant socialism from the womb of an aging and decaying capitalism."

There has been general agreement about the need and virtue of violence but considerable disagreement concerning the type of violence that should be used. The official Communist line on violence was given by Lenin. He stated that when a revolution was not imminent nor in progress, violence should be limited to the actions of a mass of people. He taught that individual terroristic acts were counterproductive. The main task of the Communist was to organize and agitate the masses. If the Communist engaged in acts of violence which compelled him to hide underground from the police, he severed his links with the masses. For this reason, individual terrorism was, in general, condemned.

From this, it would appear that the urban guerrillas are in conflict with the teaching of Lenin. Nevertheless, many of them claim to be Marxist-Leninists. How do they justify their apparent departure from Lenin?

They have little difficulty. They say that one of the basic tenets of Leninism is that techniques must change when conditions change. The teachings of Lenin were appropriate for the conditions that prevailed in his day.

Despite this, during his lifetime, Lenin organized and approved many acts of individual violence. For example, he organized violent bank robberies which were carried out by the Bolsheviks in Caucasia under the direction of Stalin.

The urban guerrillas claim that if Lenin were alive today, his attitude toward violence would change completely. In his day, if a public leader were assassinated, the only people who knew about it immediately were those close at hand. The news took weeks and even months to reach the entire nation.

Today, with radio, television, and wire services, an act is known all around the world within minutes. Millions of people actually watched the conflict between the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army and the police while it was taking place. I listened to it on radio from its inception and watched it on television during most of the action.

Due to these changed circumstances, the propaganda of the deed is 1,000 times as effective as it was in Lenin's day. Such revolutionary violence can therefore be considered Leninist.

If one group is wiped out, the record of their deeds lives on so the members of the group can continue to recruit revolutionaries even after their death. There is little comfort to be derived from the fact that the Symbionese Liberation Army was almost wiped out during the shootout with the Los Angeles police. I cannot prove it, but I am convinced that the day after that debacle, at least 100 meetings took place during which potential urban guerrillas discussed how they could conduct programs similar to those of the SLA. These meetings were probably held in a variety of environments such as college dormitories, ghetto apartments, communes, and even penthouses.

Many, if not most, of these meetings will not lead to overt acts, but sometimes they do. As long as there are susceptible youth poisoned by the doctrine of imperialism so that they believe the American system must be overthrown; as long as there are angry, aggressive personalities which can be stimulated by reports of violent deeds; and as long as there are radio, television, and newspaper reporters willing to glamorize the participants in revolutionary violence, new urban guerrilla movements will continue to be born.

I am stressing, but not overstressing, the role played by the news media. Somewhere a balance must be struck between the virtue of providing information and the vice of revolutionary recruitment. This involves both the manner and the timing of the presentation of the news. The revolutionaries do not own the news media, but they act as though they did. They prepare and record on tape speeches with the full confidence that they will be broadcast as soon as they are received by the selected radio station. For example, when the surviving members of the SLA—Bill Harris, Emily Harris, and Patricia Hearst—produced a war communique and sent it to radio station KPFFK, it was broadcast, obscenity and all, within minutes of its reception.

Thus, among the groups and forces assisting the urban guerrillas, we must include:

1. Portions and policies of the news media.
2. Certain court decisions.
3. Some civil libertarian individuals and organizations.
4. Teachers of the doctrine of imperialism.

PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS

The urban guerrillas are not tilting at windmills. They have definite prospects of success in their war to destroy democratic society. If confronted with the choice between security and liberty, it is probable that a majority of people will choose security even if this means the surrender of cherished democratic liberties.

Recently in the San Francisco Bay area there were numerous random and apparently motiveless murders of white people by young blacks. Many people were afraid to walk the streets and there was a public demand that strong action should be taken.

Although San Francisco is one of the most liberal cities in the United States, an official policy was formulated to stop, question, and search every black man on the street who fitted the profile of the killers. Civil libertarians protested that this was an infringement of the civil liberties of many innocent people as indeed it was.

The program to stop, question and search was discontinued, partially because of the protests, but also because the police believed they had discovered the perpetrators of the murders and their motives. If the killings had continued and increased and the police had not been able to stop the murders by normal methods, it is probable that drastic action would have been demanded and taken.

When people fear for their lives, there is a spontaneous demand for a strong leader and a real threat to the continuance of democracy. The urban guerrillas of Uruguay, the Tupamaros, were unable to conquer that country but they successfully destroyed democracy. Only recently, Uruguay was known as the democratic jewel of Latin America. The people enjoyed the freedoms of democracy and the benefits of a welfare state. A Marxist-Leninist urban guerrilla movement, known as the Tupamaros, was formed and it commenced an efficient program of kidnaping, assassination, bank robbery, arson, and bombing. Their activities inspired the Weathermen in the United States. The democratic government proved unable to prevent the activities of these urban guerrillas. In the crisis thus created by the Tupamaros, the military seized power. The new rulers dealt successfully with the Tupamaros but they also abolished the free operation of the institutions through which personal liberty is expressed. Political parties and trade unions are restricted and the military rules.

To this extent the Tupamaros have been successful. This is the scenario proposed for the United States.

PREVENTIVE ACTION

A number of steps can be legitimately taken to prevent both the recruitment and the functioning of urban guerrillas:

1. The falsity of the doctrine of imperialism should be exposed: This can be done either by a thorough examination of the argument as it is presented by Lenin or by drawing attention to the prevalent facts in the international realm which contradict the conclusions of the doctrine.

The essence of the doctrine of imperialism is that the investment of capital in an underdeveloped country is a technique of theft which impoverishes the country in which the investment is made.

This conclusion is reached theoretically by concentrating on the things that are extracted from a country through foreign investment and ignoring the things that are added. Foreign investment often increases the real wealth of a country by providing homes, transportation, skilled personnel and money through taxation for education, medical care, et cetera. The numerous advantages that can and often do accompany the investment of foreign capital must be balanced against the resources that are removed.

Foreign investment is like fire. It can be destructive or it can be immensely creative. By concentrating solely upon the havoc and destruction that fire has caused through the ages, an argument could be developed that fire is the great enemy of human well-being. However, controlled fire has added immensely to human comfort and well being.

The wealth of the Arab oil-producing states is a definitive answer to the doctrine of imperialism. The development of their oil industries

has been due to foreign investment through which the oil was discovered, the wells were drilled, the pipelines constructed, the refineries built. If the doctrine of imperialism were true, the states in which these investments were made should be impoverished. The truth is that they are incredibly wealthy.

The doctrine of imperialism presents false conclusions which are reached by selecting certain facts and building a logical system upon them while other facts are ignored. It is the perversion of the half-truth.

However, it is often presented in a logical and appealing package and convinces students who have limited experience, logical minds, and a resentment because poverty and injustice are allowed to continue to exist in the world.

The doctrine of imperialism can and should be demolished intellectually. This would eliminate genuine idealists from the revolutionary ranks.

2. Laws must be written which are adequate to prevent violent revolutionary activity: Freedom can only exist in a society of laws. Every law restricts a freedom. Thus we have the paradox that the restraint of freedom is essential to the life of freedom.

This paradox is caused by the fact that in society freedoms conflict. The exercise of freedom by one individual to smoke often denies other people the freedom to breathe air uncontaminated by carcinogenic toxins. It is only recently that this conflict of freedoms has been acknowledged and laws have been written to deny individuals the freedom to smoke in certain places. For example, on aircraft an area is set aside where smoking is prohibited.

The hope is that the limitation of certain freedoms will result in the maximization of freedom for all.

The objective of legislation is not to grant unfettered freedom, but to maximize general freedom.

The activity of urban guerrillas threatens to destroy the liberty of all. It is legitimate that laws should be written to minimize the possibility of recruitment in prisons, et cetera. Is it impossible to design laws which will prevent revolutionary literature and agitators from recruiting prisoners as soldiers in the army of destruction? The transformation of prisoners into urban guerrillas is dubious rehabilitation.

The press serves society. It, too, should be subject to the law. No institution should be above the law.

3. The peace forces, such as the police, must be strong enough to cope with the urban guerrillas: This is not merely a matter of providing them with adequate physical weapons such as guns. They should also be trained so that they can understand the appeal exercised by communism and associated doctrines as well as the techniques used by the communists and other revolutionaries. I would go so far as to advise that police forces should be given a course in communist theory and practice to arm them ideologically as well as physically. In order to know what individuals and groups are likely to do, it is essential to know their pattern of thinking and laws of operation. An educational course should be designed to meet this specific need.

Some will doubtless make the charge that by writing laws to restrict certain types of individual conduct and by strengthening the police, we are embracing communist methods in order to fight communism. While there is certainly a danger that this may happen, there is no necessity that it must happen. One of the fundamental differences between communism and democracy is that in a communist society the communist party is supreme while in a democracy, the law is supreme.

Under communism, law is the servant of the government. In democracy it is the master.

Communism teaches that a successful revolution must lead to the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Lenin defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as "the rule, based on force and unrestricted by law, of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

The Communist Party administers the dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore, by definition, the law does not restrict the actions of the communist party. It is above the law.

It is true that some time ago the Communist rulers of Russia announced that in the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat had been replaced by the state of all the people. However, this difference in terminology has not produced any difference in conduct. The Communist Party continues to exercise absolute and final authority within the Soviet Union and the law is a tool by which it exercises this authority.

The role of the law is quite different in a free society. It is acknowledged that there are certain absolute values of justice and truth which many believe derive from the being and nature of God. The law is an expression of these values and the law limits the freedom of activity of the government. There are certain things which the government must not do. Government, unrestrained by law, is tyranny.

The important thing is that restraints on individual liberty necessary for the functioning of a free society should be specified by law and not left to the arbitrary whim of some individual. This applies whether that individual is president, policeman, professor, journalist, civil libertarian, or an urban guerrilla. All are susceptible to restraint by law. The responsibility for writing adequate laws is that of a freely elected legislature operating under constitutional restraints.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you very much, Doctor.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you very much for a very interesting presentation. The committee will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the subcommittee was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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**TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY
Interlocks Between Communism and
Terrorism**

HEARING

BEFORE THE

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

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE**

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

—
PART 9
—

MAY 7, 1976
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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RESOLUTION

Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the testimony of Phillip Abbott Luce, taken in executive session on May 7, 1976, be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman.

Approved August 9, 1976.

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INTERLOCKS BE'
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SUBCOMMITTEE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE
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The subcommittee met, p
2300, Dirksen Senate Office
presiding.

Also present: Richard L.
senior investigator; and Dav
Senator THURMOND. The

Do you swear that the evi
will be the truth, the whole
you God?

Mr. LUCE. I do.

TESTIMONY (

Mr. SCHULTZ. State your
Mr. LUCE. My name is P
Mr. SCHULTZ. And where
Mr. LUCE. I reside in the
Mr. SCHULTZ. Are you p
Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, I am
Mr. SCHULTZ. By whom
Mr. LUCE. I'm employed
completing my Ph. D. pro
editor of a publication in M

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Luce, I
it would be appropriate if
ginning concerning some o
you to provide some comm
offer for inclusion in the
biographical sketch dated
Abbott Luce.

BIOGRAPHICAL

Phillip Abbott Luce, born Lar
Luce (pharmacist—deceased).
tory); M.A. Ohio State Univers

THE JUDICIARY

Mississippi, *Chairman*
ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Nebraska
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INTERLOCKS BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND
TERRORISM

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1976

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS

Mississippi, *Chairman*
STROM THURMOND, South Carolina
WILLIAM L. SCOTT, Virginia

Chief Counsel
Assistant to the Chief Counsel
Chief Investigator
Senior Investigator
Research Director
Senior Analyst

ION

Subcommittee of the Senate Com-
mittee on the Judiciary. Testimo-
ny of Phillip Abbott Luce, May
7, 1976. To be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 11:15 a.m., in room 2300, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: Richard L. Schultz, Chief Counsel; Robert J. Short, senior investigator; and David Martin, senior analyst.

Senator THURMOND. The meeting will come to order.

Do you swear that the evidence you're about to give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LUCE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

Mr. SCHULTZ. State your full name for the record, please?

Mr. LUCE. My name is Phillip Abbott Luce.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And where do you reside, Mr. Luce?

Mr. LUCE. I reside in the State of Arizona.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are you presently employed?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. SCHULTZ. By whom?

Mr. LUCE. I'm employed by Arizona State University where I am completing my Ph. D. program in political science. I am also the editor of a publication in Maryland, The Pink Sheet on the Left.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Luce, before we get into your testimony, I think it would be appropriate if we made the record clear from the beginning concerning some of your past activities and before asking you to provide some comment on your background. I'd first like to offer for inclusion in the record at this point, Mr. Chairman, the biographical sketch dated Dec. 15, 1975, pertaining to Mr. Phillip Abbott Luce.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

Phillip Abbott Luce, born Lancaster, Ohio, 1936. Only child of Mary and Paul Luce (pharmacist—deceased). B.A. Mississippi State University (1958; history); M.A. Ohio State University (1960; political science). Currently complet-

ing PhD in political science at Arizona State University. Married to Noel J. Urie Luce.

Former leader of the Communist Progressive Labor Party; indicted but later found innocent by the U.S. Supreme Court for leading a trip to Cuba in 1963 (U.S. vs. Laub, et al); editor of Progressive Labor; author of articles in National Guardian, the Worker (under the pseudonym of John Tanner), in Mainstream and Folkways. Published in Revolution (France); World Affairs (England) and reprinted in Chinese Literature. Associate Editor of Rights, a journal of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Left the Maoist Communist movement in 1965. Author of a monograph for the House Committee on Un-American Activities: Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the United States. His published books are: The New Left (David McKay); Road to Revolution (Viewpoint); The Intelligent Students Guide to Survival (Viewpoint); The New Left Today (Capitol Hill); Editor of The "New" Red China Lobby (Viewpoint) and one book of Poetry Dedicated to the One I Love (Challenge). Articles by Luce have appeared in the Readers Digest, the Saturday Evening Post, National Review, Alternative, New Guard, Chicago Jewish Forum, etc. He is currently editor of the fortnightly newsletter The Pink Sheet on the Left, a contributing editor of Human Events and an associate of the New Guard. His reviews have appeared in the Western Political Quarterly, the Alternative and the Libertarian Review of Books. Luce has been interviewed by Playboy and articles about him have appeared in magazines as disparate as Dissent and Arizona. Has appeared on Kup's Show and the Dick Cavett program among others.

He is a member of the social fraternity Sigma Chi, the professional fraternity Pi Sigma Alpha and Mensa. Luce has lectured on university campuses across the nation, has been a guest lecturer at Eglin Air Force Base (SAC) School on Counter-Insurgency and at the Naval School at Coronado, California. He has taught courses in political science at Phoenix College and is presently a teaching assistant in political science at Arizona State University.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Luce, would you comment for purposes of clarification on the record your past activities in connection with the Progressive Labor Party and other revolutionary or leftist organizations?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. I was for a period of time, from the year 1960 to the year 1964 a member of the revolutionary Communist organization known as the Progressive Labor Party. I journeyed to Cuba in that capacity and was also a member of the national committee of that organization and also an editor of its publication Progressive Labor.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Does this imply that you were a member of the Communist Party, USA?

Mr. LUCE. No, sir. The Communist Party, USA, is a different Communist organization. There are at the present time four Communist parties in the United States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Are you saying that there are four Communist parties in the United States, or four organizations which embrace some form of communism?

Mr. LUCE. There are four organizations posing as political parties that call themselves Communist existing in the United States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Tell us, if you will, how you became involved in these organizations and the extent of your participation.

Mr. LUCE. In the early years, as I said in 1960 to 1964, I was a member of a Maoist Communist organization, the Progressive Labor Party. I joined that party at the time out of a combination of idealism and I suppose naivete. I worked my way up through the Party ranks very quickly and became a member of the national committee of the Progressive Labor Party.

Mr. SCHULTZ. So you were
Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How long w

Mr. LUCE. Approximately organization, I did testify b and spoke with the FBI reg attempted, while working on various organizations on the stated earlier, there are a nun country, four specific parties States, the Progressive Labor the brand new Revolutionary selves specifically as Marxist mately to change this form o government.

Mr. SCHULTZ. From your s of these, or any of these organ ernment by violent means?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. Studie the past the Communist Par moment it does not because i Socialist Workers Party has a programs aimed at attempti ultimate goals. I believe this mony in the past months reg Socialist Workers Party and

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Luce, be have a prepared statement wh

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Mr. LUCE. I wish to thank the opportunity to appear he dents of terrorist attacks ag Nation have increased geon shocked at each individual in of bombings that have alrea

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Mr. SCHULTZ. So you were actually in a leadership capacity?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How long were you with this organization?

Mr. LUCE. Approximately 4 years. Following my break with that organization, I did testify before various congressional committees and spoke with the FBI regarding my past. Since that time I have attempted, while working on my graduate studies, to keep up with various organizations on the left. That's how I came to know that. I stated earlier, there are a number of Communist organizations in this country, four specific parties—the Communist Party of the United States, the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the brand new Revolutionary Communist Party, that identify themselves specifically as Marxist-Leninist organizations that seek ultimately to change this form of government into a collectivist form of government.

Mr. SCHULTZ. From your studies can you tell us whether or not all of these, or any of these organizations, seek to change the form of government by violent means?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. Studies would tend to show that at times in the past the Communist Party itself has advocated violence. At the moment it does not because it doesn't suit its purposes to do so. The Socialist Workers Party has a history of engaging in quasi-democratic programs aimed at attempting to confuse the population as to its ultimate goals. I believe this subcommittee has received expert testimony in the past months regarding the interrelationship between the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Luce, before we digress too far, I know that you have a prepared statement which you would like to offer.

Mr. Chairman, I ask at this point that Mr. Luce be allowed to present his prepared statement to the subcommittee.

Senator THURMOND. Proceed, Mr. Luce.

Mr. LUCE. I wish to thank the chairman and the subcommittee for the opportunity to appear here today. Within the past year the incidents of terrorist attacks against the symbols of authority in this Nation have increased geometrically. The American public seems shocked at each individual incident and yet unaware of the wide-scale of bombings that have already encompassed this Nation.

The Weather Underground has already taken credit for at least "25 armed actions against the enemy." The Red Guerrilla Family and the New World Liberation Front are also involved in recent acts of terrorism. The so-called FALN of the Puerto Rican Communists has taken credit for the deaths of innocent victims in New York and there is overt evidence that these and other groups are intent upon expanding their internal operations in this Nation.

Your subcommittee has already received testimony regarding the potential for terrorism surrounding the Bicentennial Fourth of July celebrations in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. One vital role of Congress is in attempting to forewarn the populace of such acts of violence and to seek legislation to counter acts of terrorism. It is within this regard that I am appearing here today.

Academic political scientists have often failed to make their findings accessible to and useful to the non-academic world, including Congress. It is my hope that in some small manner I may bridge this gap, at

least in an area where I have some special concern. In this regard, I should later like to submit a paper I have recently completed in an attempt to explain the interrelationship between contemporary terrorism and external and internal Communist ideology.

Mr. Chairman, if there is no objection I should like to introduce a chart I have developed in an attempt to give in outline form the history and development of the various factions of the American Revolutionary Communist, Democratic Socialist and terrorist organizations. This chart was created in the hope that it might serve as an educational tool for the student of the leftwing in order that he or she might incorporate it as a model for further use in describing current terrorist activities.

This student of terrorism is bothered because not only is the public perception of current terrorism nearly negligible, but also because the various agencies concerned with control of internal terrorism and violence are under a concerted attack from both the leftwing and various legislators. The guarantees of the Bill of Rights are an especially important ingredient in the democratic values of this Nation, but equal concern should be witnessed in order that these guarantees are not violently violated by terrorists and revolutionary collectivists intent upon utilizing the guaranteed freedoms in an attempt to overthrow these very rights.

Because of the spread of terrorism in the United States it is no longer enough to just describe the acts. Even the sometimes complex interrelationships between ideology and bomb throwing, while demanding explanation, pale when compared with the necessity of developing a counter program aimed at curtailing contemporary terrorism.

Within this area I have attempted to develop some suggestions that I would be happy to share with this committee. Specifically, we must be careful to retain the guarantees of the Bill of Rights while attempting to thwart terrorism. One of the goals of the terrorists is the hope that the Government may overreact to their acts of violence and curtail civil liberties to such an extent that the population in general will feel oppressed and therefore turn against the Government.

If the American populace is to become aware of the ultimate intent of the terrorists, they must also become acquainted with the interrelationship between the terrorists and the ideology of Marx-Lenin-Stalin-Trotsky-Mao Tse-tung. Such a framework of dialectical materialism may often differ in particular situations, but is consistent in its doctrine that only a Communist dictatorship of the proletariat must exist throughout the world. Only a naive person would believe that the differences between the Russians, the Maoists and the Trotskyists is more than dickering over the means with which to strangle the democratic system.

I have attempted in the study accompanying this testimony to relate in brief terms the interrelationship between Communist ideology and current outbursts of terrorism within this Nation. We have witnessed riots and attempts at guerrilla warfare in past years and now we see an outgrowth of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the contemporary bombings and kidnappings.

If the United States is not to follow the bloody road of Ireland or numerous Latin American nations, we must begin to comprehend the

nature of terrorism and launch a program of terrorism. The ostrich policy is not appropriate when bombs are being thrown and citizens are being destroyed.

At one juncture in my life I was involved in the Communist movement. Years ago I devoted myself to studying the history and development of Marxism-Leninism and in attempting to apply this political thought. It is within this context before this subcommittee. I am sure that those of my fellow political activists will be interested in the normative foundation of terrorism within the United States.

I do not appear here as an expert on the facts regarding terrorism and the various movements within this Nation. My presence on this committee is the hope that I and other students will consider in their testimony that a portion of the general public will evaluate the whole area of internal terrorism.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I'd like to begin by asking you a few basic questions, for the purpose of your further testimony and perhaps to get some details that you have developed.

Tell us, please, who developed the Party?

Mr. LUCE. The basic ideology was developed some time ago by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Who developed the Party ideology developed by the Party?

Mr. LUCE. The major history of the Party is the Bolsheviks at the time of the Russian Revolution.

Mr. SCHULTZ. But in terms of the Party's methodology, is it a fact that the Party's methodology is individual?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you view the Party's methodology as a materialist methodology?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. The ideology of the Party is materialism in an attempt to overthrow the existing system.

However, there have always been differences among the Marxists over how that ideology should be applied.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have their tactics been different?

Mr. LUCE. Their tactics have been different. They have even been seen from the fact of the Russian Revolution.

Marxism. And then it became Leninism. Then it became the Trotskyism. Then it became the Stalinism. Then it became the Castroism. And people at this time are utilizing especially the tactics of the Party.

This is utilized especially by those who, while being Bolsheviks, are utilizing some kind of outgrowth and the very same plans, the same

special concern. In this regard, I have recently completed in an outline form the relationship between contemporary terrorism and Communist ideology.

I should like to introduce a section in which I attempt to outline the various factions of the American Democratic Socialist and terrorist organizations with the hope that it might serve as an appendix to the leftwing in order that he or she might have it for further use in describing cur-

rent terrorism because not only is the public knowledge of internal terrorism and its control of internal terrorism and its attack from both the leftwing and rightwing of the Bill of Rights are an affront to the democratic values of this Nation. It is hoped in order that these guarantees be respected in order that these guarantees be respected by the Communists and revolutionary collectivists in an attempt to over-

come the situation in the United States it is no longer acceptable. Even the sometimes complex nature of terrorism and bomb throwing, while compared with the necessity of curbing terrorism at curtailing contemporary

terrorism to develop some suggestions that be presented to the committee. Specifically, we must not allow the Bill of Rights while attempting to achieve the goals of the terrorists is the hope that their acts of violence and curtailment of the population in general will be against the Government.

It is hoped that some awareness of the ultimate intent of the Communists be acquainted with the interrelationship of the ideology of Marx-Lenin-Stalinism and the network of dialectical materialism and its doctrine of the proletariat must exist. No person would believe that the Communists, Maoists and the Trotskyists is the same as the means with which to strangle the

accompanying this testimony to relate the relationship between Communist ideology and the Bill of Rights of this Nation. We have witnessed the same in the past years and now we see the same philosophy in the contemporary

of the bloody road of Ireland or the same must begin to comprehend the

nature of terrorism and launch effective programs to offset the potential of terrorism. The ostrich stance of a head in the sand is hardly appropriate when bombs are exploding, killing innocent American citizens and destroying millions of dollars of private property.

At one juncture in my life I too was a member of the revolutionary Communist movement. Years ago, I rejected that path and have since devoted myself to studying the contradictions contained within Marxism-Leninism and in attempting to understand current revolutionary political thought. It is within this regard that I am a willing witness before this subcommittee. I am hopeful that my studies, and ultimately those of my fellow political scientists, will help in creating an admitted normative foundation for the ongoing study of contemporary terrorism within the United States.

I do not appear here as an all-knowing teacher. I possess certain facts regarding terrorism and the history of the various leftwing movements within this Nation. My only contribution to this subcommittee is the hope that I may somehow offer a few facts that other students will consider in their studies of contemporary terrorism and that a portion of the general public might be better prepared to evaluate the whole area of internal terrorism.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I'd like to begin, Mr. Luce, by asking some very simple, basic questions, for the purpose of setting the stage for your further testimony and perhaps to give a closer look at some of the details that you have developed in your presentation.

Tell us, please, who developed the ideology for the Communist Party?

Mr. LUCE. The basic ideology of the Communist Party was developed some time ago by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Who developed the methodology to carry out the Communist ideology developed by Karl Marx?

Mr. LUCE. The major historical impetus comes from the Russian Bolsheviks at the time of the Russian revolution.

Mr. SCHULTZ. But in terms of my question, I was asking for the individual. Isn't it a fact that Lenin is primarily the father of the methodology?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you view ideology as a constant?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. The ideology itself is consistent throughout history and the major goal has always been the utilization of dialectical materialism in an attempt to simply gain control of governments.

However, there have always been apparent disagreements among Marxists over how that ideology is to be implemented.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Have their tactics changed?

Mr. LUCE. Their tactics have constantly changed, and that can even be seen from the fact that it started off simply being called Marxism. And then it became Marxism-Leninism. Then it became Stalinism. Then it became the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung. Then there's Castroism. And people at times become confused over this.

This is utilized especially by organizations such as the Trotskyites who, while being Bolsheviks and Leninists, portray themselves as some kind of outgrowth and are different, when in reality they follow the very same plans, the same ideology.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The ideology remains basically constant no matter what the faction or the vehicle by which the Communist program is carried forth?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Does the CPUSA act in accordance with the ideology promulgated by Marx, and are they in fact subservient to the control and direction of the CPUSSR?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, very much so. The Communist Party of the United States is directly controlled both in ideology, tactics, and perhaps money by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Mr. SCHULTZ. So then it would logically follow that if we can find some acceptance, if not overt action on the part of the Marxist ideology as it relates to terrorism, we could also find that terrorism is accepted and promoted by the CPUSA.

Would that be a logical conclusion?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir; it would.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Let me go back and ask you the first question that should have been asked before my conclusion.

Does the Communist Party—the official Communist Party—accept terrorism or promote terrorism consistent with their ideology?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. Internationally there is a consistent strain that would advocate the utilization of terrorism in any country wherein Marxist-Leninist groups operate.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And I believe you testified that the CPUSA adheres to and is controlled and directed by the Communist Party of Russia?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Can we then conclude that the CPUSA fosters an ideology which permits terrorism or fosters terrorist acts?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you give us your definition of terrorism?

Mr. LUCE. Terrorism is the utilization of violent means in an attempt to create chaos within a democratic state with the hope that the result will be the downfall of that democratic state.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And you are relating terrorism in your definition to the Communist Party?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

I would also say that chaos here within this context would mean such things as kidnaping, bomb explosions, airplane hijackings, and similar violent actions.

Mr. SCHULTZ. From your studies can you tell us what allowance for deviation from methodology or tactics is permitted by the Communist Party or by other groups embracing Marxism?

Mr. LUCE. Now here when we speak of the Communist movement as a whole, we're not speaking of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. No.

Mr. LUCE. There would be great latitude depending upon the organization, depending upon the specific group.

If I might give an example. On the one hand, within the ranks of an organization such as the Socialist Workers Party, there would not be overt advocacy at this time of direct terrorist means.

On the other hand, within organizations that have developed out of the Socialist Workers Party, such as the Internationalist Tendency,

so-called, they would advocate States.

The same can be true of or have been influenced by organ Party, or even the Communist

What I'm attempting to sa such as the Communist Party Workers Party, may not adv that have spun off from them ism within the United States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you find t between the spinoff groups and terrorist activities?

Mr. LUCE. There's a conflic what juncture terrorism or s implemented.

But that's the only conflict is not simply a question of h of a pin. It is an important tions at what juncture to allow

If I might, I would give a tunity while in Havana, Cuba of the Indonesian Commun Party at that time in 1963 w of the Soviet or Chinese p; Indonesian Communist Part and violence take over the that party at the time simp right moment to take such ac

However, 2 years later, h miscalculated and in a dire through military means was ment almost destroyed in Ind

So what I'm attempting t very concerned over the uti they make a differentiation be extremely careful to keep the Communist organizatio pluralistic government that Marxist-Leninist dictatorsh

Mr. SCHULTZ. Could you groups or others is resolved

Mr. LUCE. It is difficult me give an example.

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so-called, they would advocate specific acts of terrorism in the United States.

The same can be true of organizations that have come out of, or have been influenced by organizations such as the Progressive Labor Party, or even the Communist Party of the United States.

What I'm attempting to say here is that while the parent party, such as the Communist Party of the United States, or the Socialist Workers Party, may not advocate terrorism at the moment, groups that have spun off from them are actively engaged in internal terrorism within the United States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you find then that there is a conflict that develops between the spinoff groups and the parent organization with regard to terrorist activities?

Mr. LUCE. There's a conflict of tactics, a conflict in determining at what juncture terrorism or sabotage or guerrilla warfare should be implemented.

But that's the only conflict and I think it's important to state this is not simply a question of how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. It is an important consideration for Communist organizations at what juncture to allow terrorism to take place.

If I might, I would give an example of my own. I had the opportunity while in Havana, Cuba, to meet with D. N. Aidit, the then leader of the Indonesian Communist Party. The Indonesian Communist Party at that time in 1963 was the largest Communist Party outside of the Soviet or Chinese parties. The question often asked of the Indonesian Communist Party is why it did not simply through force and violence take over the country of Indonesia. And the head of that party at the time simply said to me he didn't think it was the right moment to take such action.

However, 2 years later, he sensed that it was the right time. He miscalculated and in a direct attempt to overthrow the government through military means was himself killed and the Communist movement almost destroyed in Indonesia.

So what I'm attempting to relate here is that the Communists are very concerned over the utilization of violence and overt power. But they make a differentiation between strategy and tactics. We must be extremely careful to keep in mind that the ultimate goal of all of the Communist organizations is the overthrow of the Democratic pluralistic government that we have, and the establishment then of a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Could you tell us how a conflict between the spinoff groups or others is resolved?

Mr. LUCE. It is difficult to generalize. It depends, and, again, let me give an example.

When the Progressive Labor Party was formed it was formed by people that had either left or had been expelled from the Communist Party of the United States. They left and/or were expelled because they were considered supporters of Chinese communism, while the Communist Party of the United States followed Soviet Communist leadership.

The Progressive Labor Party then received aid and ideological comfort from the Chinese. I believe there has been testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee that some moneys were

channeled to Progressive Labor from the Chinese. But more important, I think, is the fact that they received a kind of ideological comradeship from the Chinese.

This allowed them at that moment to keep up a certain kind of leftwing momentum and it was only in the past few years, when Progressive Labor had a methodological split with the Chinese Communists, that it has now found itself to be alienated from much of the contemporary American left.

When the Progressive Labor Party had its methodological split with the Chinese, other organizations began to develop a kinship to the Chinese philosophy, and one could now say that the Revolutionary Communist Party—the October League—and some very contemporary organizations are presently waving the banner of Mao Tse-tung in the United States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there one Communist-oriented organization in the United States that you believe merits particular watching?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. But not just one. I wish there were only one.

One of the difficult things at the moment for those of us who attempt to be students of the left is the rapid proliferation of Marxist organizations.

I am especially worried, of course, about the Weather Underground organization and its affiliates, such as the above-ground group of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. But I'm equally concerned about organizations such as the October League, which seems to be growing, and the founding of the latest organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party.

I also see signs of a new growth and possible party status coming out of a leftwing Communist publication called the Guardian, which is attempting, apparently, to set up yet another Communist Party in the United States. But I'm especially concerned and especially worried over some of the Communist organizations that have turned to violence. Specifically, organizations such as the Weather Underground, the FAUX, which comes out of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the New World Liberation Front, the Red Guerrilla Family, and organizations such as these.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Let me ask you this. There is of course a great proliferation of terrorist-type organizations in the country. Is it within your study and could you advise the subcommittee whether or not all of the domestic terrorist organizations are Communist-oriented—or are there some independent terrorist organizations within the United States that do not consider themselves Marxist or Communist?

Mr. LUCE. I know of absolutely no independent terrorist organizations in the United States—that is, ideologically independent—they all consider themselves Marxist-Leninist.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there an identifiable relationship to the Communist ideology in the domestic terrorist organizations?

Mr. LUCE. Yes; there is and they make it very clear in their statements that they are tied to a Marxist-Leninist Communist philosophy. I think that is true and can be shown in part through a document which I would like to introduce from the Red Guerrilla Family relating to a bombing that took place in San Francisco on April 14 at the Mutual Benefit Life Building in San Francisco.

This document makes it Red Guerrilla Family' is as such.

I should also like to give New World Liberation Fronting attacks in the San Francisco on January 29, and one on January 29, and one on January 29.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you refered? Just identify it record as an exhibit.

Mr. LUCE. The Red Guerrilla Family.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Consistent with the document.

Mr. LUCE. Three pages is against Union Carbide Union Carbide makes but

The communique also, but Rhodesia's policies by do result, the Red Guerrilla possibly destroy and kill Union Carbide.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you obtained that document?

Mr. LUCE. I obtained source.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Fine. Witnessed by Mr. Luce be mar

Senator THURMOND. So

[The document referred found on p. 685 of the app

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you l to the incident you just de

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir; ty dated Wednesday, April dated Thursday, April bombing of the Mutual F Carbide Co. in San Fra Red Guerrilla Family h

Mr. SCHULTZ. We will accepted into the record.

Senator THURMOND. I

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Mr. SCHULTZ. Do yo would like to offer at thi

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir; Front. I have here a c Liberation Front and al Area Research Collectiv Front has been doing in the Hearst castle in Sar of damage was caused. credit for that bombing

tion Front is now sawing apart power cables in San Francisco in the bay area and this organization is also a Marxist-Leninist Communist organization.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And you deduced this by reason of their publicly stated positions and documents which you reviewed?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. They openly admit the fact that they are Marxist-Leninists.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Characterize for us, if you will, the Bay Area Research Collective.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. The Bay Area Research Collective is an organization that basically distributes the communiqués and documents of the underground organizations existing in the United States. The BARC is located in Berkeley, Calif., and puts out a publication entitled "Dragon," that specifically deals with the underground activities in the United States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How often is this publication put out, and is it identified by volume number or date?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir; it is. It comes out every 2 months and is identified No. 1, 2, 3. This happens to be issue No. 7, for February-March, 1976.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Luce, can you make that available to the subcommittee?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We'll ask that it be marked exhibit No. 3.

Senator THURMOND. So ordered.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 3 and will be found on p. 688 of the appendix.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you describe for us the dimensions of the international terrorist threat as you would perceive it?

Mr. LUCE. The dimensions of the international terrorist threat are growing geometrically. We are here concerned, I think, with the interrelationship between such Communist governments as the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Libya, and their training and preparing individuals in terrorism. But we are also concerned, I think, with the general ideology of terrorism as expounded historically by the so-called leaders of the Communist movement, such as Lenin, Trotsky, Che Guevara, and Mao Tse-tung.

I'm inclined to believe that the international influence on the United States terrorists is vital. I was once told by Fidel Castro that the revolution that took place in the United States would have to be an American revolution, but that help could certainly be obtained from other countries.

What he was implying, I believe, was the fact that revolutions cannot be exported, but that ideas can be exported and that people can be taken from one country to another and trained to become revolutionaries. But also, I think, as important as international travel is for the terrorist, is the fact that a terrorist ideology exists and that this terrorist ideology can be read by anyone, and that if one becomes a convinced Marxist-Leninist and believes that the time is appropriate for terrorist actions in a democratic society, then that is exactly what will take place—and is taking place in this country today.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And what implication do you see for the United States in the mathematically increasing international terrorism?

Mr. LUCE. I see a very real threat to the United States because it's also increasing in acts of terrorism and sabotage in the United States and abroad.

I am especially fearful of the acts of terrorism that will threaten the peace and welfare of the United States. I am glad that this subcommittee is investigating these matters and I hope that it will make suggestions that might be helpful in this country.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I'd like to ask you a few more questions.

Has any government in the world been involved in international terrorism?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. There has been international terrorism.

internal terrorism. In Vietnam, the role of terrorism in that area almost impeded the peace process in Israel makes it clear that terrorism, as utilized in other countries, has the intent to carry out acts of terrorism.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And political leaders and abroad to carry out international terrorism. Mr. LUCE. Very much so. Mr. SCHULTZ. I think that terrorist groups have obtained a great deal of significance, but I don't think it occurs.

Mr. LUCE. No, sir. I think that isolated events of terrorism are occurring. I suppose, to show that terrorism is even within this Nation.

And I fear that the United States needs to know what the implications are.

I think personally that some of the people who know the facts. One of the things the public will respond to.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Lay out the facts.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. I think that the public will respond to the facts.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you think that the activities within the United States are in fact terrorism?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. I think that the activities within the United States are in fact terrorism.

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ation do you see for the United easing international terrorism?

Mr. LUCE. I see a very dangerous situation developing within the United States because, just as terrorism is increasing internationally, it's also increasing in the United States. The incidents of bombings and sabotage in the United States increased dramatically, just as they have abroad.

I am especially fearful that in this, the Bicentennial year, that the acts of terror that will take place may constitute a serious assault on the peace and welfare of the people of this Nation. One of the major reasons that I am glad that I had the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee is in the hope that perhaps I could give a few suggestions that might be considered possible defense against terrorism in this country.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I'd like to get to those later. But first let me ask just a few more questions.

Has any government been overturned or significantly weakened by international terrorism that you are aware of from your studies?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. There's no question that Algeria fell because of internal terrorism. Internal terrorism had a significant role in Vietnam. The role of terrorism in Northern Ireland has now made that area almost impossible to live in. The question of terrorist activities in Israel makes it an extremely difficult place in which to reside.

Terrorism, as utilized by Marxists-Leninists in all of these countries, has the intent of making it almost impossible for the average citizen to carry on his day-to-day activities without fear of being killed.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And of course it would be even more difficult for our political leaders and government representatives living or traveling abroad to carry out their activities within the context of the given international situation, without protection.

Mr. LUCE. Very much so, I would say.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I think that the public, of course, is generally aware that terrorist groups through their often unclear and confused causes, have obtained a great deal of publicity, but I'm not sure that we ever get the significance, the collective impact of the terrorist acts which occur.

Mr. LUCE. No, sir; that's one of the things that bothers me, the fact that isolated events seem to show the American people that there is threat of terrorism but that to date there has not been an attempt, I suppose, to show the American people the real extent of terrorism, even within this Nation.

And I fear that an uninformed public is a public that suffers. It needs to know what's going on.

I think personally that this has been one of the causes of the frustration that some of the public feels today. It's simply that they don't know the facts. Once they do I'm inclined to believe that the American public will respond rationally and effectively.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Lack of information, of course, would nurture apathy.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, at least in many individuals.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Do you conclude from your study that the terrorist activities within the United States are not purely indigenous but that they are in fact transnational, or international, in nature?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Could you give us some insight as to the control and direction?

Mr. LUCE. One of the problems in dealing with this is the fact that a number of the people engaged in terrorist activities are today living a life that they call an underground life. It is, therefore, not as obvious as the actions of organizations that are overground, such as the Communist Party or the Revolutionary Communist Party. But we do know from current documents, from congressional studies, and just simply from speaking with people that have been engaged in revolutionary activities in this country that there is a transnational trend taking place.

Any number of the people engaged in Weather Underground activities have been trained abroad. We know this to be true, that they have traveled not only to Cuba but to Algeria and to Libya.

It is also known that foreign terrorists either have traveled to the United States or have attempted to travel to the United States, and that these foreign terrorists would certainly be in a position to give expert advice to American terrorists or individuals and organizations.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is the proliferation of the underground one of the great changes that has occurred since your participation in some of the left organizations of the early 1960s?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, although there was always an underground of Communist agents operating in the United States. Underground, meaning that they were not publicly identified as members of the Communist Party.

There has been a great proliferation of so-called underground organizations in this country. This has taken place specifically since 1969 when the Weatherman organization decided to become the Weather Underground.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And of course this complicates handling of the law enforcement responsibilities because we do not have the large groups with banners and press releases and legitimate addresses and offices.

We now have the small cell-type groups which carry out their activities perhaps without major direction.

What problem do you see in this as far as the enforcement of the criminal laws?

Mr. LUCE. It has made it extremely difficult for law enforcement agencies to be able to keep up with and/or infiltrate many of these underground organizations. This is not only made more difficult because the groups are underground but also because of various restrictions placed upon intelligence gathering agencies of the national government and the local police forces by some ill-written laws, and by some civil liberties organizations that seem more concerned with individual liberties of revolutionary individuals than the liberties of the people as a whole.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is the underground aspect of the revolutionary organizations peculiar to the United States or do you find this on the international scene?

Mr. LUCE. No, sir, it's not peculiar to the United States. Such organizations exist in Japan, Germany, Ireland, France, and in Canada.

Canada had a relatively recent outbreak of terrorism but there Premier Trudeau dealt rather severely with the terrorists and he seems to have broken their back there.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Has the recruitment of members changed any over the years from the period of time that you were closely associated with the left movement?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, it has changed. In the early days of the Progressive Labor, we were just going underground. I was talking to me about the problem that time I have discovered members of left wing organizations regarding potential underground activity certainly than they were at that time.

General recruitment organizations such as YSA. But when one gets to organizations or the Weather Underground hopes that local police officers have the ability to infiltrate these groups.

Apparently, they are not set up, to the best of my knowledge, to the structure of the various cells.

There have been extensive activities in Algeria and it seems to fit the apparent pattern in both cases, there is the same independently of each other.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there a possibility of becoming a member of these groups?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, there is.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How is it?

Mr. LUCE. I don't believe that area, with the exception of the Weather Underground, is subjected to various types of tests such as the demand by the individual to undergo the use of homosexual sex.

This was later dropped.

We also, I think, could have the Symbionese Liberation Army could prove his or her trustworthiness by some type of physical test by the superintendent of public safety.

This does not show much about the Algerians and their order to recruit a member was that that member was an individual. He would be a terrorist would simply be subjected to indiscriminate violence would tie the individual to the organization.

This may have been seen in the Army at one juncture in the past on both coasts. But we have utilized historically.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I suppose the applicant's commitment is a factor.

in dealing with this is the fact that terrorist activities are today living and life. It is, therefore, not as obvious that they are overground, such as the Communist Party. But we do know from congressional studies, and just simply from what we have been engaged in revolutionary work, there is a transnational trend taking

place in Weather Underground activities. We know this to be true, that they have traveled to Algeria and to Libya.

Terrorists either have traveled to the United States, and certainly be in a position to give names of individuals and organizations. One of the underground one of the names of your participation in some of the 1960s?

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the United States. Such organizations in France, and in Canada.

The outbreak of terrorism but there is a similarity with the terrorists and he

of members changed any over time, you were closely associated with

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, it has. At the time that I was a member of Progressive Labor, we were just beginning to discuss the question of people going underground. I was engaged at that time with people who were talking to me about the possibility of going underground, and since that time I have discovered from speaking with people who are still members of left wing organizations that the recruitment policies regarding potential underground operatives are much more stringent certainly than they were at that time.

General recruitment continues on the above-ground level with organizations such as YSA or the Young Workers Liberation League. But when one gets to organizations such as the Red Guerrilla Family or the Weather Underground, extensive precautions are taken in the hopes that local police officials or Federal agencies will not have the ability to infiltrate these groups.

Apparently, they are utilizing the schemata that was originally set up, to the best of my knowledge, by the Algerians insofar as the structure of the various cell groups goes.

There have been extensive studies carried on regarding the guerrilla activities in Algeria and I believe at least that the Algerian experience seems to fit the apparent pattern of the American underground. In both cases, there is the setting up of small cells operating absolutely independently of each other.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Is there a formal screening process before one can become a member of these small collectives or cells?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, there would be.

Mr. SCHULTZ. How is that carried out, if you know?

Mr. LUCE. I don't believe that I could give extensive testimony in that area, with the exception of some of the communiqués, for instance, of the Weather Underground that have shown that people have been subjected to various types of demands regarding their personal lives, such as the demand by the Weather people that everyone in the screening test undergo the use of hallucinogenic drugs and then engage in homosexual sex.

This was later dropped as a somewhat extreme measure, apparently.

We also, I think, could take the testimony of some of the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army in showing that one way that one could prove his or her trustworthiness would be in the engagement of some type of physical violent action, such as the killing of a school superintendent of public education, Marcus Foster, in California.

This does not show much difference, in my mind, from the technique of the Algerians and the basic technique of the Algerians was that in order to recruit a member into a terrorist cell, the first thing done was that that member had to go out and kill an absolutely innocent individual. He would simply walk up to someone on the street, the terrorist would simply walk up to someone on the street and one of the terrorists would be handed a gun and he would shoot that person. Indiscriminate violence, but that violence, by being so indiscriminate, would tie the individual into the underground organization.

This may have been some of the philosophy of the Black Liberation Army at one juncture in the apparently senseless killing of policemen on both coasts. But we know now that it is a technique that has been utilized historically.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I suppose in a sense it provides some measure of the applicant's commitment to the cause; but additionally, it gives

the parent organization some control by knowing that the individual who was applying for membership has just committed a crime.

Mr. LUCE. Very much so.

Mr. SCHULTZ. We talked a minute ago about information and public apathy.

Do you find that as international tension rises, terrorist activities rise and if so what impact does international apathy or public apathy have on terrorist activities?

Mr. LUCE. I'm not sure that I've ever correlated the essence of tension and apathy, so I'm not sure I can give you a scientific breakdown there. But I do see, obviously, that when certain tensions break out in the world, especially in the Middle East apparently now, that there is a rise in terrorism.

I think that can be shown by the terrorist activities at the Olympics, the terrorist activities of the shootings at Lod airport and similar incidents.

Mr. SCHULTZ. You may not have made a correlation, but certainly the correlation is found in the Marxist ideology.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. That's very true. As tensions would increase, there would be possibilities, according to Marx and according to dialectical materialism, for those types of actions to take place.

It's also very true that in countries where there is general apathy, that one of the goals of terrorism is to attempt to frighten people either into further apathy or to keep them from engaging at all in political activity.

Terrorism has the ability, apparently, either to immobilize people completely in countries such as Vietnam, Algeria and Northern Ireland, or to force the authorities into some type of dramatic action, such as the case of Trudeau in Canada, or into intemperate actions such as may have taken place in certain Latin American countries in the past year.

The terrorists believe that they have all of the cards in their hand, that if the public is apathetic at that juncture, that terrorism may force them into more apathy, that terrorism may force the government into some type of rash action that terrorists could then utilize for bringing down that government.

One has to be very careful in dealing with the terrorists so that you don't fall into their game plan, that you attempt, on the other hand, to come up with game plans that are somewhat more sophisticated than theirs. And the whole of the plan would be to outdistance them.

Mr. SCHULTZ. A terrorist organization can of course engage in an activity which exceeds the magnitude of what the public will tolerate.

Let me ask you this specific question. I have not read any news article in which a terrorist organization has claimed credit for the bombing of the New York airport.

Are you aware that any group has claimed credit?

Mr. LUCE. No, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Frequently when a bombing occurs, more than one or two terrorist organizations are happy to claim credit. Why hasn't some terrorist organization claimed credit for this, whether they did it or not?

Mr. LUCE. I'm inclined to believe that it was a mistake, that they didn't intend the bomb to go off then.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The critical

Mr. LUCE. Yes, that that people away. However, we n it too far because they did the restaurant in New York

Mr. SCHULTZ. So that's tolerance?

Mr. LUCE. Perhaps so. Bu talk about human life, we go

Why is it that Americans Jews by Hitler, rightfully ral concern for the possib regime of Mao Tse-tung?

It seems as if public out when one can visualize it. files kept by the Nazis ar consciousness regarding t life. And yet, because we h to see what's going on in c insensitive to it because o being murdered.

It's difficult to think of ple being murdered.

We note that the Wea to portray themselves— here—have attempted to simply being Tolstoyian cause they have been fo system, and they are ret ment buildings.

They then somehow so movie of them undergr that they gave him a cre were really nice people. can people. They are n killed themselves whil were making anti-perso more mines used by th evidence that they att building in Detroit. M deaths.

The fortunate thing Mr. SCHULTZ. There recognized that any fa result in destruction o

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en.

Mr. SCHULTZ. The critical point then is the number of people killed?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, that that would tend at this juncture to frighten
people away. However, we must be careful in that analogy not to carry
it too far because they did take credit, however, for the bombing of
the restaurant in New York in which several people were killed.

Mr. SCHULTZ. So that's within the acceptable range of public
tolerance?

Mr. LUCE. Perhaps so. But then you realize that when one begins to
talk about human life, we get into a very vague area here.

Why is it that Americans are outraged with the murder of 6 million
Jews by Hitler, rightfully outraged, and yet there is not the same gen-
eral concern for the possible killing of 100 million Chinese under the
regime of Mao Tse-tung?

It seems as if public outrage about mass murder only comes about
when one can visualize it. We know that the motion pictures—and the
files kept by the Nazis are extremely important in raising people's
consciousness regarding the evils of Nazism. Anyone who is not in-
censed after seeing a movie of Dauchau or Auschwitz is insensitive to
life. And yet, because we have never had the information or the ability
to see what's going on in either the Soviet Union or China, we're often
insensitive to it because one cannot even perceive of 100 million people
being murdered.

It's difficult to think of 100 million people, let alone 100 million peo-
ple being murdered.

We note that the Weather people in this country have attempted
to portray themselves—and I think that this is a compelling point
here—have attempted to portray themselves in the past months as
simply being Tolstoyian anarchists who are living underground be-
cause they have been forced there by the brutality of the American
system, and they are retaliating by blowing up men's rooms in govern-
ment buildings.

They then somehow seduced a Hollywood movie director to make a
movie of them underground and he was further enticed by the fact
that they gave him a crocheted rug which he thought showed that they
were really nice people. But the reality somewhat slips by the Ameri-
can people. They are not anarchist flower children because they have
killed themselves while bomb-making in Greenwich Village. They
were making anti-personnel bombs, something very similar to the Clay-
more mines used by the military in the Second World War. There's
evidence that they attempted to blow up a policeman's organization
building in Detroit, Mich., which would have resulted in a number of
deaths.

The fortunate thing is that the bomb didn't go off.

Mr. SCHULTZ. There is a point of diminishing return—and Lenin
recognized that any failure to accord with the objective realities could
result in destruction of the movement.

Have you seen any terrorist actions taken by terrorist groups which
have brought about the censure of either a parent or a controlling
Communist group?

Mr. LUCE. Apparently, when the Symbionese Liberation Army
killed Marcus Foster in Oakland, Calif., the reaction of the public at
large and of other Marxist-Leninist organizations was not what they

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Mr. LUCE. No, sir, I don't have information on that.

Mr. SCHULTZ. In connection with your study, and we will ask that
it will be accepted for the record in just a minute, I know that you have
prepared a chart showing the relationship of the revolutionary Com-
munist organizations, their origins and present divisions.

Would you describe the manner in which you put this together, and
describe the chart, recognizing that the reporter cannot see the chart
at this point?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. This is a chart, the intent of which is to give to
the student of leftwing organizations the ability, perhaps, to begin to
distinguish between the various organizations that have existed and
do exist in the United States that advocate Marxism-Leninism. It also
attempts, however, to make it very clear that there is a differentiation
between revolutionary Communist organizations and democratic So-
cialist organizations. And it also attempts in a small way to give some
kind of historical continuity to the various organizations that have
existed and do exist in the United States.

One of the reasons for drawing up this chart is with the hope that by
studying it, and perhaps also studying material that would supplement
the chart, one might begin to have a better understanding of some of
the newer groups that are emerging in the United States.

I have in the past years, since my break with the Left, run into any
number of people who would read a newspaper article about the Black
Liberation Army or the New American Movement, just as examples,
and have no idea where they came from or their historical lineage.

And so in part I think this chart is an attempt to really create a
lineage of all of these groups and give the interested person, be he a
scholar or just an interested individual, the opportunity to begin to
understand the growth pattern of the newest organizations that advo-
cate revolutionary Communist or terrorist activities in the United
States.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Would you describe your chart as—in very simple
terms—a family tree?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And you have testified earlier that the Marxist doc-
trine is a constant and that the methodology and tactics are flexible and
do change.

Do you or can you testify that the Marxist ideology does in fact
permeate each of these organizations that describe themselves as
Marxist-Leninist—no matter what they may call themselves or what
their differences with the Communist Party or with each other?

Mr. LUCE. At the moment, of course, that one says Marxist-Leninist
ideology, then the break is apparent between the democratic socialist
organizations and the Communist organizations or the terrorist
organizations.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, I would describe Marx as the individual who
developed the ideology and Lenin as the one who prepared the
methodology, or the manner in which the ideology is carried out. And
if that's incorrect—

Mr. LUCE. No, sir, that's not incorrect. I just always want to make
sure, though, that people are very aware of the differentiation between
Democratic Socialist organizations and Communist organizations.

Also, if I may state that I think that a real problem has always
existed, and it's a minor point, perhaps, but Engels is always left out.

It is not simply a Marxist program. It is a joint effort of Marx and Engels, and as a matter of fact, Engels, perhaps, had more influence than people know. Engels was especially important in the writing of the Communist Manifesto and as a matter of fact, if Friedrich Engels had not existed at the time, it is very questionable, I think, in a number of people's minds, whether or not Karl Marx would have had the influence he did.

Engels financially supported Marx and was responsible for giving Marx the opportunity of seeing the working class at work in England, because Engels came from a moderately wealthy family and had certain social inclinations that Marx could never have otherwise reached.

So Engels is an important influence.

Mr. MARTIN. I have a question to ask dealing with the question of Marxist ideology as it relates to the social democrats.

You can correct me if I'm wrong, but my own understanding of the matter is that social democrats accept the Marxist ideology in part—that is, certain economic aspects of Marxism—but it was Marx rather than Lenin who initiated the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the democratic socialists do not buy the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So would it be accurate to say that the democratic socialists accept Marxism in part, but not in toto?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, they do. They split with Marx and Engels specifically over violence and the dictatorship and founded the Second International. It's also important to point out that Democratic Socialists have operated at all times under the assumption that the only way that they would gain political power was through the ballot and have never been engaged in violent activities. And also, they apparently do not, as you correctly point out, believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, Marx envisioned the installation of the proletarian dictatorship as a necessary vehicle to establish, first, socialist and then ultimately a Communist society, did he not?

Mr. LUCE. Marx envisioned—well, to be perfectly honest, there's a great deal of vapor in Marx and one of the more vaporous areas is exactly at the point he did envision the necessity of a dictatorship. He did contend that the only way that this could come about was through violent means.

It was over these areas of initial discussion that the groups that became social democrats split with him, or he threw them out, depending upon how one looks at it at that time.

Marx, however, did argue that it was necessary for the installation of a dictatorship of the proletariat in order to reach the first stage of so-called socialism, and then to go on to the nirvana of communism.

Of course it's interesting to note that in every country that the Communists have controlled in the world, they are still at that primitive level of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that no state has advanced even to "socialism," and it is extremely doubtful that any state ever will, because this seems to be one of the anomalies of political life that once the people that call themselves Marxist-Leninists take power, that their dictatorship grows and simply continues permanently.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would like to quote Lenin and ask you to comment on the organizations which you have clearly identified and put on your

chart and tell us whether the I will read. I quote from Lenin "Role of the Communist Party."

The strictest loyalty to the idea ability to make all of the necessary agreements, zigzags, retreats, et cetera

Here he's talking about the situation that exists.

Would you comment on any this? Maybe that would be an

Mr. LUCE. I think that would be only organizations that don't a part of the Marxist continuum and that therefore everybody category.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And lest we I Party USA?

Mr. LUCE. Very much so, y

If I may say that within been a general tendency in the Communist Party USA activities of such groups as bionese Liberation Army or Communist Party of the U of concern, I would think.

democratic values of this co agent of the Soviet Union openly engaged in terrorism not a dangerous organization forgotten its major goal, wh cratic system in this Nation States must continue to be.

close security wraps as possi Mr. SCHULTZ. Let me ask quote of Lenin from his sel Tasks of Our Movement."

He said that the party n cannot deviate in the slight And he conceived of the organization of leaders to into the struggle." And th engaged in revolutionary a

What application do you we're talking about metho cluded in your study and a

Mr. LUCE. Once again, munist and terrorist org pattern, I suppose, that c words. One of the regrets that many people do not conceive of revolutionar exactly like this, that the

gram. It is a joint effort of Marx and Engels, perhaps, had more influence especially important in the writing of as a matter of fact, if Friedrich Engels very questionable, I think, in a number not Karl Marx would have had the in-

Marx and was responsible for giving the working class at work in England. Moderately wealthy family and had Marx could never have otherwise reached. Influence.

on to ask dealing with the question of the social democrats.

ong, but my own understanding of the accept the Marxist ideology in part—of Marxism—but it was Marx rather concept of the dictatorship of the pro-rialsists do not buy the concept of the

y that the democratic socialists accept

. They split with Marx and Engels dictatorship and founded the Second to point out that Democratic So- es under the assumption that the only cal power was through the ballot and violent activities. And also, they ap- point out, believe in the dictatorship

visioned the installation of the prole- vehicle to establish, first, socialist and iety, did he not?

well, to be perfectly honest, there's a id one of the more vaporous areas is ion the necessity of a dictatorship. He at this could come about was through

itial discussion that the groups that with him, or he threw them out, de- at that time.

t it was necessary for the installation riat in order to reach the first stage o go on to the nirvana of communism. note that in every country that the he world, they are still at that primi- f the proletariat, that no state has d it is extremely doubtful that any e to be one of the anomalies of politi- t call themselves Marxist-Leninists ship grows and simply continues

quote Lenin and ask you to comment ve clearly identified and put on your

chart and tell us whether they follow the concepts of the quote that I will read. I quote from Lenin, his 1920 selected works entitled, "The Role of the Communist Party," wherein Lenin says:

The strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism must be combined with the ability to make all of the necessary practical compromises to attack, to make agreements, zigzags, retreats, et cetera.

Here he's talking about the ability to respond and to cope with the situation that exists.

Would you comment on any of those organizations which do not do this? Maybe that would be an easier way.

Mr. LUCE. I think that would be much easier. I would say that the only organizations that don't follow that are those which are no longer a part of the Marxist continuum, which would be the social democrats, and that therefore everybody else on this chart would fall into that category.

Mr. SCHULTZ. And lest we forget it, this does include the Communist Party USA?

Mr. LUCE. Very much so, yes, sir.

If I may say that within the past years, recent years, there has been a general tendency in the United States to downplay the role of the Communist Party USA, and that is because of the flamboyant activities of such groups as the Black Liberation Army or the Sym-bionese Liberation Army or the Weather Underground. And yet the Communist Party of the United States continues to be a major force of concern. I would think, for anybody interested in retaining the democratic values of this country.

The Communist Party of the United States is the overt, overground agent of the Soviet Union in this country. The fact that it is not openly engaged in terrorism at this juncture does not mean that it is not a dangerous organization or an organization that has in any way forgotten its major goal, which would be the destruction of the democratic system in this Nation. And the Communist Party of the United States must continue to be watched and surveilled and kept under as close security wraps as possible.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Let me ask for your comment in connection with the quote of Lenin from his selected works of 1900 entitled "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement."

He said that the party must be organized from the "top down and cannot deviate in the slightest degree from the socialist ideology." And he conceived of the Party as a means of providing a stable organization of leaders to "maintain continuity, drawing the masses into the struggle." And third, he sought the assistance of "persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession."

What application do you see between these statements of Lenin—and we're talking about methodology—to the organizations that you included in your study and appear on your chart?

Mr. LUCE. Once again, I think that all of the revolutionary Communist and terrorist organizations follow an organizational chart pattern, I suppose, that could be conceived of in almost these exact words. One of the regrettable aspects of contemporary life is the fact that many people do not, most people in the United States do not conceive of revolutionary Communist Parties as being organized exactly like this, that the parties are pyramid in shape, that the top

leadership are certainly revolutionary professionals, or professional revolutionaries, and that they follow almost to a T exactly what Lenin said in 1900.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would like to mark your chart as exhibit No. 4 and ask that it be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. The chart is ordered into the record.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 4 and will be found on foldout following page 687 of the appendix.]

Mr. SCHULTZ. Turning now to your monograph entitled "Contemporary Terrorism Within the United States and Relationships Between External Communist Ideology and the Internal Communist Terrorism." I ask if you might give us some insight as to the development of the recommendations that you have made and what priorities, if any, you could assign to these recommendations.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir. I think that, first of all, as usual, one of the major concerns must be that the American public be educated as to the existence of revolutionary communistic terrorist organizations in the United States.

I am convinced that there is a vast lag in the educational process in this country in informing, not only students but the citizenry at large, as to the various organizations and their intent and a brief history of them.

I also think that the American people, once they begin to understand who these revolutionary Communists and terrorists are, that they will begin to respond, just as they have in all times of crisis in this Nation.

I also believe that it is important that we not just deal with an educational program but that we begin to perhaps draw up certain frameworks or formats for the future that would deal with terrorism.

To be specific, I am hopeful that the Congress of the United States would consider at least Representative John Ashbrook's recent bill on terrorism. This bill relates to people travelling from the United States to engage in terrorist activities, or terrorists entering the United States to engage in sabotage.

It also deals with the possible limitations of Americans sending financial or military aid to terrorists abroad and/or receiving financial or military aid.

Consideration of these types of bills, it would seem to me, would be vital to the American public.

I would also hope that Congress, or the various intelligence agencies of the country, would be in more direct contact with the West German Government, for instance, or the Canadian Government and consider some of the proposals that both of these governments have had regarding the influx of terrorism in those countries.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would ask, Mr. Chairman, that the monograph prepared by Mr. Luce be marked as exhibit No. 5 and accepted for inclusion in the record.

Senator THURMOND. So ordered.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 5 and will be found on p. 705 of the appendix.]

Mr. MARTIN. Do you have any personal knowledge—you have spoken about terrorist training provided to Americans recently or currently engaged in terrorism by the Cuban Government—Do you

have any personal knowledge of institutions in the Soviet Union?

Mr. LUCE. The only information is that I have read in connection with the place but I have no personal knowledge.

I'm inclined to believe. I have read from the Communist Union has in the past, and terrorists apparently, at least in Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr. MARTIN. Such a picture of the overall pattern of revolution and it from your personal knowledge.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, very much.

Mr. MARTIN. Those are the questions.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Chairman, have questions.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Luce, like to bring up?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, thank you. I mentioned earlier that one of the questions you were concerned about.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHORT. The chairman.

Mr. LUCE. Right.

Mr. SHORT. He was a part of the violent overthrow of the government.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, he was a part of the Revolution and became a spearhead of revolution.

Mr. SHORT. Do you have any personal knowledge?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SHORT. But extremely much.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHORT. Well, of course, there is a rise in terrorism.

Do you feel that terrorism in the United States is more than in other countries? Will that be the case?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, I think so.

What we've seen in the past is indiscriminate violence and coming up in the future.

By indiscriminate violence and destruction of private property but violence aimed at killing.

Mr. SHORT. Well, we have a considerable amount of violence today.

Is there any way of decreasing that we have?

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Mr. Chairman, that the monograph
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ay personal knowledge—you have
provided to Americans recently or
y the Cuban Government—Do you

have any personal knowledge of similar training being provided by
institutions in the Soviet Union or Communist Europe?

Mr. LUCE. The only information that I have regarding that, sir,
is that I have read in congressional reports of such activity taking
place but I have no personal knowledge of it.

I'm inclined to believe, however, that in the sworn testimony that
I have read from the congressional reports that indeed the Soviet
Union has in the past, and is continuing, to train terrorists. These
terrorists apparently, at least, appeared within various ranks of the
Palestine Liberation Organization and Black September.

Mr. MARTIN. Such a pattern of training activities would fit into
the overall pattern of revolutionary Marxist activities, as you under-
stand it from your personal experience?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, very much so.

Mr. MARTIN. Those are my only questions.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Mr. Chairman, some of the other staff members may
have questions.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Short, do you have anything you would
like to bring up?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, thank you, Senator. Mr. Luce, I believe you men-
tioned earlier that one of the four Communist-identified organizations
you were concerned about was the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHORT. The chairman is Robert Avakian.

Mr. LUCE. Right.

Mr. SHORT. He was a former Weatherman. Doesn't he advocate
the violent overthrow of the United States Government?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, he does, very much so. I'm inclined to believe
that the Revolutionary Communist Party will, within the next months,
become a spearhead of violent activity in this country.

Mr. SHORT. Do you have any indications as to the size of the organi-
zation?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, I don't believe it's an extremely large organi-
zation.

Mr. SHORT. But extremely violent in nature?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHORT. Well, of course, as you have discussed, there's been a
rise in terrorism.

Do you feel that terrorist groups will use indiscriminate violence
in the United States as they have in Ireland and Algeria and some
other countries? Will this increase?

Mr. LUCE. Yes, sir, I believe it will, very much so. I think that
what we've seen in the past months is just preparation for indis-
criminate violence and I think that is the key to exactly what is
coming up in the future.

By indiscriminate violence I mean violence aimed not simply at the
destruction of private property, which is abominable in its own way,
but violence aimed at killing or maiming innocent people.

Mr. SHORT. Well, we have decreased our intelligence capabilities
considerably today.

Is there any way of preventing this type of action, in spite of the
decrease that we have made in our intelligence work?

Mr. LUCE. Well, a continuation of castrating the intelligence forces of the United States has certainly limited their abilities.

I am very fearful that this decreased ability on the part of local and national security agencies will lead us into a swamp from which we won't be able to extricate ourselves.

One of the interesting facets of American democracy is of course the ways in which times change and tempers change and politics change, and yet we are dealing here, it seems to me, in an area wherein the continual destruction of our law enforcement and intelligence agencies can only lead to a disastrous situation.

I'm very concerned about that.

Mr. SHORR. An excellent point and one on which many of us share a like concern. Thank you. That's all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. On behalf of the subcommittee, Mr. Luce, I want to thank you for coming here and for the light you have thrown on the many interlocks between communism and terrorism.

If that is all, the subcommittee stands adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.

[Whereupon, at 12:45 o'clock p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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RED GUERR

The Red Guerrilla Family is Carbide at One California Str because of their chrome-minin for their heavy mining and n their murderous exploitation throughout the world.

Most Americans know Union Carbide as a supplier of high-techno tone anti-freeze, and Glad plas is as a supplier of high-techno tion's largest petrochemical pro general. They sell over \$5 billi carbons, gases and industrial ar

Union Carbide has been do 1920's, when the country was a white racist government of Ian people in Zimbabwe, and about three-quarters of whom immig resents only the most reaction to hold any type of democratic "in a thousand years".

Union Carbide's main busine babwe produces about half of a try, and Union Carbide mines chrome in direct violation of t government of Ian Smith.

The greed of the multi-nation anywhere and everywhere the; has lasted this long. Even whe ment in 1966, the multi-nation the capitalist countries in Nort it as chrome from South Afric 1971, Union Carbide and the b ment, pushed through Congress and openly import chrome from declared chrome to be a "stra any "non-communist" nation.

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ck p.m., the subcommittee adjourned.

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT No. 1

(Referred to on p. 671.)

RED GUERRILLA FAMILY COMMUNIQUE

The Red Guerrilla Family is responsible for the attack on the office of Union Carbide at One California Street in San Francisco. We attack Union Carbide because of their chrome-mining operations in occupied Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), for their heavy mining and manufacturing interests in South Africa, and for their murderous exploitation of working people in the U.S., Puerto Rico and throughout the world.

Most Americans know Union Carbide through their Eveready batteries, Prestone anti-freeze, and Glad plastic wraps and bags. But the bulk of their business is as a supplier of high-technology raw materials to industry. They are the nation's largest petrochemical producer, and second only to DuPont in chemicals in general. They sell over \$5 billion worth of chemicals, plastics, metals, uranium, carbons, gases and industrial and consumer goods a year.

Union Carbide has been doing business in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) since the 1920's, when the country was a British colony. Today Zimbabwe is ruled by the white racist government of Ian Smith. There are about six million native black people in Zimbabwe, and about a quarter of a million white European settlers, three-quarters of whom immigrated there since World War II. Ian Smith represents only the most reactionary group of these white settlers. He has refused to hold any type of democratic election, and has vowed not to allow majority rule "in a thousand years".

Union Carbide's main business in Zimbabwe is the mining of chrome ore. Zimbabwe produces about half of all the chrome used by the U.S. military and industry, and Union Carbide mines over 75% of Zimbabwe's chrome. They mine this chrome in direct violation of the United Nation's economic sanctions against the government of Ian Smith.

The greed of the multi-national corporations like Union Carbide to make money anywhere and everywhere they can is the primary reason Smith's racist regime has lasted this long. Even when the U.N. voted sanctions against Smith's government in 1966, the multi-nationals continued to export chrome from Zimbabwe to the capitalist countries in North America, Western Europe and Japan, disguising it as chrome from South Africa or Mozambique (then a Portuguese colony). In 1971, Union Carbide and the big steel companies, not satisfied with this arrangement, pushed through Congress a bill which allowed the multi-nationals to legally and openly import chrome from Zimbabwe. This bill, called the Byrd Amendment, declared chrome to be a "strategic material" and legalizes its importation from any "non-communist" nation. The bill was pushed through Congress with the same argument that the U.S. was becoming too dependent on chrome from the U.S.S.R., which was supplying from one-third to one-half of the U.S. supply. Since 1971, when the Byrd Amendment was signed by former President Nixon, Russian chrome has continued to account for at least the same proportion of U.S. chrome imports.

Union Carbide also mines chrome ore in South Africa, but it is considered vastly inferior to the ore from Zimbabwe. Union Carbide has been doing business in South Africa since the 1930's. In addition to chrome, they mine vanadium pentoxide, which is used in making steel. Union Carbide has a carbon and graphite electrode factory in South Africa. Union Carbide also sells a number of their products to South African industry, including plastics, industrial and agricultural chemicals, silicones, coating and adhesive resins and special metal alloys.

Southern Africa is not the only part of the world which Union Carbide exploits. They have several factories in Puerto Rico, including a major \$350 million petrochemical plant in Ponce. They mine, manufacture and sell their products on every continent: in Argentine, Bermuda, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador,

Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, in Iran, Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, the Philippines and Taiwan, in Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Zambia, the Sudan, Kenya and the "Spanish" Sahara, in Canada, Australia, Japan and Western Europe.

Union Carbide does some work for the U.S. military, which is the force that gives the multi-nationals the muscle to exploit so many people and so many nations. Union Carbide sells specialized batteries to the military—they sold about \$10 million worth of these during the Vietnam War. They have done research and development work on nuclear reactors for atomic-powered ships and submarines, for the ABM, and for space programs. They run the Oak Ridge National Laboratory for the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), one of the successor organizations to the Atomic Energy Commission. They also run two gaseous diffusion plants for the ERDA, one in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and in Paducah, Kentucky. These plants produce enriched uranium for both civilian and military use.

Union Carbide is as willing to exploit the land and labor of the U.S. as it is to rob the people of Zimbabwe and Puerto Rico. For instance, Union Carbide, along with such corporations as United Nuclear, Homestake Mining, Anaconda and Utah International mine uranium on the Colorado plateau, where Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico share common borders. Hundreds of uranium miners will die for years to come because of excessive exposure to radioactive radon gas in inadequately ventilated mines. These same mining corporations dumped radioactive mill tailings into streams and rivers, and onto Navajo Indian reservations, and sold them as land fill for schools, homes, factories and other buildings.

In Charleston, West Virginia, Union Carbide's ferroalloy plant up until the early 1970's put more "particulates"—solid matter—into the air than all of New York City. Some called it the smokiest factory in the world. Union Carbide refused for three years to supply data to federal pollution inspectors on another of its ferroalloy plants, this one in Marietta, Ohio, even though the National Air Pollution Control Administration had documented a considerable increase in lung diseases in the area. The Marietta plant burns high-sulfur coal that Union Carbide strip-mines from its own nearby coal fields.

"When they look at us, they see a little of you . . . And it's all quite simple. Overseas, we're you."

—a Union Carbide ad.

Union Carbide claims that its mining of chrome in Zimbabwe, its mining and manufacturing in South Africa, and its exploitation of working people in every corner of the globe is in the best interests of the American people. This is a lie. It is the super-rich ruling class which owns and controls the giant multi-national corporations that really profits from this corporate plunder. When Ford and Kissinger threaten to stop Southern Africa's "slide into communism", they are not defending the interests of poor and working people, but the interests of corporations like Union Carbide, General Motors, Standard Oil and Polaroid in Africa. When Ford and Kissinger threaten military intervention against the people of Cuba, they are defending the interests of the multi-nationals in Latin America. When Ford and Kissinger demand billions for the military, ignore unemployment and murderous working conditions, and cut back on food stamps and social services, they are defending the interests of the ruling class right here in the U.S.

All progressive and revolutionary people stand in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and with the victorious peoples of Angola and Mozambique, led by the MPLA and FREIMO. The liberation of Southern Africa will bring the liberation of North America and all the people of the world that much closer.

EXHIBIT No. 2

(Referred to on p. 671.)

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 14, 1976]

BOMB HITS OFFICE BUILDING

SAN FRANCISCO.—A powerful bomb exploded early today in a downtown high-rise office building, sending frightened workers out into the streets but causing no injuries.

Police said they believed the bomb Building by the Red Guerrilla Family credit for an explosion three months ago.

The bomb went off just after midnight in offices of Union Carbide Co. and caused \$1 million in damage, police firemen said.

At least 25 janitors and night workers were in the building at the time of the explosion, although a Red Guerrilla Family terrorist group had given warning.

The Red Guerrilla Family has been active in the San Francisco Area during the past year, including an explosion near the Iranian Consulate of

[From the Washi

TERRORISTS

SAN FRANCISCO, April 14 (AP).—An 18th-floor restroom of a downtown office building exploded today, killing about 25 janitors and other workers, for which the terrorist Red Guerrilla Family is blamed.

Police, who had been notified of the explosion, went to the wrong building—the one across the street—before the explosion.

It was the Red Guerrilla Family that was blamed for the explosion that went off Jan. 14 near the Iranian con-

akistan, India and Sri Lanka, in Indo-
 Thailand, the Philippines and Taiwan, in
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Police said they believed the bomb was planted in the Mutual Benefit Life Building by the Red Guerrilla Family, the same underground group which took credit for an explosion three months ago in nearby Embarcadero Center.

The bomb went off just after midnight in a 17th-floor rest room near the offices of Union Carbide Co. and caused considerable plumbing and water damage, firemen said.

At least 25 janitors and night workers were still in the 32-story building at the time of the explosion, although telephone callers purporting to be with the terrorist group had given warning.

The Red Guerrilla Family has been linked to several bombings in the Bay Area during the past year, including explosions at the FBI's Berkeley offices and near the Iranian Consulate of Embarcadero Center on Jan. 14.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 15, 1976]

TERRORISTS BOMB S.F. BUILDING

SAN FRANCISCO, April 14 (AP).—A bomb exploded at midnight Tuesday in an 18th-floor restroom of a downtown office building, damaging walls and plumbing. About 25 janitors and other workers in the building escaped unhurt from the blast, for which the terrorist Red Guerrilla Family claimed responsibility.

Police, who had been notified of a bomb threat and were given the location, went to the wrong building—the one next door—and evacuated one janitor before the explosion.

It was the Red Guerrilla Family that claimed to have planted a bomb that went off Jan. 14 near the Iranian consulate.

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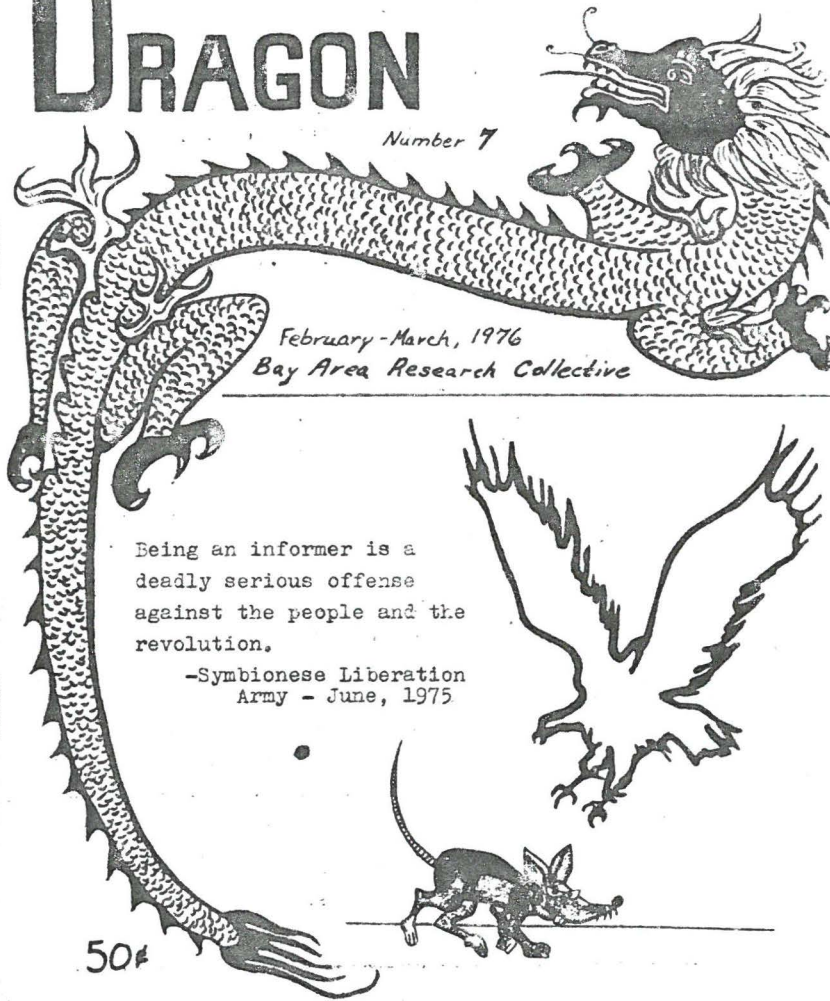
EXHIBIT No. 3
(Referred to on p. 672)

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Number 7

February - March, 1976
Bay Area Research Collective



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Patricia Hearst: a BARG Statement

The trial of Patty Hearst began January 27th in San Francisco amid the worldwide hoopla of the "trial of the century," the grandstanding of millionaire lawyer F. Lee Bailey and angry responses from the movement. It would be pointless to try to set the general context of the SLA, the media, or even to describe the circus going on in San Francisco. The point of this article is to respond to the many letters we have received asking, what about Patty and the Harrises -- and to add our two-cents on the situation.

From September 18 until the start of the Hearst trial, speculation about Patty's allegiance to the SLA and the people's movement has been abundant from all sectors. For several months it was unclear what course her defense would take, but the introduction of F. Lee Bailey into the case changed that uncertainty. Bailey would not be on a case where even a hint of principle, political or otherwise, was an issue. When Bailey takes a case it becomes simply "Bailey's case." He runs the show, from the media coverage to outfitting the defendant. That Bailey would push for incriminating others still alive to save his client was and is a certainty. That Patricia Hearst has acted in complicity with the strategy is her conscious choice, which we vehemently denounce.

No one, revolutionary or otherwise, wants to go to prison for even a short stretch, much less for life. People who have been inside, write to prisoners or have friends or relatives doing time are especially aware of the conditions of prison life. Not wanting to go to jail is a natural feeling and we have no political sanctions against such an attitude. However, when staying out of jail translates out to snitching and lying in such a way that it seems to implicate others who are still alive, the situation becomes quite different. In her testimony so far Patty has mentioned the names of 23 people who are living, some of whom she has implicated in crimes ranging from the harboring of a federal fugitive to kidnapping, bank robbery and murder. It's clear that Patty is dealing fast and furious, and will say anything to secure her own freedom. Patricia Hearst is a snitch and should be regarded as such.

The following is excerpted from a statement released by Bill and Emily Harris on February 5, after the Hearst jury was sequestered (but before most of Patty's testimony). Bill and Emily have made it clear that they would never testify against Patricia Hearst.

-2-

The Hearst machine marches on, convinced that their money and influence is enough to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people and trick them into believing that the daughter who "disgraced" them and exposed them for what they are, was in fact brainwashed by revolutionaries. Now the Hearsts have singled out the two of us to justify their evil fabrication. We will not be characterized this way without a fight, and we believe it is only right that that fight take place in a courtroom in Los Angeles around the charges which all three of us face together as co-defendants. We do not want our trial here to begin before the end of Patricia Hearst's trial in San Francisco. We want to wait until she can be tried here with us.

...Out of this very complicated situation, what is Patricia Hearst's role, both past and present? Well, we will tell you that she is far from the weak, hysterical, pampered little heiress that her family has tried to characterize her as. The Patricia Hearst we knew was strong and assertive, making her own independent decisions. The relative smoothness of the whole evolution of her defense from the beginning until now can only be seen as an indication of her willing compliance. People either stand fast or fall when they are called to the test and Patricia is falling -- falling for a game that is based on the ruthless power and privilege of the wealthy.

...The SLA never had any interest in converting Patricia Hearst. In fact, they wanted her to return to her family, knowing that if she stayed, their own survival would be greatly complicated. The group took the position that if she wanted to stay, she must show that she understood the implications, was ready to deal with all the hardships that the life entailed, and was ready to struggle to become a revolutionary person. But she had seen a viable alternative to her previous life and she had already gained a sense of the warmth and humanity of the people she was with who were struggling to achieve that alternative. Eventually, she wanted to be a part of it. The SLA understood that she would be a liability in the sense that she was easily recognized, that she had many needs that would be a drain on the group at that stage, and that the heat would intensify rather than gradually diminish. It was clear to the SLA that if she was not released, that heat would be augmented by the relentless efforts of the Hearst family to get back their "prized possession." Yet in spite of all these very real problems, Patricia's desire was based on a serious analysis of what was happening and the SLA felt that to release her would be to turn her out to the wolves. So she stayed with them, based on her own initiative and free choice.

It is only now that her free choice has been taken away and that she has been convinced to save her own skin by negating these past choices and thereby evading the consequences. Of course, to do this, she must be willing to serve as a cooperative pawn of her family and to compromise everything that she believed in and lived for the last year and a half.

The Hearst family has given the American people quite an education in the callous power and influence that the rich can buy. But no matter what the outcome of Patricia Hearst's present court battle, we know that no one has been fooled and many are enraged along with us that the Hearsts would fabricate such lies and expect all of us to fall for them.

(full text available from BARC)

—Emily and Bill Harris
Los Angeles County Jail

HEARST CA

ON FEBRUARY 12, 1976 A BOMB EXPLODED IN A GUEST HOUSE ON THE ESTATE OF HEARST CASTLE AT SAN SILEON, CALIFORNIA. A MILLION DOLLARS DAMAGE AND SEVERAL INJURIES. SAN SILEON, THE HOME OF RANDOLPH HEARST, SR. IS NOW A NATIONAL MONUMENT. THE ACTION WAS CLAIMED BY THE PEOPLE'S FORCES, NEW FRONT, AND THE FOLLOWING COLLECTIVE DEMAND THAT \$250,000 BE GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE'S FORCES WAS ISSUED. RANDOLPH HEARST, SR. INDICATED THAT THE KFLP'S DEMAND

The Hearst's have a history of using their vast fortune has been made at the expense of the people therefore demand:

1. In the interests of the people, \$250,000 to the Hill Country People's Party
2. Stop the lying that is being done by the Hearst's and their HARRISES.

These Hearst vultures are coming and are going to sit idly by and watch the destruction of the Hearst fortune at the expense of the people in this country and this is a crime. This case also shows that justice is for sale and money. F. Lee Bailey is being paid to defend him, and someone who is not a lawyer. Justice is bought!

We are well aware of why it is that she is out on bail. If she had, she would see if the pig Hearsts are as good as the people. If not, we will make examples of them. We call on all comrades/progressives

2-
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 Los Angeles County Jail

-3- HEARST CASTLE BOMBING

ON FEBRUARY 12, 1976 A BOMB EXPLODED
 IN A GUEST HOUSE ON THE ESTATE OF THE
 HEARST CASTLE AT SAN SILEON, CA., DOING
 A MILLION DOLLARS DAMAGE AND CAUSING NO
 INJURIES. SAN SILEON, THE HOME OF WILLIAM
 RANDOLPH HEARST, SR. IS NOW A STATE PARK.
 THE ACTION WAS CLAIMED BY THE CENTRAL COMMAND
 OF THE PEOPLE'S FORCES, NEW WORLD LIBERATION
 FRONT, AND THE FOLLOWING COMMUNIQUE, DEMANDING
 THAT \$250,000 BE GIVEN TO THE HARRIS DEFENSE FUND,
 WAS ISSUED. RANDOLPH HEARST, PATTY'S FATHER, IN-
 DICATED THAT THE NWLF'S DEMANDS WOULD NOT BE MET.

DON'T YOU DARE
 TO USE VIOLENCE
 WITH ME !!



The Hearst's have a history of feeding off the poor! Their whole parasitic fortune has been made at the expense of poor/working people and we therefore demand:

1. In the interests of seeing justice furthered, contribute \$250,000 to the Bill and Emily Harris defense fund.
2. Stop the lying that is designed to save Patty and bury the Harrises.

These Hearst vultures are completely out of their minds if they think we are going to sit idly by and watch ruling-class justice score another victory at the expense of the Harrises. Everyone knows that justice is bought in this country and this is another case to prove it.

This case also shows that justice does not stop at color, it stops at class and money. F. Lee Bailey is bought for Patty while in Los Angeles, Bill Harris is forced to be defended by someone who has said he does not want to defend him, and someone whom Harris says he does not to be defended by! Justice is bought!

We are well aware of why it was decided that Patty was not to get out on bail. If she had, she would never have made it to her trial alive! Let's see if the pig Hearsts are equally wise by meeting our two just demands. If not, we will make examples of these ruling class bloodsuckers and will call on all comrades/progressive minded people/poor people to make life

- 4 -

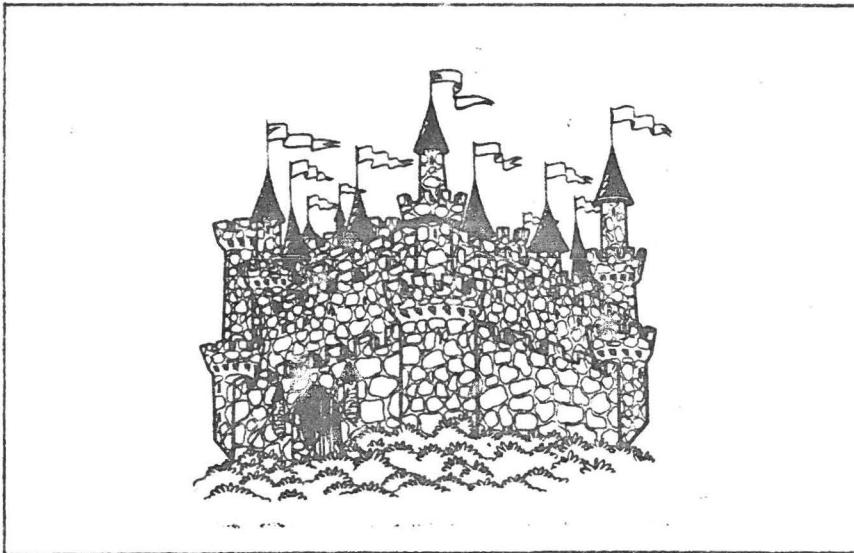
miserable for these deranged and degenerate Hearst parasites at every turn they take!

This ruling class "justice" has enslaved our ancestors and has enslaved us all of our lives. Under this order the poor go to prison, the poor get burnt alive in fires, and the poor suffer from poor or no health care. We say organize! Unite! Fight back!

The bloodsucking Hearsts have 48 hours to move on these just demands! We remind them that this is the easiest way. Hearst castle will only be the beginning if our two just demands are not met:

Toward an order where justice means just that!
A class war is toward a classless society is
toward a just new order and a new day!
Organize and unite toward total liberation!
Hasta la Victoria!

Central Command - Peoples' Forces
New World Liberation Front



New World Steps

During the past month, the New World Liberation Front has stepped up activity in three areas. They have taken responsibility for the bombing of the Hearst castle in Sausalito where reportedly \$1,000,000 worth of damage was caused. They sent a second communique attacking slum landlords demanding that rent dwellings in San Francisco be brought up to code and that P.G.&E. pay for the costs needed to bring houses up to fire safety codes. In the communique they took credit for three bombings: 1. the house of George Present (who owned the Geary Apts. which burned down killing 25 people) 2. the car of Jack Off--a landlord and 3. P.G.&E. transformers. The bombs at the E. targets and at Present's house were dismantled by police before they went off, however, the car bomb was successful.

This was followed by another action: cutting P.G.&E. poles and severing power cables. So far, power poles have been discovered in Tiburon, Ca. sawed part way through. The NWLF warned workers to be careful of all poles--some poles have been marked and some have not. They have demanded free utilities for

-4-

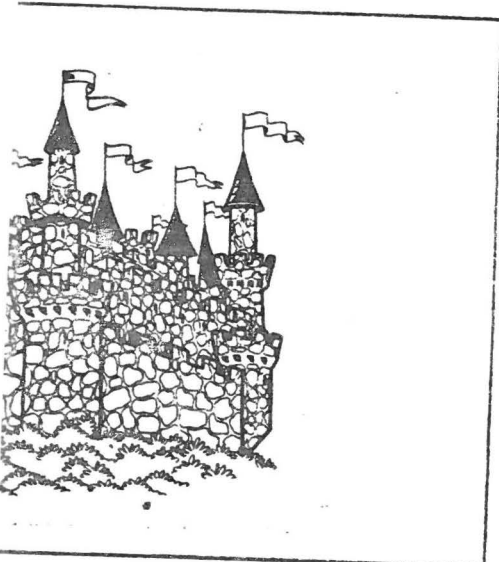
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Peoples' Forces
ration Front



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New World Liberation Front Steps Up Activity..

During the past month, the New World Liberation Front has stepped up activity in three areas. They have taken responsibility for the bombing of the Hearst castle in San Simeon where reportedly \$1,000,000 worth of damage was caused. They sent a second communique attacking slum landlords demanding that rental dwellings in San Francisco be brought up to code and that P.G.&E. pay 50% of the costs needed to bring houses up to fire safety codes. In this communique they took credit for three bombings: 1. the house of Beatrice Present (who owned the Gartland Apts. which burned down killing 12-25 people) 2. the car of Jack Osheroff--a landlord and 3. P.G.&E. power transformers. The bombs at the P.G.&E. targets and at Present's house were dismantled by police before they went off, however, the car bombing was successful.

This was followed by another action: cutting P.G.&E. poles and severing power cables. So far, 11 power poles have been discovered in Tiberon, Ca. sawed part way through. The NWLF warned workers to be careful of all poles--some poles have been marked and some have not. They have demanded free utilities for the

unemployed and poor senior citizens. In their communique, they intensified their campaign against slum landlords and supported the demands of Tenants for Action, a group based in the Hunters Point/Bay View Area of San Francisco who are being "relocated" from their homes.

In Dragon #5 and #6 we discussed the NWLF's health strategy and campaign against the San Francisco Supervisors who they were pressuring into providing adequate health care in the San Bruno jail. The NWLF gave the Supervisors three weeks to meet their demands. The deadline has passed and since that time, no progress seems to have been made.

The Supervisors cancelled their participation in a public hearing on health conditions at the jail with the Prison Health Project saying that they refused to be intimidated by "terrorists". However, the PHP, a community organization which has been involved with the health care issue at San Bruno Jail has decided to hold hearings of their own sometime in mid-March.

The two most recent NWLF communiqués follow. We offer our comradely support in their continuing offensive.

- BARC

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COMMUNIQUE

NWLF COMMUNIQUE ...



to put her foot out onto!
Beatrice Present, owner of the Gartland, is typical of scumlords. We aren't blinded by the fact that she is in a wheelchair. We see many old people in wheelchairs who are forced to live in deathtraps throughout the Tenderloin; an unjust reward for old, poor people who have worked hard all their lives and are now discarded. What could they do in a Gartland fire? Scumlord Present was told time and again, either directly or through the managers, of the dangerous conditions in her buildings. The city officials - in their feeble-ass way - told her the same thing by issuing code violation citations and then condemning the building. But the "officials" turned their backs while scumlord Present continued sucking money from her tenants, not only in the Mission, but in the Tenderloin too. The Lassen Apartments she owns are no differ-

The Gartland massacre screamed out the dehumanizing death-trap conditions we poor people are forced to "live" and many times die in. The cockroaches and rats we are forced to live with are but an extension of the scumlord leeches who feed on our misery. Hand in hand with these leeches are all the "officials" and their Watergate justice. Their "due-process, 5-year delay" legal shit is just that: legal shit, with the end result being to **BURN POOR PEOPLE ALIVE!**

The common bond between the Gartland victims was they were all poor! Fire doesn't stop at color or age -- it stops at money! The same is true for health, and just as we say **HEALTH SHALL AND WILL BE A HUMAN RIGHT**, so we say that **DECENT HOUSING SHALL AND WILL BE A HUMAN RIGHT!** The first and most direct enemy of decent housing is the greedy scumlord. They don't care about poor people's lives or safety. If they did care, after seeing the Gartland massacre they would rush down and take steps to ensure that this unnecessary slaughter of poor people would not happen again. They would install basic fire-safety devices, smoke and heat alarms, smoke barriers, sprinklers, fire-escapes and emergency exits.

That woman at the Gartland apartment who fell back away from the window, consumed by fire that could have been prevented, would have lived if she had a fire-escape

ent -- 68 code violations and in the past 2 years!

We poor people have been telling scumlords all our lives about these dehumanizing conditions but they have refused to move or correct them. Scumlords are nothing more than buzzards v prey on poor people, causing suffering, misery, and some death, all for their personal

We will show these buzzards the same respect they have shown poor people. **WE ARE TAKING STEPS TO PUT POWER IN THE HANDS OF TENANTS SO THEY CAN FORCE SCUMLORDS TO MOVE ON SAFETY CODE VIOLATIONS!** Scumlords fail to move on the just demands of the tenants, names will be put on the scumlord list and they will be subject to people's justice. We will not burn alive!

We poor people will raise our voice and bring conditions through a union front. **SCUMLORDS HAVE GOT TO MOVE DRASTICALLY WITH A FUROR TO CORRECT THESE DEATH-TRAP CONDITIONS!** Yes, it boils down to some money, or their sanity, safety, and lives. We'll see how much they love their money! We will drive these greedy scumlords to their graves if they don't correct their ways and move to meet tenants' demands.

WHAT?

-26-

SCUMLORDS

NWLF COMMUNIQUE...



to put her foot out onto Beatrice Present, owner of the Gartland, is typical of scumlords. We aren't blinded by the fact that she is in a wheelchair. We see many old people in wheelchairs who are forced to live in deathtraps throughout the Tenderloin; an unjust reward for old, poor people who have worked hard all their lives and are now discarded. What could they do in a Gartland fire? Scumlord Present was told time and again, either directly or through the managers, of the dangerous conditions in her buildings. The city officials - in their feeble-ass way - told her the same thing by issuing code violation citations and then condemning the building. But the "officials" turned their backs while scumlord Present continued sucking money from her tenants, not only in the Mission, but in the Tenderloin too. The Lassen Apartments she owns are no differ-

ent -- 68 code violations and 7 fires in the past 2 years!

We poor people have been telling scumlords all our lives about these dehumanizing conditions, but they have refused to move to correct them. Scumlords are nothing more than buzzards who prey on poor people, causing suffering, misery, and sometimes death, all for their personal greed.

We will show these buzzards the same respect they have shown poor people. **WE ARE TAKING STEPS TO PUT POWER IN THE HANDS OF TENANTS SO THEY CAN FORCE SCUMLORDS TO MOVE ON FIRE-SAFETY CODE VIOLATIONS.** If scumlords fail to move on the just demands of the tenants, their names will be put on the scumlords list and they will be subject to the people's justice. We will not burn alive!

We poor people will raise our living conditions through a united front. **SCUMLORDS HAVE A WAY OUT--TO MOVE DRASTICALLY WITH A FLUROR TO CORRECT THESE DEATH-TRAP CONDITIONS.** Yes, it boils down to some of their money, or their sanity, safety, and lives. We'll see how much they love their money! We will drive these greedy scumlords and corrupt officials crazy and to their graves if they don't change their ways and move to meet tenants' demands.

WIPAL GOES AROUND

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Rich parasites and their stooge enforcers prey on us at every turn in our lives--from our housing, to our utilities, to our health care, to our food, to our air, to our minds and souls, driving us to early graves by fire, by alcohol, by heroin, by robbery, by prisons! We must organize and unite the many to smash this death-order controlled by a greedy few!

75% of the residents of San Francisco are renters, yet the laws serve only the needs of the scumlords. We see how long it takes a scumlord to get a tenant kicked out, and we see how long it takes to force scumlords to bring their buildings up to code. Ed Johnson even admits he hasn't prosecuted one scumlord in the four years he's been city attorney.

"Officials" have shown they will not prosecute the Gartland owners. They have said the condition of the building had nothing to do with the deaths. They have centered all their blame on an arsonist (sick and deranged by this order) in an attempt to cover-up their complicity in this murderous act.

Clearly we will not get rid of arsonists until we change this dehumanizing death-order that drives people to become deranged arsonists. Further, these officials, using the media, have tried to mislead the public into believing only 12 people

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died in the Gartland fire, when the manager estimates it's more like 25.

These lies are told to try and keep us poor people from seeing the truth. But we know why our life expectancy is one-half that of the ruling class: it's because these parasites thrive on the misery, suffering, and butchery of poor people here and all over the world--San Quentin, South Africa, Mission, Chile, Fillmore, Rhodessia, Hunter's Point/Bayview, Haiti...

Freitas, DA and voice and defender of the ruling class, is asking for \$72,000 to counter the just revolutionary attacks against the ruling class and their stooge enforcers. We say the cheapest, fastest way to put an end to these attacks is to change the priorities of city government. Serve the vital needs of poor people and not ruling class greed.

We realize this means a complete turn-around for these "officials", especially supervisors Barbagelata, Tamaras, Francois, vanBeroldingen, Mendelsohn, and Gonzales, whose campaigns were financed by land developers and real estate interests, and who continually promote high-rise development. They must recognize we poor people have a right not only to decent housing, but also to our communities. WE WILL NOT SETTLE FOR DEATH-TRAP HOUSING OR THE

DESTRUCTION OF OUR NEIGHBORHOODS TO SUIT RULING CLASS HIGH-RISE DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES. WE DEMAND, THEREFORE, THAT THIS \$72,000 GO TO DEFEND TENANTS' RIGHTS!

Remove corrupt officials like building inspector Frankoni, who owns a building with 13 violations. These "officials" have defended the rights of the ruling class to drain our lives for long enough. If the supervisors allot this \$72,000 to Freitas, but neglect health care and housing for the poor, we will declare war against these upholders of the ruling class and this death-order. WE WILL STRUGGLE UNTIL GOOD HOUSING AND HEALTH CARE ARE HUMAN RIGHTS SHARED BY ALL PEOPLE!

In a communique that came out before the Gartland fire, we pointed out that many apartment buildings were/are in need of fire-safety devices. At that time, we demanded that PG&E move to help correct these conditions. WE DO NOT EXPECT SCUMLORDS TO PAY ALL THE BILLS AND WE WILL NOT STAND FOR "OFFICIALS" CONDEMNING OUR HOMES SIMPLY BECAUSE THERE ISN'T THE MONEY TO REPAIR THEM. YOUR SOLUTION IS OBVIOUS -- TAX THE RICH WHO ROB US!

These PG&E parasites have a long record of deceit, trickery and robbery. WHAT WE ARE DEMANDING

FROM PG&E IS BUT A CRUMB TO THEM, BUT LIFE FOR US. WE DEMAND THEY PAY FOR 50% OF ANY/ALL NECESSARY REPAIRS TO BRING UNSAFE HOUSING UP TO FIRE-CODE SAFETY STANDARDS.

We realize that PG&E, because of their size, will be slower to yield to our just demands than scumlord and corrupt officials. We urge all top PG&E officials to realize that it would be cheaper for them to repair our housing than it would be "buy protection" and repair shattered nerves and damaged equipment. We are prepared to drive them to their graves!

They are very vulnerable. Any person on the street can damage their trucks and cars by pouring sugar or sand in the gas tanks. blow up a car or truck, puncture gas tank with an ice pick or else loosen the drain plug. Set a box of matches with a lit cigarette the matches (which will ignite the cigarette burns down and releases the matches) about 1 foot from where the gas is leaking. It takes about 10 minutes for a non-filter cigarette to burn down. Practice first! Towers and generators in ruling class/corporate/military areas are also good targets.

WE CALL ON SYMPATHETIC PG&E WORKERS TO SABOTAGE

ACT UP! AROUND

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WE CALL ON SYMPATHETIC PG&E WORKERS TO SABOTAGE



ANY/ALL THE EQUIPMENT THEY CAN GET AWAY WITH. The damage that can be done is only as limited as our imaginations. Clearly, it would be cheaper for PG&E to pay 50% of the repair bills. THEY HAVE 48 HOURS TO MOVE ON THIS! If they fail to move, we then urge all comrades and progressive-minded people to use their imaginations and let our voices be heard and our actions felt. We will not burn, we will fight!

We call on all tenants who are forced to live in unsafe death-trap housing in the Bay Area to unite and organize. Your nearest community tenant's union is a good place to start. Within each building, tenants should present a list of demands to bring their building up to fire-safety standards. Tell your scumlord that tenants do have the power to change conditions. If they fail to move to fix up our buildings, get their name, address, phone number, business address and phone, car make and license, and any other relevant information and give this to your community tenant's union. We will add these names to the scumlord list as they are made public and revise and publish the list periodically. We urge all comrades and progressive-minded people to subject these scumlords to revolutionary justice. Names will remain on the list until these scumlords move to correct these nightmare conditions.

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NWLF most-wanted...**...scum**

1. Ben and Mel Swig -- inspiration behind Yerba Buena and the destruction of South of Market. See Yerba Buena by Chester Hartman and the December 1975 edition of Common Sense.
2. Arthur Goldberg -- head of the bureau of building inspection (BBI). Arch enemy of tenants. BBI plays a critical role in the housing market. Arthur Goldberg lives in Marin County.
3. Redevelopment Agency -- destroyed over 5,000 units of low income housing in 15 years. Front group for the destruction of Yerba Buena and the Fillmore and Nihonmachi (where the fight continues under CANE, Citizens Against Nihonmachi Eviction).
4. Dr. Francis Curry -- head of the public health department. Critical in evictions, he ordered the tenants at 333 Hyde Street into the street.
5. Summit Land Company -- owns the Gartland Apartments under the control of Beatrice Present. 135 Cedro Street.
6. Orville Pratt -- offices in the penthouse at 690 Market. President of the Apartment House Association. Top scumlord attorney said to have bribed Curry to condemn 333 Hyde for Jack Osheroff, scumlord of 333 Hyde and owner of Sunset Carpets at the corner of Market and Van Ness.
7. David Finn -- President of the Haight Improvement Association, a counter insurgency front for SPUR. He hates hippies and blacks and has been instrumental in denying the community of the Straight Theatre and the Homeowners' Assistance Program, and in pushing the destructive RAP program.
8. N. Arden Denekas -- President of the Richmond Planning Association and owner of 10 Lyon Street. Sponsor of San Francisco For, a right-wing group that pushed the anti-strike ordinances in November 1975. Close associate of David Finn; may also get money from SPUR. Lives at 1327 Cabrillo.
9. Anchor Realty -- owner of large properties along lower Haight Street which figure strongly in the next big redevelopment push. Noted for especially poor maintenance practices.

10. Mr. & Mrs. Kingsley -- la
11. Four Seas Corporation - O
12. Judge Wollenburg -- proper especially against tenants.
13. Bay View Federal Savings BART stations.
14. Landmark Realty -- fast t
15. Pyramid Development Cor more district. Headed by
16. Ed Johnson -- Deputy City
17. Arthur Evans -- Executi ment Agency.
18. Wilbur W. Hamilton -- D redevelopment agency.
19. Robert E. Boldt -- Assis Housing and Urban Devel
20. Pacific Gas & Electric -- tion on PG&E executives.

For more information on scu
Examiner or your Tenants' U

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lost-wanted...

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practices.

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...scumlord list

10. Mr. & Mrs. Kingsley -- large and notorious Haight scumlords.
11. Four Seas Corporation - Owners of the International Hotel.
12. Judge Wollenburg -- property owner and terrible Municipal Court Judge, especially against tenants.
13. Bay View Federal Savings & Loan -- big owners in the Mission around BART stations.
14. Landmark Realty -- fast buck artists, mostly in the Mission District.
15. Pyramid Development Company -- represents development of the Fillmore district. Headed by PUC President H. Welton Lynn
16. Ed Johnson -- Deputy City Attorney (See S.F. Examiner, 1-16-76).
17. Arthur Evans -- Executive Director of the San Francisco redevelopment Agency.
18. Wilbur W. Hamilton -- Deputy Executive Director of the San Francisco redevelopment agency.
19. Robert E. Boldt -- Assistant Regional Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Offices in the Federal Building.
20. Pacific Gas & Electric -- see the S.F. Examiner (3-9-75) for information on PG&E executives.

For more information on scumlords, see the 1-15-76 edition of the S.F. Examiner or your Tenants' Union. ●



- 32 -

Communique!

The NWLF claims responsibility for 3 bomb attacks in our struggle to make safe and decent housing a human right!!

On January 28 at 9:15 P.M. we bombed the home of scumlord Beatrice Present.

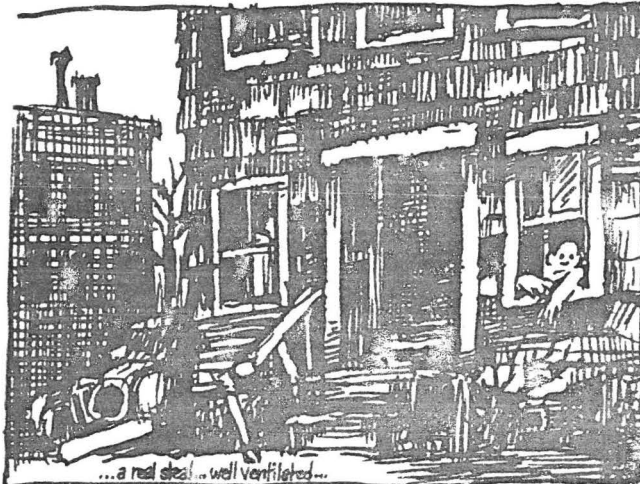
On Friday, January 29th, we bombed the car of scumlord Jack Osheroff at 1:15 A.M.

On Saturday, January 30th at 1:30 A.M. we bombed PG&E, parasites of the poor, at their San Geronimo station in Marin County. 5 power transformers came under attack.

Toward safe and decent housing
being a human right!
Toward health being a human right!
Unity in Struggle!
¡Hasta la Victoria!



Peoples' Forces - Lucio Cabañas Unit
New World Liberation Front



PG and E C BE CAREFUL!

TO ALL PG&E WORKERS: Be careful of any poles with a spray painted circle, they have been cut!

Be careful of all poles - regardless of painted markings - as they may have been cut too. Watch for severed cables!

PG&E is a known parasite of poor/working people. We would like to remind PG&E officials that there is still a peoples' demand that has not been met:

FREE UTILITIES FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED AND FOR THOSE OVER 65 WHO ARE FORCED TO LIVE BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL ON FIXED INCOME IN THE BAY AREA.

It would be easier for PG&E to meet these demands and the fire-safety demands. Otherwise, they will find themselves with their health failing and driven insane. They cannot protect themselves sufficiently for a sufficient amount of time.

munique!

Toward safe and decent housing
being a human right!
Toward health being a human right!
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New World Liberation Front



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We will no longer live in these dehumanizing conditions. These parasites are going to have to adhere to this reality! If they don't believe us, we say: ask the supervisors!

Unite/Organize

We must unite/organize, apply pressure, attack, educate, and study/analyze. The only way we are going to get safe and decent housing is to use many tactics, on many fronts, uniting around our common goal.

We call on all PG&E workers to sabotage and destroy PG&E equipment until such time as these leeches get off some of their blood money that they've robbed from poor and working people.

Training Units

We call on all NWLF Training Units to coordinate attacks against PG&E windows in as wide an area as can be covered in San Francisco and Oakland.

- 34 -

Attack!

Attack all the smaller PG&E offices and vehicle windows, using sling shots. If you make your own, stiff, thick surgical tubing works well. Small ball-bearings of about one half inch in diameter won't make noise, yet will go completely through and will crack the window, a reminder for all to see and an inspiration for people wanting to confront this beast.

Scumlords

We issue a stiff warning to the scumlords of the Redevelopment Agency in San Francisco for their recent attack on the Community of Hunter's Point/Bayview. The community's 7 demands as set out by Tenant's for Action are just!

They say: stop dragging us through this nightmare, forcing us from one barrio/ghetto to the next (no better than the last) and destroying our communities, all for money! Our lives are more important than their money!

We will "relocate" any and all top officials of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency if they do not yield to the peoples' 7 just demands! It is obvious that these scumlords don't care

about the suffering and misery they create. We will show these scumlords how miserable it is to be driven out of house and home! Their armed thugs cannot stop the rage and determination of an outraged, just, united people!

We can pick our time, place, and circumstances and with a united effort, we will drive them to their graves unless these 7 just demands are met. The Redevelopment Agency has 48 hours to respond to and agree to meet these 7 demands.

If these demands are not met, we call on all comrades, and all people who are struggling for a just order, to press home these 7 demands. Additional information to help track these buzzards down is forthcoming. These officials are part of the NWLF scumlord list, derived from the people! (TUG # 1)

Our Struggle Continues!
¡Hasta La Victoria!

Central Command of the
Peoples' Forces
New World Liberation Front
February 17 1976



SEVEN J

1. We demand that tenants who want to move completely out of public housing receive at least \$4,500 in just compensation. We demand all rights - and full compensation - under the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Acquisition Act.

2. We demand that all tenants wanting to return to Hunter's Point 17-A after rehabilitation be placed in the same unit or area at the same rent. We demand that extra expenses be required when we return such as: security deposits, first and last month's rent, or moving costs. We demand that there be no rescreening of eligibility for public housing on the basis of the move.

3. We demand that all tenants moving because of rehabilitation be placed in New Shipyard Housing until we return to our previous housing or until such time as tenants who intend to move out of public housing completely can find adequate housing.

4. We demand that all tenants receive a written

- 34 -

about the suffering and misery they create. We will show these scumlords how miserable it is to be driven out of house and home! Their armed thugs cannot stop the rage and determination of an outraged, just, united people!

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- 35 -

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3. We demand that all tenants moving because of rehabilitation be placed in Naval Shipyard Housing until we return to our previous housing or until such time as tenants who intend to move out of public housing completely can find adequate housing.

4. We demand that all tenants receive a written con-

tract that guarantees all conditions of the move including rent, time periods for relocation, moving expenses, and condition of housing. We demand that this contract be approved by representatives of Tenants for action and that it be ready and signed 30 days before moving starts.

5. We demand that all moving expenses be paid before the move and we demand that such compensation not be deducted from our welfare checks.

6. We demand that eligibility to return to our homes or other public housing be recognized, regardless of any back rent due.

7. We demand that all negotiations be with Tenants for Action and the elected representatives of that organization.

WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO ADD MORE DEMANDS AND CONDITIONS TO THIS LIST AS WE LEARN MORE ABOUT "TARGET PROJECTS PROGRAM" AND THE PLANS FOR OUR AREA.





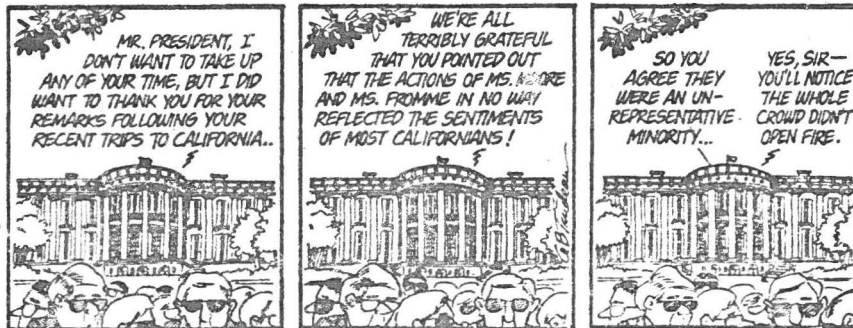
ON REPRINTING ARMS INSTRUCTIONS...

We've received criticism from several sources concerning our printing instructions for making explosive devices (in issue #1 and as a supplement to issue #5). In fact, we ourselves were uncomfortable with printing the instructions but didn't want to censor the underground (in both cases the instructions were part of NWLF communiques). The criticism centered around the danger of putting these instructions in the hands of anybody who might read the paper. We agree.

An integral part of any principled political development is the development of the practical capabilities (skills) for implementing the politics. In the case of the armed revolutionary, this practical development must be undertaken with extreme care. As we stated with the instructions we printed, we cannot attest to their accuracy. We feel that anyone considering or working on developing the skills of an armed revolutionary must have better sources for instructions. DRAGON cannot function as an arms manual because it is beyond both our capacity and desire to do so.

It is necessary to make certain severe requirements of armed (even potentially armed) revolutionaries: that they develop a fairly high degree

GOVERNOR BROWN GOES TO WASHINGTON...



[The following monograph, or reader. Its purpose is to attempt t American Left. If the reader follow material, he should find a framework that may seem unfamiliar.

The monograph attempts to sh groups that have since become terr into the newer organizations such the Internationalist Tendency w paper also supports the contentic democratic socialist group it fell i Labor Party and split into the T October League and the New Ame

Finally, the monograph sugges by Congress in an attempt to red gations are made in the hope that tives seek new and perhaps nove

CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM WITH
EXTERNAL COMMUNIST IDEOL

A MONOGRAPH BY PHILLIP

Copyright 1976 by Phillip Abbe

AC

This monograph is the result o internal security expert Herbert has been invaluable. Tom Phill David Martin, Isaac Don Levin fessional insights and "Duke" counsel of Professor John White keeps reminding me of the nee the zenith of love as I worked tl to Michael Obrenovich, a master

Any error that may appear in author.

The problem with most of tl the fact they have no ideologic terrorism in the United States forces. This apparent dichoton that the Congress of the United agencies of government that The year 1976 signals an increa the local police are restrained, i congresspeople that are seeking very time internal terrorism is

This study is not transnatio actions and historical relations

¹ An example is to be found in t American Enterprise Institute. Wa
² Within the past two years th House Internal Security Committ the Senate Internal Security Subc
³ The New York City police ha radicals, the former Bureau of S ment has been told not to infiltrat their civil liberties.

ship between ideology and action, and that while revolutions cannot be exported, ideas need no passports and the tactics of terrorism are transnationally plausible. The terrorist ideology in this monograph is Revolutionary Communism as it relates to the United States. Part II of this study contains a chart constructed in a manner designed to allow the reader an immediate grasp of the growth and interrelationship between the various internal Democratic Socialist, Revolutionary Communist and Terrorism organizations.

Excluding the actions of irrational persons who apparently have no secure political ties⁴ there is still a large area of political violence in the United States that has direct linkage to communist political parties and organizations. Unbeknown to most Americans, is the fact that within the confines of the United States, we now have four communist parties⁵ seeking recognition either from Moscow, Peking or the American electorate. The most recent candidate for full party status is the Revolutionary Communist Party who has inherited a history of violence and is terrorist prone.

This monograph is normative in nature because its author believes that a serious threat to internal security exists as a result of increasing terrorism within this great nation.

Summary

A direct relationship exists between Revolutionary Communist ideology and the increase in internal terrorism within the United States. Overt evidence exists that various internal and external communist methods of terrorism have intertwined in the United States (PARTS I and II) and that rather than receding, internal terrorism is, and will continue to, breed further violence (PART VI) until counter measures are adopted to limit its spread (PART VIII).

I shall prove that the current rash of terrorism is directly linked to the cultivation of the various outcroppings of so-called New Left ideologies, which have come full circle into the old fashioned Marxist-Leninist Mao Tse-tung Thought by borrowing and stealing from the various writings of the guerrilla warfare advocates from Lenin to Guevara (PARTS I, VI and VII). If Leon Trotsky did indeed note that history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as farce, we may well be entering the second period. Rather than learning from history, the Congress of the United States seems intent upon schizophrenic readings of history in order to perhaps destroy itself. It legislates the very committees out of existence that might provide a key to the development of terrorism. There are times that the thoughts of Mark Twain seem appropriate, especially "the people get what they deserve," but in this case the citizenry are being deprived of the very information that may keep them from being maimed or killed. We, the people, deserve more, and it is with that intent that I have written this monograph.

Terrorism is growing geometrically in the United States (PART I). While not yet reaching the proportions of the historic references of Uruguay, Brazil, Malaysia, Kenya, Northern Ireland, Israel or Algeria, the problem is trenchant enough to suggest further study. To date, no one to my knowledge has charted the development of the contemporary Democratic Socialist, Revolutionary Communist and Terrorist organizations in the United States (PART II). The value of this chart is in developing an historical and ideological perspective regarding contemporary left-wing radical movements. The chart clearly shows that the Democratic Socialists are not, and have not been, involved in terrorism (PART III). The chart does show, however, that communist ideology and communist history is directly related to much of the current internal terrorism (PARTS IV and V).

Terrorism tends to threaten not just life and property, but the very essence of the democratic experience. Left unattended, terrorism may well imperil the Constitution (PART VII) and force the government to take extra-constitutional measures to insure domestic peace. It is because the author fears such possible consequences that he has attempted to seek other solutions, prior to a backlash to terrorism.

The unique American democratic experience is too vital to allow internal terrorism to distort its essence. Only a few persons in this nation seek to terrorize the many into accepting their distorted political beliefs, but these few,

⁴ The recent attacks on President Ford show that in certain cases a warped psyche is all that is necessary to instill ambition of terrorism.

⁵ The Communist Party of the United States, the Socialist Workers Party, the Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party.

with the added zealotry of the nihilist, pose a serious threat to the like all modern revolutionary totalitarian axiom: 'Negation of Negation' with Goethe's word: "All that exists is also built upon the epistemology of Tse-tung Thought that support themselves arise out of the ashes (PARTS differences between the old and prove valuable in the struggle to and to formulate concomitant plan

PART I.—INTRODUCTION TO THE

"A Militant with an eig scientist's laboratory out chemicals become more da —The Militant's Formular

An individual living in the U news hermit to deny that inte this country. The Christmas he New York only further dramati ngly head in the United State: persons was just one of a cor tacks that have become almos Weather Underground Organiza

The Weather Underground actions against the enemy. Eigh perialist war and in support of on the Capitol in 1971, on the F 1975. Ten actions were directed police, and in support of Black approximately \$10 million dam

The Weather Underground is ing currently in the United Sta sible for the bombing of a Ne therein and the bombing of the Nations. The Black Liberation less murders of policemen and rently pressuring the Sociali terrorism in the United States released by the United States public apparently remains una

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PART

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⁶ Hoffer, Eric, *The True Bell*

⁷ Powell, William, *The Anarc*

p. 10.

⁸ "Osawatomie," Autumn, 19'

⁹ See Trotskyite Terrorist In

gate the Administration of the

action, and that while revolutions cannot be exported, and the tactics of terrorism are transnationally plausible, in this monograph is Revolutionary Communism as States. Part II of this study contains a chart designed to allow the reader an immediate grasp of the link between the various internal Democratic Socialist, and Terrorism organizations, and irrational persons who apparently have no secure area of political violence in the United States communist political parties and organizations. Unbelievable is the fact that within the confines of the United States communist parties⁵ seeking recognition either from the American electorate. The most recent candidate for full membership in the Communist Party who has inherited a history of violence is prone. Unbelievable in nature because its author believes that a sense of security exists as a result of increasing terrorism

distinctions between Revolutionary Communist ideology and terrorism within the United States. Overt evidence of internal and external communist methods of terrorism have been noted in the United States (PARTS I and II) and that rather than retreat, and will continue to, breed further violence (PART III). Measures are adopted to limit its spread (PART VIII). The current rash of terrorism is directly linked to the outcroppings of so-called New Left ideologies, which are the old fashioned Marxist-Leninist Mao Tse-tung stealing from the various writings of the guerrilla leader Lenin to Guevara (PARTS I, VI and VII). If Leonid Brezhnev that history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as farce, the second period. Rather than learning from the United States seems intent upon schizophrenic behavior to perhaps destroy itself. It legislates the very countermeasures that might provide a key to the development of terrorism. The thoughts of Mark Twain seem appropriate, especially "deserve," but in this case the citizenry are being denied a sense of security that may keep them from being maimed or worse, and it is with that intent that I have writ-

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democratic experience is too vital to allow internal security to be imperiled. Only a few persons in this nation seek to correct their distorted political beliefs, but these few,

President Ford show that in certain cases a warped psyche is all that is needed to perpetuate terrorism. In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party, the Progressive Communist Party,

with the added zealotry of the "true believer,"⁶ and the arsenal of the nihilist, pose a serious threat to the state far exceeding their numbers. Terrorism, like all modern revolutionary tendencies, is "based philosophically on the Hegelian axiom: 'Negation of Negation,' which Friedrich Engels approvingly resolved with Goethe's word: 'All that exists is worth perishing.'" But modern terrorism is also built upon the epistemological superstructure of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought that support the conclusion that the Communist Phoenix will arise out of the ashes (PARTS VI and VII). Only an understanding of the differences between the old anarchists and the contemporary terrorists will prove valuable in the struggle to isolate old thought patterns from new realities and to formulate concomitant plans for our immediate needs.

PART I.—INTRODUCTION TO TERRORISM: ITS NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS

"A Militant with an eighth grade reading level can fix up a mad scientist's laboratory out of odds and ends and with easily ordered chemicals become more dangerous than a trained foreign saboteur."
—The Militant's Formulary by Don E. Sisco.

An individual living in the United States in early 1976 would have to be a news hermit to deny that internal terrorism was becoming a way of life in this country. The Christmas holiday 1975, bombing of LaGuardia Airport in New York only further dramatized the fact that terrorism has fully reared its ugly head in the United States. This bombing that initially murdered eleven persons was just one of a continuing number of bombings and terrorist attacks that have become almost commonplace in this nation. The Communist Weather Underground Organization has stated:

The Weather Underground Organization is responsible for over 25 armed actions against the enemy. Eight of these were bombings directed against imperialist war and in support of the people of Indochina. This includes the attack on the Capitol in 1971, on the Pentagon in 1972, and on the State Department in 1975. Ten actions were directed against the repressive apparatus: courts, prisons, police, and in support of Black Liberation . . . Together they have resulted in approximately \$10 million damage to the imperialists. . . .⁵

The Weather Underground is only a portion of the terrorist underground existing currently in the United States. The Communist Puerto Rican FLN is responsible for the bombing of a New York restaurant, the murder of three patrons therein and the bombing of the United States Delegation Building at the United Nations. The Black Liberation Army has been responsible for a number of senseless murders of policemen and the international Trotskyite organization is currently pressuring the Socialist Workers Party to engage in Tupamaro type terrorism in the United States. A good portion of this evidence has already been released by the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,⁶ but the public apparently remains unaware of the scope of terrorism in the United States.

Some years ago a radical magazine, now defunct, published a listing of the various acts of terror that had occurred in the United States within a few years. To date, this is one of the better accountings and is contained in Appendix of this study. The May, 1975 issue of the FBI Reports notes 2,041 bombing incidents in the United States and Puerto Rico in 1974. Twenty-four persons were killed and 206 injured in connection with these incidents.

PART II—IN THE BEGINNING

"Much is written about dialectical materialism and dialectics without materialism, but comparatively little about historical materialism."
—Abraham Guillen, *Philosophy of the Urban Guerrilla*.

The chart appearing on foldout following page 687 is designed with the hope of providing a useful overview of the origins and relationships of the various groups portrayed therein. This chart does not attempt to list or discuss all of the myriad groups that have been responsible for one or more political acts. As an example,

⁶ Hoffer, Eric, *The True Believer*, Harper, New York, New York, 1951.

⁷ Powell, William, *The Anarchist Cook Book*, Lyle Stuart, New York, New York, 1971, p. 10.

⁸ "Osawatomi," Autumn, 1975, #3, John Brown Book Club, Seattle, Wash., p. 2.

⁹ See Trotskyite Terrorist International a Hearing Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act, July 24, 1975.

following known terrorist gangs: Proud Eagle, Over Vacuum Conspiracy, New Year's Gang, Samitinary Army and the Black Afro Militant Movement, and will continue to be, minor sects engaged in the purpose of this chart is to give the reader a survey, ideology and inter-relationship of the larger left-wing.

I find the initial chart too simplistic, others may not be inconceivable that the chart may contain an error appears it is the total responsibility of the author to be capable of unlocking the multi-variate. This monograph is designed to add clarity and

point for this monograph. I recognize the influence of Babeuf, Kropotkin, etc.,¹¹ but within a strict form and Friedrich Engels looms large.¹² Marx and Engels in 1844 and later, Marx, having been expelled from London where he and Engels continued their intellectual work, produced a number of pamphlets and the three volume Communist Manifesto, actually a document that has continued to throw off the shackles of entrepreneurship dialectic.

The manifesto could not have been entitled a "Socialist Manifesto" as Marx and Engels were opposed to the various utopian socialist theories.¹³ Engels further writes:

"The history of the proletarian production, I consider myself bound to state in which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That in the historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic organization and social organization necessarily following from it, built up, and from which alone can be explained, the story of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of the development of primitive tribal society, holding land in common, and of the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common, into individual family holdings, and of the evolution of the oppressed classes; that the history of these revolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached in which the oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain to the emancipation of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie, and once and for all, emancipating society from class oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.¹⁴ Leninist contention is captured in the previous section, reworded, reworked, reordered and contemporary. Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, Castro, Kim, etc., but in the United States that message has been proclaimed by Wood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gus Hall, Bernard Kincaid, Huey Newton, Bella Abzug and the Workers World, and October League, etc., and

re stating the same premise, but in different ways suggest that the important thing to reflect upon is the application of the Communist Manifesto until the parties, groups, organizations, and schisms that Marxism-Leninism (with the important exception of Maoism) have been able to differentiate between means and ends. The American left-wing has been unable to make this distinction. The American left-wing has been one of continual schisms, but all the communist revolutionary left-wing groups hold the prediction of Marx and Engels when

see, "Terrorism" Volume 1, The History of Radicalism, Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1967. While the role of Marx is overplayed. In reality, the influence of Marx and upon Marx's understanding of the historical process. International Publishers, New York, New York, 1967. Communist Manifesto, International Publishers, New York, New York, 1967.

they wrote: "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."¹⁵

The concluding note of the Communist Manifesto reads: The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only with the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.¹⁶

A similar statement was recently issued by the Central Committee of the new Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). We can and we will build this good life and bright future, but we must be free to do so, free of the wealthy leeches who bloat themselves on the very blood of the workers. To crush these parasites demands the surveying of the battlefield and the drawing up of a battle plan that can guide us to victory. This battle plan is the line that will guide us in destroying the old world and building the new. It is the line that represents the outlook and interests of our class, the working class.¹⁷

The chart shows the ultimate development of four distinct "Internationals." Each of the four has had a significant impact upon the course of development of international and ultimately left-wing activity in the United States. It is important at the outset to understand that an "International" is not one convention or meeting, although a meeting may signify the initiation of a new International. The term within Marxist-Leninist jargon means the development of a separate trend within the whole of the movement and may extend for years. A recent example might be "The International Internal Discussion Bulletin . . . of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International" containing material relating to the "Fourth World Congress Since Reunification (Tenth World Congress) February, 1974."

Briefly, the Four Internationals might be classified as follows:

(1) *First International* (founded in 1864) Marx and Engels lay out the plan for the future of communism.

(2) *Second International* (founded in 1899) The first major split develops as the Social Democrats split from the Marxists as the Russian Marxists split into two warring camps. The Social Democrats argue that socialism can be developed through democratic means. The Russian Marxists (RSDP) divide into the Bolshevik "majority" and Menshevik "minority" groups and Lenin emerges as the leader of the Bolshevik faction.

(3) *Third International* (founded in 1919) Following the victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia, Lenin dies and Stalin captures the leadership of the Communist Party and expels Trotsky. Stalin produces the Comintern and the Cominform which are international agencies for the Kremlin. The Comintern and Cominform demanded strict control over the various national Communist Parties and the Communist Party of the United States was a willing subject.

(4) *Fourth International* (founded in 1937) This is the Trotskyite Communist transnational organization.

The chart attempts to develop a sense of history and continuity for the reader. The Legend and the Abbreviations, boxed as they are, should make the process of mastering the chart easier. As I have stated previously, the reader should not expect to find every organization of a leftward tinge listed. The purpose herein is to give an overview that may be helpful in understanding the rise in terrorism within the United States. What follows is an attempt to briefly follow through the chart and to give the reader some perspective of what Democratic Socialist, Revolutionary Communist and Terrorist groups exist in the United States.

PART III—THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS

"The New Left of the 1960's flourished, at most for five years . . .

When everything else had failed, the most frantic of the activists turned to nihilism and terror, blowing up some of their own number in the process."—Michael Harrington in *Fragments of the Century*.

As is often the case, the participants themselves are the better masters at presenting a case. The Fabians in England (now the Labor Party) and the Social Democratic Party in West Germany make a viable Marxist contention to political power. They seek to gain political power through the ballot and they are aghast, in most cases, at the political imperialism and internal and external terrorism

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁷ "Revolution", 11/15/75, p. 5.

issued from the gun barrels of a Kremlin, a Peking, a Havana or Hanoi government. Still, they are Marxists and do believe in socialism. Norman Thomas, himself the American apostle of Democratic Socialism stated:

Whatever the mistakes of Communists and Socialists their loyalty is to the cooperative commonwealth in which alone there is hope for our troubled world. Their failures have not been failures in the adequacy of their goal or the glory of their social ideal, but rather in their plans for making it real.¹⁹

One must, however, be careful not to quote Mr. Thomas out of context because even with his occasional rhetorical flourish Thomas remained a supporter of the democratic process and was a periodic candidate for the national presidency. Murray B. Seidler, in his remarkable book *Norman Thomas Respectable Rebel*, describes Thomas as advocating "a Christian road to Socialism,"²⁰ while Thomas himself drafted a plan for what he called the "cooperative commonwealth."²¹ Before his death Thomas also had a number of confrontations with the Communist Party, who considered him a tool of the capitalists, as when the CPUSA took over the youth arm of the League for Industrial Democracy.²²

Thomas was the leader of the Socialist Party of the United States until his death, when the mantle of leadership passed onto the dynamic author Michael Harrington. Harrington has spelled out his political philosophy in his book *Toward a Democratic Left*,²³ now heads a group known as The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and has announced that this group will attempt to work within the Democratic Party, in order to gain reform.

Bayard Rustin, the noted black activist, leads the other faction of democratic socialists. This group labels itself the Social Democrats of the United States and follows an ideological position close to that of the late Norman Thomas seeking independent political action as opposed to attempting to operate within one of the major parties.

The chart presented earlier shows that the thrust of democratic socialism also included the forming of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) and later the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID). As I have previously written,²⁴ the LID was closely aligned monetarily with the United Auto Workers (UAW) and in the summer of 1962, a group of students met at the UAW camp at Port Huron in Michigan and founded the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). I shall contend, as does Kilpatrick Sale in his comprehensive study entitled SDS,²⁵ that at the time of the Port Huron Statement and into 1964, the SDS was Democratic Socialist, and it was not until the overt influence and infiltration by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party that SDS became radicalized and communist oriented. The process of this disaster and the ultimate terrorist stripe of SDS, now the Weather Underground Organization, will be considered in some detail later.

Currently, the Democratic Socialists in the United States play a minimal role in the American left-wing, but they do stand as knowledgeable opponents to both Revolutionary Communism and Terrorism.

PART IV—THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS

"For despite their invocations of Marxism, the Communists have decisively refuted by their very actions the orthodox Marxist theory of social development and the more comprehensive theory of historical materialism of which it is a part."—Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists*.

Section A—The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA)

Charles E. Ruthenberg, a founder of the Communist Party of the U.S., is quoted as stating, "It was the Russian Revolution—the Bolshevik Revolution of November 9, 1917, which created the American Communist movement."²⁶ And, as the chart on fallout following page 687 clearly shows, the CPUSA has been dominated and controlled by the Kremlin since its inception. The Party, in

¹⁹ Thomas, Norman, *The Choice Before Us*, Macmillan, New York City, 1934, p. 82.
²⁰ Seidler, Murray, *Norman Thomas Respectable Rebel*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1967, p. 1.

²¹ Thomas, op. cit., p. 200.

²² Harrington, Michael, *Fragments of the Century*, Saturday Review Press, New York City, 1973, p. 148.

²³ Harrington, Michael, *Toward A Democratic Left*, Macmillan, New York City, 1968.

²⁴ Luce, Phillip Abbott, *The New Left Today*, Capitol Hill Press, Washington, D.C. 1972.

²⁵ Sale, Kirkpatrick, *SDS*, Random House, New York, 1973.

²⁶ Lyons, Eugene, *The Red Decade*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1970.

fact, was actually born thru Michael Gruzenberg, aka, Mic to discipline the various group agent and a "Unity Conv of 1921 giving birth to the CPUSA.

It is not the purpose of the CPUSA, but the author stro of the CPUSA read the illur and the vital and compelling Radicalism.²⁷ Any number of defunct House Committee reports of the equally de regarding the role of Soviet of the United States.³¹

This author, in his first pt Clubs that have now grown Various nationally known (including Terrence "KO" F Coast and an early legal a exact nature of both the J reading source materials fr

The Communist Party's Against Racism and Politics by Angela Davis, who is CPUSA and a sometimes theoretical veil of Herbert the civil liberties of impris legal system that freed he Marin County, California.

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Section B—The Socialist W

The Trotskyites are the different when their leader unfriendly to Trotsky, wr his Ego, but his ego is do may have given Russia b Trotsky to the world. Thr made his way to Mexico Isaac Don Levine has not c but has been able to clear just some nice guy who Trotsky, and now his fo murder³⁷ and certainly no followers would attempt to

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²⁷ Draper, Theodore, *Thee*

²⁸ Lyons, op. cit.

²⁹ Methvin, Eugene H., *The*

³⁰ House Internal Security

³¹ Subversive Activities C

³² Luce, Phillip Abbott, *T*

³³ House Internal Security

³⁴ Deutscher, Isaac, *The*

³⁵ The definitive study cor

³⁶ *The Mind of An Assassin*.

³⁷ See Levine, Isaac Don,

1973, p. 92, 99.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³⁹ Trotsky, Leon, *Dictator*

of America, New York, Nev

Kremlin, a Peking, a Havana or Hanoi government do believe in socialism. Norman Thomas, Democratic Socialism stated:

Communists and Socialists their loyalty is to the rich alone there is hope for our troubled world. Pres in the adequacy of their goal or the glory their plans for making it real.²⁹

Not to quote Mr. Thomas out of context because I flourish Thomas remained a supporter of the periodic candidate for the national presidency. Able book Norman Thomas Respectable Rebel, Christian road to Socialism,³⁰ while Thomas he called the "cooperative commonwealth."³¹ and a number of confrontations with the Communist Party of the United States until his

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REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS

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Today, Capitol Hill Press, Washington, D.C. 1972.

se, New York, 1973.

lington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1970.

fact, was actually born through the intervention of the Comintern who sent Michael Gruzenberg, aka. Michael Borodin as the first courier to America in order to discipline the various grouplets seeking to form a party. Borodin was a successful agent and a "Unity Convention" was held in Woodstock, New York in May of 1921 giving birth to the Communist Party of America.²⁷

It is not the purpose of this brief monograph to give a concise history of the CPUSA, but the author strongly suggests that anyone interested in the growth of the CPUSA read the illuminating study, *The Red Decade* by Eugene Lyons²⁸ and the vital and compelling study by Eugene H. Methvin entitled *The Rise of Radicalism*.²⁹ Any number of other useful studies have been prepared by the now defunct House Committee on Internal Security.³⁰ It is also useful to read the reports of the equally defunct Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) regarding the role of Soviet intervention in the policies of the Communist Party of the United States.³¹

This author, in his first published book,³² discussed the founding of the DuBois Clubs that have now grown into the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). Various nationally known CPUSA types have molted out of the DuBois Clubs including Terrence "KO" Hallinan, a leading communist lawyer on the West Coast and an early legal advisor to Miss Patty Hearst. More material on the exact nature of both the DuBois Clubs and the YWLL can be gleaned from reading source materials from the House Internal Security Committee.³³

The Communist Party's recent abberation is called the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (NAARPR). This group is figureheaded by Angela Davis, who is also a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA and a sometimes university lecturer. Ms. Davis studied under the theoretical veil of Herbert Marcuse and is noted for her inconsistency regarding the civil liberties of imprisoned students in Czechoslovakia while maligning the legal system that freed her from a veritable murder conviction of a judge in Marin County, California.

The Communist Party of the United States claims that it is anti-terrorist, but it does condone the PRSP or the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (misnamed) that utilizes the FALN movement of terrorists as its tactical arm.

Section B—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The Trotskyites are the true American anomaly. But how could it be any different when their leader was Leon Trotsky? Isaac Deutscher, who was hardly unfriendly to Trotsky, wrote that "Trotsky's entire behaviour is dominated by his Ego, but his ego is dominated by the revolution."³⁴ The Soviet revolution may have given Russia both Lenin and Stalin, then again it ultimately gave Trotsky to the world. Thrown out of the Soviet Union by Stalin, Trotsky finally made his way to Mexico where he was murdered by one of Stalin's agents. Isaac Don Levine has not only compiled the definitive study of this assassination,³⁵ but has been able to clear the air of the popular assumption that Trotsky was just some nice guy who happened to get thrown out of Russia.³⁶ In reality, Trotsky, and now his followers, was a Revolutionary Communist capable of murder³⁷ and certainly not adverse to terrorism³⁸ although some of his later day followers would attempt to confuse the situation.

The American Trotskyites, through the utilization of the party label of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth group the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), have attempted to portray themselves to the unwitting as "socialists" perhaps in the mold of Norman Thomas. The truth is the SWP and the YSA are Revolutionary Communists. In ideology and party structure the only thing that basically differentiates them from the Soviet or Peking groups is that they have no home country.

²⁷ Draper, Theodore, *The Roots of American Communism*.

²⁸ Lyons, op. cit.

²⁹ Methvin, Eugene H., *The Rise of Radicalism*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y. 1973.

³⁰ House Internal Security Committee.

³¹ Subversive Activities Control Board.

³² Luce, Phillip Abbott, *The New Left*, David McKay, New York, New York, 1965.

³³ House Internal Security Committee.

³⁴ Deutscher, Isaac, *The Prophet Armed*, Vintage Books, New York, New York, 1965.

³⁵ The definitive study concerning the assassination of Leon Trotsky is Levine, Isaac Don, *The Mind of An Assassin*, Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, New York, New York, 1959.

³⁶ See Levine, Isaac Don, *Eyewitness to History*, Hawthorn Books, New York, New York, 1973, p. 92, 99.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³⁸ Trotsky, Leon, *Dictatorship vs. Democracy*, "In Defense of Terrorism," Workers Party of America, New York, New York, 1922, pp. 54-55, 57-59.

The Weathergroup must be considered in part within the social fabric that helped create such a group. The leaders are mostly college trained, with some military experience, a developed hatred for capitalism, a noted support for the actions of Charles Manson⁵⁶ and an initial belief that lysergic acid and group homosexual sex would further the revolution.⁵⁷ Once the group went permanently underground they attempted to revitalize their public image, and recent articles imply that the group is composed of sensitive intellectuals only involved in bombing buildings because they are misunderstood by society. Such slobbering sentimentality is contained in magazines such as Rolling Stone wherein the underground bombers are praised because they produced a handmade quilt for the producer of a propaganda film featuring editorialized clips that attempt to make the WUO a reincarnation of Robin Hood.

In the real world, the Weather Underground has bombed, mutilated and hoped to maim its enemies. Their protestations of innocence ring as true as the words of Tokyo Rose. The WUO is as romantic as the Nazi SS or the Ku Klux Klan and its leaders' admiration for Charles Manson should place them ripe for federal prosecution. As I wrote earlier, the WUO already admits to "over 25 armed actions" in the United States. It should not be forgotten that the WUO was also responsible for the escape of Timothy Leary from a California prison farm and the intended antipersonnel bombing of a Detroit, Michigan Police Officers Assoc.⁵⁸

The Puerto Rican Communist Party has as its terrorist arm the FALN the National Liberation Movement. This FALN is apparently based upon the same guerrilla tactics as the early forces in Uruguay. Evidence has developed that the PRCP is financed and controlled by the Cuban Communist apparatus. The FALN has taken credit for a bomb explosion that killed 3 persons in a fashionable New York restaurant and is responsible for the bombings of the United States embassy to the United Nations. The FALN was publicly represented at a meeting in Havana in September, 1975 entitled "International Conference of Solidarity for the Independence of Puerto Rico." Communist Cuba has also called upon the United Nations to give the FALN observer status at the United Nations.

The Venceremos organization must also be mentioned as a terrorist group. Existing monographs⁵⁹ show that then Professor Bruce Franklin and his band of student revolutionaries were preparing for intensive terrorist acts prior to the arrest of some of the Venceremos members and the ultimate split that led to the development of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The Revolutionary Union was terrorist and its political input into the Symphonese Liberation Army may be noted in the fact that Bill and Emily Harris were members of Venceremos and possibly of the Revolutionary Union. A direct link from Venceremos to the SLA and the terrorism that culminated in the fiery deaths of six SLA members and the later trials of Patty Hearst and the Harrises.

The Black Liberation Army is a terrorist organization that apparently set out to murder police officers as a political act.⁶⁰ Because some of these persons are presently in jail awaiting trial, I am obliged not to detail the charges and counts against each, but I can assure the reader that there is strong evidence suggesting that a plot was involved that not only meant the shooting of police officers, but also the attempt to integrate this action into a broader plan of political terror designed to cripple first stage retaliatory law enforcement plans. The BLA is a splinter group, utilizing the rhetoric of Eldridge Cleaver and the guerrilla tactics of Mao Tse-tung.

The International Tendency found within the Trotskyite Fourth International is an organization that has formally accepted the theory of terrorism within the United States but has not yet acted upon that impulse. As Herbert Romerstein explained in his monograph,⁶¹ the Trotskyites in the United States are split over the question of the utilization of terror within the current political context.

Another group worth noting, although it is not included in the chart, is the Red Guerrilla Family operating in the San Francisco and general Bay Area. This

⁵⁶ Sale, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁵⁷ Weatherman "Communique".

⁵⁸ "The Weather Underground," Subcommittee to Investigate Int. Sec. Laws, January, 1975, p. 86.

⁵⁹ See House Internal Security Committee publication, "Venceremos".

⁶⁰ Daley, Robert, *Target Blue*, Delacorte Press, New York, New York, 1971.

⁶¹ Romerstein, *op. cit.*

organization has admitted a number of this organization reads:

We applaud the deaths of two FBI agents that they were the agents of a crime known to humanity. The struggle case for the more intense levels of st

PART VI—INTERNAL TERROR

"We must be ruthless to annihilate them."—Mao Tse-tung

Overwhelming optimism or pessimism will continue in the United States assumed that terrorism will soon take reasons for this assumption are obvious. The history of terror in Algeria, point to the fact that terrorism be the terrorists strike at existing departments, the Pentagon or various political ideas are still not accepted they seek to destroy, they strike however, that in most cases, their calculated terror. It is terror calculated among the population. It is also incapable of stopping the actions of the clearly established programs Venezuela, Algeria, etc.

This does not mean that the Communist terrorism at this moment. Terrorism at the moment not because political group is currently attempting and not as an agent of Moscow. The facade, regarding terrorism, and advocacy of terrorism. As I stress which are the Communist political States, but they seek those ends that any Communist groups differ only Americans have never conjured this situation ethics programmed from of Trotsky.

PART

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An interrelationship does exist between Communism. There is also evidence of terrorists in the United States. Major terrorist organizations in the United States are derived from an epistemological thought. While the major Communist Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, epitome, the overt evidence suggests the epistemology of all the Communist. If Dante's Inferno exists in the United States, it is Communism, who can command action emanating from Moscow.

⁶² As quoted in Victor Riesel's column.
⁶³ The Weatherpeople have openly instructed in guerrilla warfare.

considered in part within the social fabric that the leaders are mostly college trained, with some hatred for capitalism, a noted support for the revolution.⁵⁷ Once the group went permitted to revitalize their public image, and recent is composed of sensitive intellectuals only involved they are misunderstood by society. Such slobbering magazines such as Rolling Stone wherein the raised because they produced a handmade quilt nda film featuring editorialized clips that attempt ion of Robin Hood.

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Subcommittee to Investigate Int. Sec. Laws, January,

Committee publication, "Venceremos," lacorte Press, New York, New York, 1971.

organization has admitted a number of bombings and a recent communique from this organization reads:

We applaud the deaths of two FBI pigs on the Pine Ridge Reservation, knowing that they were the agents of one of the most vicious ruling classes ever known to humanity. The struggle continues—and we continue to build a strong case for the more intense levels of struggle to come.⁶²

PART VI—INTERNAL TERRORISM: LONG RANGE PROSPECTS

"We must be ruthless to our enemies, we must overpower and annihilate them."—Mao Tse-tung in Quotations.

Overwhelming optimism or pessimism should be avoided when considering the long range possibilities of internal terrorism in the United States. Terrorism will continue in the United States in the foreseeable future. It should also be assumed that terrorism will soon take the tactic of indiscriminate violence. The reasons for this assumption are obvious to any student of transnational events. The history of terror in Algeria, South Vietnam, Northern Ireland or Israel point to the fact that terrorism begins to develop its own warped logic. First, the terrorists strike at existing symbols of their hatred such as the State Department, the Pentagon or various police stations; then discovering that their political ideas are still not accepted by the public at large, or the government they seek to destroy, they strike out seemingly blind. It should be realized, however, that in most cases, their apparent indiscriminate terrorism is actually calculated terror. It is terror calculated to create general fear and confusion among the population. It is also terror designed to show that the government is incapable of stopping the actions of the terrorists. This is nothing new and follows the clearly established programs of the contemporary terrorists in Uruguay, Venezuela, Algeria, etc.

This does not mean that the Communist Party of the United States is advocating terrorism at this moment. The Kremlin in clones are not advocating terrorism at the moment not because they are repulsed by terror, but because this political group is currently attempting to pose as a "western political party" and not as an agent of Moscow. The Socialist Workers Party proclaims a similar facade, regarding terrorism, and forgets its historical mentor Trotsky and his advocacy of terrorism. As I stressed earlier, these groups seek the same ends which are the Communist political, economic and social control of the United States, but they seek those ends through different means just as all Revolutionary Communist groups differ only on means and not ends. Somehow, too many Americans have never conjured the reality that the communist dialectic is only situation ethics programmed from Moscow, Peking, Havana, Hanoi or the tomb of Trotsky.

PART VII—CONCLUSIONS

When you're a red you're a red all the way

From your first party cell till your

class takes the state

When you're a red you will fight till you die

With a gun in your hand and an

armed struggle line.

—from the Weatherman Songbook.

An interrelationship does exist between internal terrorism and Revolutionary Communism. There is also evidence that the ideology of the internal communist terrorists in the United States is transnational in context and content.⁶³ The major terrorist organizations in the United States follow a dialectical methodology derived from an epistemology based upon Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung thought. While the major Communist Parties in the United States may deny that Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, et al., have condemned terrorism, in some epitome, the overt evidence suggests that terror and terrorism were a consideration in the epistemology of all the major communist dialecticians since Marx and Engels. If Dante's Inferno exists, a special layer must contain the apologists for communism, who can command a quote at will to disprove the reality of some action emanating from Moscow or Peking.

⁶² As quoted in Victor Riesel's column in the Phoenix, Ariz. "Republic", April 20, 1976.
⁶³ The Weatherpeople have openly traveled to Cuba, Algeria and Libya in order to receive instruction in guerrilla warfare.

Internal terrorism in the United States is primarily the actions of people and organizations who have openly admitted their alliance with the cause of communism. There are naturally small politically neurotic sects that sense agents provocateurs everywhere in the left-wing: "no terrorism can arise without the help of the police." Such nonsense only helps to cloud the real picture featuring the fact that political zealots proclaiming themselves as Marxist-Leninists, Maoists, Castroites, Palestinian Liberators, or whatever, are philosophically and politically accountable ultimately as communists.

We may also safely assume that the number of terrorist groups will increase in the near future. This assumption is based upon the nature of American radical politics and the geographical largeness of this nation. Overt evidence exists that the terrorist underground is not a cohesive body and that small individual bands of terrorists seek publicity for various causes through individual attacks. The very size of this country also increases the potential for individual acts of terrorism. The author therefore assumes that within the next few years, as bombings increase, so will the incidents of various organizations involved. This does not mean, however, that the current leaders in terrorism will be replaced by new groups. The Weather Underground Organization will continue to lead the pack until the authorities are able to track them down and imprison them. In this regard, various public displays by the Weather Underground leaders have only helped to give the appearance they are somehow above the law and inviolate.

It was once falsely assumed that an end to the Vietnam conflict would bring an end to our domestic violence. This has not proven to be true and although airplane hijacking has apparently subsided, because of governmental reaction and the refusal of most civilized countries to cater to the whims of the hijackers, the same cannot be said of internal political violence in the United States. Our current terrorism is not tied to a specific outrage on the part of the initiators of the terror, but to a philosophical epistemology that is basically Marxist-Leninist.

Cut through the rhetoric of most of the terrorists and you find a deep seated desire to rebuild a supposed destroyed state on the political lines of Marxism-Leninism and this political thrust runs true from the Weather Underground through the SLA and the FALN. This factor has apparently been missed by some scholars in the field and it is a truism that can be overlooked only to the detriment of logic. It is only when we are willing to admit that we are not dealing with nihilists or anarchists, but with organized political terrorists who have based their philosophy and operating *raison d'être* on the dialectical theory of Marxism-Leninism and the tradition of the Tupamaros, or the Che Guevaras or the Bader-Meinhof gang, that we can seriously begin to take the steps necessary to counter our growing internal terror.

The admission that our internal terror is logical in its inconsistency is necessary because it is only when we understand that we are dealing with political known types, that read and reread the classics of modern guerrilla warfare, that we can perhaps begin to draw up long range counter programs. I contend that our current terrorism is an outgrowth, or updating, of various aspects of guerrilla warfare and that the underground terrorists are really guerrilla "soldiers" acting in a manner logically dictated by the technology and political realities of our current era.

Consider that the terrorists are not nihilists, but instead political guerrillas. Our response to terrorism is not then happenstance, but controlled and dictated in part by historical considerations. Terrorism in the current sense is not impossible to defeat, it only depends upon the imagination that the incumbent government wishes to take to defeat such a political aberration.

In a following part, I shall attempt to outline a few suggestions that might be considered to limit or defeat terrorism in the United States. Prior to making suggestions, I must lay some groundwork regarding the future of terrorism in the United States based upon a relative status-quo policy of law enforcement and constitutional guarantees. My scenario for the future assumes that the terrorists are not after one-shot adventures and that they are operating under a philosophical order that demands the ultimate destruction of the existing government or at least a basic re-altering of our economic or foreign policies. In this regard, I do not believe that if the United States, in an absurd example, granted total independence to Puerto Rico that the terrorists would be mollified. Instead, they would mount attacks for further gains such as payments of past sins of omission. I also assume that terrorism may soon enter the phase of indiscriminate violence in order to attempt to debilitate the "general will" regarding safety in the streets, therefore giving the terrorists a psychological

advantage when dealing with bombings will not only increase personnel bombs will begin to underground.

I am not attempting to be defeated by prayer, but I doubt that attempting to give the terrorists they have already thought of something that leaves little to the imagination thinking is the assumption that occasionally blow themselves up but they are operating from a competence in but they are operating from a have the learning ability to mas while remaining free from jus make, and it must be assumed t ing from their past mistakes. I estimate, or overestimate, the po States.

PART VIII.—C

"Terrorists . . . the dr

The suggestions contained in purpose is not to be definitive. I sideration. Some of these sugge I am hopeful that they will b. Initially, I am assuming that t tinue, but will grow in intens months we can expect overt t centennial 4th of July celebrati terrorists suddenly cease in th I sense little hope for such opt

The following suggestions s importance and cannot be take public interest it would be advi immediately on the subject of on the Judiciary is already, engaged in the publication of but the mere reporting of the It would therefore seem initia other appropriate committees signed to consider specific law:

I shall not attempt to do tl of new laws dealing with tl realistic. In the case of a te individual, I would suggest that would make conviction Supreme Court has not firm; gress might also consider th ment with no possibility of p

Congress might also consid internal policy of the State against its members. Specifi some terrorist organization hope of holding that indivi lease of a terrorist already i and Senate consider specific sacrosanct as to be ransom made in the attempt to out assuming that once the terro will not gain them their end I fully realize that this sug it will be considered within

⁶⁴ This theory has already been substantiated by Dr. Ralph

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advantage when dealing with law enforcement agencies. I also assume that bombings will not only increase, but will become more deadly and that anti-personnel bombs will begin to be utilized by some factions of the terrorist underground.

I am not attempting to become a Cassandra. This brief scenario may be defeated by prayer, but I doubt that prayer or hope alone will suffice. I am hardly attempting to give the terrorists ideas for the future, as there is a possibility they have already thought of stealing the components for an atomic bomb⁶⁴ and that leaves little to the imagination. Another fallacy in contemporary political thinking is the assumption that the terrorists are somehow stupid because they occasionally blow themselves up with their Tinkertoy bombs. They may not have managed the competence in all cases to control the energy of nitroglycerin, but they are operating from a framework that suggests that many of them have the learning ability to master the practical dialectic of contemporary terror while remaining free from justice. An occasional mistake does not an idiot make, and it must be assumed that the terrorists in the United States are learning from their past mistakes. It would be a gross error in judgement to underestimate, or overestimate, the potential of the communist terrorists in the United States.

PART VIII.—COUNTER-TERRORIST SUGGESTIONS

"Terrorists . . . the dreamers of the absolute."—Karl Marx.

The suggestions contained in this part are not meant to be all inclusive. My purpose is not to be definitive, but to rather suggest some broad outlines for consideration. Some of these suggestions will undoubtedly be considered radical, but I am hopeful that they will be considered within the context given for each. Initially, I am assuming that terrorism in the United States will not only continue, but will grow in intensity in the coming years. Even within the coming months we can expect overt terrorism and violence, especially around the bi-centennial 4th of July celebrations. If by some unforeseen act of God the internal terrorists suddenly cease in their actions the whole question would be moot, but I sense little hope for such optimism.

The following suggestions should not be considered in any specific order of importance and cannot be taken as the only variables that exist. With the current public interest it would be advisable to initiate appropriate congressional hearings immediately on the subject of internal terrorism. I realize that the Committee on the Judiciary is already, through its Subcommittee on Internal Security, engaged in the publication of various reports dealing with internal terrorism, but the mere reporting of the conditions is no longer adequate to stem the tide. It would therefore seem initially important that this committee along with any other appropriate committees, on both sides of the Hill, to begin hearings designed to consider specific laws dealing with internal terrorism.

I shall not attempt to do the work of Congress and suggest the exact format of new laws dealing with the works of terrorists, but two suggestions seem realistic. In the case of a terrorist act that causes the death of an innocent individual, I would suggest the possibility of Congress passing a federal law that would make conviction of this crime punishable by death. Because the Supreme Court has not firmly established a doctrine on the death penalty, Congress might also consider the conviction as being punishable by life imprisonment with no possibility of parole.

Congress might also consider legislation that would place it in line with the internal policy of the State Department regarding actions that may be taken against its members. Specifically, I am referring to the real possibility that some terrorist organization may attempt kidnapping a congressman in the hope of holding that individual for either a monetary ransom or for the release of a terrorist already in federal custody. I would propose that the House and Senate consider specific legislation making it clear that no member is so sacrosanct as to be ransomed in any terrorist kidnapping. This suggestion is made in the attempt to outwit the terrorists and not to endanger lives. I am assuming that once the terrorists realize that the kidnapping of a congressman will not gain them their ends, they will seek other solutions to their problems. I fully realize that this suggestion may be controversial, but I am hopeful that it will be considered within the context it is given.

⁶⁴ This theory has already been expounded by Lowell Ponte in numerous articles and has been substantiated by Dr. Ralph Lapp in the *New York Times*.

Overreaction is as dangerous as inaction, and we must be careful to retain the guarantees of the Bill of Rights unless faced with an outbreak of terrorism akin to that seen at various times in Canada, England, Brazil, etc. In such cases, it may be necessary for the federal government to limit in specific instances, due process guarantees of the Constitution. This author is not legally qualified to be specific, but to recommend that we consult with Canadian, British and West German authorities as to the limits that they have imposed in recent cases of internal terrorism. It should also be noted here that various sections of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 are still operative and might be considered as short term possible remedies to an overwhelming increase in internal terrorism while attempting to write a new comprehensive law.

Increased internal security is a must and various federal and local agencies concerned with security should not be further limited. The FBI and the various local police agencies must be allowed to infiltrate, where possible, the terrorist organizations and they must also be allowed to retain and update their files and reports on the various terrorist and Revolutionary Communist organizations that exist in this nation. It is also vital that the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the United States Senate's Committee on the Judiciary be expanded both financially and in staff so that it can consider legislation vital to counter the terrorists.

Education regarding the nature of terrorism should also be increased. Various federal and private grants should be made available for scholarly research and for possible courses for law enforcement agencies in the broad area of terrorism. Education should also be made available for the general public, but such education must be designed to not simply frighten the populace, but to grant them some safeguards against terrorism.

If terrorism increases in this nation then one variable that might be considered is in placing various sensitive areas as totally off-limits to the general public. This will certainly be a controversial area of discussion but it is an area that should be considered in the near future by the various governmental departments affected. The German Federal Republic has instituted such plans and it would be advisable to discuss this with their authorities.

The full gamut of suggestions that are possible are not listed here, but it is hoped that the considerations mentioned will be taken in the manner in which they are offered.

As will be noted from the follow
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similar increase would be noted.

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France 5.55 F

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LEGEND

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METHOD



Sniping Bomb or Dynamite Time Bomb Arson Molotov Cocktail Terrorism

Germany 3.63 DM
 India 7.5 rupees
 Ireland 8s 5d
 Israel 3.5 Pounds
 Italy 620 L
 Japan Yen 380
 Mexico 12% pesos
 Sweden 5.1 Kro

Unique Encounter: Antiterrorist Intelligence



By John B. Wolf

Occurring worldwide with shocking regularity, each hostage situation involving political terrorists contains previously unforeseen political implications and associations which makes it a unique encounter. Consequently, any law enforcement response purposely intended to neutralize a terrorist opponent must be specially tailored for each specific instance as it unfolds. Comprehensive and standardized formats to be followed by responding police units that are applicable in each and every hostage situation are impossible to draft as the number of possible variables is immense. However, policies and procedures relative to dealing or not dealing with terrorists and guidelines for use by hostage negotiators could and should be drafted and disseminated before confrontations with insurgents take place.

Additionally, police should be trained to defuse any and all hostage situations contrived by political terrorists in a manner that enhances the reputation of the responding law enforcement agency. Accomplishment of this task requires that a response team be provided with the foreknowledge needed to exercise the appropriate tactical options.

Hostage situations usually involve a criminal holding a person captive in plain view of the police whereas

John B. Wolf, is the author of The Police Intelligence System, and Fear of Fear: A Survey of Terrorist Operations and Controls in Open Society. Specialist in the management of the intelligence process, he has written extensively on the subject of antiterrorism for the United States Information Agency and the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

hostage/barricade situations often focus upon a criminal(s) and one or more persons that they are holding captive within a confined space (building). These acts, however, differ in both intensity and complexity from a hostage/barricade situation involving terrorists of the type responsible for the recent rash of embassy takeovers in various parts of the world.

Furthermore, "street" criminals seize hostages for the purpose of protection shields for escape and for use as bargaining chips in negotiating sessions with police. Terrorists, particularly those affiliated with sophisticated bands, however, specifically undertake operations for the purpose of embarrassing and demoralizing a targeted government as a consequence of their takeover of a building and the subsequent seizure of hostages. Situations of this type, therefore, are from the outset contrived to make a specific government appear impotent while simultaneously enhancing their own prestige.

Thus, it is imperative that police do not view a terrorist as a person whose motivations are analogous to those of the armed robber. In instances when the terrorists are well versed in the techniques required to obtain and manipulate media coverage, this assessment could lead to a protracted siege that produces front page newspaper coverage and first rate advertising for the insurgents. Terrorists are aware that the security forces of a free society must rely on the media imposing a program of voluntary restraint upon its news reporting, as state imposed controls are apt to conflict with constitutionally guaranteed safeguards.

Within the confines of the United States, hostage-taking incidents involving political terrorists have been restricted to a handful of incidents; the March, 1977 seizure of three buildings in Washington, D.C. by Hanafi Muslims, being the most significant. Consequently, most American law enforcement and security personnel have been precluded from obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the intricate process of negotiating with terrorists.

To insure that the American police have the capability to handle a hostage/barricade situation involving a group with the level of sophisti-

cation of Italy's Red Brigades or West Germany's Red Army Faction, intelligence analysts employed by law enforcement agencies—particularly those working for a municipality that harbors a number of newsworthy human and material targets—should monitor the modus operandi and intentions and capabilities of an assortment of terrorist groups, both domestic and international.

Terrorism is theater intended to influence a targeted audience, an activity that is fruitless without media advertising. Newspapers are a vital source of information for those engaged in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of a terrorist organization.

Essentially the antiterrorist intelligence analyst performs three basic tasks: (a) identifying and defining conditions that create or intensify terrorism by a specific group, (b) assessing the impact of rapidly changing conditions on terrorists and (c) predicting within a fair degree of accuracy the actions of terrorists under an existing set of conditions. Their job, therefore, is to use the intelligence process to produce vulnerability and risk assessments of targets, psychological assessments, sociological studies of conditions that are prone to terrorist manipulation and propaganda appraisals that reveal the capabilities and dispositions of insurgent groups.

Tools useful for the performance of these analytical tasks include: (a) the link diagram, a graphic way of illustrating relationships between persons and things, (b) frameworks consisting of categories to collate collected data and evaluate it for accuracy, pertinency and reliability and (c) models to serve as a structure for the assessment of terrorist groups as derived from an examination of the semantic content of their propaganda.

Properly performed, antiterrorist analytical work isn't glamorous and usually is more tedious than exciting. But it is an effective way of providing law enforcement and security personnel with the essential elements of information they need to cope with hostage/barricade situations involving political terrorists. Without intelligence support of this type, the police commander's flexi-

continued on page 23

and no one will feel exploited. 9. Be as concerned about the happiness, growth and well-being of your partner as you are about your own.

Not all relationships survive. Many law enforcement couples separate or divorce. The alienation and emotional isolation, which so often afflict the law officer finds expression against his family, has predictable results. A successful relationship requires a commitment to preventive actions in the form of open, frank discussion of issues in the marriage and a willingness to negotiate in good faith. The ability to communicate is the medium of exchange! ☆

Unique Encounter

continued from page 14

bility in coping with a terrorist incident is limited and his decision-making capability is reduced to "on the spot" assessments and "snap" judgments. Pro-active intelligence operations, therefore, must be the essential component of any credible anti-terrorist program. ☆

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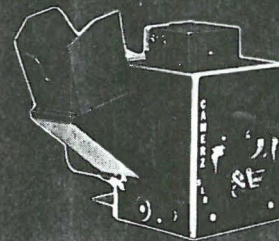
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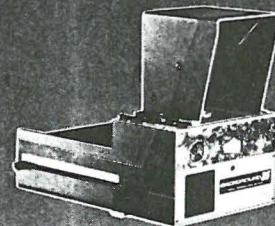
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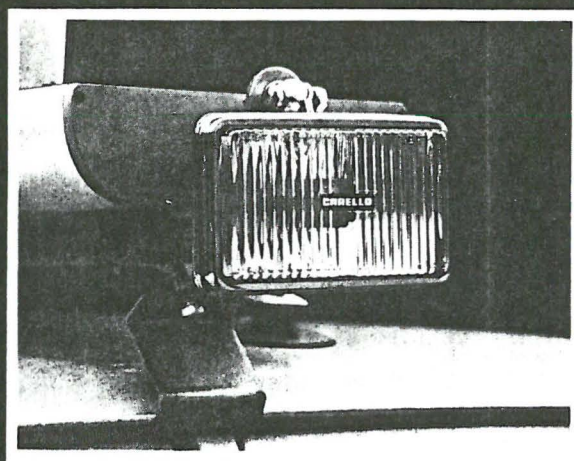
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Terrorism on the Rampage

BY ROBERT S. STROTHER AND
EUGENE H. METHVIN



Reader's Digest
PLEASANTVILLE, NEW YORK 10570

Kidnapping and violence, for ransom or for political blackmail, have mushroomed into today's most pernicious "growth industry"

Terrorism on the Rampage

BY ROBERT S. STROTHER AND
EUGENE H. METHVIN

ONE MORNING in September 1974, 15 terrorists dressed as police and telephone repairmen blockaded a limousine in Buenos Aires traffic. They coldly executed the chauffeur and a front-seat passenger, who was the manager of Argentina's largest corporation, Bunge & Born, as they stood with their hands in the air. The terrorists then spirited off the

ROBERT S. STROTHER, a Reader's Digest Roving Editor, is a veteran foreign correspondent. EUGENE H. METHVIN, a Digest Senior Editor, is a widely recognized authority on terrorism and author of *The Riot Makers*, published by Arlington House.

company's owner-executives, Jorge and Juan Born.

Last June, full-page advertisements in the *Washington Post* and four European newspapers announced that the kidnapers, members of the *Montoneros* movement, had "tried" the Born brothers and found them guilty of crimes of "exploitation" committed by their "multi-national monopoly." Upon payment of a ransom of \$60 million, plus distribution of \$1 million in merchandise to villages, factories, schools and hospitals, the Born brothers were freed.

Such kidnapping and violence,

for ransom or for political blackmail, have become a major "growth industry."

- In September 1974, Japanese terrorists stormed the French embassy at The Hague. They held the ambassador and ten others hostage. Finally, the French government delivered an imprisoned terrorist comrade; the Dutch paid a \$300,000 ransom and flew the group to Syria.

- The world got a further chilling look at these globe-hopping Japanese fanatics early last August, when five of them took over the U.S. embassy building in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and held 51 persons hostage, threatening to blow up the building unless seven of their comrades were released from prison in Japan. Three days later, after intensive negotiations to find a country willing to give them asylum, the terrorists were flown by Japan Air Lines to Libya.

- Last February, West Germany's Red Army Group kidnapped a leading mayoral candidate on election eve in West Berlin. Their demand of the West German government: free six imprisoned comrades and pay \$50,000 ransom. For 72 hours, the terrorists controlled West Germany's national TV network; news coverage had to include statements dictated by the freed comrades, who were flown to South Yemen.

- Two months later, six other German terrorists seized West Germany's embassy in Stockholm, killing one person. This time, the Bonn government rejected the demand for

ransom—\$500,000—and freedom for 26 prisoners. After murdering one of their 12 hostages, the raiders blew up the embassy and tried to escape. Five were rounded up; a sixth committed suicide.

- In October 1974 in New York City, five simultaneous bombings marked the resumption of Puerto Rican terrorist actions, which have involved more than 100 bombs in department stores and other buildings since 1969. Last January, during a busy noon hour, a time bomb killed four and injured more than 50 at Fraunces Tavern, Manhattan's oldest building, in the financial district. A note proclaimed that the attack was aimed at "reactionary corporate executives inside." At the core of the campaign, say intelligence specialists, are 135 Puerto Ricans trained in Cuba for sabotage, armed robbery, kidnapping and assassination.

Epidemic. Today's epidemic of savagery began with the kidnapping-murder of U.S. ambassador John G. Mein by Cuba-aided Guatemala terrorists in 1968. Since then, 82 U.S. diplomats and other officials abroad have been attacked—33 of them kidnapped, 18 murdered and 31 wounded; British, Canadian, Japanese, French and West German ambassadors have suffered similar attacks.

At home, the FBI has recorded 688 incidents of terrorist violence in the last 4½ years—ranging from bombings and ambush-murders to bank robberies, arson and sniping. Eighty-three police and civilians

died and 284 were wounded in these episodes. The FBI has identified 21 terrorist groups, embracing an estimated 5000 members and auxiliaries, who are building clandestine networks to attack our society. The "Weather Underground," which boasts of bombing the U.S. Capitol, Pentagon, State Department and a score of other targets coast-to-coast, is publicly advertising that it will "bring the fireworks" to the nation's 1976 Bicentennial celebration.

What's behind the global upsurge? Who are the perpetrators, and what motivates them? Many factors, all stemming from new developments which are revolutionizing human society everywhere, contribute:

- ▶ New technology enables tiny groups to wield unprecedented powers of destruction. For example, on September 5, 1973, Italian police arrested five Arabs in an apartment near Rome's International Airport. Those apprehended were terrorists preparing to shoot down an Israeli airliner. Their weapons were two Soviet SA-7 heat-seeking missiles, each to be fired from a light shoulder launcher.

- ▶ Modern global television offers a tempting, instantaneous audience of millions, as the Arab terrorists so dramatically demonstrated by capturing Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics—an episode which ended in the shoot-out deaths of 11 Israelis, five terrorists, one policeman. (And, of course, television itself, by providing instant and

graphic communication, helps to spread ideas and foster imitation.)

- ▶ The post-World War II population explosion is dumping onto the economies of the United States and underdeveloped nations alike millions of restless, underemployed youths ready to blame "the system" for their rootless, unused lives. Typically, in Sri Lanka (formerly called Ceylon), thousands of college-educated but jobless youths went on a Maoist-inspired rampage in 1971. Young people in Latin America and Africa, without work or limited to menial tasks, are similarly vulnerable to the call of charismatic guerrilla leaders.

Terror Types. Who, by and large, are behind this war on society? According to crime experts and behavioral scientists, there are three main categories of terrorists, although the dividing lines are usually blurred:

1. *Rootless Rebels.* Uruguayan terrorists kidnapped British ambassador Geoffrey Jackson in January 1971, and held him prisoner in a two-by-six-foot cage for eight months. "Most of my captors were students, and many were quite abnormal," wrote Jackson. "Ferocity, far more than precise ideology, was the main single and common component of their assorted personalities."

Whether they come from the United States, Quebec, Japan, Latin America, Europe or the Middle East, these rebels invariably bear the "true believer" stamp. Theirs is

a fairy-tale ideological world of good guys versus bad guys.

Says Montreal psychiatrist Dr. Gustave Morf, who studied in depth many of the dozens of Quebec terrorists convicted in the 1960s wave of bombings, killings and armed robberies: "The conspirators felt they were living a life of adventure, reminiscent of the high-seas pirates described in books. It seems that the liberation of Quebec had been only a pretext to give free rein to those romantic criminal tendencies which may lurk in many people. A growing number of adolescents refuse to grow up, to take responsibility. Many become eternal students, reaching age 30 or 40 without having held a responsible job."

Soviet terror schools teach their agents to exploit such social and economic dropouts. One recruit, who later defected, was told: "Go search for people who are hurt by fate or nature—the ugly, those suffering from an inferiority complex, craving power and influence, but defeated by unfavorable circumstances. For the first time in their lives they will experience a sense of importance."

2. *Minorities.* Many rootless rebels, goaded by an outraged sense of injustice, come from ethnic and national minorities—America's urban black youth, the Quebec French and the Palestinian refugees, for example. Deprived of cultural or national identity, they latch onto the revolutionary role-model offered in extremist propaganda.

A young Palestinian, Fawaz Tur-

ki, in his book *The Disinherited* (1972), explained the process: "I hated the world and the order of reality around me. I hated being dispossessed of a nation and an identity. I hated being a hybrid, an outcast, a zero. Give me a gun, man, and I will blow my own or somebody else's brains out." Such men make ready recruits for ideologies promising salvation through violence.

3. *Criminals.* Common bandits, quick to exploit profitable tactics, may follow the terrorists' lead toward kidnapping and blackmail. In Mexico, Colombia and Brazil, gangs of extortionists, robbers and kidnappers frequently have posed as political terrorists, adopting revolutionary slogans and rationales for their convenience. And terrorists often hire criminal types, to exploit their skills and anti-social drives.

Counteraction. How can we defend ourselves?

The United States has already taken many effective steps. The government has tightened airport security, increased scrutiny of foreign travelers, coached American businessmen working abroad, and improved protection of our diplomats. Washington advertises a tough policy of no ransom or release of prisoners in return for hostages. Explains Secretary of State Henry Kissinger: "If terrorist groups get the impression they can force a negotiation with the United States and acquiescence in their demands, we may save lives in one place at the risk of hundreds everywhere else."

But international counteraction has proved disappointing. In 1972, the United Nations General Assembly Legal Committee turned down a tough American proposal which recommended that member nations return terrorist criminals for trial in the country of their crime. Instead, the committee voted 76-34 in favor of a "do-nothing" study. To top that off, the Assembly invited and treated as a head of state Yasser Arafat, leader of the most formidable Palestinian terrorist group.

Clearly, the advanced nations which are prime targets of the terrorists must proceed, jointly or unilaterally, to apply to nations harboring and otherwise encouraging terrorist operations such sanctions as cutting off airline service, stopping mail and telecommunications and international food and financial help.

Any effective counteraction must not only catch bombers and kidnapers, but uncover and smash their elaborate support auxiliaries as well. Ultimately, then, the only truly effective counter-weapon is *intelligence*. That means—in the United States—giving the FBI the legal and scientific tools it needs, plus public understanding and support for their aggressive use. It means spies, networks of paid informers, wiretaps, bugs, computerized dossier systems—the whole spectrum of clandestine warfare so necessary to the cause, yet so vulnerable to attack by civil-

libertarian extremists.

Congress should immediately authorize the FBI to use wiretaps and bugs—forbidden at present—for anti-terrorist intelligence collection. Such safeguards as requiring the Attorney General personally to approve and report his actions annually in secret to bipartisan Congressional committees can deter capers such as the Nixon administration's Watergate break-in. Truly, as a British Privy Council Committee on wiretapping declared in 1957, "The freedom of the individual is quite valueless if he can be made the victim of the lawbreaker. If these powers are properly and wisely exercised, they are in themselves aids to the maintenance of the true freedom of the individual."

From Moscow, before his banishment, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn reminded the world: "Hijackings and all other forms of terrorism have been spreading tenfold precisely because everyone is ready to capitulate before them. But as soon as some firmness is shown, terrorism can be smashed forever. We will have to erase from human consciousness the very idea that anyone has the right to use force against justice, law and mutual consent."

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A Reader's Digest

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Time to Get Tough With Terrorists!

BY JAMES ATWATER



Reader's Digest

PLEASANTVILLE, NEW YORK 10570

Bombing, hijacking and assassination will increase all over the world, says this expert, unless we take effective countermeasures

Time to Get Tough With Terrorists!

An interview with BRIAN CROZIER
By JAMES ATWATER

For more than 20 years, Brian Crozier has studied the growing threat of international terrorism. As a distinguished British correspondent, he has covered outbreaks of violence and revolution throughout the world. His books are required reading in military training schools in the United Kingdom and the United States. Now director of the London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict, he focuses in this interview on the sophisticated and ruthless tactics terrorists now employ almost everywhere.

Q. Mr. Crozier, how serious is the threat of terrorism today?

A. Very serious indeed. Terrorism—of a quite different sort from anything we've experienced in the past—has become a blight on modern

society. It is "transnational" in scope—that is, there is a kind of global brotherhood of terrorists who share basic beliefs and techniques, and who often give one another support in arms and training. They are usually well-educated men and women from middle-class families.

Most people have no idea how widespread this terrorism has become. In the past five years, for example, more than two dozen diplomats from various countries have been kidnaped and three assassinated. Although the world's press doesn't necessarily report all the incidents, our Institute has records of attacks, week after week, in countries as far apart as Indonesia, Argentina, Chad and the Philippines, to take some random examples. At

least 700 persons were killed in Guatemala in a period from November 1970 through March 1971.

But perhaps the most disturbing thing about the new terrorism is that it is often directed against liberal, Western and Western-style democracies, in stark contrast to the past when revolutionaries attacked repressive societies such as Czarist Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and France's *ancien régime*.

In West Germany and Italy, the attacks of urban guerrillas have recently been major domestic problems. England, Japan, India and Sweden have all experienced terrorism. In the United States, the Weathermen were put out of action after being linked to 4330 incendiary bombings of banks, offices and schools.

Q. What do these terrorists hope to gain by attacking democracies?

A. They try to provoke a breakdown of society and government, so that they can take power. They aim at disrupting law and order to shake the citizens' faith in a system based on freedom and tolerance. They murder, rob, kidnap and dynamite until authorities are forced to curtail civil freedoms and suppress the attacks. By these measures, the authorities alienate ordinary citizens, who then turn against the government—or at least that's what the terrorists hope.

In Brazil, Uruguay, Ceylon and the Philippines, this strategy has had some success. To fight the terrorists, the governments have had

to become more authoritarian, even repressive. Uruguay's formidable guerrillas very nearly overthrew the state before they provoked the army's successful intervention.* In Northern Ireland, the Irish Republican Army prompted a rapid breakdown of law and order, virtually forcing an end to autonomous government in Ulster and leaving the British government no option but to intern hundreds of men without trial—an act that created great sympathy for the IRA in the Catholic community and abroad.

Q. Just how are the terrorist groups around the world linked together?

A. They're connected in ways that are totally new in the history of terrorism. Underground literature crisscrosses the world by ordinary mail, and many groups keep in telephone contact. The Arab guerrilla organization Al Fatah has its own radio programs, and Radio Havana broadcasts terrorist material in several languages. Terrorists also make wide use of jet travel, hiding in the crowds and voyaging halfway around the world in a day. Or they travel by car, preferably when vacation jams form at border crossings and customs and police must be content with perfunctory checks.

Terrorist organizations also cooperate by providing training and places of refuge for each other, as well as money, forged passports and arms. Like armies, terrorists have to

*See "Taps for the Tupamaros," The Reader's Digest, November '72.

have bases. When you trace the lines of supply and communication, you find that they lead to a string of "subversive centers." The most important are in the communist countries: the Soviet Union and its East European satellites especially, but also Red China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

From the Russians' point of view, terrorism is an ideal weapon. In public, they can call for détente and try to improve relations with a government. Simultaneously, they can give secret support to terrorists who may actually be working to overthrow that government.

To the Kremlin, anything is good that undermines the interests of Western Europe or the United States. In Mexico, for example, Soviet intelligence recruited some political dissidents to attend Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University. The Russians then transported the group to North Korea for training in sabotage and terrorism. Returning home, the Mexicans began a campaign of urban terrorism—as a result of which the Soviet chargé d'affaires and several of his staff were expelled.

The Soviet KGB now has its own terrorist training programs in Chile. So has Fidel Castro, who persuaded Salvador Allende, Chile's Marxist president, to let him expand the Cuban embassy in Santiago until it has become the field headquarters for Castroite subversion all over South America.

In 1969, Russian arms began reach-

ing the Palestinian "freedom fighters," who had set up training camps for terrorists in Lebanon and Syria. Scores of Turkish terrorists were instructed at these camps. So were at least three members of the Japanese United Red Army that conducted the massacre at Lod Airport in Israel last May.

Q. How did Japanese terrorists become involved in the Arab-Israeli quarrel?

A. That chain of events illustrates again the transnational nature of present-day terrorism. Nine members of the Japanese group hijacked an airliner in 1970 and took it to Pyongyang, North Korea. There they met George Habbash, the founder of the left-wing Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who persuaded them to join the fight against the Israelis. Three of the Japanese went on to a training camp in Lebanon, then were flown to Rome, where they were armed by an Italian terrorist group, which then booked them on an Air France flight to Lod Airport. There, in a few moments, they killed 25 tourists and wounded 78 more.

At his trial, the one surviving Japanese terrorist warned that Americans would someday "feel for the first time the flow of worldwide revolutionary warfare." He added, "I do not say this as a joke." No one in the courtroom smiled.

Q. How actively have the Red Chinese supported terrorism?

A. The Chinese started fomenting terrorism in the early 1960s.

Their aim was to increase the influence of their own brand of communism in the Third World at the expense of Russia's. At first, they merely lent propaganda support to Asian and African campaigns against Western "imperialism and exploitation." Later, they began giving active support, including weapons and training, to insurgent groups. In 1965 they smuggled arms to Indonesia and backed an attempted communist coup in which six army generals were murdered. In the ensuing massacre, about a half million Indonesians lost their lives.

In Southeast Asia, they have succeeded in gaining almost total control over local communist parties. In Burma, for instance, they now dominate the White Flags, the military arm of the party that had been under Russian control for years. They gave arms to the Thai People's Liberation Armed Forces, and they control the insurgent groups in Malaysia. The Chinese also train the Naga and Mizo rebels in northeast India and inspire the 18,000 Naxalites that spread terror through the West Bengal region.

In Africa and the Middle East, the rivalry between the Chinese and the Russians is intense. In the Persian Gulf, where oil is the prize, they are struggling for control of the insurrection against the sultan of Oman. There, and in the Portuguese African territory of Mozambique, the Chinese have been doing better than the Russians. In Tanzania, too, the Chinese stole a lap on

the Russians by sending in Red Guards to build a railroad for the government. Later they dispatched arms as well. The Chinese also run training camps for foreign terrorists in Tanzania.

But make no mistake. Although the Russians and the Chinese are rivals, they are both fostering terrorism—ranging from minor guerrilla activities to full-blown wars of national liberation.

Q. How successful do you think terrorism has been?

A. In terms of actually attaining power, terrorism has so far been a successful tactic only when backed by a strong surge of popular support in a nationalist cause—in the revolution in China, for instance, or in Algeria. Elsewhere, nevertheless, terrorists remain a dangerous threat. Their methods are becoming ever more technically sophisticated. Their hijacking has exploited the vulnerability of modern aircraft. They've perfected the letter bomb. And now scientists are warning us that, as the supply of fissionable materials becomes more readily available, it will become technically possible for a group of terrorists to assemble their own crude but effective A-bomb—or adapt to their own needs techniques of bacteriological warfare.

Q. Can we do anything to combat terrorism?

A. We can—and *must*—do a number of things.

First, since terrorism is so difficult to fight within the constitutional framework of law and order, each

threatened country needs to create a department of special defense that will pull together all of the knowledge necessary to combat the threat—experts in intelligence, explosives, commando tactics, languages, psychological warfare, communications—and train anti-terrorist squads to be instantly ready for action whenever an incident occurs. In an emergency, as things now stand, a government has to assemble in haste a group of specialists who may be untrained as a team. Because modern terrorism is international in scope, we also need close coordination between various departments of special defense. I suggest that we use such already well-established international defense alliances as NATO to achieve this.

Second, we should try to work out an international treaty suspending all air services to any country that fails to punish skyjackers, or to return them to the country where the flight began. We have to tighten security at airports. Passengers and luggage should be carefully monitored and searched, and travel documents inspected more exactly—despite delay and inconvenience.

Third, as the United States has recommended, U.N. member countries should agree to punish, or send home if he faces punishment there,

any terrorist who hurts, kidnaps or kills any innocent civilian in order to force concessions from a state or an international organization. If the U.N. will not adopt such a measure, the nations of the West and any others that want to join in should make their own agreement.

Finally, I believe that a part of the Western intellectual establishment, through biased or negative criticism of our institutions and society, bears a heavy responsibility for fostering an atmosphere that is favorable to the terrorists. Certain Western countries have a tendency to give hospitality in the media—particularly television—to extreme views and to grant terrorists a platform, while refusing time or space to moderates who want to offer rebuttals. This may make for exciting show business, but it breeds a taste for the real thing.

To sum up, I don't believe that most Western governments yet realize the special nature of the threat that terrorism poses for modern democratic societies. We're especially vulnerable to the daring and fanaticism of the man who is willing to die to get what he wants. We must learn to recognize and to combat this terrorist threat, or its specter will haunt us more and more in the years to come.

Protocol II grants POW status to captured terrorists.

BY ROBERT D. CHAPMAN

THE NEW TERRORIST WEAPON: PROTOCOL II

The police moved forward cautiously and surrounded the house in the suburbs of Chicago. Terrorists were reported to be inside. The police took no chances. They positioned firepower and closed escape routes. The trap was set.

Inside the house ten urban guerrillas of the Puerto Rican Fuerzas Armada de Liberacion Nacional (FALN—National Liberation Armed Forces), a Cuban-supported terrorists movement, realized suddenly that they were surrounded. They screamed obscenities and swore that whoever betrayed them would pay with his life. But a quick look outside at the surrounding police force showed that any attempt to shoot their way out would be suicidal. They had no choice at the moment but surrender. So the terrorists dropped their guns and filed out of the house, hands above their heads. As they did so, they shouted at the police, "Prisoner of war... Prisoner of war."

The police were puzzled. What was this—a bunch of thugs shouting "Prisoner of war?" Per their usual procedure, the police frisked their captives, snapped on handcuffs and took the prisoners to jail.

This exact scene—terrorists shouting they are prisoners of war upon their capture by the police—is being reenacted throughout the world wherever terrorists operate. Caught in *flagrante delicto* in an

act of sabotage, terrorists belonging to the Spanish Frente Revolucionario Antifascista Popular (FRAP—Popular Anti-Fascist Revolutionary Front) dropped their weapons, raised their arms and shouted at the police, "Prisoner of war."

In Northern Ireland, hit teams of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) are briefed before a terrorist mission, "You men are soldiers. If the coppers get you, yell that you're prisoners of war." In Maze Prison, IRA prisoners refuse to wear prison clothing and instead go naked and smear their excrement on cell walls in protest of their imprisonment as common criminals. The issue has been taken to the extreme in the widely publicized hunger strikes of recent months.

These bizarre incidents are occurring because of Protocol II or "Protocol Additional to the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Struggles."

In July 1977, representatives of the United States and a number of other countries met in Geneva, Switzerland and initialed two diplomatic protocols prior to formal ratification in each of the signatory countries. One was Protocol I or "Protocol Additional to the Geneva Convention of 12 August

1949 and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts." It granted prisoner-of-war (POW) status to combatants of wars between two or more different countries. The other, Protocol II, dealt with the treatment of prisoners captured in wars within one country, in other words it applied to guerrillas, terrorists and insurgents. However, for reasons not fully explained, the language of Protocol I extended the Geneva Convention-type treatment, formerly accorded to captive soldiers of conventional forces, to guerrillas, terrorists, and insurgents. It did so by stating that prisoner-of-war status applied "in armed conflicts in which people are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against fascist regimes in the exercise of their self-determination."

Protocol II grants prisoner-of-war status to captured terrorists/insurgents just as if they were soldiers of conventional armies, providing that the terrorists fulfill requirements specified in the protocol. In effect, prisoner-of-war status is extended to the ETA Basque Separatists in Spain, the IRA in Northern Ireland, the Brittany and Corsican movements in France, the FALN in the US and hundreds of other terrorist movements.

The insurgent must attack only government officials and installations and government-related targets.

To qualify under Protocol II for treatment as a POW in the event that a terrorist/insurgent is captured by the opposing (government) side, he must belong to a political movement or organization and wear or display proof of such membership. In conventional wars between nations, combatants must wear uniforms that distinguish them from the civilian population to receive POW status. Protocol II acknowledges situations arise in wars within one country in which terrorist/insurgents do not have, and for other reasons cannot wear, a uniform. In lieu of wearing a uniform, an insurgent must show his political affiliation by some other means.

Protocol II authorizes proof of political affiliation by display of part of a uniform or some distinctive article of clothing. For

example, a beret, or an armband, or a green fatigue shirt may suffice. If distinctive clothing is not available to terrorist/insurgents, the protocol provides that the insurgents' political affiliation can be shown by open display of weaponry or, in the words of Protocol II, "weapons visible to the adversary while he (the insurgent) is engaged in a military deployment preceding the launching of an attack in which he is to participate."

To be eligible for POW status, rather than being dealt with under the prevailing criminal code, the second major requirement imposed by Protocol II is that the terrorist/insurgent must only attack government officials and installations and government-related targets. Protocol II prohibits terrorist/insurgents from attacking the civilian population.

Protocol II's definition, and the actual military situations that occur in insurgencies, clouds the distinction between a government target and a civilian target. Members of the government and the military, security and police personnel certainly are government targets, but so are civilians who enable the government to function against an insurgency. For example, bus and truck drivers who transport personnel, logistics, and food for government personnel are essential to the conduct of the government's counterinsurgency. Government offices and military and police installations are government targets, but hospitals that treat military personnel can also be targets of insurgent forces.

If a terrorist/insurgent fulfills the basic requirements of Protocol II:

- He is properly identified as

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While Protocol II extends rights to insurgents, it tightened requirements for government forces.

belonging to a political insurgency.

- He attacks and kills only government targets, is captured by the government forces, and is confined in a POW camp, *not* in prison.

As a prisoner of war, he is eligible for prisoner exchange and his confinement and treatment is overseen by a representative of a neutral nation, such as India, Libya, Cuba or even the Soviet Union to make certain he is given all rights and privileges dictated by the Geneva Convention.

Should an insurgent be captured not at the scene of action, but subsequently at his place of residence or employment, when he lacks his insurgent identification, he is still eligible for POW status and treatment.

Protocol II ranks as an international treaty as does the Geneva Convention. As such, it supersedes and takes precedence over US state and federal laws.

Consider a hypothetical example of the application of Protocol II. Terrorists, members of the Islamic Guerrillas of America (IGA), rob a federal office in Washington, DC. During their escape they kill an officer of the US Park Police. They are stopped by police patrols as they cross Key Bridge into Virginia, and after a short gunfight, surrender when police reinforcements arrive. The terrorists drop their weapons and demand prisoner of war treatment.

The prisoners are taken to the District of Columbia jail and within an hour are visited by an IGA-retained attorney accompanied by the political attache of the Soviet Embassy. Both representatives create a disturbance by their demand that the IGA prisoners be moved from the criminal detention quarters to a place more commensurate with the intent of the Geneva Convention. The DC police, not quite sure what to do, compromise and move the prison-

ers to isolated quarters. Visits by other IGA militants keep the prisoners supplied with food, cigarettes, magazines.

Two days after their arrest, a special tribunal is convened in Washington. Three District judges preside. The Soviet and Swedish ambassadors are present. Both object that the intent of a "special tribunal" in the context of Protocol II is an international tribunal composed of judges from countries other than where the insurgency is being fought. They ask the American judges to disqualify themselves and appoint judges from other countries. The American judges refuse and the trial begins.

The issue at hand before the special tribunal is whether the prisoners belong to a political movement and whether their affiliation was visible during the attack. Proof is submitted by the defense that the prisoners were IGA members and that throughout the attack they wore the uniform of the guerrilla forces: black beret, camouflage shirt and IGA armband. Moreover, the office that was robbed, the funds stolen and the officer killed were part of the federal government against which the IGA is engaged in a war of liberation. The case is open and shut within the meaning of Protocol II and the prisoners are adjudged prisoners of war. The prisoners are then taken under military escort from the courtroom to a newly improvised POW camp in nearby Ft. Meade, MD.

In real life, on February 11, 1981 a federal court jury in Chicago found the ten FALN terrorists mentioned at the beginning of this article guilty on charges arising from bombings. However, the defendants never attended their trial. On the opening day of the trial, they entered the courtroom, disrupted the proceedings and contended they could not be tried in US courts because they were pris-

oners of war in their fight for Puerto Rican independence. They refused to present a defense, saying they should be tried by an international tribunal.

While Protocol II extends rights and privileges to guerrillas, terrorists and insurgents, it conversely imposes greater restrictions on government forces and military personnel. Such restrictions were clearly advanced and supported by third world countries, mainly African nations such as Angola, Nigeria and Tanzania.

As an example of tighter restrictions imposed upon conventional armed forces, Protocol II liberalized the identification required of insurgent forces, but it tightened the uniform requirements for government forces. Members of conventional armed forces must, if captured by the insurgents, wear uniforms to be eligible as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention. How this might be interpreted against military forces that trim down to khaki shorts and no insignia for forays into guerrilla bush country is likely to prove contentious.

If in fighting insurgents, the government's armed forces incorporate paramilitary or police units in their ranks, as is customary in counterinsurgency warfare, the government must notify the insurgents of the presence of such units. Failure to notify the insurgents can have disastrous results. If the insurgents are not notified of such units in the military operations against them, any members of those units captured by the insurgents are not protected by Protocol II. Therefore, they need not be treated by the insurgents as prisoners of war. This provision negates the government's two most effective counterinsurgent tactics: the use of the police intelligence; and the use of paramilitary units as counter guerrillas.

Protocol II specifically excludes mercenaries from eligibility for

A change in terrorist targeting has already taken place.

POW status. Other provisions of Protocol II aim at restricting government forces from indiscriminate attacks to dislodge insurgents. All attacks made by government forces must target a specific military objective. For instance, an artillery barrage against a city occupied by insurgents would be considered indiscriminate. Any attack against a city must be directed against specific targets within the city. To illustrate, if insurgents hold a city, the government military force trying to recapture the city must identify the buildings and installations held by the insurgents and then attack only those buildings with precisely-aimed rifle, mortar or artillery fire.

In most actual cases that insurgents seize a city or a town, the community is very small, usually a village in an isolated section of the country guarded by only one or two soldiers or policemen. The dilemma under Protocol II is how a conventional military force can recapture an area of such small size which is overrun with insurgents without being charged with indiscriminate destruction of property.

Further, Protocol II states that any attack that would cause the incidental death of civilians beyond the advantage obtained through the attack would be condemned as an indiscriminate attack against the civilian population.

George Aldrich, the chief US delegate at the signing of Protocol II, admitted the wording was ambiguous. But, he remarks, "We thought we would rather have a protocol that would be accepted by countries likely to have civil wars than have an idealistic protocol signed by nobody but the Western European nations." However, in the three short years since Geneva, quite unforeseen by the US representatives who initialed Protocol II, the FALN, the IGA and other groups have spawned in the US. It seems likely that Pro-

TOCOL II will be applied more and more in the US, Northern Ireland and Europe than it will be in the third world countries for which it was intended.

Protocol II may fail to gain ratification by the signatory nations who negotiated its terms in Geneva. But one thing seems certain: terrorist/insurgent forces are aware of Protocol II and seek its *de facto* application in all cases when they are taken prisoner by government forces. A change in terrorist targeting has already taken place. In Spain, Italy, Guatemala and other countries, the corporate official is no longer the terrorists' primary target. Instead, terrorists now have their gunsights on government officials and police, and are letting it be known that they are complying with Protocol II. They are refraining from killing civilians, and in return, demand that they not be treated as criminals.

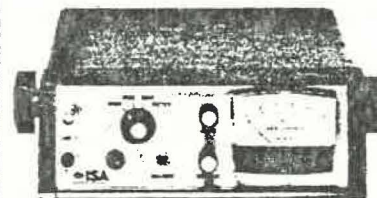
Whether ratified or not, Protocol II has already made its impact. An idea was put forth and initiated and was accepted by the forces of insurgency. It is now part of their battle plan. Undoubtedly insurgencies will increase as the final instrument of radical political opposition, and Protocol II will make them harder to control. It seems certain more people will die because of Protocol II than would be saved by its provisions. [ASIS]

About the Author... Robert Chapman is a former CIA agent who currently works as a security and counterterrorist consultant. A participant in Georgetown University's Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, Chapman also serves as an instructor in a police training school on terrorists' strategic theories and tactics. Chapman was co-author of *The Crimson Web of Terror*, published in 1980. Chapman received three awards for hazardous duty in the field of terrorism while with the CIA.

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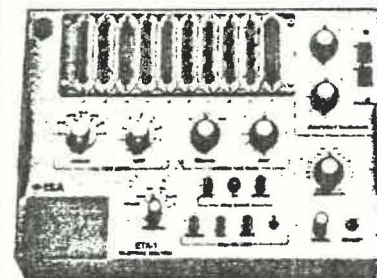
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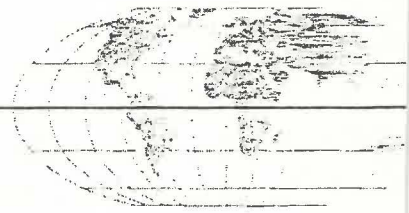
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Political Terrorism And The Banking Community
Address By

Robert R. GLENDON - President International Research Associates -
U.S.A.

POLITICAL TERRORISM AND THE BANKING COMMUNITY

"It is impossible for the urban guerrilla to exist and survive without fighting to expropriate And by expropriating the wealth of the principal enemies of the people the Brazilian revolution was able to hit them at their vital center, the preferential and systematic attacks on the banking network - that is to say, the most telling blows were leveled against capital's nerve system."

Carlos Marighella
Minimanual of the Urban

Banks - Primary Targets Of Political Terrorist Organizations

Banking institutions and bankers have historically been major targets of revolutionary groups. Marighella, the Brazilian revolutionary who lost his life in a terrorist attack in 1969, emphasized attacks against banks and kidnappings as central to the strategy and tactics of revolutionary armed struggle. Marighella's importance to underground terrorist groups throughout the world cannot be underestimated - his Minimanual has been studied and put into practice by political terrorist organizations in both the advanced and underdeveloped nations of the world. Hence, when Marighella signals banking institutions as principal targets for attack, the prudent banking official should heed warning.

In a bank robbery or kidnapping of a banking executive, the terrorist achieves both political and practical objectives. In any attack against a "seat of finance capital" revolutionaries "politicalize" their cause with the masses of "oppressed" people and, at the same time, they serve their own practical needs by acquiring funds to sustain their underground operation.

When committing an act of terrorism against a banking institution, the revolutionary group puts its theory into practice and for this reason, banks will always be primary targets.

In the United States, the political terrorist group singles out not only the American bank, but also targets the foreign bank. This is because revolutionaries are in essence internationalists, and do not confine their actions within the geographical boundaries of any country. The presence of the foreign banking institution in an American city is akin to the presence of the foreign embassy or consulate. In a similar fashion, the American bank in a foreign city is representative of American "imperialism" and, to the terrorist is an inviting target. Hence, because of the international identity of interests of political terrorist groups, foreign banks, regardless of the host country in which they are established, may well become a target of a domestic underground revolutionary organization.

The Present Situation

Since World War II, the rise of guerrilla warfare in former colonial and Third World countries and, in the past two decades, the escalation of political terrorism in the most advanced industrial countries have combined to introduce uncommon anxiety within governments, corporate structures and banking institutions. With a social impact far beyond their mere numbers, underground terrorists have become increasingly more sophisticated in carrying out bombings, air hijackings, kidnappings, extortion/hostage plots and assassinations.