

Union Calendar No. 605

92d Congress, 2d Session

House Report No. 92-1166

AMERICA'S MAOISTS
THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION
THE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

REPORT

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION



JUNE 22, 1972.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the Committee on Internal Security
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

013357

1
2
3
4
5

6

7
8
9
10

11
12
13

AMERICA'S MAOISTS
THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION
THE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

REPORT

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION



JUNE 22, 1972.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the Committee on Internal Security
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

76-877 O

WASHINGTON : 1972

COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RICHARD H. ICHORD, Missouri, *Chairman*

CLAUDE PEPPER, Florida

JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Ohio

RICHARDSON PREYER, North Carolina

ROGER H. ZION, Indiana

ROBERT F. DRINAN, Massachusetts

FLETCHER THOMPSON, Georgia

MENDEL J. DAVIS, South Carolina

JOHN G. SCHMITZ, California

DONALD G. SANDERS, *Chief Counsel*

RICHARD L. SCHULTZ, *Associate Chief Counsel*

ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Legislative Counsel*

JOHN F. LEWIS, *Coordinating Editor*

ROBERT M. HORNER, *Chief Investigator*

WILLIAM G. SHAW, *Research Director*

DEWITT WHITE, *Minority Legal Counsel*

HERBERT ROMERSTEIN, *Minority Chief Investigator*

(II)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C., June 22, 1972.

HON. CARL ALBERT,
Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to House Resolution 5, 92d Congress, first session, and by direction of the committee, I herewith transmit a report entitled "America's Maoists: The Revolutionary Union—The Venceremos Organization."

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD H. ICHORD,
Chairman, Committee on Internal Security.

(III)

CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD -----	IX
SECTION A: THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION	
CHAPTER I—The Public Image -----	1
America's Maoists; the Revolutionary Union surfaces; identifies itself as Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization; publication of "The Red Papers" alleging necessity for violent revolution; roots in "Peninsula Red Guard"; influence in Students for a Democratic Society; national expansion; pilgrimage to Red China; RU newspapers; the RU in industry; 1972 statement of purposes.	
CHAPTER II—From the Inside -----	26
Testimony of former members Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff: summary of their affiliation with Revolutionary Union and RU reaction to their testimony; its ideology; the Five Ideological Principles.	
CHAPTER III—Organizational Structure -----	37
Goffs' testimony: workers, student, and community collectives; control by central committee and political committee; the secret apparatus.	
CHAPTER IV—Recruiting, Training, and Discipline -----	47
Goff's testimony: how members are recruited, trained, disciplined, and protected from infiltrators; sources of income.	
CHAPTER V—Acquiring Revolutionary Tools and Skills -----	59
Goffs' testimony: collection of firearms and explosives; demonstrations, confrontations, violence, thoughts on sabotage.	
CHAPTER VI—Spreading the Word -----	76
Goffs' testimony: propaganda efforts; propagandizing the Armed Forces; front activities; employment in industry; relations with Black Panther Party and other organizations.	
SECTION B: VENCEREMOS	
CHAPTER VII—The Impatient Revolutionaries -----	87
Goffs' testimony: Paper A and Paper B controversy—guerrilla warfare now?: defection led by Professor H. Bruce Franklin.	
CHAPTER VIII—"We Will Win" -----	93
Merger of Franklin faction with Mexican-American Venceremos organization; Venceremos College; whites in the third world struggle: Principles of Unity; acquisition of firearms; Venceremos arsenal seized; further defections.	
CHAPTER IX—Venceremos in Action -----	117
Working through Palo Alto Tenants Union, Palo Altans Against the War, Mid-Peninsula Free University; legal defense; work in high schools; its newspaper, <i>Pamoja Venceremos</i> (Swahili and Spanish words meaning: Together We Will Win); in the councils of government; Venceremos and the Armed Forces.	
CHAPTER X—Analysis and Conclusions -----	128
APPENDIX I:	
Revolutionary Union and Venceremos members -----	131
Responses to committee letters sent under House rule XI, 27 (m) -----	156
Revolutionary Union mailing addresses -----	171

VI

	Page
APPENDIX II:	
"The Split in SDS," I.S., September 1969, pages 51-52-----	173
<i>combat</i> newsletter, vol. 4, No. 2, January 15, 1972-----	177
Summary— <i>The Red Papers</i> , Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 50 internal Revolutionary Union documents furnished by Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff -----	178
Article by Bill Evers, <i>The Stanford Daily</i> , January 4, 1971-----	197
Revolutionary Union document entitled, "Personal and Political Behavior of Comrades"-----	198
Article by Ed Kohn entitled, "Venceremos Stresses Action, Not Theory," <i>The Stanford Daily</i> , February 22, 1971, and article by Kevin Smith entitled, "Venceremos Stresses Centralism," <i>The Stanford Daily</i> , November 10, 1971-----	200
INDEX -----	i

VII

The House Committee on Internal Security is a standing committee of the House of Representatives, constituted as such by the rules of the House, adopted pursuant to Article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 92D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 22, 1971.

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninety-first Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, be, and they are hereby adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninety-second Congress * * *

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(k) Committee on Internal Security, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

11. Committee on Internal Security.

(a) Communist and other subversive activities affecting the internal security of the United States.

(b) The Committee on Internal Security, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make investigations from time to time of (1) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, whether of foreign or domestic origin, their members, agents, and affiliates, which seek to establish, or assist in the establishment of, a totalitarian dictatorship within the United States, or to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or alteration of, the form of government of the United States or of any State thereof, by force, violence, treachery, espionage, sabotage, insurrection, or any unlawful means, (2) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, which incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means, to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States, and (3) all other questions, including the administration and execution of any law of the United States, or any portion of law, relating to the foregoing that would aid the Congress or any committee of the House in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Internal Security shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Internal Security, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents,

as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

28. (a) In order to assist the House in—

(1) its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and

(2) its formulation, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate,

each standing committee shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of that committee.

* * * * *

FOREWORD

The Committee on Internal Security held hearings in October 1971 concerning allegations that organizations espousing violent revolution were involved in efforts to disrupt the Armed Forces of the United States. One of the organizations identified in this respect was the Revolutionary Union. The committee was fortunate to have as witnesses two patriotic citizens, Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff, who had been members of the Revolutionary Union for the purpose of reporting on its activities to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I was astounded at their description of the unequivocally violent objectives of the group, the fanatical dedication of its adherents, and the fact that comparatively little was publicly known about its activities.

The Goffs described the Revolutionary Union as a small but highly dedicated group of men and women who were required to study Mao Tse-tung's "thoughts" interminably, to sublimate personal desires, ignore family ties, possess firearms and be proficient in their use—all as preparation for participation in the violent revolution which "scientific" Marxism says is inevitable in the United States.

The Goffs did not become affiliated with the Revolutionary Union until the latter part of 1969 and they left the organization early in 1971, shortly after a substantial number of its members defected to form the even more revolutionary Venceremos organization. Details concerning the early history of the Revolutionary Union and the later activities of the Revolutionary Union and the Venceremos organization were, therefore, not available to the Goffs. This other information has been collected by the committee's investigative staff and has been incorporated in this report along with a narrative of the Goffs' testimony thus providing a more complete picture of the organizations and their activities.

The objectives of these organizations fall within the mandate of the Committee on Internal Security which authorizes investigations of organizations which "seek to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or alteration of, the form of government of the United States or of any State thereof, by force, violence, treachery, espionage, sabotage, or any unlawful means."

It is also noteworthy in this time of changing Sino-American relations that these are the two principal Maoist organizations in the United States. Their members consider that Mao Tse-tung's thoughts hold all truth and the Chinese communist revolution is their model for the hoped-for revolution in the United States. Revolutionary Union members have already visited Peking. They thus hold the "American franchise" for Maoism abandoned last year by the Progressive Labor Party which suddenly discovered that Mao was a Marxist "revisionist" and no longer worthy of its support.

In light of these aspects, the committee determined that a report on the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos would be of timely benefit.

RICHARD H. ICHORD, *Chairman.*

June 14, 1972.

Union Calendar No. 605

92D CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
2d Session } No. 92-1166

AMERICA'S MAOISTS THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION THE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

JUNE 22, 1972.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the
State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. ICHORD, from the Committee on Internal Security,
submitted the following

REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 5, 92d Cong., 1st sess.]

AMERICA'S MAOISTS
THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION
THE VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION

Section A: The Revolutionary Union

CHAPTER I

THE PUBLIC IMAGE

AMERICA'S MAOISTS

In recent years, communism in the United States—not unlike its counterpart in other areas of the world—has been characterized by the seeming inability of some of its staunchest supporters and loudest spokesmen to agree on basic interpretations of Marxism-Leninism.

Much to the dismay of the traditionalists of the old left, communist splinter groups consisting of from 10 to several hundred members have long shared the Marxist-Leninist stage in America with the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), and the Trotskyite communist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

What once appeared to be a monolithic international communist movement directed by the Kremlin in the Soviet Union has, rather dramatically and quite obviously, been fragmented by disputes over the tactics and methodology to be employed in achieving the common communist goal: making communism the universal political religion of mankind.

Late in 1961, two members of CPUSA—Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer—were expelled from that organization for allegedly disruptive activities because they were sharply critical of so-called Soviet “revisionism.” By early 1962 they had regrouped with several hundred followers and organized the Progressive Labor Movement, now known as the Progressive Labor Party. For the most part of 9 years, PLP gave unswerving support to Mao Tse-tung’s brand of Marxism-Leninism as espoused by the People’s Republic of China. PLP considered itself as the “vanguard” leading the working class in the United States toward a revolutionary victory over the “imperialist war mongers” of a “paper tiger” American Government. Early in 1971, however, PLP angrily concluded that Peking, like Moscow, had become “revisionist” in seeking “peaceful coexistence” with both Soviet communist satellites in Eastern Europe and with noncommunist nations throughout the world.

The final blow was Peking’s steps toward a seeming rapprochement with Washington and the visit of President Nixon to communist China. PLP leaders have now denounced Mao with the same degree

of vitriol they had previously reserved for the Soviets and, more especially, for the Western "imperialists" and "capitalists."

Before the split with Mao "thought," PLP ranks had been shaken by an internal dispute over the timetable for violent revolutionary activity in the U.S. Some PLP followers who wanted to move with greater alacrity and positiveness toward out-and-out militance gravitated toward like-minded confreres among other splinter groups to form the nucleus of what would come to be known as the Revolutionary Union.

This special report examines the Revolutionary Union and its own splinter offshoot, Venceremos, which have replaced PLP as Mao's heralds in America and, as of this writing, represent the principal and most active organizations supporting Marxism-Leninism according to the gospel of Mao.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION SURFACES

In February 1969 an underground newspaper in San Francisco called *The Movement* carried a lengthy interview with an 18-year-old American named Christopher Zhilitowsky Milton who had just returned from 3 years in Red China. Milton said he had attended high school next door to Peking University and had participated with the youthful Red Guards mustered by Mao Tse-tung to wage his so-called "cultural revolution." In *The Movement* interview,¹ Milton made it quite clear he was an advocate of violent revolution. As he viewed the "cultural revolution" experience: "It has made me quite optimistic. The Chinese are no supermen. If they can build socialism, we can too."



(1) Christopher Zhilitowsky Milton

¹ Committee Exhibit 6, *Investigation of Students for a Democratic Society*, pt. 6-A, pp. 1867-1890.

On April 16, 1969, Milton and a group of followers calling themselves the "Chris Milton Offense Committee" demonstrated on the steps of the San Francisco Federal Building and again, on the morning of April 17, at the Oakland, Calif., Induction Center (photographs on page 4) to protest Milton's induction into the Armed Forces which had been ordered for April 17.

The "Committee" asserted that Milton was an active fighter against "U.S. imperialism" and that the United States Government was attempting to draft him to eliminate Milton as a "political leader."²

This event was otherwise noteworthy because leaflets distributed (see page 5) on April 16 showed "the newly formed Revolutionary Union" to be one of Milton's backers.

² Milton was temporarily disqualified from induction into the Army, according to officials of the induction center. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Apr. 19, 1969, p. 9)



Chris Milton (with bull horn) and Robert Avakian (on right)



RU Demonstrators at Oakland Induction Center



Robert Avakian and Barry Greenberg (1 and 2) and demonstrators brandishing copies of Mao Tse-tung's "Quotations of Mao"



WHY DOES THE ARMY WANT TO DRAFT A STONE³ REBEL?

TO KILL HIM... OR SET HIM UP FOR THE BRIG! TO ISOLATE HIM FROM THE PEOPLE!

Chris Milton has been ordered to appear in Oakland on Thursday, 17 April for induction into the U.S. army. Chris is not just another 19 year old American boy being sucked into the imperialist army to kill his class brothers in Vietnam. As a high school student he spent three years in the People's Republic of China. He was among the first group of Red Guards - the students of China who initiated the successful rebellion against the bureaucrats in the schools, the factories, and the collective farms.

Since his return to the U.S. in 1967, Chris has spoken to over 200 groups in this area, and people across the country have read his accounts of his experiences in China. In his article in the Movement (Feb., 1969) and other writings Chris exposes the imperialist lies about China. He has informed people of his involvement in a gentry society, a socialist society, where the leaders of the army, schools, farms, and factories are directly responsible to the people and spend part of each year working in the hardest jobs. In China school principals also work as janitors, foremen as production workers, generals as privates, etc. There the government does not keep the people down; it serves their real interests and relies on them to make policy and challenge and correct wrong policy.

The U.S. government, controlled by a handful of bankers and business tycoons, can't stand the kind of message that Chris is delivering to thousands of people in this country. So the bigshots ordered Chris drafted to get him out of the way - probably for good. When Chris went for his army physical, he refused to sign the oath of loyalty to U.S. imperialism. He stated that he was in favor of the victory of the Vietnamese people in their just struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism, and he threw a red book of quotations from Mao-Tse-Tung at the army psychiatrist. Nevertheless, the psychiatrist reported that Chris showed "no hostility" towards the army! Going against its normal "security" procedures, the army ordered Chris to report for induction.

On Thursday, Chris will refuse to be inducted into the army. His position is that his life is dedicated to the fight against U.S. imperialism, against the system of oppression and exploitation, of racism and genocide. That system is run by the Rockefellers and the Fords and their like. The handful of international gangsters who use the government and especially the army to rob and plunder the people of this country and our brothers and sisters throughout the world.

If the army did not know who Chris was, if they weren't drafting him to destroy his political leadership, Chris would go into the army to help organize rebellion against the Vietnam war, the brass and the corporation pigs they take their orders from. We understand that it is important for those of us who can do so to organize resistance within the army. But when the army drafts one of our brothers to isolate him as a political leader, we must stand in solidarity with his refusal to be drafted.

On Thursday (tomorrow) at 6:00 A.M. a rally in solidarity with Chris Milton will be held in front of the Oakland Induction Center at 15th and Clay Sts. Speakers will include: Frank Bardacke - Oakland 7, David Hilliard - Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, Bob Avakian - from the newly formed Bay Area Revolutionary Union, and others.

Come! Show your support for our brother's leadership in opposing U.S. imperialism.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Written by Bay Area R. U.
distributed by R. S. U.

³ (Committee footnote.) "Stone" as in "Stone Rebel" means "very completely or thoroughly" (Dictionary of American slang).

In June of 1969, just a week before his 20th birthday, Milton addressed the June 18-22 convention of the Students for a Democratic Society about his years in communist China and the exhilaration he had enjoyed as a Red Guard militant.

Milton said the Red Guard has established the "right to rebel" of the Chinese youth because they were satisfied there was "a conspiracy among the bureaucrats in the Chinese government to not serve the people." He said the Young Communist League-dominated work teams which had been sent out by the central committee of the Communist Party tried to co-opt "our spontaneous revolt" but were removed by the Red Guard, which set up revolutionary committees to run the schools.

According to Milton, the revolutionary committees themselves "became quite fascist" and the students decided "to promote revolutionary action. So they took to the streets. For about 2 weeks they went around smashing what they considered to be capitalist hangovers. They messed up the economy." Milton explained that this was permitted by the authorities so that "the youth could directly experiment with the revolution . . . Revolution can't be programmed into people, it's gotta be validly proven by their own experience."

The surfacing of the Revolutionary Union on behalf of Milton followed about a year of organizing. The group has also been known as the Red Union and the Bay Area Revolutionary Union.

Ten days after the Milton demonstrations, the Revolutionary Union and three of its leaders were named in an advertisement in *The Black Panther*, the newspaper of the Black Panther Party headquartered in Oakland, Calif.

[Advertisement in *The Black Panther* dated April 27, 1969, page 12]

THE RED PAPERS

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY?

Some of us have followed Huey's advice and are getting together to start building revolutionary organization. Something solid, based on the principles developed by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. And on the people.

ARE WE FOR REAL? read: THE RED PAPERS, a pamphlet published by the BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION. An attempt to integrate Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao-tse-tung, with the concrete struggles against U.S. imperialism.

Includes: "Statement of Principles of the Bay Area R.U.,"



"Against the Brainwash," a defense of Marxism-Leninism,

"Serve the People," an application of the the thought of Mao among the working class.

A CALL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARY COLLECTIVES.

Send 25¢ to: BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION
Box 291
1230 Grant Avenue
San Francisco, Cal. 94133

bulk rates available
Bob Avakian, Steve Hamilton, Bruce Franklin,
Correspondence Committee, Bay Area R.U.

[NOTE: Box 291, 1230 Grant Avenue, referred to in the above advertisement, is still listed on Revolutionary Union literature. This is a commercial mailing service, not an active headquarters.]

The Revolutionary Union's "Statement of Principles" alluded to in the advertisement for *The Red Papers*⁴ contained the following succinct outline of RU's objectives:

The recognition of class struggle leads inevitably to the recognition of the necessity for violent revolution and the political rule of the working class. It is the task of the revolutionary party of the working class, guided by Marxism-Leninism, to lead the people to victory. The organized repressive violence of the state must be met with the organized revolutionary violence of the people.
POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

The advertisement identified the Revolutionary Union "Correspondence Committee" as Bob Avakian, Steve Hamilton, and Bruce Franklin, who are identified below.



Robert Avakian was born March 7, 1943, in Washington, D.C., but little is known about him until July 22, 1967, when, at the close of a meeting of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee, a circular was distributed which contained a proposal by Avakian that guns be purchased for the use of black militants in the San Francisco area, adding "we must * * * come to the aid of the black revolution. * * *"⁵

He is a University of California (Berkeley) graduate who achieved some notoriety on July 15, 1968, when he burned the American flag while participating in a Black Panther Party demonstration at the Alameda County, Calif., courthouse. He was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace, malicious mischief, and desecration of the flag. Avakian was convicted and sentenced to 30 days in jail.

Avakian became a member of the national interim committee of the Students for a Democratic Society at its June 1969 national convention,⁶ and he was also a leader of a faction of the California Peace and Freedom Party which supported the Black Panther Party.⁷

His name again cropped up when, on behalf of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, he participated in a national "war council" called by the self-styled Weatherman faction of SDS December 27-30, 1969, in Flint, Mich.⁸



Steven Charles Hamilton was born on April 21, 1944, at Los Angeles, Calif. He attended Wheaton College in Wheaton, Ill., in 1962 and 1963, then moved to the University of California, where he was expelled in 1966. At that time he was chairman of the campus Progressive Labor Club.

In August 1966 he was subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in connection with HCUA's inquiry into the Progressive Labor Party.

⁴ This became known within the RU as *The Red Papers 1*. It was followed by "No. 2" and "No. 3."

⁶ Testimony of Edward S. Montgomery of *San Francisco Examiner* on June 27, 1968, House Committee on Un-American Activities investigation of *Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting, and Burning*, pt. 6.

⁶ *Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY*, House Committee on Internal Security report, p. 111.

⁷ *Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders*, Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations report, p. 3733.

⁸ *The Guardian*, Jan. 10, 1970, p. 3.

When he approached the witness chair, Hamilton called the committee members "yellow-bellied racists, cowards, war criminals, and traitors." After objecting to the hearings then being conducted, he testified that "having realized that the basic changes in this society could not be made within the terms of the people who have the power in this society * * * I joined with other people who are fighting for a just and socialist society and I became a member of the Progressive Labor Party and became a Marxist-Leninist."

On January 24, 1968, he was one of the "Oakland 7" who were indicted by an Alameda County, Calif., grand jury on conspiracy charges growing out of disruptive acts committed at the Oakland Induction Center during "Stop the Draft Week" in October 1967. He was acquitted March 28, 1968.



H. Bruce Franklin was born February 28, 1934 at Brooklyn, N.Y. He graduated from Amherst College in 1955, served in the U.S. Air Force from 1956 to 1959, and earned his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1961.

From 1961 to 1964, Franklin was an assistant professor at Stanford, spent the 1964-65 academic year teaching at Johns Hopkins University, then returned to Stanford as associate professor of English in 1965. He is known as an authority on the writings of

Herman Melville (author of *Moby Dick* and *Billy Budd*). He is married to Jane Morgan Franklin and they live in Menlo Park, Calif.

In the fall of 1966, the Franklins were sent to France to the Stanford campus at Tours, outside of Paris. There he read some Marxist texts and conversed at length with several Vietnamese communists who were then visiting France. It was during this period that he said he became a convert to Marxism and he and his wife set up a Marxist-Leninist study group in a "free university" in Paris.⁹

In an interview appearing in Stanford University's *Chapparral* for fall 1967, Franklin discussed his Maoist philosophy and noted that the organized Maoist movement in the United States at that time was the Progressive Labor Party. His review of "Lenin, Youth and Revolution" appeared in the November-December 1967 issue of *PL*, the Progressive Labor Party's monthly magazine.¹⁰

According to law enforcement sources Franklin used the pseudonym "Will B. Outlaw" for a series of articles on "Guns and Politics" he wrote for *Maverick*, a publication of the Revolutionary Union in San Jose. The series was printed as a separate pamphlet. Franklin reviewed gun laws, constantly emphasizing what he considers the imminent passage of legislation which would prohibit any but police to possess firearms. Several articles contain analyses of available rifles

⁹ Franklin was listed in the catalogue of the "Mid-Peninsula Free University," fall 1968, as instructor of a class on Marxism-Leninism and the American Revolution which utilized the selected works of Mao Tse-tung and Lenin.

¹⁰ Franklin stated in January 1969 that he had been affiliated with one of the major political parties and the Peace and Freedom Party and that he was then only a member of the Peninsula Red Guard, which he described as "not a political party." (Debate between Franklin and John H. Howard, president, Rockford College, Jan. 23 and 30, 1969, published by American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C., under title, "Who Should Run the Universities.")

and small arms with Franklin's recommendations as to the best buys. In the November 1969 issue he wrote:

We no longer have the right to bear arms, but we can still keep them in our home. So this might be a good time to start thinking about the day when only us outlaws—and the cops—will have guns. Now's the time to figure out what kind of gun we want to have then, because we're going to have to get them pretty quick. * * * This month I thought we might take a closer look at the kind of long gun we're going to want to have on hand when the fascists have total power. * * *

* * * * *

Two kinds of rifles should be widely available if we ever have to perform the duty the Declaration of Independence tells us we have to overthrow any tyrannical government. * * *

In the November 1970 issue of *Maverick*, Franklin outlined the history of the development of the cartridge, noting they were manufactured in factories owned by the capitalists who have since tried to keep control of ammunition. He added:

Remember all this the next time they make you sign for the cartridges they sell you. Sooner or later we'll be using them to take the factories away from the capitalists.

In the December 1970 issue of *Maverick*, Franklin wrote:

As the police state tries to take away "the right of the people to keep and bear arms" (Article II of the Bill of Rights), * * * a lot of us are arming for self-defense. We have no intention of peacefully giving up the rights established by the first American revolution. In fact, we aim to win some new rights—such as the right to decent jobs, housing, medical and dental care, and freedom from war and fascism—by any means necessary. To do that we are going to need various kinds of tools. In a police state, one necessary tool is a good reliable pocket pistol.

After long looking around and lots of testing, I'm personally convinced that there's one gun in this class that stands out * * *.

* * * * *

One glance shows that this pistol was made to be concealed and drawn quickly. * * *

An article concerning Franklin in the *Los Angeles Times* dated March 7, 1971, by Daryl Lembke notes that Franklin "makes no pretense in class of his admiration for Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Nikolai Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. He even changed one of his courses, 'Melville and Hawthorne' to 'Melville and Marx' claiming that Melville was a 'conscious proletarian writer.'"

On March 22, 1971, the president of Stanford University filed dismissal charges against Franklin, a tenured professor, on the basis of the following acts summarized in the decision of the Stanford University advisory board:

1) On January 11, 1971, Professor Franklin intentionally participated in, and significantly contributed to, the disruption of a scheduled speech by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. Such conduct prevented Ambassador Lodge from speaking, forced cancellation of the meeting, and denied to others their rights to hear and to be heard.

2) On February 10, 1971, a war-protest rally was held in White Plaza. At that rally Professor Franklin urged the audience away from tactics aimed at influencing government policy off-campus. Instead he urged and incited students and others to disrupt University functions by shutting down the Computation Center. Subsequently a shutdown was effected by an unlawful occupation of the Center.

3) Following the unlawful occupation of the Computation Center, Professor Franklin significantly interfered with orderly dispersal in response to police orders by intentionally urging and inciting students and others to disobey the orders to disperse.

4) Following these events, during an evening rally in the Old Union Courtyard Professor Franklin intentionally urged and incited students and others to engage in disruptive conduct which threatened injury to individuals and property. Acts of violence followed.

On January 22, 1972 Franklin was dismissed by the Stanford board of trustees on the recommendation of the university president and advisory board.



Leibel Bergman, although not publicly identified as such in the early public announcements of the Revolutionary Union, was another of its founders, who was so described by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and characterized as "a long-time Communist * * * who first turned against the Communist Party—U S A and then dropped out of a leadership role in the Progressive Labor Party before turning to the RU."¹¹

Bergman was born on May 5, 1915, at Grand Forks, N. Dak. As of March 1971 he resided in Newark, N.J.

Bergman was identified in public testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 13, 1960, as having been section organizer of the AFL (American Federation of Labor) Section of the Communist Party in San Francisco as of 1958. He and his successor in that position, Vernon Bown (also spelled Baun), were expelled from the Communist Party, U.S.A., in 1959 for promoting an internal policy at variance with that of the Communist Party's National Committee. (House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings, *Northern California District of the Communist Party*, Part 3). Both invoked the fifth amendment with respect to questions concerning their membership in the Communist Party.

ROOTS IN THE "PENINSULA RED GUARD"

The highly organized, tightly disciplined Revolutionary Union with its fascination for weaponry, was rooted in another west coast group, the Peninsula Red Guard,¹² centered at Palo Alto, Calif., a university town 25 miles south of San Francisco. An admiring writer for the California underground newspaper, the *Berkeley Barb*, described the Peninsula Red Guard in the following article from its May 31, 1968, issue, page 5:

STANFORD STUDENTS SECRET

By L. F.

Military Editor

"Psst—want to join the movement?"

It may not be long before radicals here will begin to hear this whispered call to action.

The movement will change. It must change. The old come-one-come-all us-against-Johnson days are drawing to a close. A new force—less cumbersome,

¹¹ Testimony, House Appropriations Committee, Mar. 5, 1970.

¹² Another organization with a similar name, The Red Guard of San Francisco (also guided by the thoughts of Mao) existed at the same time. It was an all-Chinese group based in San Francisco's Chinatown. It has been defunct since 1970.

more effective—is needed. And a group at Stanford University is showing how it may well be done.

During the recent Stanford sit-in I was struck by the quiet, orderly fashion in which the minor functionaries operated. I ascribed it to their supposed upper-middle-class gentility and anxiety for approval.

I was wrong. It was the result of good prior organization and genuine militancy.

Many of those "operatives" were members of the Peninsula Red Guard, study-action groups. These units are organized in small groups of no more than a dozen.

They do not organize around specialities. During inactive periods they study the power structure and its vulnerabilities. They get to know each others' strengths and weaknesses.

A spokesman describes their activity as "applying Marxist-Leninist theory as developed through Mao and attempting to relate the theory to practice and to build an American theory based on the practice."

The groups are totally separate and independent. Some of the leaders know each other, and a loose command structure is maintained. Each group has a sort of roving commission to attack the power structure at points of opportunity and fade back into the obscurity of the middle-class milieu.

Members of the Red Guard have organized these groups in addition to the other projects they undertake. To the Red Guard's delight there are apparently other action groups operating independently.

Somehow the Stanford NROTC shack burned down on the first night of the sit-in there. No one in the Red Guard seems to know who the arsonists might be, nor are they interested in inquiring too diligently.

During the sit-in, Red Guard units aided with the tasks of press relations, building security and tactical contingency planning. Their operation was smooth and efficient not because they had trained for the specific tasks but because [sic] they knew each other within the groups.

The implications for the movement are clear. If you want effectiveness, this form of organization is hard to beat.

Interested persons could form groups on heir [sic] own initiative. Only persons who are judged capable and safe should be asked to join. The last thing you want is a fink running loose. Beware of eager-beaver volunteers.

These groups should study the power structure and locate its weaknesses. You have to know what you're up against before you can put it up against the wall.

Participants shouldn't be afraid to adopt middle-class protective coloration. Clothes, you know don't make the man. It's a simple choice; either look like Che Guevara—or act like him.

It's probably too early now to go off on "special projects". But it's getting high time to prepare.¹³

It was described more ominously by *San Francisco Examiner* reporter Ed Montgomery from interviews with persons who had been associated with it. His article follows:

¹³ (Committee footnote.) Thomas Edward Mosher, a witness before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, testified in March 1971 that when he returned to the west coast in December of 1968 after traveling to Cuba he noted the much greater sentiment for "revolutionary action." He said groups began to form whose members viewed terrorism as the next stage for the revolutionary movement. He noted that the Bay Area Revolutionary Union had close connections with the leaders of the Black Panther Party, had supplied Black Panther leaders with explosives and firearms, and said H. Bruce Franklin was the source for C-4 plastic explosives for San Francisco Bay area groups.

Target Date 1973

Leftists Lift Lid on Revolutionary Plans

By Ed Montgomery

Leftist militants are planning a Revolutionary Party designed to overthrow "the establishment" by terrorist activity including assassinations and bombings. The Examiner has been told.

The information came from persons within the movement itself. Persons who said a target date of 1973 has been set for a nationwide "revolutionary takeover."

How many individuals are involved has not been disclosed. However, one activist said our main objective is to make up in the main of militant leaders of an underground organization headquartered in Menlo Park and calling itself the Red Guard. Others would be from the Black Panthers, Students for a Democratic Society, the Yonkers, called "Camp May Resistance and other Marxist groups."

A Death List

The extremist, an instructor at the Life-out Movement in Fresno University, listed a list of persons at a recent meeting of a group of "revolutionaries" in his own Palo Alto home.

Sheet to Beach

And he gave this sheet to the Life-out Movement at his home. Don't fight the draft (to Vietnam and sheet your study meeting of a group of "revolutionaries" in his own Palo Alto home.

Issue an anti-war

Issue an anti-war statement. The Red Guard has named certain persons and community leaders who would be the first to die "when we make and

threat are our prime objectives. All police and members of their families must be killed and law enforcement demoralized.

All jail and prisons should be opened and inmates liberated.

All counter-revolutionaries, or imperialists, who would fight "liberation" must be cut down.

Target: Police

Create as many police confrontations as possible. Set in "police traps" and demand the police to public sympathy. (He cited the Chicago Democratic Convention demonstration with subsequent TV coverage as an example of what can be done to create anti-police sentiment).

Terror is a necessary

Terror is a necessary weapon and must be used to increase cooperation of the masses. "Exaggerated violence" is not to be considered "terrorism" but "war" with Maoist objectives.

Target: English at Stanford

Target: English at Stanford University. The revolution already has begun in Berkeley and

comes weapon, and explosives will be available. Acquire Weapons.

Another informed person, a former Red Guard and SDS member who became disenchanted and dropped out, identified by name a number of Red Guards who have been acquiring weapons, the Stanford student who is in a prominent place, on the various tractors.

This person said Red Guard membership is limited to college students and that a number of Palo Alto - Redwood City high school boys and girls are involved.

He said "You can pick up

the preliminary indoctrination literature almost anywhere from Palo Alto High School. A visit to the school proved the statement correct.

Still another source of information

Still another source of information on the Red Guard was provided by a former of English at Stanford University.

Franklin, who said,

Franklin, who said, "I have not been to Palo Alto, but I don't want to go. I have not been to Palo Alto, but I don't want to go."

himself a revolution, spoke in glowing terms of the revolutionary takeover of the university in Red China. At what his authority was, he said statements, he said he had been and was in touch with individuals "just out" of Red China, persons who have a hand knowledge of the situation there.

He included among his contacts, Christopher Miller, who returned from being recently claiming to be the only caucasian Red Guard. Franklin's wife Jane, interpreted to say there were other whites in the Chinese Red Guard.

He also mentioned "Jimmy" William Howard Hinton, an author who also returned from behind the bamboo curtain.

Gun Toler

When asked to comment on reports of some of the Red Guard members, Franklin said that he had seen which he had seen from his own eyes.

Franklin is coming

Franklin is coming. He said that he had seen which he had seen from his own eyes.

Franklin is coming

Franklin is coming. He said that he had seen which he had seen from his own eyes.



INFLUENCE IN STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Revolutionary Union had maneuvered into an influential position in the Students for a Democratic Society by mid-1969 and thus achieved status among the groups which were constantly jockeying for the ideological "vanguard" position in the new left. Jack Weinberg and Jack Gerson, authors of an International Socialist article entitled, "The Split in SDS,"¹⁴ detailed the part played by the Revolutionary Union in the new left infighting. They gave the RÜ credit for preventing an SDS takeover by Progressive Labor Party supporters and explained the Revolutionary Union competition with the Progressive Labor Party (then 100% pro-Mao) as "an attempt to establish title to the American franchise" for Maoism.

ACTIVITY IN RICHMOND, CALIF.

The Revolutionary Union has been publicly most active in San Jose, Calif., and in Richmond, Calif.

In 1969 Bob Avakian affiliated with a group in Richmond known as the Young Partisans which patterned its demands after those of the Black Panther Party. After the formation of the Revolutionary Union, Avakian continued activity with the Young Partisans, and several leaflets issued in Richmond show they were prepared by "The Revolutionary Union, sponsored by the Young Partisans." In the May 1971 issue of the Revolutionary Union paper, *People Get Ready*, Sue Garrett of Richmond described herself as both a member of the Revolutionary Union and the Young Partisans.

The Revolutionary Union is the dominant faction in a larger group made up of members of several organizations which invariably join forces at public demonstrations in Richmond.

The Revolutionary Union collectives in the Richmond area are oriented toward welfare problems and the Teamsters Union. According to an internal Revolutionary Union document circulated in September 1971, the collectives in the San Francisco East Bay area (Oakland-Berkeley-Richmond) had formerly been based on a "mixture of several areas of work within a given city all combined in a single collective, and people doing the same mass work being in different collectives." The decision was made to organize collectives on the basis of areas of work as much as possible.

Robert Avakian, Steve Hamilton, Doug Monica, and Sue Garrett are the publicly identified Revolutionary Union members who have been most active in the Richmond area. Although Avakian now resides in San Francisco he still controls the Revolutionary Union in the East Bay.

On May 31, 1969, Bob Avakian spoke at New York University under the sponsorship of the Students for a Democratic Society concerning the involvement of the Revolutionary Union in a Standard Oil Company strike at Richmond, Calif., earlier that year. The following description of his speech appeared under the byline of Ed Montgomery in the June 2, 1969, issue of the *San Francisco Examiner*:

¹⁴ *I.S.*, September 1969, is a publication of the International Socialists (formerly Independent Socialist Clubs of America). Their program states, "We stand for socialism: Collective ownership and democratic control of the economy through workers' organizations, established by a revolution from below and aimed toward building a classless society." The article is reproduced in app. II, pp. 173-176.

[San Francisco Examiner, June 2, 1969, by Ed Montgomery.]

In New York Avakian spoke on the role of the working class as a force in the revolutionary movement "to build socialism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

When he spoke of raising the banner of Stalin "right in the heartland of bourgeois imperialism" a voice from the audience corrected him to "Comrade Stalin." Avakian accepted the correction amid applause.

Avakian told how he and other revolutionists moved to Richmond 18 months ago to lay the foundation for the strike. He said that revolutionary violence is going to be necessary to "overthrow this rotten system."

'Pig' Ejected

At this point he was interrupted by the chairman who called for the departure of "the dirty, rotten, open pig from the Red Squad" who had been spotted in the balcony. A police officer walked slowly to the front of the auditorium, looked over the entire audience, and made his exit.

Avakian continued by saying: "One thing we did in Richmond was go to the black people who are oppressed, contacted them, worked with them."

He then quoted Mao on the necessity of integration with the masses and advocated the "mass line — from the masses to the masses."

Avakian said he and his colleagues "lived in the working class district, drank with them, got to know them."

"From time to time," he said, "we tried to harass the pigs when they were making arrests."

Issues

Avakian said they decided their program should revolve

program," the confidential report quotes Avakian as saying.

"It wasn't too hard — the masses have an innate ability to recognize something phony, and they knew the poverty program wasn't going to change their lives.

"We also got guys working in plants in the area, because they had to make some new friends, to make contacts."

He told of landing one of the top revolutionaries with the Rheem plant in Richmond which manufactures steel drums for Standard oil.

Links Traced

"We went to the people and showed them the interconnection between Rheem and Standard, and Standard of California to Standard of New Jersey.

"We agitated around Richmond, passed out leaflets in the Rheem matter and the black workers refused to go back to work.

"Then a 15 year old black youth was shot in the back of the neck, by a pig, and there were three or four days of riots and more trouble at Rheem."

Avakian said the leaflet distributed at the Rheem plant was a two-column leaflet "explaining the oppression of blacks on the one side and the oppression of the white industrial workers on the other side.

"But the white workers did not respond; it was typical white nationalist chauvinism," Avakian said.

He said they experienced their greatest success among the younger men.

Sex Factor

"We found that the young guys, especially, find their work oppressive. As young men, of course, they all go in at the bottom, and they're assigned to shift work, and

we found agitating that the older guys at the plant wanted to protect their jobs," the report states Avakian as saying. "The younger guys were more daring — they were the ones, for instance, who would rush into the plant once someone shot at a truck."

Avakian said they brought in 300 to 400 students who joined the picket lines.

"Now we were able to politicize the strike. We got support from the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State College, and the American Federation of Teachers at U.C. Berkeley," he added.

Infiltration

At another point, while Avakian was describing the mechanics of infiltration at a given plant, he said:

"The thing to do is find out who are the key workers, the leaders who are respected by their co-workers, and work on them. This is the history of the communist movement and its relation to the working class . . ."

"We think that one of the most important demands in order to break the oppression of blacks in the industry is to demand not just that they be hired, but that they be given preferential seniority, preferential advancement and preferential hiring, to overcome years of oppression.

"We agitated on this a little bit, but didn't succeed. In the way of self-criticism we should have been more audacious. This should have been included in the strike demands," Avakian is quoted as saying.

" . . . We have to unite the black people and the student movement — this we have to do to bring a revolution in this country."

Occupied City

Avakian concluded his speech by commenting briefly on Berkeley, which he termed "an occupied city — what you have there is semi-fascism."

He said, "One of the insidious elements working in Berkeley — and I don't want to brag about this — was identified in the Hearst press in San Francisco as our own Bay Area Revolutionary Union . . ."

The aforementioned strike involved the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, Local 1-561. Accounts in newspapers of general circulation reported that students from the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State College, Stanford University, and San Jose State College appeared on the picket line on two occasions in support of the strikers. Their appearance was marked by incidents of rock and bottle throwing at police and the smashing of windshields of automobiles attempting to enter the struck plant. The students were described as "mainly Third World Liberation Front" and members of the Black Student Union and Students for a Democratic Society who had joined the strike at the invitation of the Radical Student Union in Berkeley.

An article under the byline of Bob Avakian appeared in the *Berkley Barb*, a local underground newspaper, noting that:

A number of us in the area, working people from several different unions, have formed a Solidarity Committee to support the oil workers. We have passed out leaflets on the lines, in the union hall, and in the community, linking the fight against Standard to the struggle of students and black people in this country and working people in other countries, against the same class enemy. * * *

EXPANSION OUTSIDE THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

A year after its existence was first publicized the Revolutionary Union had a dozen collectives in Palo Alto, Redwood City, San Jose, San Francisco, Berkeley, and Richmond. Efforts at national expansion began at least as early as mid-1969 when Steve Hamilton and Bob Avakian proselytized among the Students for a Democratic Society during the SDS Chicago convention.

In their testimony before the committee on October 21, 1971, witnesses Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff recounted that in the fall of 1970, Barry Greenberg, national leader of the organization and head of all its activities in the San Jose, Calif., area, had traveled to various parts of the U.S. in an effort to organize new RU units. In this connection, Greenberg said he had visited Chicago, Detroit, the Washington, D.C., area, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Iowa, and Ohio, where he had been in contact with new left leaders and organizations.

As of February 1972 there were two RU collectives in existence in Chicago and RU representatives in Detroit, Mich.; Reading, Pa.; Trenton, N.J. (where the name Trenton Area Revolutionary Union and the acronym TARU are used); and Eugene, Oreg.; as well as on the campuses of Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio, and Fresno State College at Fresno, Calif. The Chicago, Detroit, Reading, Trenton, and Yellow Springs RU groups had representation on the national committee of the RU, which is its highest policymaking body. There also has been RU organizing activity in Los Angeles, Calif., the New York City area, and at Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pa.

The existence of Revolutionary Union members in the Bronx, New York City, was noted in a newspaper entitled *West Bronx on the Move* in its issue dated January 1972. An article bearing the byline "By the Revolutionary Union" noted that "A few of the staff of 'On the Move' are members of the Revolutionary Union."

On page 69 of *A Selection From the Red Papers 1, 2 and 3*, a booklet identified as "published by the Revolutionary Union," which ap-

peared about April 1, 1972, the following are listed as Revolutionary Union addresses:¹⁵

Bay Area R.U.
Box 291,
1230 Grant Ave.,
S.F., Calif. 94133

Los Angeles R.U.
Box 19904
L.A., Calif. 90019

Chicago R.U.
c/o People's Voice
712 S. 5th Ave.
Maywood Ill. 60153

Ohio R.U.
P.O. Box 12245
Cinn. Ohio

Dover R.U.
Box 714
Dover N.H. 03820

New York R.U.
c/o McDermott
2257 Grand Ave.
Bronx, N.Y. 10453

Phila. R.U.
Box 1986
Phila. Pa., 19105

Reading R.U.
Box 3203
Reading, Pa. 19604

Trenton Area R.U.
G.P.O. Box 2722
Trenton, N.J. 08607

PILGRIMAGE TO RED CHINA—SEPTEMBER 1971

On September 23, 1971, Hsinhua (the New China News Agency), the official press service of the communist government of China, in an English-language news broadcast, announced: "A delegation of the Revolutionary Union of the United States of America arrived here (Peking) by air on September 21 for a visit to China on invitation."

A second Hsinhua English-language news broadcast, datelined Peking, October 5, 1971, added the following information:

Chou En-lai, premier of the State Council, Kuo Mo-jo, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Kang Piao, head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Ting Hsi-lin, vice president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, here this evening met and had a cordial, friendly conversation with more than 70 American friends who are now visiting or working in Peking. Among the American friends present at the meeting were: All the members of the delegation of the Revolutionary Union of the United States. . . .

The Revolutionary Union delegation were guests of the Chinese communist government for 6 weeks.¹⁶ After their return, three members of the delegation, Robert Avakian; Mary Louise Greenberg, a San Jose RU member; and Douglas Monica, a Richmond, Calif., RU member, launched a series of public appearances for the purpose of extolling the beauties and accomplishments of the Chinese revolution.

Typical of the publicity preceding these public appearances was the flyer reproduced on the following page announcing one such appearance in Berkeley, Calif. on January 14, 1972.

Upon the return to this country of the pilgrims, a number of articles concerning the trip appeared in the monthly newspapers of the Revolutionary Union, *People Get Ready* in Richmond, Calif., *Salt of the Earth* in San Jose, and *Wildcat* in San Francisco. Uniformly laudatory of the communist revolution in China and the current communist government of that country, these items appeared in several forms. Some were straight byline articles by those persons identified above, or interviews of those persons by newspaper staff people. Others were articles written in a fashion to protect the identity of the individual who had traveled to China as a part of the Revolutionary Union delegation.

¹⁵ For the identities of the boxholders listed, persons authorized to receive mail through these boxes, and related information, see app. I, pp. 171, 172.

¹⁶ A fuller account of the visit of the Revolutionary Union delegation to China appeared in the newsletter *combat*, vol. 4, No. 2, dated Jan. 15, 1972. See app. II, p. 177.

The December 1971 issue of *Salt of the Earth* (vol. 1, No. 10), on page 10, carries the announcement that Mary Lou Greenberg, recently returned from a visit to China, was available to speak and show slides concerning her China visit. Mrs. Greenberg could be contacted through Post Office Box 8383, San Jose (the published post office box of the newspaper) or at telephone number 286-8859, which has been determined to be her residence telephone at Apartment 4, 810 Jeanne Avenue, San Jose.

Robert Avakian, Mary Louise Greenberg, and Douglas Monica all traveled to China on currently valid U.S. passports. Although both Mary Louise Greenberg and Douglas Monica claimed on their passport applications their intention to travel to Western Europe, they applied for their passports and received them within a few days before their departure for communist China. Avakian traveled on a passport issued to him in 1969.

The Revolutionary Union published a 51-page pamphlet dated February 1972, entitled "China's Foreign Policy: A Leninist Policy." It is in question and answer form and was described as "based on an interview with members of the delegation of the Revolutionary Union who visited China in September-October of 1971." The pamphlet includes the following excerpts on Chinese policy toward the United States and the Soviet Union:

Question: In the past year the People's Republic of China has established diplomatic relations with a number of capitalist countries and now, of course, the Chinese are allowing Nixon to come to China, representing a government the Chinese have all along called the number one enemy of the people of the world. Does this represent a basic change in Chinese foreign policy, or a kind of "softening" of the revolutionary line?

Answer: No. It represents a great victory for the Chinese people, in smashing the diplomatic, economic, political and military encirclement of a few super-powers, headed by the U.S. government.

* * * * *

Question: But why does China want to have diplomatic relations with these countries, especially the imperialist governments like the United States?

Answer: The Chinese people suffered greatly under the domination of these big foreign powers who carved up China and exploited her people and resources. Because of this, despite its tremendous progress since 1949, China is still backward in many areas.

Its agriculture is just beginning to be mechanized, and some parts of industry, such as heavy machine building and lumber, are still underdeveloped. So if they can enter into trade with other countries, even capitalist or imperialist countries, on a basis that is beneficial to the people of both sides, they are more than willing to do so.

No foreign power will ever dominate China again, like in the old days. No rich foreigners will set up plantations and sweat-shops to make millions off the Chinese people. But trade and exchange on a truly equal basis is another thing, and the Chinese people are strong enough to safeguard their independence even while trading with the biggest powers.

But more important than economic trade, the Chinese people are very anxious to have direct contact with the people of all the countries in the world in order to promote the unity of the world's peoples in fighting for freedom and world peace against imperialism.

For this reason, the Chinese enter into relations with non-socialist, even imperialist countries on the basis of the five principles of "1) Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2) Mutual non-aggression; 3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; 4) equality and mutual benefit (in trade, etc.) and 5) Peaceful co-existence."

Question: You just mentioned "world peace" and "peaceful co-existence." Haven't the Chinese attacked the leaders of the Soviet Union as revisionists for seeking peaceful co-existence with the United States? What is the difference between the Chinese and the Soviet policy here?

Answer: The basic difference between the two lines is that the Chinese uphold peaceful co-existence as the correct basis for relations only between countries with different social systems, between socialist countries and non-socialist countries.

So at the same time as they strive for peace, socialist countries like China must also prepare against the possibility of war.

The only way to put an end to war, once-and-for-all, is for the people in the countries dominated by imperialists to drive them out, and for the people of all countries to overthrow their reactionary ruling classes and take the road of building socialism under the leadership of the working class.

This is the Chinese position, and for this reason, while upholding the "five principles" in relations with non-socialist governments, they give support to all genuine anti-imperialist movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and to the people's movements in the capitalist and imperialist countries.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION NEWSPAPERS

The RU currently publishes three tabloid-size monthly newspapers in the San Francisco Bay area: *Salt of the Earth*, produced by the RU in San Jose, Calif.; *People Get Ready*, produced by the RU in Richmond, Calif.; and *Wildcat*, produced by the RU in San Francisco, Calif.

The papers deal with current economic and social problems, primarily of local interest. They are not self-identified as Revolutionary Union publications although "Revolutionary Union" sometimes appears as a byline on an article, and they do not blatantly promote the hard-line revolutionary program of the Revolutionary Union but emphasize the day-to-day problems affecting the working class in an obvious attempt to appeal to that readership.

Salt of the Earth is the second title under which the San Jose RU newspaper has been published. From February 1969 to November 1970 it appeared under the name *Maverick*. The split in the RU over ideological issues, which developed in the fall of 1970 and resulted in an estimated one-half of the membership's defection to form the Venceremos organization, found control of the newspaper falling to the dissidents. This group produced one additional issue of *Maverick* in January 1971, but thereafter changed the name of its paper to *Venceremos* to match the name of the organization, and later to *Pamoja Venceremos*,¹⁷ under which name it now appears. Those who remained loyal to the RU in San Jose, chose the new name *Salt of the Earth* and published the first issue in February 1971.

Maverick, the address of which appeared as Post Office Box 4242, Station C, San Jose, Calif., devoted substantial space in its issues to attacks against the management of major employers in the San Jose area, primarily for alleged oppressive working conditions. It also contained numerous articles supporting the Black Panther Party, the American Indians who occupied Alcatraz Island, and similar oppositionist causes, urging community control of the police and attacking the police authorities for alleged illegal and improper actions and demanding immediate release from prison of all "political prisoners" and the dropping of charges against such persons.

¹⁷ See "Pamoja Venceremos," chapter IX for information concerning that newspaper.

Also appearing were articles highlighting problems, such as inflation, prison conditions, the school situation, pollution, inadequate housing, and alleged discrimination against minorities, and sharply criticizing efforts being made to combat these problems.

Many articles bore no bylines. Others were shown to have been written by "staff members" or bore the byline "by the Revolutionary Union." The names of individuals identified by Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff as members of the RU in San Jose appeared as authors of articles appearing in the *Maverick*, including "Vonda Black," "Marlene Charyn," "Dean Granholm," "John Kincaid," and "LuCarol O'Neill." The byline "Will B. Outlaw" appeared regularly on articles concerned with firearms, their use, and the legal matters surrounding the ownership and use of weapons. As previously noted, law enforcement sources have identified this name as a nom de plume of H. Bruce Franklin, one of the founders of the RU and now leader of the Venceremos organization. These articles have since appeared in paperback form under the title "Guns and Politics."

Salt of the Earth, the address of which appears in its pages as Post Office Box 8383, San Jose, Calif., is subtitled *Santa Clara County Community News*. It has appeared monthly since February 1971. Contained in its first issue is the statement: "'Salt of the Earth' is put out by some of the people who helped produce the San Jose 'Maverick.'" The subject matters of items which have been published in *Salt of the Earth* are similar to those which appeared in the earlier *Maverick*. Dealt with in recent issues of *Salt of the Earth* have been the visit of an RU delegation to communist China in September and October 1971, congratulations to and support in the name of the RU for the 1,300 sailors of the U.S.S. *Coral Sea* who signed a petition to keep the ship at home, and scathing attacks against Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff for their appearance before the House Committee on Internal Security as witnesses.

As in the earlier *Maverick*, many articles in *Salt of the Earth* bore no bylines or were shown to have been prepared by "The Revolutionary Union." However, included as authors of byline articles are the names of a number of individuals identified by the Goffs as members of the RU in San Jose, such as "Cathy Doll," "Barry Greenberg," "Mary Lou Greenberg," "Ted James," "Chris Menchine," "Dan O'Neal," "Karl Schachter," and "Craig Shubert."

The December 1971 issue of *Salt of the Earth* contains an article, under the byline of "Craig Shubert," captioned "Community Action Patrol," lauding the activities of a group by that name, which was described as cruising the streets of San Jose, equipped with two-way radio, to record by camera and on tape the activities of the San Jose police.

On the front page of the October 1971 issue of *Salt of the Earth* was an unsigned article captioned "Jobless Demand Extension," which announced the formation of a new organization of the unemployed, the Bay Area Unemployed Workers' Committee, the immediate aim of which was to obtain an extension in State unemployment benefits. The article stated that information concerning the new organization was available through *People Get Ready*, P.O. Box 372, Richmond, Calif., and *Wildcat*, P.O. Box 40159, San Francisco, Calif., as well as through *Salt of the Earth* itself, P.O. Box 8383, San Jose, Calif. The

same article appeared in the October 1971 issues of the other two papers.¹⁸

Wildcat listed an office address in its early issues of 491 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, and since May 1971 has shown this address as 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco. In June 1971 the paper also announced a new mailing address: Post Office Box 40159, San Francisco. *Wildcat* first appeared in August 1970. It is similar in appearance and content to the other RU newspapers. Included in its pages have been a number of anti-Vietnam war and anti-U.S. military articles, articles in support of the women's liberation movement and articles lauding communist China.

Beginning with the issue of May 1971, *Wildcat* has contained a Spanish-language section which reprints in Spanish articles and items appearing elsewhere in the newspaper in English. *Salt of the Earth* of San Jose also follows this practice.

The early issues of *Wildcat* regularly carried the gun articles with the byline "Will B. Outlaw," referred to above in the discussion of the San Jose *Maverick*. In its mid-1971 issues, *Wildcat* printed a series of articles on handguns, dealing with a separate weapon in each article, pointing up the availability, advantages and drawbacks, and the relative revolutionary usefulness of each such weapon.

The January 1971 *Wildcat* announced the formation of a New Women's Collective, the address of which was the same as that of the newspaper.

Susan Garrett and Douglas Monica were identified in articles in the September and October 1971 issues of *Wildcat* as members of the Revolutionary Union.

People Get Ready has been published monthly since September 1970. It uses the mailing address: Post Office Box 372, Richmond, Calif. In its second issue, dated October 1970, is the statement: "'People Get Ready' is put out by a group of working and poor people in Richmond, Oakland and Berkeley." In its content and form, *People Get Ready* resembles the other newspapers discussed earlier. Nine articles in various issues bear the byline "by the Revolutionary Union." The October 1970 issue noted the arrest of Robert Avakian on September 25, 1970, by the San Pablo, Calif., police for selling *People Get Ready* without a permit.

An internal document of the RU, entitled "Guidelines for PGR Discussion," makes the point that *People Get Ready* should fight for the class outlook of the lower strata of the proletariat—the low paid, largely unskilled workers. The goal of the newspaper was "to become the voice of the people in this area."

Appearing under the date of May 1, 1971, was a publication titled *May Day*, which was described as a special combined issue of *People Get Ready*, *Salt of the Earth*, and *Wildcat*.¹⁹

The *West Bronx on the Move* tabloid newspaper, which gives as its mailing address "c/o David Katzman, 1889 Sedgewick Avenue, Bronx,

¹⁸ A former RU member, who requested anonymity and who was familiar with the operations of the San Jose *Maverick*, has advised the committee that there was a free exchange of articles and features for publication between the three San Francisco Bay area RU newspapers, *Wildcat* in San Francisco, *People Get Ready* in Richmond, and *Maverick*.

¹⁹ This section was prepared in March 1972. The Bay Area RU publications *People Get Ready*, *Salt of the Earth*, and *Wildcat* are subsequently reported to have ceased publication and to have been merged into a single RU periodical for the entire San Francisco Bay area, *The Bay Area Worker*, the first issue of which was dated April 1972.

New York 10453," carries as the centerfold article in its issue No. 3, dated January 1972, an article captioned "Kids & Education in China," with no byline. The first paragraph of this article states:

This month ON THE MOVE is pleased to be able to interview Michelle, a young office worker from the Bronx, who recently returned from a five week stay in the People's Republic of China. She went as a member of the Revolutionary Union, which was invited by the Chinese Communist Party.

"Michelle" is not further identified in the article, which quotes her glowing description of life in communist China.

On page 12 of the January 1972 *On the Move* is a major article headlined "Stacked Board Gives Workers Raw Deal," with the byline "by the Revolutionary Union." The article sharply criticizes all facets of "Phase Two" of the Federal anti-inflation economic program and concludes:

Phase II is only one more reminder that there is only permanent [sic] solution to the problems of working and oppressed people, here and throughout the world: the overthrow of the monopolists' system and the establishment of socialism, in which the factories, farms, and the government will be run by the working class according to the needs of the people and not the profits of the few.

This article is introduced with the following two paragraphs:

A few of the staff of ON THE MOVE are members of the Revolutionary Union and from time to time will contribute articles to the paper expressing the RU's viewpoint. The Revolutionary Union is a national communist organization of workers and students, Black, Brown, Native American, Asian and White.

Its members are working on ON THE MOVE because they agree with the principles in the "Who We Are" statement. The RU feels that people must unite and fight for their rights, that only by fighting can they better the lousy conditions they have to live and work under. RU people also see that in the long term the only solution to the problems of society is to get rid of the parasites responsible, the monopoly capitalists. Their rule must be replaced with socialism, which says: **SINCE THE WORKING PEOPLE PRODUCE EVERYTHING IN SOCIETY THEY SHOULD RUN IT!**

The "Who We Are" statement referred to above appears on page 2 of the January 1972 *On the Move* and states in part:

Four months ago, we at ON THE MOVE decided to put out a newspaper by, for and about people in the west Bronx. We became convinced of the need for this kind of paper through discussions we had about how to begin solving the problems we all face living in this community. All of us agreed that one of the things we really need is a paper that will tell the truth about what's happening here and in other places all over the world.

* * * * *

The staff of ON THE MOVE come from different backgrounds. * * * But we all agree that the lives of poor and working people in the West Bronx (and all over the U.S.) get harder and harder every day. * * * The exploitation of human beings does not fall from the sky—it exists because a handful of rich men who run this country (and much of the rest of the world) reap profits from it. We can get power away from these ruthless men, but we have to be willing to struggle.

We at ON THE MOVE see that this struggle will occur on five fronts:

1. THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION OF BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS AND AN END TO RACIST OPPRESSION.
2. THE FIGHT FOR FULL EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN.
3. THE FIGHT TO SUPPORT THE VIETNAMESE AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM FROM FOREIGN INVADERS.
4. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD DEPRIVE US OF OUR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND CREATE A POLICE STATE.

FOR EXAMPLE: PUTTING IN NO KNOCK LAWS; TAKING AWAY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND TO BEAR ARMS.

5. THE STRUGGLE TO DEFEND OUR LIVING STANDARDS AS WE ARE HIT BY RENT HIKES, THE WAGES FREEZE, RISING PRICES AND DECAYING COMMUNITIES.

* * * * *

These men and their system (capitalism) cannot exist [sic] without racism, the oppression of women, the exploitation of weaker countries and of the majority of Americans. They depend on each and all of these. And this is what links up the five main areas of struggle. In each case the enemy is the same. When we strike a blow for one, we strike a blow for all the others by carrying on all of them for all of us and build a better life.

THE RU IN INDUSTRY

The Red Papers 2, one of the "books of scripture" of the RU, states:

Communists must pursue the policy of isolating labor bureaucrats in unions and the flunkies of Capital within the working class generally by fighting for a program that meets the immediate needs of the working class, on the job and in the community, and develops these struggles into all-around political struggle against the imperialist state. But that is not enough: Communists must also consistently carry on around our full political program—socialism and communism—and in this way raise the general level of consciousness in the working class and find the most advanced workers who can form the basis of a workers movement intermediate between the trade unions and the communist collectives, and who can be developed through these intermediate organizations into communist cadre.

* * * * *

This will happen, of course, only as communists carry on patient political work, pay attention especially to developing the most advanced, while, at the same time, practicing the mass line and helping to lead the struggles so that the broadest numbers of people are actively involved and learn from their own experience. This is the way to convert our present organization in the working class—skeleton anti-imperialist organizations, made up of a handful of advanced workers and communists—into mass organizations, based on the united front program and led by communists and other revolutionary workers. This is also the way our present collectives, made up largely of students and ex-students, can be transformed into true communist organizations of the working class, capable of uniting together to form a single vanguard party of the proletariat.

Beginning in early 1971, the RU launched efforts to infiltrate industry in the San Francisco Bay area. The main focus of this effort has been the communication and transportation industries, including such targets in San Francisco as the San Francisco Municipal Railway, the company operating the public schoolbuses, the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, and the U.S. Postal Service.

The prescribed RU strategy is to have its members obtain employment in a particular industry and join the union. An attack is then launched by the RU members on the union leadership, accusing it of being merely a tool of the capitalist system, and an attempt is made to form a dissident caucus within the union. This caucus is then to be utilized to advance the "political awareness" of the workers and to promote their "working class consciousness" with the ultimate aim that the workers will take over the industry. As of late 1971, such radical caucuses were said to exist in the unions of the San Francisco Municipal Railway, the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, and the U.S. Postal Service.

In late 1971, a collective was organized to infiltrate the Teamsters Union in the San Francisco East Bay area to attempt to eventually seize control of major food distribution centers in that area. The RU plan in this instance was to have RU members join the union as the prelude to obtaining employment in the industry.

The RU has instructed that its members in industry be open about their RU connections and their communist politics and to relate these to the problems of the workers. Revolutionary communism is not to be forced upon the workers, but voiced in such a fashion that the workers will be won over.

After a year of effort, the RU evaluated its progress in revolutionizing industry as minimal and disappointing. It was realized that relatively few RU members are employed and concluded that many trade unions are "politically dead."²⁰

1972 STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

In early 1972 the Revolutionary Union published a pamphlet entitled, "India's Aggression in Pakistan—The Background of 'Bangladesh'" which contains the following description of the Revolutionary Union and a statement of its objectives:

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION is a national communist organization made up mainly of workers and students, Black, Brown, Asian, Native American and white. Our immediate program is to bring together, under the leadership of the working class, the main spearheads of struggle against the US imperialist system: the liberation struggle of the oppressed minority nationalities, the fight against imperialist wars of aggression like Vietnam, the defense of democratic rights and opposition to the growth of fascist repression by the imperialist state: the battle against the oppression of women, and resistance to the monopoly capitalists' attacks on the peoples' living standards. The long-range goal of this United Front Against Imperialism, led by the working class, is to overthrow the dictatorship of the handful of monopoly capitalists (imperialists) and to establish the dictatorship of the working class, the great majority of society, to build toward socialism and communism.

In order to solidify its leadership of this United Front Against Imperialism, to weld together and advance the spearheads of struggle against the imperialist system, to seize political power from the monopoly capitalists and continue to build socialism and communism, the working class must have the leadership of a genuine Communist Party, made up of its most dedicated, self-sacrificing, disciplined and far-seeing representatives, of all nationalities. This Communist Party must be based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought, which draws its name from the three greatest leaders of the working class: Karl, Marx, father of communism; V. I. Lenin, leader of the first successful communist revolution, in Russia; and Mao Tse Tung, leader of the Chinese people, who have made the greatest advances in building socialism.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought is the science of the development of social life through several forms of class oppression—slavery, feudalism and capitalism—and the revolutionary struggle to overcome class oppression and achieve classless society: communism. Communists in the United States must apply the universal laws of this science to our own particular conditions, in order to lead the working class and oppressed people to victory. To do this, we must join together into a single Communist Party, with the discipline, division of labor, and strategy and tactics capable of leading the immediate struggle of the people toward the long-range goal, and, when the time is right, organizing the people to deal the death blow to the imperialist system.

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION is carrying forward this work, along with other communist organizations, and laying the basis, through common work, struggle, and discussion of our programs, to unite our forces to form this single Communist Party of the United States, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

²⁰ Certain efforts of the Venceremos organization to penetrate and revolutionize industry are summarized in chapter IX, "Venceremos in Action," p. 117.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE INSIDE

Testimony of Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff¹

SUMMARY OF THEIR AFFILIATION WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION

Lawrence Lee Goff is a 31-year-old native of Kalamazoo, Michigan. He has a high school education and took some courses at San Jose City College. He served as an enlisted man in the United States Navy from 1959 until 1963 and thereafter worked in Michigan as a machinist and in Texas as a pipefitter. Beginning in the latter part of 1965 he embarked on Christian missionary work, without any formal church affiliation, in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama. He lived as a missionary with his wife and children among a remote Indian tribe in Panama for most of 2 years. Upon returning to the United States in late 1968 he became a minister for a Church of God congregation in San Jose, Calif., for a few months and was thereafter employed as a machinist and gunsmith in San Jose. He is presently a police officer in Lemoore, Calif.

Mrs. Betty Sue Goff is a native of Mississippi who has lived in various localities in the United States with her mother and stepfather, a career Navy man, now serving as a chief petty officer.

The Goffs have four children.

In the fall of 1969, in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Lawrence Goff began to attend functions of an organization known as the Radical Action Movement (RAM) at San Jose State College. He later learned that this was a front group of the Revolutionary Union (RU). He was next invited to attend meetings of RAM held at the homes of its members. When Mr. Goff feigned an interest in the programs and projects of RAM, he was invited to become more deeply involved, specifically to attend demonstrations in which RAM was a participant and to hand out literature being disseminated by RAM.

In the spring of 1970, after several months of having attended meetings of the San Jose student-oriented RU front groups, RAM and the Bill Haywood Collective, participating in demonstrations in which these organizations were involved in the San Francisco Bay area, and involving himself in the activities of these groups, Mr. Goff was offered an opportunity to become a member of the RU. Preparatory to being

¹ Chapters II through VII contain a composite of the information appearing in the Goffs' oral testimony on Oct. 21, 1971, and in the report of interviews of the Goffs conducted by committee investigator Stuart L. H. Pott on Aug. 26, 27, 30, 31, and Oct. 12, 1971, which was accepted for the hearing record on Oct. 21, 1971.

The identities of the Revolutionary Union members named by the Goffs in public and executive session testimony on Oct. 21 and 22, 1971, are set forth in app. I, pp. 131-155.

accepted into the RU, Mr. Goff underwent intensive interview by Barry Greenberg, the leader of all RU activity in the San Jose area and a national officer of the organization. Greenberg at this time was unknown to Mr. Goff, and Mr. Goff was driven to a rendezvous to meet him. Greenberg extracted from Mr. Goff the latter's promise that he would work diligently toward armed revolution in the U.S. and satisfied himself that Mr. Goff subscribed to the revolutionary principles of the RU as they are set forth in the RU's published policy documents, *The Red Papers 1, 2, and 3.*² Mr. Goff was then accepted as a member of the RU.

Promptly upon becoming an RU member, Mr. Goff was ordered to leave the college student movement, for which it was decided he was too old, and to work toward the revolution among the proletariat. He was instructed to obtain a blue-collar factory job, which he did.

It was upon the specific instruction of the RU that Mr. Goff obtained employment in the ordnance division of the Food Machinery Corporation at its San Jose plant. Then Mr. Goff was placed in a workers collective of the RU in San Jose. While a member of this collective, Mr. Goff attended its weekly meetings and weekly study group classes where he was taught the ideology of communism as interpreted by Mao Tse-tung. He also participated in various protest demonstrations in which the RU was involved.

Mr. Goff found himself to have gained favor with Barry Greenberg, the San Jose RU leader, Greenberg, from a middle-class background, was apparently impressed with Mr. Goff's proletarian qualities. According to the teachings of Chairman Mao, every effort is to be made to recruit proletarian leadership for the revolution, and Greenberg appeared to consider that Mr. Goff had particular potential in this area.

In time, Mr. Goff became chairman of his workers collective and a member of the local executive committee, the next higher RU administrative body. He also was chosen to serve on the local RU security committee in October 1970, largely because he had taken courses in police science at San Jose City College. In addition, Mr. Goff wrote a column on hunting and fishing for the local RU newspaper, known then as *Maverick* and later as *Salt of the Earth*.

As chairman of his collective, Mr. Goff attended a meeting of the central committee of the RU, its highest administrative body, in San Francisco in October 1970. It was through this means that he learned the identities of the national leadership of the organization and the membership of the political committee, the top policymaking group of the organization. Mr. Goff was able to identify as members of the political committee Barry Greenberg; his wife, Mary Lou Greenberg; Bruce Franklin; his wife, Jane Franklin; Leibel Bergman; Robert Avakian; Steve Hamilton, and Larry Harris.

As an RU member, Mr. Goff was given training in the use of firearms and explosives. On one occasion he was asked to store a supply of RU-owned explosives in the garage at his residence, but declined.

The RU insists that its members be in excellent physical condition, and Mr. Goff led classes in physical fitness for the San Jose RU.

² A summary of *The Red Papers, 1, 2, and 3* and a summary of 50 internal Revolutionary Union documents furnished by the Goffs appear in app. II, pp. 175-196.

In the late fall of 1970, Mr. Goff injured his back and was forced to leave his employment at the Food Machinery Corporation. Because of his knowledge of firearms and his abilities as a machinist, he began repairing weapons which were the property of the RU or RU members. This afforded Mr. Goff the opportunity to record the serial numbers of RU weapons and to conduct ballistics tests on them, which he made available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

At this time a deep ideological schism developed in the ranks of the RU. H. Bruce Franklin, the leader of the dissident faction, was convinced that the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat was already sufficiently raised to allow guerrilla activity and armed revolution to begin. The loyalist RU faction was equally convinced that the proletariat was not yet ready for armed revolution; in fact, that revolutionary action should not be considered for an additional 15 to 20 years. This disagreement resulted in a split in the RU in about January 1971 and the formation by the dissidents, under Bruce Franklin, of an offshoot organization known as Venceremos. About half of the membership remained loyal to the original RU position and the other half defected to Franklin and Venceremos.

Mr. Goff elected to go with the new Venceremos group. He attended meetings of this organization in Palo Alto, Calif., in the homes of its members, including that of Franklin. Mr. Goff remained a member of Venceremos for only a month, redefecting to the RU when he realized little success in developing significant information regarding Venceremos and its activities. Mr. Goff felt that the RU itself presented a more serious threat to society because of its highly organized state, its secrecy of operation, its strict discipline, and its long-range plans for violent revolution. Mr. Goff had "recruited" his wife into the RU in July 1970, and upon deciding to leave Venceremos he allowed himself to be re-recruited into the RU by his wife. Soon thereafter, Mrs. Goff became chairman of her RU collective, the community collective in San Jose, and Mr. Goff was placed in that collective as a member, since he had lost rank by his defection to Venceremos and was unemployed and could not return to his workers collective.

In the course of their RU membership, the Goffs became closely acquainted with Barry Greenberg and his wife, Mary Lou Greenberg, the undisputed leaders of all RU activity in the San Jose area. Through this close association, the Goffs became knowledgeable regarding the leaders and the activities of the RU at all levels.

In the spring of 1971 the Goffs found it necessary to terminate their work in the RU because of the unreasonable demands placed upon them. They found they were obliged to attend some four or five meetings a week, each of which lasted 4 to 5 hours, and to participate in training sessions, weapons practice, and in RU demonstrations. They also realized that the RU was a particularly bad influence on their four young children. The RU considers the children of its members to be the property of the revolutionary movement; and since the RU activities of the Goffs often required them to be away from home, the RU provided babysitters who were RU members and who diligently attempted to indoctrinate and influence the Goff children.

On March 8, 1971, the RU in San Jose planned a demonstration on the campus of San Jose City College in connection with Women's Day activities there. Barry Greenberg was to participate. Mr. Goff informed

law enforcement officials regarding the planned demonstration and, as a result, Greenberg was arrested. A few days later, the weekly college newspaper reported that the dean of the college had been alerted by Federal authorities that the RU would demonstrate on campus and that Greenberg would be there. Mr. Goff feared that suspicion would be directed toward him as an informant and that he had been "burned."

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Goff was instructed to appear at the Greenberg residence, where he was subjected to questioning by both Barry and Mary Lou Greenberg. It was clear to Mr. Goff that the Greenbergs thought that it was he who had alerted the authorities and with forethought he used the Greenberg's telephone to advise someone where he was and that he would soon be leaving. In the course of being questioned by the Greenbergs, Mr. Goff was given a glass of wine, of which he drank only a small portion, but which made him drowsy. As he feigned actual sleep on the Greenberg's sofa, the Greenbergs made several telephone calls. Mr. Goff feared that instructions were being given to other RU members to come to the Greenberg home to interrogate him, at the very least. So with his own phone call having established a pretext, Mr. Goff was able to leave the Greenberg residence shortly thereafter.

In preparation for possible difficulties with the RU, the Goffs had obtained RU approval for Mrs. Goff to leave San Jose temporarily for her mother's home in central California, since the mother was scheduled for surgery. Mr. Goff was to be permitted to visit his wife on weekends. Mrs. Goff had actually left San Jose with the children, but had returned alone without the knowledge of the RU. On the evening when the Greenbergs interrogated Mr. Goff, the Goffs left San Jose permanently, completely severing their connections with the RU.

On July 11, 1971, San Jose RU members Larry Casquero and Angie Kalvelage appeared at the Goff residence in Lemoore, Calif. The door was answered by one of the Goff children, who was told to summon the Goffs. The Goffs refused to admit Casquero and Kalvelage, who then pounded the door and attempted to force entry. The police were called and a neighbor appeared to assist the Goffs. When the police arrived Casquero and Kalvelage departed.

Thereafter, the Goffs received a letter sent by Larry Casquero on August 3, 1971, demanding that certain unnamed property belonging to the RU be returned by the Goffs and threatening that the matter would be taken to small claims court if the property were not returned. The Goffs say they had no such property and that they ignored the letter. They have had no further contact with the RU.

MRS. GOFF'S RECRUITMENT BY RU

Mrs. Goff was "recruited" into the RU in San Jose by her husband in July 1970. Through her husband she had become known to RU members and had acquired considerable information about the RU. Since both Mr. and Mrs. Goff had come from religious backgrounds, they were considered particularly challenging converts by the RU. Also their true proletarian status made them attractive recruits.

Mrs. Goff, upon being accepted into RU membership, was placed in the community collective of the RU in San Jose. There she worked on infiltrating various welfare projects and with a front activity of

the San Jose RU, the Santa Clara County Workers Committee which was designed to attract working class people so that the RU might exploit their grievances. In a short time, Mrs. Goff was chosen chairman of her collective and became a member of the local executive committee of the RU in San Jose. She also served as a member of the newspaper committee, a specialized committee of the San Jose RU with the responsibility for publishing the local RU monthly newspaper. In addition, Mrs. Goff was assigned the task of instructing female members in the use and maintenance of firearms. She also was named to the local proficiency committee, which had the responsibility for preparing RU members in the matter of skills necessary to wage armed revolution. An additional duty assigned to Mrs. Goff was that of instructing male RU members in domestic duties, such as child care, cooking, and housekeeping. Since certain of the female members would be required to devote their full time to front-line revolutionary activity when the revolution started, it was deemed necessary to instruct certain of the male RU members in these domestic matters.

As a member of the local executive committee of the RU in San Jose, Mrs. Goff attended a meeting of the central committee of the RU, held in January 1971 at a camp belonging to the University of California, located near Cazadero, Calif. There she learned the identities of major RU leaders and was in contact with RU leaders from other cities.

REACTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION TO THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOFFS

The Goffs testified publicly before the Committee on Internal Security on October 21, 1971.

The San Francisco Examiner newspaper in its issue of October 23, 1971, carried the following photograph and article:



Weapons Stockpile

Militants Claim FBI Dupe

It was FBI informer Lawrence L. Goff who proposed that the Revolutionary Union stockpile automatic weapons, explosives and mustard gas, RU spokesmen said here today.

Responding to yesterday's testimony in Washington by Goff and his wife, the admittedly Communist RU charged that their members wanted nothing to do with weapons, explosives or gassing and were never able to get the Goffs to do any field work.

The Goffs yesterday told the House Internal Security Committee that Goff was asked to convert semi-automatic weapons into fully automatic weapons and the RU wanted to stockpile such

weapons. Goff is a gunsmith.

RU spokesmen Marcelle Stevens, 23, of San Francisco, and Chris Menchine, 20, of the San Jose RU chapter, acknowledged that they had a part in planning demonstrations against President Nixon at a political appearance on behalf of then Sen. George Murphy, who at the time was campaigning hard to avert defeat at the hands of Sen. John Tunney.

Menchine said that RU planning of the demonstration did not include plans for violence or, as the Goffs charged, plans to pile rocks and carry wrenches for protection during the demonstration.

"We're not going to condemn anyone who threw an

egg or a rock at President Nixon — but we didn't organize that," Menchine said.

"The Goffs never participated in any day-to-day activities of the RU," said Menchine. "All they did was continually try to provoke us into illegal actions."

Menchine charged that the FBI informer proposed at one point that he make mustard gas to be used to drive military recruiters from the San Jose State College campus and was rebuffed.

He said after the Goffs disappeared from RU activity last spring, he knew nothing of their activities until their testimony yesterday. He said he found out they were FBI agents from reading yesterday's newspapers.

In an article entitled "‘We suspected they were pigs’ Franklin says of infiltrators," the *San Jose Mercury*, in its October 22, 1971, issue, quotes H. Bruce Franklin, identified as a "Maoist revolutionary leader" and suspended professor at Stanford University, to the effect that Franklin and his associates were strongly suspicious that Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff were informants of the police from the time of their first contacts with the Goffs. Franklin is further quoted: "We feel to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing and not a bad thing. It indicates they are worried about us. If we're not attacked, it shows we're not doing our job as revolutionaries." In the same article, Chris Menchine is quoted as characterizing the committee's exposure of the RU and its programs as—

another futile attempt to divide, confuse and intimidate the masses of American people, especially the American workers.

The Revolutionary Union is a Communist organization which does not hide its view. The millions of working people of this country will overthrow this rotten, parasitic boss class and set up their own socialist society.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* of October 23, 1971, in its coverage of Menchine's press conference, added that Menchine stated that the Revolutionary Union does indeed attempt to put members in the military and into labor unions, and quoted him: "As revolutionaries, we want to go where the revolutionary people are likely to be."

IDEOLOGY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION

ACCORDING TO THE GOFF'S TESTIMONY

The ideology of the Revolutionary Union is centered on the scientific application of Marxist-Leninist communism as interpreted by Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Communist Party of China. The RU is unyieldingly dedicated to establishing a pure form of communism, which it feels has not yet been established in the People's Republic of China. RU members are taught that violent armed revolution is inevitable in the United States and in all other countries where the principles of Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Mao are not being applied. To assure the success of the inevitable revolution, it is imperative that the political consciousness of the proletariat be raised until the necessity for armed revolution is understood. To accomplish this, the proletariat must have the guidance of a communist party which completely understands communism and the science of establishing a Marxist-Leninist society based on Mao's teachings. The RU claims to be the only such party in the United States.

All members of the RU must dedicate themselves completely to the organization and abide by its collective decisions. They must constantly study the principles of Mao, Marx, and Lenin. They must learn through the scientific application of those principles to dedicate themselves, their possessions, and their families to the communist movement. They must continuously engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to evaluate their progress in developing a true communist party and to develop an effective program for the production and perpetuation of socialism, communism, and the revolution.

In order to accomplish these ends, the RU is broken down into small groups known as collectives. These collectives are designed to be the links between the RU and the masses of working people. In these small

groups, RU members are expected to concentrate on identifying the problems of the working people and determining what the true party line must be. Thus informed, the RU member is under strict instructions to "raise the consciousness" of members of the working class by assuring that they recognize the manner in which they are being abused by the imperialist, capitalist ruling class.

According to the RU ideology, the development of a "mass line" will provide the means by which the RU can guide the working class to revolution. Through the experiences of the collectives in their work with the people and through the RU's self-criticism of its performance at the collective and higher levels, the awareness of the masses is expected to be raised to such an extent that the proletariat will be ready to wage armed revolution. This mobilization of the masses and the ensuing revolt, according to the RU, will be guided by the RU, and the dictatorship of capitalism will thus be replaced by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

By means of its intensive efforts among the proletariat, the RU expects that it will be able to recruit those members of the working class with a high degree of political awareness and with leadership capabilities early in its revolutionary timetable.

According to the RU plan, at the present time, before the masses are ready to revolt, the RU will support the legal struggles of the people. Members of the RU are under instructions to obtain jobs among the proletariat in order to identify their problems and then concentrate on those issues which can be exploited. The RU proposes thereby to increase the revolutionary awareness of the workers and to win their support.

RU principal functionary Barry Greenberg maintained that the revolution will occur in the United States in 15 to 20 years and that the revolution will be a violent one because the capitalists will not give up without a fight. Proper revolutionary guidance can be provided only by a Maoist communist party such as the RU. This must be guidance and not direct leadership, and all leaders must abide by criticism and self-criticism of the comrades in the movement. The RU sees as its primary task the creation of the awareness and threshold for the revolution. The revolution itself will take place when a proper awareness or revolutionary consciousness has been developed among the masses working in production, distribution, and communications.

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

The following, which is quoted from "Position Paper B" (a summary of which appears in the appendix at page 185), an internal document of the RU obtained by Lawrence Goff, portrays the revolutionary policy of the RU as of March 1971, when the Goffs terminated their affiliation with that organization:

Our real pressing task is to build the mass movement, especially in the working class and to contribute through this mass movement to the further development of the contradictions of U.S. Imperialism. The main part of this work will be open political work, not illegal military³ work. Armed struggle, in this period will unfold as a secondary aspect of political work; its main value will be political—

³ (Committee footnote.) The adjective "military" in RU parlance and in this context applies to guerrilla warfare and armed uprising and not to RU activity directed against the Armed Forces.

helping to mobilize the masses for political struggle, most of which will not involve armed struggle. In other words, what we must develop *now*, is the *tactics* of armed struggle, as part of the overall political struggle, not the *strategy* of armed struggle for state power. There is nothing new in our view. It is exactly what is said in Red Papers I, under the section, "The Present Situation and The Goal";

* * * * *

Why do we say that? To put it simply: in a colonial or semi-colonial country, the masses are always in a revolutionary situation; in an imperialist country, the masses, the majority, are in a revolutionary situation only during a period of extreme economic and political crisis.

* * * * *

But the authors of the "military strategy" paper ["Position Paper A"] approach matters in completely the opposite manner. They are out for protracted guerrilla war, no matter what the conditions of the people and the struggle; so they try to twist reality and history around to justify their subjective scheme for urban protracted guerrilla war.

* * * * *

Since the main form of struggle will (for some time) be mass non-military work, and armed struggle will have the purpose of supporting the non-military struggle, military work will have to be carried on separately from our main form of organization. Our organization must develop as a Marxist-Leninist [sic] cadre formation, not convert itself into a guerrilla force, or an embryo of some future People's Army or try to be both at the same time. A separate apparatus must be developed, outside the main cadre formation, to carry on military work. * * *

* * * * *

To sum up: the "military strategy" of "protracted urban war" must be rejected by our organization [the RU], because it puts forward military action "guerilla warfare" under conditions where the political struggle must be primary, military struggle secondary and supportive of the political struggle. It is dangerous because, if implemented, it would have the effect of turning the organization into a guerilla formation, and would lead to the destruction of the organization. It is fundamentally opposed to the United Front Against Imperialism strategy, developed by our organization as the correct line for our struggle.

We must continue to base ourselves [sic] on the united front, led by the proletariat, and concentrate our work in the working class; develop real ties in the working class, merge Communist propaganda and agitation and revolutionary education of the workers with their practical struggle; and apply military tactics that aid the development of a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Organizationally, we must raise the theoretical level of all cadre, strengthen democratic centralism, and establish what apparatus is necessary to carry out all forms of struggle that correspond to the level of political development of the mass movement.

[1] Specifically, on the military front: we should create disciplined squads, capable of giving leadership at demonstrations, strikes, etc. [2] We should encourage the development of an apparatus, outside our cadre formation, to carry out necessary actions under correct political leadership. [3] We should concentrate more work within the imperialist armed forces: develop our propaganda and agitation, and give leadership to G.I. struggles, and build the unity of the soldiers and the masses of people as a whole. [4] We should do broader propaganda among the masses, on the need for armed revolutionary violence to overthrow the state. [5] We should take up the organization of self-defense on a mass basis, among the workers and especially the Black and brown peoples. [6] We should continue our policy of developing the technical competency of all cadre. [Emphasis in original.]

THE FIVE IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

According to Lawrence Goff, at the time an individual was found acceptable for membership in the RU and was asked to join, he was required to subscribe without qualification or reservation to five ideo-

logical principles. The following is excerpted from Mr. Goff's testimony before the committee on October 21, 1971, regarding this matter:

Mr. FERRY.⁴ Did you ever have a discussion with Barry Greenberg concerning what the requirements of membership in the Revolutionary Union were?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; Barry Greenberg was the one I was taken to from the chairman of the Bill Haywood Collective,⁵ who was also the chairman of the RAM;⁶ and he personally took me in his car, and Barry Greenberg in his living room laid out the qualifications and then asked me questions to see if I was qualified.

Mr. FERRY. What were the qualifications?

Mr. GOFF. Well, there were four basic qualifications at that time and since then there has been one added.

Mr. FERRY. What are those?

Mr. GOFF. One is that I would have to believe in democratic centralism.

Mr. FERRY. Was this explained to you?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, it was.

Mr. FERRY. Would you tell the committee how it was explained to you?

Mr. GOFF. I knew of some of these things before then because I had already been to study groups in RAM and the Bill Haywood Collective and they began to indoctrinate me and let me know some of these terms, which are strictly Mao Tse-tung, out of Mao's terms and thoughts on democratic centralism. It simply means that you become under the discipline of the organization. In other words, whatever the collective decides that you should do or not do you go by that discipline. I might give you an example. My wife and I later on were members and wanted to go down to Lemoore to visit her family, and it took us 3 hours—it was only for 2 days—and it took us 3 hours to convince this collective and the local executive that it was necessary because, you see, in this type of organization you just don't do things idly; it has to serve a purpose. If it is not serving the revolution then it is pretty hard to get done, and there were people denied a day off because it was not, I mean it was just like taking a vacation, you just could not do it.

Mr. FERRY. Let me ask you then, What was the second major point explained to you?

Mr. GOFF. The second major point was would I personally be willing to bear arms when it came time to shoot and kill and whatever was necessary to violently overthrow the state?

* * * * *

Mr. FERRY. Mr. Goff, you were telling the committee the four basic requirements of membership in the Revolutionary Union. You mentioned the second one was that you personally bear arms. Would you tell the committee what the third basic requirement is?

Mr. GOFF. The second one was bear arms, the third one was that I had to agree to violently overthrow the state.

Mr. FERRY. Was this explained to you?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, in a kind of broad term. He did say there is going to be a very bloody battle simply for the reason that the imperialist powers do not intend to give up what they have; that the capitalist system is not going to give up without a fight. He said it would be nice if they would just turn it over to us, but we know by history that doesn't happen, so it is going to have to be taken violently by a battle.

Mr. FERRY. What was the fourth major point of the program?

Mr. GOFF. The fourth one was the dictatorship of the proletariat and this simply means—it sounds, it scares us when you hear it—but it simply means that "dictatorship," meaning in control; dictating what is going to take place, what is going to go on in the system. "Proletariat" means the common worker, the production worker. In other words, that you will be in control of the system.

Mr. FERRY. Was there later added a fifth part of this program?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, there was.

Mr. FERRY. What was that, please?

⁴ Daniel R. Ferry, committee counsel.

⁵ Identified by Mr. Goff as the youth or student arm of the Revolutionary Union in San Jose, Calif., now out of existence.

⁶ Radical Action Movement, described by Mr. Goff as a front group of the RU at San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.

Mr. Goff. That was the support of the Black Panther Party. A quick example of this, like if we were to hear that they were being raided in San Francisco at their headquarters, that we were supposed to come up behind the line of the police officers or whoever was attacking them and divert the fire from them to us and to set fires, to draw attention away from the Panthers. That was the way, how we were supposed to support them.

Elsewhere in his testimony, in the course of discussing the discipline, dedication, and devotion to revolutionary ideals of members of the RU, Mr. Goff stated :

They are very dedicated, willing to sacrifice life if need be, to accomplish their goal, which is to violently overthrow the state.

The testimony continues :

Mr. FERRY. Will you explain, please, what this goal is to violently overthrow the Government of the United States?

Mr. Goff. Their goal is now that every member should be proficient in the use of firearms, explosives, and sabotage type tactics, but they stress more importance now on getting into the military and into factories, certain factories, and into the communications systems, such as Bell Telephone Company, and getting the working class of this country together. And when they have accomplished that they believe that it will just be a simple matter to overthrow the state.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Goffs' Testimony

According to the Goffs, the Revolutionary Union was formed in 1968 in Palo Alto, Calif. Soon thereafter, the organization became active in San Jose, Calif., a much more industrialized area. This was in keeping with a prime tenet of the RU that work toward an armed overthrow of the Government should be focused upon the working class. Because of the highly compartmented organization of the RU and the fact that it observes the strictest of security measures, even among its own membership, the Goffs were never in a position to develop detailed information regarding RU activities outside the San Jose area. In the fall of 1970, the RU launched an effort to expand into a national organization, but precise information regarding the success of this venture was not available to the Goffs, nor were they able to estimate the national membership of the RU. From a nucleus of 12 individuals in 1968, the membership of the RU in the San Francisco Bay area grew to an estimated 400 members, according to the Goffs, and the RU membership in the San Jose area numbered 50 to 55.

As mentioned earlier, organizers of the RU included H. Bruce Franklin, a dedicated communist revolutionary who was a professor at Stanford University in Palo Alto; his wife, Jane Franklin; Robert Avakian, a leftist political activist in the San Francisco-Berkeley area; and Leibel Bergman, a dedicated longtime communist. Barry Greenberg, the leader of RU activities in the San Jose area, a Ph. D. candidate at Stanford University, and his wife Mary Lou Greenberg were recruited into the RU in its early days. Now a leader of RU on the national level, Greenberg claimed that he and his wife were originally pacifists who were radicalized and recruited into the RU by Bruce Franklin and Leibel Bergman.

The Red Papers 1, 2, and 3, published under the imprimatur of the RU, were composed by Robert Avakian, Bruce Franklin, and Barry Greenberg. Considered the "bible" of the RU and the rule and guide for all RU activity, these documents were derived from the essays and writings in Mao's "little red book," *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and are the subject of continuing intensive study by all RU members.

COLLECTIVES

The smallest organizational unit of the RU is the collective, as prescribed by the RU's published policy papers, *The Red Papers 1, 2, and 3*. While *The Red Papers* do not provide detailed organizational structure for the RU, they indicate that the RU is to be based on a group of cells known as collectives.

Each collective has its own area of interest and its own function. The collectives work in those areas which the RU deems it necessary

to influence in working toward armed revolution. The collective is composed of not less than three persons and not more than 10. Under the strict security practices of the RU, a member of one collective does not have access to detailed information regarding the makeup or activities of other collectives in the same city or geographical area.

The purpose of the collective is to alert individual RU members to those issues in society which can be exploited. The organization uses such issues to raise the political consciousness of the masses to the "evils" of our society and, in a disguised form, to educate them to the advantages of a communist society as prescribed by Mao Tse-tung. The collective is the means used by the RU to transform its members into the cadre of a true revolutionary communist party. Not only are the members made aware of the problems of the proletariat, but they are also schooled and disciplined to assure that their own thoughts and actions are in consonance with Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought. This is accomplished by criticism by the other members and self-criticism on the part of the member at the weekly collective meetings.

During the Goff's affiliation with the RU, there were five collectives in the San Jose area: two workers collectives, two student collectives, and a community collective.

THE WORKERS COLLECTIVES

Those assigned to the workers collectives concentrated their activities on spreading RU influence in factories and among the working class. All members assigned to these collectives were ordered to get jobs in factories, to relate to their fellow workers, and to establish front groups or caucuses of workers by learning which issues could be best exploited. Mr. Goff was placed in a workers collective and ordered to obtain a job at a local factory, which he did.

The following are excerpts from the testimony of Mr. Goff before the committee on October 21, 1971, with regard to this matter:

Mr. GOFF. * * * I was in the workers collective because at that time I was in the factory type work.

Mr. FERRY. Were there any instructions pertaining to your work in the factory?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; my instructions were to start a caucus, particularly at this factory because it was a defense plant.

Mr. FERRY. What was the name of this plant?

Mr. GOFF. The name of the plant was FMC, Food Machinery Corporation. They have a Government contract to build Army transports for Vietnam.

Mr. FERRY. Were you working on this particular contract?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, I was.

Mr. FERRY. What were the instructions pertaining to your work?

Mr. GOFF. My instructions as far as the RU was concerned was to start a caucus amongst the working class there to encourage them to go to the union meeting and begin to get control of the union, and that was the purpose—first to start a caucus, you know, which I believe would have been very easy to do in the situation at that plant.

* * * * *

Mr. FERRY. I want to go back just for a second. You mentioned earlier that some members of the RU worked in industries which were employed with defense contracts. Do you know of any specific examples other than the one you mentioned?

Mr. GOFF. Just one, I remember. I am not sure if Western Electric is considered a defense plant. This person was employed there. A person was not allowed to

get a job anywhere. They were given a list of the San Jose area of where they could apply for jobs and places that they could not. They wanted to get in main places like General Motors, Ford, Bell Telephone, and these places where they have a large amount of production type work.

Mr. FERRY. Would members be assigned to certain jobs or certain areas?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir. I was assigned to go to two areas to apply for jobs—* * * a first task, a primary task, is what they called it—and mine was General Motors or Ford.

Mr. FERRY. Was there any concentration within the telephone industry or communications?

Mr. GOFF. There certainly is. In the San Jose area, I am not sure what it is now, but when I left our workers collective got so big that it had to split in half because you are only allowed to have 10 people in a collective, and it split in half. So at that time I know of three individuals who were in the Bell Telephone system.

Mr. FERRY. What was the emphasis placed there?

Mr. GOFF. The emphasis there was to try to create insubordination, to try to form a caucus and build a base among the women there, and to start forming or getting control of the union.

Mrs. GOFF. I would like to say some more. In the positions that these members were instructed to get, it was also to obtain, be near, information pertaining to the other potential recruits into the organization.

Mr. FERRY. Are we speaking now about phone operation or linemen or what type of people within the system?

Mr. GOFF. Phone operators and also in key positions in the records. In fact, in Palo Alto the RU had Bruce Franklin who boasted that they had three-quarters of the RU people inside working at the Bell Telephone system in Palo Alto,¹ not only as operators, but as key people who were now officials in the union and cannot be removed because of their political views.

THE STUDENT COLLECTIVES

During the period when the Goffs were affiliated with the RU, there were two student collectives in San Jose. One was centered at San Jose State College and its prime activity was the operation of two RU front groups, the Radical Action Movement (RAM) and the Bill Haywood Collective. RAM members were generally students at the college, but not all RAM members were members of the RU. RAM was under the control of two or three RU members. The activities of RAM included the showing of anti-Vietnam war, anticapitalist, and anti-imperialist films on campus; dissemination of propaganda in this vein; and cooperation with other campus protest groups in demonstrations and similar activities. An important function of RAM was to identify potential candidates for membership in the RU. Those students who exhibited revolutionary awareness and a proclivity toward revolutionary thought were singled out for special attention. It was by initially joining RAM that Mr. Goff eventually attained membership in the RU.

The Bill Haywood Collective engaged in activities similar to those of RAM. Its members agitated at student demonstrations. Only the more promising student radicals were admitted to the Haywood Collective and they were given instruction in revolutionary philosophy. Members of this collective were closely scrutinized to determine whether they would make dedicated RU members. It was from this group that Mr. Goff was admitted to membership in the RU.

The second student collective in San Jose was operated at San Jose City College. Its activities were similar to those conducted by the San Jose State College student collective, but were much less successful.

¹ In the course of interview in August 1971, the Goffs stated that in the late fall of 1970 Bruce Franklin claimed that approximately three-quarters of the RU in Palo Alto were telephone operators.

Mr. Goff voiced the opinion that many of the students in attendance at San Jose City College were what he termed "street dudes," who had no interest in revolutionary thought and action and who were not susceptible to RU propaganda. In this collective were RU members who directed front groups targeted at younger students. RU activity was focused on the local community center where many teenage high school and junior high school students congregated. RU members contacted high school and junior high school students to urge or support student strikes and to proselytize the more "politically active" students.

With regard to his having joined the RU through the Radical Action Movement and the Bill Haywood Collective, Mr. Goff testified before the committee on October 21, 1971, as follows:

Mr. FERRY. Would you explain briefly how you first learned there was a Revolutionary Union?

Mr. GOFF. I had to learn it on my own; nobody told me there was a Revolutionary Union. In fact I didn't even hear the word until I showed lots and lots of interest in this Radical Action Movement. I wanted to get up higher, you see, and then I joined into the Bill Haywood Collective.

Mr. FERRY. What is the Bill Haywood Collective?

Mr. GOFF. The Bill Haywood Collective was the second step at that time before a person could become a Revolutionary Union member.

THE COMMUNITY COLLECTIVE

The remaining collective in the San Jose area was the community collective, of which Mrs. Goff was a member and later chairman. Membership was comprised of persons who were not employed and not students. Its activities included working within community organizations to infiltrate them, the formation of front groups such as workers committees and tenants unions in an effort to exploit the problems of the proletariat, and the publishing of the RU newspaper.

The following is an excerpt from the testimony of Mrs. Goff before the committee concerning the activities of the community collective:

Mrs. GOFF. I was a member of the community collective. We had many outreaches like infiltrating the Welfare Rights Organization, putting out this newspaper, *Salt of the Earth*, running tenants' unions or causing them to be formed as front groups.² The Santa Clara County Workers Committee, which attracted workers, would be a place where they could come and voice their gripes and then be instructed as to what they could do about it.³

² Another former member of the RU in San Jose has said he became a member of the RU through his association with the San Jose Tenants Union, which he described as having been formed in late 1969 or early 1970 by VISTA volunteers, college students, and members of the RU. As a result of a struggle for control, the RU assumed direction of this effort. According to this source, dissension at the leadership level resulted in the union's accomplishing virtually none of its stated purposes, but it did furnish a forum for the spreading of the inflammatory doctrine of the RU.

³ The San Jose RU newspaper, *Maverick*, on p. 8 of its issue No. 8, vol. 1 dated October 1969, announced the formation on Oct. 21, 1969, of the Santa Clara County Workers Committee. It stated that the committee was formed to "work for the interest and unity of all working people," and that workers from Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel, Ford, Western Electric, Fiberglas, General Electric, Stanford University, General Motors, and International Paper had taken part in its first meeting; further, that the committee planned to support strikes, to inform the public about workers' struggles, and to help workers solve their on-the-job and community problems. Also, a food committee would be formed to collect food for families during strikes. Additional information concerning the committee was stated to be available through "Vern" at telephone 251-9208. Records of the public schools of San Jose reveal that on Nov. 5, 1969, an application for the use of public school space for meetings of this committee had been made by Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Black in the name of the Santa Clara County Workers Committee. The Blacks indicated that the committee did not as yet have a business address and that for the time being it would use their residence address and telephone number: 1630 Longview Street, San Jose, 251-9208. As set forth elsewhere in this report, the Goffs identified both Vernon and Yvonda Black as members of the Revolutionary Union.

THE LOCAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Next above the collectives in the organizational structure of the RU is the local executive committee. In the San Jose area, this committee was comprised of the chairman of each of the collectives in the region plus one other member of that collective if the collective were large. As chairmen of their respective collectives, both Mr. and Mrs. Goff served on the San Jose local executive committee.

In regular attendance at the San Jose local executive meetings and in complete charge of the proceedings was Barry Greenberg, the RU organizer for the San Jose area and also an RU leader at the national level. At each such meeting either Greenberg or his wife, Mary Lou, was present, guiding the meeting and evaluating the performances of the various collectives. At the local executive meetings reports were made concerning the activities and progress of the collectives.

In the San Jose region, according to the Goffs, it was the Greenbergs who were in complete control. In spite of much discussion in the RU about collective decisions, no "commandism," and the theory that everything was done by collective decision as the members gained revolutionary experience, it was actually Barry Greenberg who totally controlled RU activity. Greenberg was a very astute leader and quick to spot any possible dissension.

SPECIALIZED LOCAL COMMITTEES

At the local level, as an adjunct and function of the local executive committee, were specialized committees responsible for specific areas of RU operational interest. The Goffs advised that in the San Jose region there was a security committee, a proficiency committee, and a newspaper committee, and it was their understanding that similar specialized committees existed in other RU regions. During his membership in the RU, Mr. Goff served on the security committee and the proficiency committee. Mrs. Goff was a member of the proficiency committee and of the newspaper committee for a period. Such committees were composed of selected collective members and met weekly in the homes of the members.

The RU is a highly compartmented, security-minded, secret organization. According to the Goffs, the rank-and-file RU collective member was to be aware of the RU affiliation of only his fellow collective members and of the details of operation of only his own collective. It was the responsibility of the security committee to assure that information concerning RU operations was not divulged, that the RU was safeguarded against infiltration by informants, and that RU affairs and meetings were provided adequate physical security.

The responsibilities of the proficiency committee included developing expertise among RU members in the various means of waging violent revolution, such as the use of firearms and explosives, techniques to be used in demonstrations and confrontations, physical training for RU members, and the like. The committee was also responsible for the acquisition, maintenance, storage, and inventorying of weapons and ammunition and concerned itself with the legality of possession of certain weapons. While Barry Greenberg did not attend meetings of the proficiency committee in San Jose for security reasons, every de-

cision reached by this committee required Greenberg's approval before it was acted upon.

The newspaper committee, of which Mrs. Goff was a member, concerned itself with the logistics of publishing the RU newspaper, originally known as *Maverick* and later as *Salt of the Earth*. Decisions were reached concerning the content of the paper, its financing, and its distribution. Every RU member was required to sell copies of the paper.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (REGIONAL COMMITTEE AFTER JANUARY 1971)

In the RU structure as originally set up, the next higher body above the local executive committees was the central committee. This was the highest executive body of the RU. Since the RU originally existed only in the San Francisco Bay area, the term "central committee" was accurate.

However, according to the Goffs, in the fall of 1970, the RU moved toward becoming a national organization. At that time, Barry Greenberg traveled to various sections of the U.S. in an effort to organize new units of the RU. It was indicated that Greenberg visited Chicago, Detroit, the Washington, D.C., area, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Iowa, and Ohio, where he established contacts among new left groups. The Goffs are of the opinion that there are now RU groups in some of these areas, as well as in Canada, but specific details are not known to them. However, at the January 1971 central committee meeting, attended by Mrs. Goff, there were persons in attendance from various parts of the country. At this central committee meeting, the organizational structure of the RU was somewhat modified, mainly to change the central committee to a regional committee, to denote the national character of the organization. What had been the central committee became the regional committee for the San Francisco Bay area. This change was made, according to the Goffs, to allow RU organizations in various parts of the country to have a voice in national operations.

The original central committee, which met twice a year, was composed of collective chairmen and one other person from each collective; in other words, the local executive committees, plus national leaders. During these meetings, which usually lasted for a weekend and were attended by about 60 persons, major issues were discussed. There were reports on the progress made in all areas of interest to RU, discussions of success or the lack thereof in the organization's programs, relationships with other groups, plans and policies concerning future activities, and the like. The purging of members deemed to be not performing in the best interests of the RU came under discussion.

These meetings, which were held under strict security precautions, were also broken down into workshop groups in specific areas of RU interest, such as student workshops, workers' workshops, and newspaper workshops. The decisions reached at the central committee meetings were usually those of the principal RU leaders, arrived at by "collective decisions." RU members, in true revolutionary fashion, do not vote on a decision, but collectively decide.

Mr. Goff attended one central committee meeting which was held in San Francisco, Calif., in October 1970. The meeting was broken into two sessions, and each session was held at a different location. The meeting was supposed to have been organized by the RU political committee, the top policymaking RU body and the only group above the central committee in the RU organization prior to January 1971. However, the meeting had been poorly planned and did not go smoothly. It was at this meeting that discussion was had regarding a difference of ideology within the organization which eventually resulted in its splitting into two factions, the RU and the Venceremos organization.

In January 1971, Mrs. Goff attended a central committee meeting, which was held at a lodge owned by the University of California in a mountainous area 150 miles north of San Francisco, near Cazadero, Calif. The facilities were rented under a fictitious name, and the custodian who was present was obviously suspicious of the nature of the meeting. Mrs. Goff indicated that, upon approaching the lodge, cars were stopped by an RU member, who required the occupants to furnish identification before allowing them to proceed. Much of the time of this meeting was devoted to the matter of the ideological split in the organization, mentioned above. Reorganization of the structure of the RU was gone into, and it was agreed to modify the RU to accommodate its newly acquired national image. Mrs. Goff noted that individuals from areas other than the Bay area were in attendance at this central committee meeting. Means of encouraging and agitating labor strikes were discussed. It was agreed that support of the RU should go to the Black Panther Party and to the women's liberation movement and that the RU would participate in demonstrations to be held in the San Francisco area on March 8, 1971.

At this central committee meeting, workshops were held on several matters, including RU work on campus, in factories, and in the community. A workshop on propaganda and publications, attended by Mrs. Goff, studied the publications of the Black Panther Party and several other radical organizations in an effort to make the RU publications more understandable and attractive to the working class. Agreement was reached that it was offensive to some people in the working class to refer to policemen as "pigs" and that the publications of the RU should use everyday terms which are acceptable.

Set forth here are excerpts from the testimony of the Goffs before the committee which concern the central committee and its operations:

Mr. FERRY. What is the next step in the hierarchy?

Mrs. GOFF. It moves up into the central committee, which is now called the regional committee, and this consists of the local executive committees of each area plus the national leaders of the organization and also visitors or people from, the representatives from other collectives in other parts of the country.

Mr. FERRY. Were you ever on that particular committee?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes; if you are chairman of your collective and on the local executive committee you go to this regional committee.

Mr. FERRY. Mr. Goff, were you on the regional committee?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; I attended one of the central committee meetings in which I met other parts of the organization from the east coast, Chicago, Detroit, and other RU collectives that were springing up all over the country. That was what the central committee was; it was representatives from other parts of the Nation.

Mr. FERRY. Is there any distinction between the central committee and the regional committee?

Mrs. GOFF. No; after the split they simply changed the name of it, it is basically the same thing. They changed the name of the regional committee to regional meeting when the organization became national because they also now have a national meeting. And, before, the organization was basically a Bay area organization so, therefore, they had their central meeting or their biggest meeting in the Bay area and they call it the central committee meeting.

But now that the organization is nationwide, they can no longer hold what they call the central committee meeting in the Bay area; therefore, they term it a regional committee and then, later on, once a year they have their national committee meeting, which is held in whatever parts of the country they decide to hold it in. I believe the last one they had this year was in Chicago.

* * * * *

Mr. FERRY. Were names ever used in your meetings?

Mr. GOFF. The only names allowed to be used at the central committee was first names and code names.

Mr. FERRY. Did you have a code name?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, I had a code name.

Mr. FERRY. What was your code name?

Mr. GOFF. George.

Mr. FERRY. Did you have a code name?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, I did.

Mr. FERRY. What was your code name?

Mrs. GOFF. Kay.

Mr. GOFF. I might point out these central committee meetings were planned for months in advance. Nobody knew where a central committee meeting was going to be held until the very day. And the way it was passed to me was an envelope, and it had a code word inside that envelope, the car that I went with, and there was a sealed envelope that we were not even to open until we got out on the highway, and inside was an envelope with a word and a map of how to get to this particular meeting. This particular word was *Fanshen*, the name of a book that was publicly sold. I might point out at the meeting you have to use that word as you pass through armed guards.

Mr. FERRY. Armed guards?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; every central committee meeting had armed guards. All the guards were women standing armed guards.

Mr. FERRY. How many guards would be there?

Mr. GOFF. At this particular room there was a guard at two windows—this happens to be in a church where we held the central committee meeting—there were two windows and an armed guard by each window and by each exit.

Mr. FERRY. What is *Fanshen*?

Mr. GOFF. *Fanshen* is the name of a book describing the revolution in China.

Mr. FERRY. Who was the author, do you know?

Mr. GOFF. I believe the author is William Hinton.

Mr. FERRY. Is he a member of the Revolutionary Union?

Mr. GOFF. I cannot disclose that.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

At the top level of the RU, as originally organized, was the political committee. The membership of this committee was not known to the rank-and-file RU members. Barry Greenberg served as its chairman, and other persons believed by the Goffs to have been political committee members included Mary Lou Greenberg, Bruce Franklin, Leibel

⁴ *FANSHEN, A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village*, by William Hinton. Vintage Books, a division of Random House, New York, 1966, reprinted 1968. The author explains that the word "fanshen" (literally, "to turn the body" or "to turn over") had become part of the vocabulary of the Chinese revolution and referred to the complete revision of the lives of Chinese, physically and mentally. The publisher noted that Hinton first visited China in 1937 after working 6 months as a newspaper reporter in Japan. He worked as a propaganda analyst for the U.S. Office of War Information in several Chinese cities. He returned in 1947 with UNRRA and stayed until 1953, teaching courses in English and mechanized agriculture at Northern University. He claims his notes were impounded by U.S. Customs, released, but reimposed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and eventually released.

Bergman, Robert Avakian, and Larry Harris. The Goffs stated that this committee was comprised of about eight persons, but they were unable to identify any in addition to those named here. Overall guidance and policy for the entire RU emanated from the deliberations of the political committee.

Except for Barry and Mary Lou Greenberg, the national leaders of the RU were seldom seen by the Goffs. Some were in attendance at the central committee meetings to which the Goffs were delegates, but frequently they were not introduced and it was necessary to determine their names and positions by deduction and from overhearing conversations. At demonstrations engineered by the RU, the national leaders, with the exception of Bruce Franklin, seldom led or conducted operations. The actual leading of demonstrations was handled by RU members with abilities as rabble rousers. Franklin considered himself a tactician and often led or directed the activities of RU groups at demonstrations. Barry Greenberg never engaged in leadership activity of this type.

REORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION, JANUARY 1971

As indicated earlier, a reorganization of the RU was agreed upon at the central committee meeting, held in January 1971, in order to enlarge the RU to national scope from the San Francisco Bay area-centered operation of the original organization.

Under the reorganization, the political committee was replaced by the secretariat. Persons believed by the Goffs to have been placed on the Bay area secretariat included Mary Lou Greenberg, Robert Avakian, and Leibel Bergman. These persons were believed to have been named also to the national committee, but the makeup of the latter body was unknown to the Goffs. In January 1971, Barry Greenberg declined nomination to the Bay area secretariat, since he wanted to join a collective and get more practical revolutionary experience. Greenberg indicated that he felt he was not preparing himself adequately for the revolution and that he was becoming too administration oriented. However, Greenberg exercised as much influence as ever over RU affairs and his wife, Mary Lou, was named to the secretariat.

The regional committee replaced the central committee in the new setup. A steering committee was added to each region. Local structure remained unchanged. The highest executive body became the national committee, made up of selected members of the regional committee, who in turn were usually members of their area secretariat. The regional committee, like the old central committee, was composed of local collective chairmen, one additional collective member from each large collective, and certain higher officers of RU. The steering committee was comprised of persons from each local executive committee and from the secretariat.

THE SECRET APPARATUS

Mr. Goff also furnished information regarding the existence of a special secret apparatus within the RU organization, formed to conduct illegal operations such as assassinations, bank robberies, and sabotage. While the identities of those RU members making up this

group were very closely held, information acquired by Mr. Goff from time to time indicated that Larry Casquero, Jim Ransom, Larry Snyder, and Mike Fox were so affiliated at one time or another. Mr. Goff recalled that, at a local executive meeting in October or November 1970, it was stated that female members were needed for this apparatus. At that time, Barry Greenberg surreptitiously informed those present that he was to be in charge of the secret apparatus and would give all orders for the group's activities. He also said that an underground escape route for apparatus members had to be established and he solicited assistance in establishing this escape route.

Regarding the secret apparatus and its operations, Mr. Goff testified as follows before the committee on October 21, 1971:

Mr. GOFF. May I add something; there is something we have not touched on. I mentioned earlier the secret apparatus. It was also passed on by the political committee that each area was to have a secret apparatus. I was at the local executive level when they discussed the job of the secret apparatus. Their job was to take care of assassinations, sabotage, and strictly illegal work. I know of two members who are believed to have been on that secret apparatus and I attended the meeting after the Nixon demonstration at San Jose of where one was explaining that what he tried to do didn't come off; it failed at that demonstration.

I am not sure exactly what he meant, but that is something else to take in mind that they do have. At one time, the purpose of the secret apparatus—one of their duties was to rob banks to put money into the treasury of the RU. But later it was decided that they had no professional bank robbers and didn't know quite how to go about it. So they excluded that.

CHAPTER IV

RECRUITING, TRAINING, AND DISCIPLINE

Goffs' Testimony

RECRUITMENT

According to the Goffs, the RU is a closed organization and membership therein is by invitation. RU members are recruited from many sources, largely from students at college and high school levels, but also from the working class and the unemployed. Because of the secrecy of RU operations, the Goffs did not obtain information to indicate that persons from the professional classes were RU members. It was apparent, however, that some individuals of this type at least cooperated with the RU. As examples, the Goffs said that medicine for RU use was available from a doctor in Palo Alto, Calif., whose identity was unknown to the Goffs, and that the services of an attorney, whose identity was also unknown to the Goffs, could be obtained for RU members who were arrested.

The route to RU membership is through RU-controlled front activity. Mr. Goff first affiliated himself with the Radical Action Movement on the campus of San Jose State College, which he later determined to be under the control of two or three RU members. After having demonstrated an active interest in that organization's philosophy and programs, Mr. Goff was invited into the Bill Haywood Collective, which he described as the student or youth arm of the RU in San Jose. Having proven his dedication to the aims and activities of that collective, Mr. Goff was invited into RU membership. Mr. Goff observed that while RAM was an open organization, actively engaged in propaganda and other activities on campus and openly seeking members, only the more promising campus radicals were admitted to the Bill Haywood Collective. He said further that throughout the procedure of recruitment into the RU, the political maturity and direction of the potential member is constantly evaluated until it is determined that he is worthy of RU membership.

According to the Goffs, background investigations were conducted on individuals selected for RU membership. Information as to the recruit's personal history and past activities was passed to Barry Greenberg. It was claimed that the organization had the connections and means of thoroughly checking backgrounds. The prime purpose of the background inquiry was to preclude the admission to RU of informants or agents of the police. Some months after having been selected for membership, the new member would be informed by Greenberg that he had been thoroughly investigated and found acceptable.

The Goffs said that membership in the RU can be denied should it be determined that an individual drinks to excess or uses narcotics. It is felt that such a person will be unable to comply with the rigid

discipline of a truly revolutionary communist organization and cannot be depended upon to gain the support of the members of the working class.

The following are excerpts from the testimony of the Goffs before the committee on October 21, 1971 :

Mrs. GOFF. I would like to state that there were some Vietnam veterans in the RU that were members and they were utilized in the proficiency committees because of their great knowledge of military tactics and warfare.

Mr. FERRY. Was there any emphasis placed on recruiting Vietnam veterans?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes ; it was encouraged to recruit people discharged from the Armed Forces because it is stressed that these men have a hard time finding jobs ; they are very unsatisfied most of the time upon their return and, of course, they supposedly have seen a lot of things over there that would make them unsatisfied with the American Government and, therefore, it would be easy to approach them and sway them to a revolutionary way of life.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you mentioned Vietnam veterans being members of the Revolutionary Union, what would the attitude of the organization toward the use of narcotics be?

Mr. GOFF. They did not agree with the use of narcotics or excessive drinking or even smoking because they felt that a good revolutionary should be in top physical fitness and have his mental capacities about him at all times. They felt that drugs worked against this, smoking, and drinking. It was allowed at—like drinking at specific parties that they would have, which this didn't happen very often, but every once in a while they did have a little party, usually for political reasons, but they did allow some drinking. They did not advocate excess drinking or getting drunk. They did not advocate the taking of narcotics.

Only in the instances of people doing what they call street work, people working with prostitute type people, in this instance they felt, well, you can't get in good with these people unless they think you are one of them so they did allow these specific people doing those types of jobs to use marijuana. And as far as smoking it was written up in some of their first documents that they issued out to the members of the organization that every person was encouraged to stop smoking. They did realize this would be hard for quite a few people, but it was highly encouraged and also physical fitness, such as we were required to do the Navy and Air Force exercises, like climb up and down mountains, and you were required to maintain yourself in as well a physical fitness as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no evidence then of widespread narcotics use on the part of the members?

Mrs. GOFF. No.

Mr. ASHBROOK. * * * You said they did not advocate the use of it and you earlier said they did not believe in it. Now, "did not advocate it, did not believe in it," how strict a matter of policy was it, how much did they discourage it, and to what extent was it likely there would be some reprimanding or drumming them out of the corps, so to speak?

Mrs. GOFF. I may be using the word wrong, I am not sure.

Mr. GOFF. I would like to give you an example of a person who was excellent in his theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought. He was excellent in every way except he was a user of hard narcotics and was denied membership on that basis and was not able to get in. This person, through discipline and other comrades of the RU helping him, was able to bring it down to a minimum of where they did allow him to come into the organization, and he had then to attend these collective meetings where he would have to give a progress report on his ability to overcome the use of narcotics.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California.

Mr. SCHMITZ. I would like to comment to put this all in perspective. We are perhaps all missing a point in this question. The communists in particular, the revolutionaries in general, or I might say a person at war in general advocates anything that weakens the enemy or those who are marked for destruction but will discipline his own people so they will be strong. In other words, in the case of narcotics, these people are at war, they want their own people to be strong, and there is a difference in the advocating of narcotics to people on my side and your side, one side or the other. Would this fit into the general pattern of your experience?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, that is very good.

The CHAIRMAN. I well understand that, gentleman from California, but my reason for asking the question was that the Chair was quite astounded at the testimony being given for the reason that this is the first time that we have looked at the Revolutionary Union, and I thought that this was probably one of the kooky revolutionary groups that often manifest themselves. But because of the discipline being testified to by Mr. and Mrs. Goff, I have another understanding and am quite surprised.

INDOCTRINATION AND TRAINING

The prime aim and purpose of the RU is the establishment of a truly revolutionary communist party dedicated to the Mao Tse-tung interpretation of communism. This party will guide and direct a violent revolution and the establishment of a communist society in this country. Thus, total indoctrination in Mao's brand of communism and training, both intellectual and physical, is the most important RU activity. Training takes several forms from the intensive study group through extensive personal criticism and self-criticism to field training exercises and the use of firearms and explosives.

While a member of the Bill Haywood Collective, Mr. Goff attended study groups, but such sessions were not held on a regular schedule. The aim of this training was to raise the political awareness of the member, to awaken him to the "evils" of capitalism and imperialism, and to make him willing to act to overcome those evils.

After an individual was admitted to RU membership he was assigned to a senior member who observed his activities and met with him three times a week. Some senior members went out with recruits to the sites of demonstrations to point out to the recruit issues which should be exploited and to instruct him in the manner in which RU members should "rap" with the demonstrators, determine their problems, and impress upon them that the RU is willing to help them. After these sessions in the field, the recruit's performance is critiqued. At that time discussion is had as to how to identify the most politically advanced of the demonstrators, how to speak to them and how to learn about the problems of the proletariat. Lessons learned are discussed often at subsequent meetings. It is at this point that the recruit learns about self-criticism.

In addition to the requirement that the senior member meet with the recruit thrice weekly, the senior member also sits with the recruit at meetings to explain what transpires, explain terms, and to guide his thinking. It is explained to the recruit that the object of this training is to educate him so that he is able to relate everything he does to Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Mao Tse-tung.

Each collective has a member assigned to handle political education. However, at study groups either Barry or Mary Lou Greenberg usually lectured or guided the group politically. Study sessions, as is true with most other RU meetings, are expected to last at least 3 hours.

The Goffs advised that the basis for training, and in fact the basis upon which the entire RU functions, is described in *The Red Papers 1, 2, and 3*. Considered the "bible" of the RU, these documents are very closely adhered to and are derived from the essays and writings of Chairman Mao. One of the basic books used in RU training is Mao's "little red book," *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, which is studied sentence by sentence and word by word. The stated object of this intensive study is to force the RU member to think "objectively"

in a fashion that will enable him to dedicate himself to becoming a scientific revolutionary communist. Every aspect of one's life must be scientifically analyzed to assure that it coincides with the teachings of Mao. Such study groups met weekly. The purpose of such study was stated as to learn how a truly revolutionary communist party is established, and what "mass line" is needed to support the forces of the proletariat in their conduct of a successful revolution. All opinions and arguments are presented in a manner to show how they coincide or do not coincide with the correct interpretation of the teachings of Mao.

According to the Goffs, the RU purchased most of its training literature from China Books, a bookstore in San Francisco. Robert Avakian, Bruce Franklin, and Barry Greenberg had crates of literature relating to RU philosophy and training. In addition, Bruce Franklin's home had walls of bookshelves filled with revolutionary and communist literature. The Goffs said that they had never gone to China Books in San Francisco to purchase books for the RU, but they had determined that this was the source of much of the material used in RU training.

With regard to their RU indoctrination and training, the Goffs testified as follows during their appearance before the committee as witnesses on October 21, 1971:

Mr. FERRY. Were either of you as members required to attend educational classes conducted by the Revolutionary Union?

Mr. GOFF. Oh, yes; they had the educational classes that you had to go to and if you didn't you received strong criticism. When I say "strong criticism," I mean 4 hours of getting direct criticism and discipline and that type of measure. That is pretty hard to go through. Now they had for members like myself when I first began they had the "red book" study group, this Mao Tse-tung thought, it is the "little red book." You had to go to that study group, you were required to go once a week. The study group was never less than 3 or 4 hours. We take one sentence at a time, define each word, and begin to use this type of quotation in our language and begin to get our mind to thinking like that "red book."

Mr. FERRY. Was there anything besides the "red book" which you had to study?

Mr. GOFF. The "red book" was the most important, and we were even supposed to carry it with us at all times, especially during a demonstration we were attending. * * * all of Marx, Stalin, Lenin's books were used quite often—one that comes to my mind, was Engels' *Utopia Scientific*,¹ I believe, is the name of it, and it was for the more advanced. * * * some of them are more for intellectual types of persons; they can understand it better.

Mr. FERRY. You mentioned several times, both of you, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thoughts; what is that?

Mrs. GOFF. It is Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought; they refer to it as MLMTTT. In other words, it is a constant study; you never forget to think objectively using Mao's quotations and this type of communist thinking in everything that you look at and do. I mean you always think before you leap using this type of thing.

It is very hard to explain this to someone who has never studied it because of the terms they have used and it is so involved, so it is kind of hard to bring it out. One night we had a 6-hour meeting just on the contradictions of what makes a cup stay together; they get down deep into it. That seems ridiculous, but it is not; everything is completely scientifically thought out, why even you have thoughts and things like this. It is completely a Godless doctrine.

One of their greatest enemies is Christianity, religion. In fact, it states in the "red book" that the religion is the enemy of the people, and the Christian people of the Christian faith are the people that these types of revolutionary people are afraid of because real Christian people more or less don't have this fear of death that an atheist type person would have.

¹ *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*, by Friedrich Engels.

Mr. FERRY. Is it true that both of you were missionaries at one time?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; we both were in Central America. I would like to add more to what she says of the definition of the Maoist thought. You see, the reason they follow Mao Tse-tung so is because they want to try to follow as close as possible the way he held the revolution and led the revolution in China, and Mao Tse-tung put to practice Marxism-Leninism, used that theory, and he used it and was able to conduct a pretty successful revolution.

So this is the reason they are all the time saying—they have large pictures of Stalin, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, in all their homes—you are required to have some of these pictures, and the mottoes on the bottom you are supposed to learn and quote frequently, you know, especially in the public when you are trying to instigate strikers when they are out on strike, you are supposed to use these quotations.

Mr. FERRY. Being as you were missionaries, you were considered a great risk?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; they first told us we would have to get rid of all of our idealistic ideals. Marxism-Leninism is basically a theory, a scientific theory, and you have to denounce God. I guess that was the hardest thing we had to do. We had to blaspheme Christ, blaspheme my God's Holy Name, we had to curse the Bible.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean, Mr. Goff, they actually asked you to do that as a part of the educational process?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; because they were not certain that we were still—they could not see how we could drop our idealistic thoughts. They call it idealism, idealistic. We knew we were going to have to do that before we could ever advance in the RU and go to the higher levels.

Mrs. GOFF. Yes; they didn't like to come out and say, now you do this, but they would form their questions and the atmosphere to where we knew that if we didn't, then of course they would not believe that we were a dedicated revolutionary and meant business.

According to the Goffs, it is a tenet of the RU that in a truly revolutionary party men and women play an equally important part in the party's activities. It is expected that in a revolutionary situation some women will be required to devote all their time to the revolution, in some instances playing a more important part than some of the men, and that the men may be faced with housekeeping, care of children, and similar domestic chores. In line with this, male RU members were taught domestic duties and Mrs. Goff, as a member of the community collective, served as their teacher for a period.

The local proficiency committee has the responsibility to develop the efficiency of RU members in various techniques needed to wage a successful revolution and engage in guerrilla warfare. Physical training, karate training, and exercise programs were held. At one time Mr. Goff instructed in these matters. There was also an active program of weapons training and instruction in the use of explosives. At the time the Goffs left the RU, the guerrilla warfare training program had not been worked out, but it was planned to schedule "war games" to include "dry runs" against chosen sabotage targets.

DISCIPLINE

Members of the RU are required to devote their entire lives to the revolutionary movement and all their possessions are considered to be the property of the RU, according to the Goffs. The homes of members can be used at any time by the organization. Each member is required to submit a detailed schedule of his planned activities to his collective and must report in detail as to exactly how all his time is spent. Members who desire to leave the area for a day or longer must request permission from their collective and to be prepared to report on all their

activities at a collective meeting. If members are engaged in RU activities away from their homes, the RU will provide babysitters to stay with the children. These babysitters, always RU members, attempt to indoctrinate the children left in their charge, since the children are considered RU property and must necessarily be prepared for a part in the revolution.

The individual RU member's reports to his collective must be coldly objective. Reasons for success or failure in the activities conducted must be explored and it is expected that brutal self-criticism will be administered where appropriate. Individuals must evaluate their progress toward becoming true revolutionaries, using the guidelines of Chairman Mao as the standard.

Virtually every moment of the rank-and-file RU member's time is taken up by RU activities, according to the Goffs. He is required, at the minimum, to attend a weekly collective meeting, a weekly study group, and a weekly meeting of the specialized local committee to which assigned. Barry Greenberg voiced the opinion that a good meeting of RU members was to last 3 to 4 hours at the minimum. In addition, the RU member is obliged to participate in physical training, firearms training, field exercises, and demonstrations in which the RU is involved.

The Goffs advised that most RU members dressed in a conventional fashion and were relatively well groomed. Some of the younger members who worked among the students attired themselves in the modish or "hippie" fashion. However, care was exercised to assure that no image was created which would offend the working-class elements, so important to the RU's revolutionary aims.

The Goffs stated that the disciplining of RU members normally consisted of grueling sessions of criticism by fellow collective members or by the Greenbergs. The usual result was removal from any position of leadership held. The most extreme discipline is purging from the RU. The Goffs stated they never observed any physical punishment waged against erring members, nor did they hear this prospect discussed.

The following excerpts from the testimony of the Goffs before the committee on October 21, 1971, are pertinent:

Mrs. GOFF. * * * the discipline in this organization is extremely strict. Your time is not your own. Your house is not your own; your family is not your own. I have four children. These children were considered property of the members of the RU. They would come into my home at any time and when I was ordered to do a certain job then they simply would take care of my children. I would sometimes come home and I would not even know who was there because they were from another collective and I was not allowed to know their names. I would find strangers with them, constantly almost, and they also at these times attempted to indoctrinate the children, which to me seemed to be very important. I didn't agree with this, but I was trying to do the work so I put up with it for a while.

But you were required in your collective to hand in reports of how you spent every minute of your day. If they thought you were wasting too much time then you were highly criticized and extremely encouraged to at least put more study time in on the "red book" and the Marxism-Leninism literature and to get out into the field or into the city, the communities, the factories, whatever, to sell newspapers.

They have a newspaper called *Salt of the Earth*. Every member was required to sell this newspaper on the streets after it was printed. They expected you to attend certain demonstrations that they were having, plus keep up all your other duties.

I had at least four meetings a week, and these meetings never lasted less than 3 hours and most of the time 6 to 7 hours. That didn't include your field work, getting out in the community, selling newspapers, meeting with people, talking with people, and doing your specific jobs that you were required to do.

* * * * *

THE CHAIRMAN. * * * both of you dress rather conventionally, is this the normal dress within the Revolutionary Union?

Mrs. GOFF. This depends on what type of work you are doing. In other words, if it is your job to work among the students, you dress like that; if it is your job to work in a factory, then you dress accordingly. Like when we women would be out on the streets even though the RU are almost puritanical in their beliefs of not wearing makeup, letting your hair grow, not dressing to attract the opposite sex, but when you were out selling newspapers you were encouraged to dress up and look as nice as you could so you could sell more papers.

THE CHAIRMAN. Are you saying you were actually given instructions as to how to dress?

Mr. GOFF. Oh, yes, sir; of what type of clothes to wear. They had one group that worked on the street that worked with dope addicts and people like that; they were supposed to look kind of hippied up, like that. And if you were going out to work with the working-class people in the factory, you were supposed to dress conservative and nice and like they would like to see. Don't give the hippie impression to the wrong guy or he won't buy a newspaper or he won't listen to you.²

SECURITY MEASURES EMPLOYED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION

According to the Goffs, security against infiltration was a matter of serious and continuing concern at all levels of the RU. Security consciousness was continuously drilled into the minds of all San Jose area RU members by Barry and Mary Lou Greenberg, who were particularly apprehensive at the prospect of infiltration of the organization by government agents or police informants.

Basic security policy and security measures were set by the policy-making RU body known as the political committee prior to January 1971 and as the secretariat after that date. These policies and procedures were relayed to the San Jose RU by Barry and Mary Lou Greenberg, each of whom was at one time a member of the political committee.

Implementation of security measures at the local level was the responsibility of the security committee for the San Jose area, of which Mr. Goff was a member. Barry Greenberg, a national RU leader and the leader of virtually every RU function in the San Jose area, during the Goffs' affiliation with the organization, was most influential in decisions as to the manner in which matters of security were handled locally as well as in the choice of appointments to the local security committee. Mr. Goff was chosen for membership on the security committee because of his proletarian background and the fact that he had taken some police science courses at San Jose City College. The security committee at the local level was made up of members appointed by each collective.

Although throughout the RU all decisions are to be reached by determining the collective will, the suggestions of Barry Greenberg were always approved as the accepted "collective decision." Those with

² Evidence that rigid discipline for RU members was not limited to San Jose is shown by the content of an internal document of the Richmond, Calif., RU captioned "Personal and Political Behavior of Comrades," reproduced in app. II, pp. 198, 199.

the temerity to oppose a Greenberg suggestion risked discipline in the form of thorough and embarrassing "criticism."

Greenberg or his wife attended virtually every meeting of the San Jose RU security committee. Meetings were held weekly, usually at the homes of its members. Occasionally, such meetings took place at the local pizza shop because the place was poorly lighted and noisy and offered the opportunity for the committee to gather at a back table without attracting attention.

The following list summarizes security precautions observed by the RU and the San Jose area of that organization as known to the Goffs. According to the Goffs, security rules were constantly being revised and added to. Adherence to these rules on the part of all RU members was good, according to the Goffs, except that Barry Greenberg, for all his security consciousness, occasionally violated certain of them.

A. Each RU member was required to adhere strictly to that teaching of Mao Tse-tung which dictates that revolutionaries must never become careless in their thinking and assume that the enemy possesses any knowledge whatsoever about the revolutionary organization. One must always assume that the opposition knows nothing in that regard and must be continuously on guard against leaks of security.

B. The residence of every RU member is considered RU property and available for RU use at any time. In traveling to meetings at the homes of RU members, the fewest number of vehicles possible was to be used. Vehicles were not to be parked near the meeting place. Members were instructed where they were to park when visiting various meeting places. This is one precaution which Barry Greenberg often ignored.

C. Members were under instructions to arrive and depart meetings in groups of two at 5-minute intervals. Should an unexpected visitor knock at the door during a meeting, individuals whose affiliation with the RU was not publicly known, or who did not have police records, were to hide or leave quickly by prearranged procedures. Any incriminating documents were to be quickly secreted. Those known publicly as RU members would decide thereafter whether to depart the premises or remain.

D. At that point in a meeting where the location of the next meeting was decided, the individual at whose residence the meeting would be held would simply be pointed to, in order to avoid mentioning his name aloud. It was assumed that the current meeting place might well be "bugged." For this reason also, code names were used to refer to members during meetings.

E. During all meetings, a radio was on and tuned to a newscast or talk show, for the purpose of neutralizing listening devices.

F. The microphone of each telephone instrument was to be loosened or removed during all meetings.

G. Information concerning the location of a high-level RU meeting was never disseminated until those scheduled to attend were gathered and ready for departure to the meeting. At this time Barry or Mary Lou Greenberg would hand the members a sealed envelope divulging the location of the meeting place.

H. At any meeting where discussion was to be had concerning such matters as weapons, explosives, guerrilla warfare tactics, self-defense, or physical training, a prescribed statement was to be made

loudly and clearly for the benefit of any listening device to the effect that the upcoming topics of discussion were not to be used toward overthrow of the Government.

I. Members of one collective were not to know the identities of members of other collectives, or of many of the higher leaders in the RU. According to the Goffs, there were certain individuals who were secret members of the RU, whose identities were known only to the highest leaders.

J. Background investigations were required on persons selected for membership in the RU. Background data and personal history of the prospective member was supplied to Barry Greenberg. It was claimed that the organization had the connections and means of thoroughly checking backgrounds. Several months after having been selected for membership, the new member would be informed by Greenberg that his investigation had been completed and he had been found acceptable.

K. Codes were being developed for use in telephone communications between RU members. The Goffs were unaware whether these procedures were ever perfected or put into use.

L. A telephone alerting system, known as a "phone tree," was developed to facilitate the dissemination of information among RU members in the least possible time.

M. Codes were devised to make special announcements at meetings in order to avoid the verbal revelation of detailed information.

N. Should the police appear at an RU member's residence with a warrant, the member was to allow the police to search the premises. However, those RU members present were to stand guard armed with legal weapons, such as a shotgun or carbine, while the search progressed. The RU was particularly apprehensive that police officers in such a situation would locate caches of weapons or explosives. Should the police break into an RU member's residence without a warrant, the instructions were that the RU members were to shoot to kill. This contingency plan was passed to the local RU from the political committee, the highest policymaking body of the organization.

Mr. Goff recalled that stringent security measures were employed during the meeting of the RU central committee in San Francisco in October 1970, which he had attended. Armed guards were placed at the entrances. Many were women with guns hidden under their clothing or in a bag or knitting basket held in the hand. Provisions were made for a special squad to battle the police in the event the meeting was raided. This plan was made specifically to allow secret members of the RU to escape.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION FINANCIAL MATTERS

During the period when the Goffs were members of the RU, Larry Casquero was treasurer of the organization in the San Jose area. In this capacity, Casquero worked out a schedule of dues to be paid by RU members, requiring an employed single man with a salary of \$300 to \$500 monthly to donate one week's full salary per month to the organization, and married persons to contribute 7 percent of their monthly salary. The Goffs indicated that most RU members complied with this dues schedule. Dues could be paid by check and it is the Goffs' understanding that the RU in San Jose maintained a bank ac-

count. They were unable to furnish any details regarding this matter, except that the Greenbergs and Casquero were reportedly authorized to sign checks on the RU account.

Another RU financial requirement stipulated that no RU member was authorized to maintain more than \$200 in a personal bank account, unless he was required to support a large family. Any excess was to be turned over to the RU.

Each collective had a treasurer, according to the Goffs, who was responsible to assure that the RU members met their financial commitments to the organization. Among the responsibilities of the collective treasurer was that of performing occasional physical checks of the homes of members to assure that they were not wasting money on the purchase of fancy foods. Each collective member was obliged to submit a statement monthly detailing his financial status. Income tax refund checks were to be turned over to the RU and not kept by the member. Income collected by the RU was turned over directly to Barry and Mary Lou Greenberg.

The Goffs estimated that some 90 percent of the members of the RU in San Jose were receiving food stamps, and stated that some of these food stamps were somehow converted into cash by RU members. Food stamps were traded around among the RU members or shared and, according to the Goffs, were considered to be the main source of food for many RU members. Also, many RU members collected welfare assistance of one type or another.

The RU urged its members who were students to obtain all available Federal educational grants. The Goffs are aware that certain students in the RU did actually obtain such funds, but they were unable to provide any specific information in this regard.

Another source of RU income was the proceeds from the sale of the RU monthly newspaper, originally known as *Maverick* and later as *Salt of the Earth*. Two thousand copies of each monthly issue were printed at a cost to the RU of \$140. Each member was required to buy the paper and to accept quantities which he was expected to sell. At about the time the Goffs severed their relationship with the RU, efforts were being made to locate an office to rent from which the newspaper could be operated.

Certain other sources of incidental RU income were known to the Goffs. RU member Angie Kalvelage, who held a good job in the Retail Clerks Union in San Jose, was apparently able to raise bail money when needed by RU members. The Goffs stated that the parents of one male RU member are reportedly very successful business people in Scarsdale, N.Y. The Goffs did not know how much they may have given their son, but he was known to have enjoyed a fairly sizeable bank account. In addition, there were occasions when the RU faced legal difficulties and the father of RU member Karl Schachter, an attorney who lives in Canada, did aid the group.

The Goffs were unable to estimate the income or the expenditures of the RU, either locally in the San Jose area or nationally. Mr. Goff expressed the opinion that a substantial part of the income went for the purchase of weapons and ammunition. He recalled one occasion on which the San Jose RU sent a delegation to a gun show in Los Angeles where some \$1,500 worth of weapons and ammunition were

purchased. Although some of this money was reportedly provided by one RU member, the remainder was said to have come from funds of the organization.

Barry Greenberg indicated to the Goffs that he received a monthly stipend of approximately \$350 from the RU. He served as chairman of the organization's highest body, the political committee, and the press of his administrative duties for the RU precluded his taking on gainful employment. His services were considered to be needed by the RU on a full-time basis. Greenberg, a candidate for a Ph. D. degree at Stanford University, earned some money by tutoring students, according to the Goffs. The Greenbergs lived modestly in a rented apartment and did not show any outward signs of affluence.

In this regard, Mrs. Goff recalled an incident which to her indicated a double standard of operation between the RU leadership and the rank-and-file membership. At one of the innumerable RU meetings which she attended, Mrs. Goff noted that Mary Lou Greenberg was wearing what appeared to be a rather expensive pair of boots. She made some private comment regarding this, which was either overheard by or reported to Barry Greenberg, who was also present. After the meeting Greenberg told Mrs. Goff that she should not voice opinions of this type; that she was not being objective; and that she was not working in the best interests of building a sound revolutionary group by engaging in this sort of gossiping.

The Goffs stated that they did not know whether national RU officers or members of the higher administrative bodies of the organization, other than Barry Greenberg, received any income from the RU.

The Goffs indicated that subsequent to the split in the RU, the off-shoot Venceremos organization attracted some of the younger revolutionaries who had substantial finances. One such individual, Dean Granholm, while a member of the RU, was reported to have had a bank account of some \$12,000, which the RU insisted he turn over to the organization. The Goffs were of the opinion that Granholm did not comply. While the RU realized it had lost financial support by the defection of some of its members to the Venceremos, it appeared to be able to come up with money, when needed, from one source or another, according to the Goffs.

Set forth here are excerpts from the Goffs' testimony before the committee on October 21, 1971, pertinent to RU financial matters:

The CHAIRMAN. What was Barry Greenberg's position?

Mr. GOFF. His position was he was a paid leader, the only paid leader in the RU, and I didn't know of any other ones, but he was one; that he told me himself. He was the only one who was receiving money because he had too many things to do to get a job.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the means of support of the Revolutionary Union members, did most of them have jobs?

Mr. GOFF. No; it was quite hard for some of them to get jobs because of their extensive police records for participating in demonstrations. You see, the RU is so organized and has such a system set up that, to give you some examples, we were not allowed to spend money for what we had, we had dues that we had to pay. We had to pay dues, the newspaper, each person was required to sell so many copies. Just for example, when the income tax refund checks come back, no one was allowed to keep that tax refund; it had to be turned over to the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That was my next question, you did have dues then?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much were those dues?

Mr. GOFF. I believe my wife can answer that.

Mrs. GOFF. They set up a system where if you were a single person making \$300 to \$500 per month, one full weekly check was to be turned over to the organization; families were allowed, of course, a little more. They paid 7 percent of their income per month. No one was allowed to have over \$200 in their bank account at any one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Each and every member was required to pay this amount?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And how many members again were their in your chapter?

Mrs. GOFF. In just the San Jose chapter, it was approximately 50 to 55.

The CHAIRMAN. Each and every member was required to make that contribution?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes. This money went into the RU, Revolutionary Union, treasury from all areas, not just San Jose, but all areas.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that chapter contained several collectives, as I understand you?

Mrs. GOFF. Five.

Mr. GOFF. This is not including the secret apparatus for illegal type of work.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say Barry Greenberg was a paid employee, a paid member, do you mean that he was paid out of Revolutionary Union funds?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, as the national leader.

Mr. GOFF. See, a certain percentage of our area would go into the main treasury, the RU, the whole organization treasury, and then a certain part was kept to buy ammunition, literature, you know, to take care of printing and whatever the administrative things would take care of, targets, to go to the gun shows.

I know one time they went to the Los Angeles gun show to purchase firearms and they were given a certain amount of money to buy nothing but firearms. But the largest percentage would go into the main RU treasury, and out of that treasury they would pay to Barry Greenberg, they would pay him regularly.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know the amount he was paid?

Mr. GOFF. We never did see. He told us one time, and also a member told us, that he received \$350 one month. By the food they ate, they didn't eat real luxury type food, but they dressed—

Mrs. GOFF. In fact, they got food stamps.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, they also received food stamps?

Mrs. GOFF. If they didn't have food stamps, they would starve.

Mr. GOFF. Most of the members, if it wasn't for food stamps they would not eat.

Mrs. GOFF. They would use these food stamps; if one household of people would have some left over they would share them with another household.

Mr. GOFF. They would sell them for cash if they needed cash.

The CHAIRMAN. I would presume that you would say Barry Greenberg was the type of person not necessarily motivated by money?

Mr. GOFF. He tried to keep it from the cadre, the members, how much money he was receiving. My wife got into trouble one time because she pointed out how come that Mary Lou Greenberg dressed so nice.

Mrs. GOFF. She had expensive boots on.

Mr. GOFF. Right away she went through some kind of criticism because she was not supposed to say things like that.

Mrs. GOFF. It was undermining the leadership.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you mentioned earlier that you thought that if it weren't for the food stamp program, RU could not exist. Apparently many of the members received food stamps; is that correct?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, they do.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, they do.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned the student collective. Do you know whether or not any of these students received student loans while attending institutions of higher learning?

Mrs. GOFF. I don't know whether they received any or not, but I do know that it was encouraged that they obtain Federal grants if at all possible and, that if they did, then using the money they would receive—they were to live as cheaply as possible or go to school as cheaply as possible and the rest of the money would be turned over to the RU.

CHAPTER V

ACQUIRING REVOLUTIONARY TOOLS AND SKILLS

Testimony of Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff

USE OF FIREARMS AND EXPLOSIVES

The Goffs informed the committee that although the plans of the RU do not call for an armed revolution in the United States for some 15 years, it is an RU requirement that each RU member maintain and be proficient in the use of firearms at this time. As noted earlier, the offshoot Venceremos organization is convinced that this country is virtually ready now for an armed uprising of the proletariat. The RU strongly recommends that each member possess and be proficient in the use of four basic weapons: the .30 caliber military carbine, the .30-06 military rifle, the 12-gauge shotgun, and a hand weapon, preferably the 9-millimeter or .45 caliber automatic. Arrangements are made, mainly by the loan of firearms among RU members, to assure that each member is armed and proficient. Mrs. Goff stated that while an RU member in San Jose and a member of the proficiency committee, she had participated in the inventorying of weapons in the possession of the RU which had determined that there were some 40 such weapons, of all types, shotguns, rifles, carbines, and handguns, in the possession of the members. Most were M-1 carbines and were personally owned.

According to the Goffs, the RU purchased weapons and supplies of ammunition. They recalled that an RU member, upon instructions of the RU in San Jose, had gone to Los Angeles to a gun show, where he had spent approximately \$1,500 to buy firearms.

The Goffs said that the RU was very cautious in its storing of weapons and ammunition. The storage of large caches was avoided because of the possibility of police raids and confiscation and in an effort to assure the immediate availability of weapons to the members if needed.

The Goffs stated that a supply of weapons, ammunition, and explosives was stored at the home of an RU member on North King Street, San Jose. Mr. Goff indicated that he had personally seen two large sacks of rifle ammunition at this house. He also stated that Marlene Charyn, who lived at this same house, had expressed apprehension at a local executive committee meeting because of the large supply of weapons and explosives stored in the basement of the house. There was storage of weapons, ammunition, and explosives at the homes of other RU members, according to the Goffs. On one occasion, the Greenbergs asked if the Goffs' garage could be used for the storage of explosives. The Goffs refused. At RU meetings, late in the Goffs' affiliation, discussion took place regarding the rental of garages in the San Jose area to be used for the storage of weapons and explosives. The Goffs

stated they never determined whether action was taken by the RU in this matter.

The RU conducted a continuing program of training to assure that RU members were well versed in the maintenance and the proficient use of firearms. All members were required to engage in firearms practice twice monthly. Such practice was conducted on publicly operated firing ranges in the San Jose area. Each member was issued two targets monthly which he was required to turn in with each shot marked to show the position from which fired. Conventional firing positions, with the exception of the "bench" position, were utilized. It was felt that in a revolutionary situation, proficiency in firing from the latter position had no practical application. Regular training sessions were also held on matters of firearms safety and the proper maintenance of the weapons. During their RU membership, both Mr. and Mrs. Goff were members of the proficiency committee of the San Jose RU, which had the responsibility for all RU matters concerned with weapons, ammunition, and explosives.

At meetings of the proficiency committee, discussions were had concerning the use of explosive and incendiary devices by the RU. Manuals prepared by the U.S. Army for the use of the troops in Vietnam were obtained. The Goffs recalled that one concerned such devices used by the Vietcong against U.S. troops and bore the title *Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques (TM 31-200-1, Department of the Army Technical Manual, April 1966, unclassified)*. RU member Mike Fox made reference to several of the devices described in this manual and described how they worked. He commented on the advantage of making firebombs using 50 percent gasoline and 50 percent crude oil to make the fire spread. Fox claimed to have used such firebombs. He also indicated that he was stocking firebombs at an undescribed location, but the Goffs were unable to obtain any information on this matter. Mike Gaylor, an RU member and an ex-GI, obtained military training manuals for the RU in San Jose and indicated he would attempt to obtain additional instruction manuals for the use of the RU in its guerrilla activities.

According to the Goffs, there have been several occasions when weapons have been seized from the homes of RU members. They recalled that the police had once seized firearms of the RU, precipitating a demonstration by RU members at the police department demanding the return of the weapons.

The Goffs said that subsequent to the split between the RU and Venceremos there were serious differences regarding the rightful ownership of firearms and ammunition acquired when the organization was all one body. They recalled that some guns in RU possession were stolen by Venceremos dissidents, resulting in a showdown between the rival factions complete with the brandishing of guns. This matter was somehow amicably settled by Barry Greenberg, according to the Goffs.

The following are excerpts from the testimony of the Goffs before the committee on October 21, 1971, pertinent to these matters:

Mr. FERRY. Do you know whether or not any arms were actually possessed by the Revolutionary Union?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRY. Were there a great number?

Mr. GOFF. Exactly the amount I could not say exactly * * * everyone was required to have four basic weapons and know the use of these four basic weapons.

Mr. FERRY. What were those four weapons?

Mr. GOFF. The four weapons were a 9-millimeter automatic pistol, preferably the Belgium 9-millimeter automatic or the Astro automatic.

Mr. FERRY. Do you know if anyone had that pistol?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; several people possessed these, and Barry Greenberg possessed them and other members who were not publicly known.

Mr. FERRY. What was the next one?

Mr. GOFF. The next one was the M-1 carbine, the semiautomatic, and the main reason for having this weapon was that you can get your 30- and 60-round banana clips to use, and it can also be converted to a fully automatic weapon, of which Mary Lou Greenberg, who is publicly identified, said she has contacts to get these conversion kits, if necessary.

Mr. FERRY. Did she ever identify or explain about the contacts to get the conversion kits?

Mr. GOFF. She mentioned that there was contacts within the Armed Forces that had access to these conversion kits.

Mr. FERRY. Mr. Goff, would you explain what is being handed to you?

Mr. GOFF. This is an M-1 carbine similar to those used by the Revolutionary Union. I would like to point out, first of all, to the Congressmen and the people present that I am a gunsmith and this gun cannot fire; it is missing the firing pin and the necessary parts to be fired so it cannot possibly go off.

Mr. FERRY. How did you acquire possession of that particular weapon?

Mr. GOFF. I acquired possession of this weapon from a member of the RU who—the gun was taken from him and converted to a fully automatic weapon, and he didn't like the fully automatic use of the weapon because it was just using too much ammunition and it was too expensive to operate and it wasn't accurate. So he brought it to me and asked me if I would help him.

He had already bought a new trigger mechanism that took care of this so it was semiautomatic again, but there were some holes in the receiver that had to be filled and you can see the stock is cut out here. For this purpose there was a selector switch to move it to semiautomatic or automatic.

Mr. FERRY. When you first saw that particular weapon, it was capable of firing automatic?

Mr. GOFF. No; when he brought it to me, it was a semiautomatic weapon.

Mr. FERRY. How many of that particular type of weapon do you know were in the possession of the Revolutionary Union members?

Mr. GOFF. There was so many times that they purchased these weapons. They had a certain group of people who were experts in their field to determine whether a weapon was in good condition and they were the only ones allowed to buy these weapons. The RU would furnish them the money. I recall one trip to Los Angeles where I believe it was over \$1,500 was spent on arms and ammunition. They get them from the gun shows that come in the area.

Mr. FERRY. Where were these weapons stored?

Mr. GOFF. They were stored in various places. They didn't want any caches at any one place. They asked if they could use my place to store the weapons and also explosives at one time.

Mr. FERRY. What were you asked to store at your place?

Mr. GOFF. At this particular meeting—it was a private meeting with Barry Greenberg at a place called Shakey's Pizza where we held several meetings, and the reason he liked it was because it was noisy and crowded and dark. He asked me if I would be willing—this was just within a day after I was recruited—he asked me if I would be willing to keep a howitzer 500 at my house, blasting explosives, dynamite, and hand grenades.

Mr. FERRY. Did you ever see any of these explosives you detailed?

Mr. GOFF. No, I didn't.

Mr. FERRY. Did you ever see a howitzer 500?

Mr. GOFF. I have seen the howitzer, but not in their possession.

Mr. FERRY. Then this particular weapon, you have no estimate of the number that is in the possession of the Revolutionary Union.

Mrs. GOFF. I would like to comment on this. I was a member of what is called the proficiency committee, which is made up of a member of each collective in respective areas, and we did take a count of the San Jose area, the amount of weapons that the people possessed at that time, excluding these caches.

These were just the required weapons. We came up with approximately 40 weapons, including 12-gauge shotguns, M-1 carbines, 9-millimeter pistols, .45s, and such things as this. That was considered to be too little, and this was about the time that the people from the proficiency committee were delegated to Los Angeles to a gun show that was being held there.

It was later stated to us by a member in the RU that had gone that they had brought back 1,800 pounds of weapons and ammunition. Where they stored this, they would not say. It was a secret.

Mr. FERRY. Was any ammunition stored in your garage?

Mr. GOFF. No; he asked me if I would be able to store things like that, and I told him I would. I felt when he was saying this thing he was testing me to see how involved I would get. Later on, when they did plan on, in fact, storing explosives and arms in our garage, I was advised by the Federal Bureau of Investigation not to put those things in our house because of how unstable the type of explosives were and that it was in a residential area. So I was at one meeting where we were seeking a garage to rent to place the explosives. Each person had to have these weapons in their residence.

Mr. FERRY. Did you have them in your residence?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, we did. They let us use an M-1 carbine. I already had the 12-gauge shotgun, which is also a required weapon, and also on hand you must have double-00 buckshot. This is in case of a raid that you are supposed to defend yourself.

Mr. FERRY. * * * you had to have four types of weapons?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRY. How many besides this one did you have?

Mr. GOFF. I had the shotgun, I had several shotguns because I had them before I ever became a member. Then I had a borrowed M-1 carbine. A member let me use his.

Mrs. GOFF. I would like to say something. The reason that we were able to keep this carbine is that we did not have the money to buy one and if this is the case and you don't have these weapons in your home then the RU sees that they are put there for your use. They will get them from somewhere, or someone has two or three, and then they are just spreading out to other people's houses so that every house has a certain amount of weapons. Now, we didn't have any of the pistols, but they were attempting to get these to distribute to the members that didn't have them.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I merely want to establish, Mr. Counsel, on two occasions Mrs. Goff has referred to "people's." I think she earlier said at one time there were roughly 40 weapons in the hands of people. She did not identify whether these people were members of the Revolutionary Union or sympathizers of the Revolutionary Union.

Could that point be established for the record? When you are referring to "people," are you referring to members of the organization?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, sir, I am. I was a member of the proficiency committee in the San Jose area and we conducted a survey. I mean everyone had to turn in to their collectives a report—and these are members of the RU and only members of the RU that had to turn in reports to their collectives—of how many guns there were in their houses where they lived and what type of weapons they were. And the RU did this, conducted this survey in all areas, so that they could gain from this information the knowledge of how many weapons they possessed, what kinds they were, and what kinds they needed to acquire, so as to be better armed.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, Mr. Goff, you are a gunsmith. Did the members of the Revolutionary Union know that you were a gunsmith?

Mr. GOFF. I became a gunsmith afterwards; I have opened my business now in Lemoore. But I was studying to be a gunsmith at that time and I did this for a very important reason in the organization because they would bring guns that needed to be repaired and at that time I would take off serial numbers and make ballistics tests and turn them in to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the gun which you just demonstrated, what kind of weapon is that?

Mr. GOFF. An M-1 carbine.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an illegal weapon?

Mr. GOFF. It is illegal as fully automatic; it is legal as a semiautomatic where the clip holds no more than five rounds. The thing that makes it illegal is if you put in a conversion kit to make it a fully automatic weapon, then it becomes illegal to use.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have the conversion kits available there? The thing I am asking, Were the weapons illegal or legal? You are a gunsmith.

Mr. GOFF. The weapons were legal at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. And they kept them legal for a purpose, you mean?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; they felt a fully automatic weapon is not a very useful weapon to go to the target range with in the public and use because—this was very stressed—you see, every member was required to go to the target range twice a month; they had to turn in the results of those targets. Every member was required, men and women, to at least be able to shoot a six-inch bulls-eye at a hundred yards. With an M-1 carbine that was difficult to do.

They were instructed not to take armbands, buttons, to use any slogans that would draw any attention to them because of the fact that—Mary Greenberg told me in fact the reason we have these security precautions is because we are an illegal organization, and the fact that makes us illegal is that we intend to violently overthrow this state and therefore we have to have these security precautions.

* * * * *

Mr. FERRY. Let me ask you if you participated in the firearms training?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, I did. I was a member of the proficiency committee, and this committee, as I said before, was made of one member from each collective in the respective areas. So in my area of San Jose there was five members of this proficiency committee.

In this committee we studied the use, the care of different types of firearms and then we took this information back to each of our respective collectives and we were required to teach each of these members how to be proficient in the use of these firearms and the care and the different firing positions that they were required to know.

Mr. FERRY. Mrs. Goff, in front of you, you have just been handed some documents. Would you identify those, please, what are those?

Mrs. GOFF. These are some of the manuals we used in this proficiency committee. This is a manual here on the M-1 carbine, which is a .30 caliber, and there are instructions on how to break down, put back together, clean, the M-1 carbine and anything you have to know about it, it is there.

Mr. FERRY. Is that the .30 caliber?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, it is.

Mr. FERRY. Who published that?

Mrs. GOFF. The United States Government, I believe.

Mr. FERRY. The next document there, did you use the other documents as well?

Mrs. GOFF. This one was given out, was supposed to have been given out to all the members, but each member of the proficiency committee had one of these, and we were to study these and take this information and teach it to our members in our collectives.

Mr. FERRY. Who is the publisher of that particular document?

Mrs. GOFF. It is Radical Education Project.¹ It is called *firearms and self-defense*.

Mr. FERRY. What is the title of the other document sitting on the table there?

Mrs. GOFF. This one, *Guerilla Warfare and Special Forces Operations*.

Mr. FERRY. Who is the publisher of that document?

Mrs. GOFF. The Army, the United States Army.

Mr. FERRY. What is the number on that?

Mrs. GOFF. FM 31-21.

Mr. FERRY. Are those documents you used in your training purposes?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, they are. As I said before, we had to study these and take the information back to our collectives and teach what we had learned to each member until each member was to become expert in time with all of these weapons.

Mr. FERRY. What do you mean, "in time"?

Mrs. GOFF. Some of the members, of course, had never even fired a gun and that is the reason they set up this proficiency committee and, in other words, we had to study and become expert and teach others, and so in a period of time, of course, everyone would know as much as we did.

¹ Organized by the Students for a Democratic Society a Radical Education Project (REP) was created to engage in research and publication to help SDS members overcome confusion in ideological matters. See *Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement: Students for a Democratic Society*, HCIS report, 1970, pp. 33-34.

Mr. FERRY. How often would you be involved in this particular firearm training class?

Mrs. GOFF. The proficiency committee had met once a week, where we would further our studies and gain more knowledge. But then I had to give a report, also once a week, in each collective meeting as to what I had learned in this meeting and teach it for approximately 1 hour in each collective meeting to the other members, and also I was required to take each one of my members at least once a month to a firing range and instruct them in the different firing positions and how to sight the gun in and different things like that.

Mr. FERRY. Did you, in fact, do that?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, I did.

Mr. FERRY. What type of range would you go to?

Mrs. GOFF. It was a public range. We used standard methods of practice and standard targets and, as my husband said before, we were specifically instructed to remain as inconspicuous as possible for security reasons.

Mr. FERRY. Where would you get the ammunition?

Mrs. GOFF. It was supplied to us by the RU. As for myself, we didn't have the money to buy it and we would simply request it. I would request it at the proficiency committee, and one of the members would bring whatever I needed over to the house.

Mr. FERRY. How often would the range practice be?

Mrs. GOFF. It was required at least twice a month. Every member was issued two targets and they had to mark the positions they fired from on this target. For instance, you were to fire five rounds in a kneeling position and then you go up there and mark a "K" by it and then you would be required to fire five rounds from a prone position or lying flat on your stomach in a military manner and then you marked a "P" by those holes where you hit and then from a standing position and you marked "S" by those. You were required to turn in two targets per month, each person was, so that the proficiency committee could determine how well you shot or what type of instruction you needed to better your aim.

Mr. FERRY. Aren't there five basic positions in military weapons training?

Mrs. GOFF. At this time that I was in the RU we were concentrating on three positions—the standing, prone, and kneeling or sitting—and there is another position called a "bench" position that I know of, but we did not use that and for a specific reason that it was considered to be very unuseful in a military situation. In other words, if you are running or in some type of combat situation, you certainly would not have time to find a shooting bench to sit at and prop your gun up and aim it for 5 minutes and then shoot it.

Mr. FERRY. This was the explanation of why you didn't use that?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California.

Mr. SCHMITZ. I have one question for Mr. Goff, going back to the weaponry of your organization. You mentioned that there were four types of weapons. I recall you mentioned a 9-millimeter pistol, a 12-gauge shotgun; what was the other one?

Mr. GOFF. The .30-06 Garand M-1. * * * This cartridge goes to the .30 caliber carbine, the most used weapon because the ammunition is so easy to obtain. I might point out I heard one person say, "Why can't I use the soft-nose ammunition?" or let's say the Remington or Winchester ammunition, and this sounded kind of crazy to me, but Barry Greenberg said, "Well, it is not according to the Geneva Convention; we cannot use soft-nosed ammunition so we might as well get used to using full-jacketed military ammunition." It made some importance to him.

Mr. SCHMITZ. Thus, of course, your comments are of a rather quizzical nature. If they are doing something illegal, why did they want to go according to the Geneva Convention?

Going back, it seems to me that other revolutionary groups, for example, the Panthers, if I recall, make claim that they are a nation-in-exile and therefore can get sympathy from the third world or even the United Nations as a nation within a nation warring against the dominant nation and perhaps this is not as crazy as it sounds.

Their plans are much larger than simply the laws of the State of California, which are making them illegal right now. Their plans have to do with world-

wide revolution and they are tied in with the idea that they aspire in the future to be a government-in-exile or even a government within a government and getting sympathy from other nations in the world.

Mr. Goff. Yes, sir. I might add at this one house I have seen over 20,000 rounds of this type of ammunition and I could not estimate how many rounds of the 9-millimeter and .30-06 military full-jacketed ammunition, which is illegal to use in the State of California.

DEMONSTRATIONS, CONFRONTATIONS, VIOLENCE, SABOTAGE

The Goffs furnished information concerning the more significant demonstrations and confrontations in which they were involved during their affiliation with the RU.

One of the earliest such situations at which Mr. Goff was present took place on November 9, 1969, at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco. At that time, Mr. Goff was not yet a member of the RU, but was affiliated with the Radical Action Movement, an RU group on the campus of San Jose State College. The demonstration was targeted against big business and received television news coverage. All RU members and affiliates in the area had been urged to participate. The demonstration was afforded substantial advance planning. Planning meetings were held at the homes of RU members, many of which were in the San Francisco area. Leaflets were prepared and distributed beforehand. Carpools were planned to deliver the demonstrators to the area. RU members were instructed to operate in small groups of two or three and were cautioned not to publicize the RU's advance planning. Members were instructed not to initiate any violent action, but some unruliness did take place. The planning for this demonstration was masterminded by RU activist leaders.

In the late fall of 1969, Mr. Goff took part in a demonstration on the San Jose State College campus directed against the presence of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) on the campus. Several weeks prior to the demonstration literature was passed out. Plans were made that RU members would carry pipe wrenches and rocks to this demonstration, and rocks were thrown by members which inflicted substantial damage to campus buildings. Members of the RU, along with members of the RU campus-centered front groups RAM and the Bill Haywood Collective, went into university classrooms to precipitate discussions on the ROTC matter, and there was also a door-to-door campaign seeking support for the RU position. At the demonstration, bullhorns were used by RU demonstration leaders and the RU action at the demonstration was instrumental in the damage and violence which took place. As a result of this demonstration certain teachers were expelled by the university, but they were not known to the Goffs to be members of the RU.

On December 5, 1969, a demonstration was held on the San Jose State College campus to protest the presence of big business recruiters. A week prior to this demonstration, movies were shown to create the climate for a good demonstration. On the day of the demonstration members of the RU stormed into the area where the recruiters were, only to find a number of plainclothes campus police waiting for them. A confrontation occurred in which RU member Larry Casquero received a large cut on the head and was arrested.

Mr. Goff participated in a demonstration against the presence of South Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky in San Francisco on December 1, 1970. This was a well-planned activity to which all RU collectives in the area were instructed to send demonstrators. Small groups of two or three RU members with specific tasks to perform during the demonstration, known as affinity groups, were organized in advance. Some had responsibility for publicity, others for first aid, and some were instructed to converse with bystanders to get names and addresses for future RU recruitment purposes. The RU contingents were instructed not to instigate violence, but the RU took the position that should violence occur, there was no objection. The demonstrators erected barricades in a confrontation with the police. Police and demonstrators fought and some police were beaten. RU member Michael Fox bragged later about having beaten a police officer at this demonstration. It was Mr. Goff's recollection that RU national leader Bruce Franklin was present at this demonstration and had acted as field marshal for the RU contingent. Franklin considered himself an excellent tactician in this sort of operation. On occasion he was able to maneuver his forces in a manner to surround members of the San Francisco Police Department's tactical squad. Then RU members would provoke the police by such actions as spitting on them, and pictures would be taken allegedly proving police brutality against the demonstrators.

The last demonstration carried out by the RU in which Mr. Goff participated was on March 8, 1971, on the San Jose City College campus. This demonstration was centered around Women's Day and the RU had made plans for speakers at a campus rally, only to be informed that the demonstration would be considered illegal. The RU made the decision to proceed despite this. A handful of San Jose RU members were instructed to demonstrate at San Jose City College, while the remainder were told to participate in a similar demonstration in San Francisco. It was at the demonstration at San Jose City College that law enforcement officers warned Barry Greenberg and the other RU members that their demonstration was illegal and gave them 10 minutes to vacate the campus. In ensuing discussions with the police, Barry Greenberg was arrested and his car was impounded.

During her period of RU membership, from July 1970 to March 1971, Mrs. Goff participated in three or four demonstrations. Early in this period, in July, she attended but did not participate in a demonstration targeted against the "Western Christiansen" Company² at one of its construction sites in San Jose, where employees were striking for higher pay. This demonstration was a field training exercise for Mrs. Goff, who was instructed to observe and report what transpired and to learn what issues should be exploited and how to operate at a demonstration. Mrs. Goff observed the action from a car in which she was seated, since she had charge of some young children at the time. She watched the activity of female RU members and saw Mary Lou Greenberg strike a police officer on the head with her purse. She also observed RU member Angie Kalvelage being arrested. At this demonstration a girl in a picket line was somehow struck by a truck

² *Maverick*, April 1970, p. 1, refers to a "Christian Western Structures."

and some nondemonstrating workers came from within the construction site to break up the demonstration. At this point the RU contingent left the area.

In August or September 1970, Mrs. Goff participated in a demonstration and a picket line surrounding the warehouse of the Lucky Stores in Santa Clara County. Mrs. Goff was under RU instruction to take part in this operation in order to obtain political experience. She, along with others, was to sell RU newspapers and engage workers in discussions to determine what RU might do for them during and after the strike that was in progress. The strike urged a boycott of all Lucky Stores, and the efforts of the female RU members to impress the male workers appeared well received. The female RU members were instructed beforehand to make themselves as attractive and pleasant as possible for this task.

In late 1970, Mrs. Goff took part in a demonstration at the women's prison in Alameda County at RU instruction. The demonstration was for the purpose of registering support for two female members of the Black Panther Party who had been jailed for refusal to testify before a grand jury. The demonstration was launched by an amalgam of women's liberation organizations in the San Francisco Bay area. Several female members of the RU in San Jose participated.

The Goffs stated that while the RU is not opposed to violence at public demonstrations, it does not foster such activity as slitting tires and breaking windshields, since it is stated such actions are not good "mass line," in other words, do not foster the support of the working class. The RU has criticized the offshoot Venceremos organization for engaging in such activities.

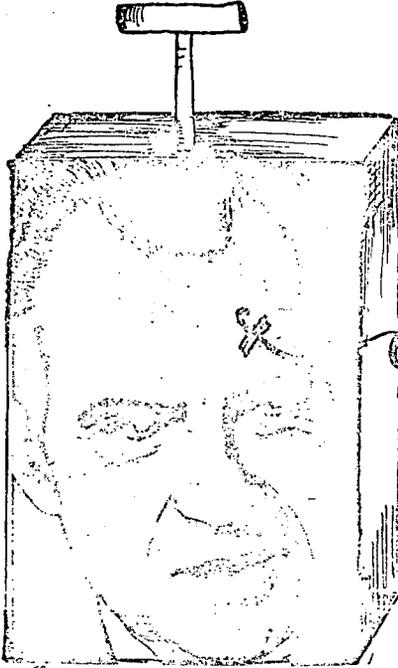
At some of the demonstrations where the Goffs were present, the RU demonstration leaders were equipped with portable two-way radios for instant communication with each other.

On October 29, 1970, the RU participated in a demonstration against President Nixon in San Jose, Calif. Neither of the Goffs was present at this activity. A radical united front effort, this demonstration degenerated into unruliness and rock-throwing. The Goffs learned in discussions in RU circles after this event that San Jose RU members had participated in the rock-throwing. In discussion of the demonstration after it had taken place, Michael Fox, an RU member, characterized the demonstration as successful and indicated that a lot of "bad stuff" had gone on, without identifying specifically what he meant. He spoke in a manner to indicate that he had been involved, however. The Goffs stated that although they were not present, they learned that during the demonstration against President Nixon, RU members carried pipe wrenches, rocks, and possibly firearms. A San Jose RU member was first questioned, then arrested by police at this demonstration.³ The flyer distributed by the RU and other groups is reproduced on the following pages, together with the account of this demonstration appearing on page 1 of the November 1, 1970, issue of *Maverick*.

³ Based on his activities during this demonstration, the individual referred to by the Goffs was convicted of malicious mischief and sentenced to 15 days in jail.

UNWANTED

Nixon will be in
San Jose - Thurs.
Oct. 29th campaign-
ing for Sen. George
Murphy. A peoples
campaign will
coincide with his.
Be there



Stop Nixon

Thurs. Oct 29. San Jose. ● Rally → 5:30, SJS. 7th & San Carlos St.

● March → 6:30 to Civic Auditorium
(San Carlos & Market)

In his two years as president, Richard Nixon has committed acts that constitute crimes against the vast majority of the people of the world. Under Nixon unemployment, rising prices and economic ruin have hit poor people and workers. While Nixon talks peace, he makes war. While he talks ecology, he allows pollution to run rampant. While he talks equality, he practices racism.

Terrorism, kidnapping and murder is Nixon's answer to those who demand justice. Yes, under Nixon, Bobby Seale has been kidnapped, Ruben Salazar has been murdered and terror has been used against students at Kent and Jackson State.

The "no-knock" legislation, the stacking of courts with ultra-conservative judges and the build up of the police, FBI and National Guard are all part of Nixon's attempt to abolish our rights.

To all of this we say, "HELL NO!" We will exercise our right to peacefully assemble and to denounce Nixon and the imperialistic policies of the U.S. government. Demonstrating our opposition to the Nixon clique is a small step on the road to building a new society.

San Jose Liberation Front

Santa Clara County Worker's Committee

Peace and Freedom Party

Revolutionary Union

Radical Action Movement

Volume II
Number 10
11/1/70
Page 1

15c

Maverick

Voice of the Santa Clara County
Workers' Committee

SAN JOSE GREET'S NIXON

3000 march against war, repression, & economic crisis

The crowd of people who chanted outside the San Jose Civic Auditorium and later pelted President Nixon's limousine with rocks, bottles, and eggs was different from the usual student crowds at militant demonstrations. This crowd--though there were many students--included unemployed aerospace workers, hardhats, low-riders, bikers, men and women of all races. All were angry at the Nixon administration for their own reasons, but their unity against the war, inflation, unemployment, and racism enabled them to act together.

The demonstration started with a rally at San Jose State, where speakers from the Revolutionary Union, the San Jose Liberation Front, the Peace and Freedom Party, the Iranian Student Association and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee talked about imperialism, inflation, unemployment, inflation, and racism--the issues that brought everybody together. The rally leaders told the people to "keep things cool," but it was obvious as we got up to march downtown that people were angry and determined to get revenge. It was this anger that spawned the spontaneous violence later in the evening.

As we marched to the auditorium, people along the way joined us, and we ended up some 3000 strong. We were not, as Nixon would call us, "a dissident few," but we represented all the American people who are fed up with the politics of unemployment and poverty.

We gathered in front of the auditorium, chanting "Power to the People!" and "One, two, three, four, we don't want your f----- war!" Older people joined the chants started by the young. Even an 80-year-old lady raised her clenched fist and chanted right along with everyone else.

Most of us then marched around the building, where we met the presidential motorcade as it came down Market St. As we surged forward we were met by the San Jose Tactical Squad, which held us at bay with their clubs. A lot of people were ready to take on the police right then and there, but the

march monitors correctly told the people to move back to avoid a slaughter.

We headed back to the front of the building, where the anger of our chants became action. People kicked holes in the main doors to the auditorium, and the police came back squirting mace through the holes. But people continued to attack the doors, and a man succeeded in breaking the lock on one of them and thrusting it wide open. The pigs slammed the door and handcuffed it shut.

Thirty minutes later, as Nixon's speech was ending, we moved to the parking lot back of the auditorium, where we waited to give Nixon a farewell. When he came out he jumped onto the hood of his car, grinning and flashing the V-sign. But as he did it, the crowd howled boos and a rock barely missed his head. The Secret Service hustled him into his car and took off for the airport.

But we had blocked the exit route, and the Tactical Squad quickly moved in to clear a path through the people. The motorcade got to the end of the parking lot, but we blocked it from turning left onto Park Ave. Police on foot--seeing the danger of the situation, drew their gun-white motorcycle cops drove recklessly through the crowd--and injuring at least one woman.

We responded to this with outrage. An older man wearing a hard hat jammed his sign into the spokes of a pig motorcycle, and people began to throw anything they could get their hands on. The bus carrying the White House press corps was hit so hard that the people inside were forced to lie down in the aisles.

Two Secret Service agents running in front of the presidential limousine were hit by rocks and they fell in front of the car, forcing it to stop so suddenly the cars in back of it piled into each other. Seeing that the president's car had stopped, the people moved in and let loose, hitting it with eggs, rocks, and bottles. However, what was surprising to see was the people throwing rocks. Chicanos, Blacks, poor whites, and students all let loose in a show of anger.

As Nixon made his escape, we knew that we had reached a higher level of unity and struggle. We knew that for the first time in San Jose people of all ages, races, and classes had come together and militantly demonstrated our determination to end the system that plagues us all. It was this unity of all kinds of people that marked the demonstration against Nixon as an historic event, one that will serve as an example to people all around the country.

The Goffs stated that the RU has no aversion to violence at public demonstrations, particularly that targeted against the police. Michael Fox, mentioned above, was heard by the Goffs to have bragged about having beaten a police officer at the San Francisco demonstration against Vietnamese Vice President Ky. Mary Lou Greenberg was known to have attacked police officers at various demonstrations. The Goffs recalled having seen a newspaper photo of Mary Lou Greenberg with her clenched fist extended out of the window of a police cruiser, after having been arrested for having kicked a police officer in the groin. At meetings of the Radical Action Movement, prior to his having been accepted into RU, Mr. Goff recalled having been handed a list of the "Ten Most Wanted Pigs," with accompanying photographs, identifying police officers who had harassed the RU movement.

The Goffs stated that in preparing for an upcoming demonstration, specific plans are made for RU members to carry pipe wrenches, clubs, rocks, or bricks. The stated purposes for being so armed were to attack members of opposing radical groups participating in the demonstration, such as the Progressive Labor Party or the Socialist Workers Party, whom the RU maintained were contributing nothing but confusion to the revolutionary movement and were not creating the correct "mass line"; to attack plainclothes police officers, tagged "pigs"; and for use in self-defense from attacks by the police.

Mr. Goff advised that on one occasion members of his RU collective had engaged in a serious discussion concerning assassination of members of the Progressive Labor Party in the San Jose area, maintaining that those individuals and their organization were totally counter-productive to the revolutionary movement and were creating a bad "mass line." This recommendation was subsequently overruled locally at the local executive committee level.

According to Mr. Goff, at a meeting of a study group reference was made to the fact that his father owned a tool and die company in Michigan. Discussion centered around the possibility of somehow eliminating the elder Mr. Goff and thus acquiring control of his firm, which might prove useful to the movement. The group agreed that the RU must be alert to gain control of such tools of production whenever possible.

The Goffs recalled that on one occasion the San Jose RU wanted to plan some act of sabotage against Harold's Shoe Store in San Jose, whose employees were on strike. The RU had appointed itself to call attention to the employees' grievances and to lead the demonstration against the management. The proposition of blowing up the store was vetoed when Mr. Goff pointed out that such an action would cause some members of the working class to lose their jobs, and thus was bad "mass line." It was agreed that some act to harass but not destroy the store must be found. Certain RU members then constructed a chemical device designed to cause a great deal of smoke and a noxious odor when left in the store. The device was placed in the store by a member of the RU, but its success was limited as it only burned a hole in the store's rug.

Set forth here are excerpts from the testimony of the Goffs before the committee on October 21, 1971, regarding demonstrations, confrontations, violence, and sabotage:

The CHAIRMAN. I think this would be a good point to develop a matter I have in mind here. There are three revolutionary groups within the Nation: the Communist Party, U.S.A.; the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyite communists; and the Progressive Labor Party.

Now, we are looking at a specific group, the Revolutionary Union, and you are testifying to the Marxist-Leninist indoctrination that they gave to you. The CPUSA is more or less Moscow oriented. The Trotskyites, of course, are a different group, but the Progressive Labor Party is Mao Tse-tung, more or less Chinese oriented. This seems to be an offshoot of the Progressive Labor Party. Did you ever hear the Progressive Labor Party discussed or anyone within the organization mention membership within the Progressive Labor Party?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, sir; the RU certainly did. In fact, the Progressive Labor Party, when they saw me attending the RAM meetings, which was a front group for the RU, they tried to recruit me, and the RU felt like they were saving me from disaster.

Later on, the RU would physically, bodily, brutally beat up the Progressive Labor Party wherever they were found and Trotskyites, too. In fact, it was talked about at one meeting whether one of them in the San Jose area should be assassinated, and I personally was on one affinity group at a certain rally where if any members of the Progressive Labor Party were to come on we were supposed to escort them off and if they didn't leave, carry them off, conscious or unconscious, whatever it may be. They were hated, and the Trotskyites were hated because every time the RU would have a demonstration planned—I think of one at San Jose State College where they had the business groups come to recruit students. Everything was set and organized of what we were supposed to do, go in there and beat up the big businessmen or turn the tables and everything, and here comes this Progressive Labor man shouting for a peaceful demonstration, you know, which confused the people and the students who had worked so hard to get up in a frenzy, the RU people—they disrupted everything the RU tried to do when we wanted to act in violence.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned several times, Mr. Goff, that the public and the press very seldom see a disciplined Marxist operating because he is usually advocating issue exploitation rather than any action. But this group seems to think the revolution is imminent; all of your training was directed towards that.

Did Greenberg ever tell you when he thought the time was ripe for revolution?

Mr. GOFF. Yes. He said he figured it will be about 15 to 20 years. That was when I came into the organization, that was the spring of 1970. He can't say for sure, but he says that it inevitably has to come about.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you had all this training, you had all of this discipline, was it ever put to use other than issue exploitation, I mean by action? Was it ever put to use by action, to your knowledge?

Mr. GOFF. To my knowledge, yes, I am sure there were accounts of where they were used, like affinity groups.

The CHAIRMAN. You were taught violence, and the discipline was based around violent activities. Was there ever any use of violence, to your knowledge?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What were those?

Mr. GOFF. One member after the Ky demonstration in San Francisco was boasting about how brutally he had beaten up a police officer. There was a photograph in the newspaper, but it got him going away, and he boasted that was him in the picture. It was not a clear enough picture to identify that it was him. There were other acts of this person boasting on how he could build the firebombs so expert without the use of flame. He used completely chemicals which is found in one of the manuals of Vietcong type weapons that he personally gave to me and showed me which ones were the better type of devices. He told me of automobiles that he had fired on.

You see, the affinity group, Mr. Chairman, in the demonstrations played a very important part. Your affinity group was geared to control the crowd, that was one job of one affinity group; another job was to instigate the level of the consciousness of the crowd. Another affinity group was to do acts to knock down the enemy, you see, whether it would be to build a fire behind a building to attract them, you see, and these were practices that they could carry out at a demonstration. They were not allowed to carry guns at these types of demonstrations, but they felt it was good practice.

They feel the most important thing to do now is build the mass mind, build a base among the working-class people, build a base in the military organization, build a base right now. So the actual military is not to be ignored.

But this was the main reason the split came in the RU because Bruce Franklin * * * thought that they should be now, it should be the next 3 years. And they began doing these things, and to my knowledge the RU revolutionary presents a much greater threat because Bruce Franklin's group is not going to last. They are going to be killed or arrested. I am not a doctor, but the man acts very unstable in his ways. They won't last.

But Barry Greenberg, the thing that makes him such a great threat is his long-range outlook and his organized, disciplined way of going about this. * * *

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question, Do you know whether or not the RU had anything to do with the demonstrations at which the President was stoned in San Jose?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, I would say they were the main organizers of that.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you know they were the main organizers of it?

Mr. GOFF. Because I was in some 6-hour meetings that were to set up affinity groups of what people should carry, but I think my wife at that time—

The CHAIRMAN. You did not participate in the demonstration?

Mr. GOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did participate in the planning?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes.

Mr. GOFF. Let's say we went along in the group of the planning and knew what was going to come about. We did not make any initial decisions of what was going to be done.

Mrs. GOFF. I was in collective meetings where this demonstration was discussed, and it was discussed that President Nixon was coming to San Jose and what was the RU going to do about it and what could we do, the RU, do effectively in making this come off to where it would make the President of the United States look bad and at the same time give a good impression to what they termed the working-class people, in other words, to impress them to hate the President.

The RU planned to have affinity groups at this, some of which were instructed to organize rock piles; other groups were instructed to carry wrenches or pipes for the reasons of getting rid of plainclothesmen that might be in the crowd or PL'ers or Trotskyites or people to this effect that they thought might be hampering this demonstration.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not any of the members of RU participated in the Mayday demonstrations here in Washington?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, I believe there were some.

Mr. GOFF. Yes, I do know.

The CHAIRMAN. You believe—what is the basis of your belief?

Mr. GOFF. I know of the carpool that was set up to come here. I reported it to the proper authorities of the persons who did plan to come here for that demonstration.

The CHAIRMAN. You do know that plans were made then to transport certain members of RU to the Mayday demonstrations; is that correct?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know whether it was carried out or not?

Mr. GOFF. I did not come with them.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California?

Mr. SCHMITZ. There were simultaneous demonstrations in San Francisco. It would seem to me more logical that most of the people in the San Jose area would drive up the peninsula rather than come way out here. Would these carpools be for Washington?

Mr. GOFF. This was particularly true of two individuals who said that they had at least a 3-day trip ahead of them to come to this area to participate in the Mayday demonstrations.

Mr. SCHMITZ. They wanted to play in the majors?

Mr. GOFF. Yes.

* * * * *

Mr. FERRY. Was there anything stated concerning sabotage that would work?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; it says an act of sabotage is good if it has a mass line to it. Now, mass line is very, very important to the people of the RU organization.

Mr. FERRY. This is the Barry Greenberg position?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, this is the Barry Greenberg position, because just to have an act of sabotage without the backing of the public, the workers, then it does more damage than good, but to do an act of sabotage—I will give you an example.

It was suggested like naturally the president of FMC or the owner there they consider a capitalist type person, why don't you blow his car up or something like that, because the workers there will have established the consciousness that they didn't like him because he was getting all the money, they were putting all the sweat out, so something like that would be considered mass line, you see.

(Pictures depicting these demonstrations follow:)

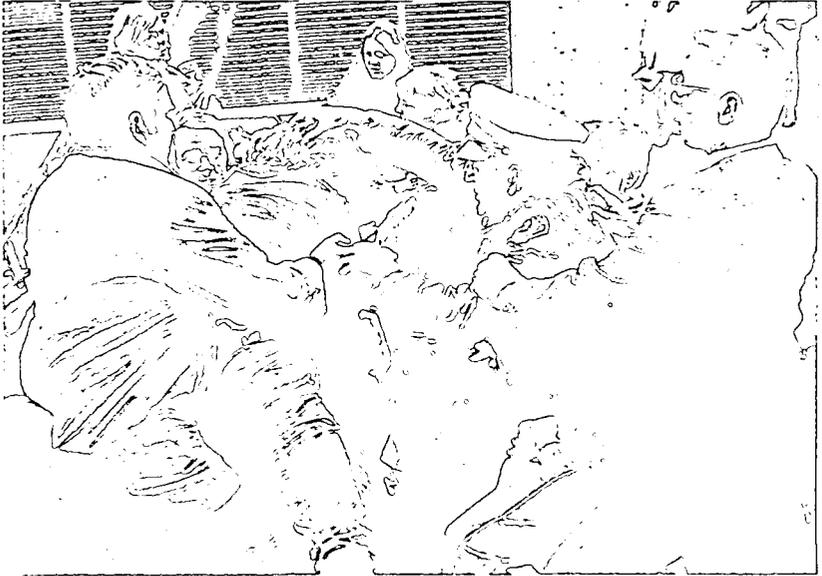


Revolutionary Union anti-Vietnam war protest march on the streets of San Jose, California, November 14, 1969.



Revolutionary Union member William Edward (Ted) James at 1970 anti-Vietnam war demonstration in San Jose, California. The staff to which his protest sign is attached has a double-headed nail driven into its end, said to enhance its effectiveness as a weapon against police in the event of a confrontation.

[*Spartan Daily* March 5, 1971, campus newspaper of San Jose State College.]



On March 4, 1971, some 400 demonstrators clashed with San Jose police over "war-related recruiting" by representatives of such firms as Standard Oil of California and Hewlett-Packard on the San Jose State campus, resulting in 13 persons being taken into custody, including Craig Shubert, who was named by the Goffs as an RU member. Photos by Carlo Brusaschetti of the *Spartan Daily* staff.

CHAPTER VI

SPREADING THE WORD

Goffs' Testimony

The Goffs stated that the most intensive and continuous propaganda effort in which the RU engages is the dissemination of its philosophy and programs by word of mouth. RU members are constantly engaged in such activity at public protests and demonstrations and through RU front operations such as its student organizations on campus, workers caucuses among factory workers, welfare rights organizations, and workers' committees in the community. RU members are constantly impressed with the importance of such efforts. They are taught that they must be flexible in their arguments and should promptly identify problems which can be turned into exploitable issues. Such problems are to be correctly attributed to the "evil imperialistic exploitation" of the worker class under the capitalist system, and the point is to be driven home in discussions that the only feasible solutions are to be found in Mao Tse-tung's interpretation of Marxism-Leninism.

According to the Goffs, RU front groups and the RU itself produce leaflets and flyers with regularity and frequency. Such items are reproduced by mimeograph available for RU use or are professionally printed. Various RU members author such leaflets and flyers. The more promising members of RU front groups are assigned the task of preparing such items in order to afford them experience in the exploitation of issues. These writing efforts are formally criticized or approved by RU front group leaders.

The monthly newspaper of the RU in San Jose, titled *Maverick* before the split between RU and Venceremos in January 1971 and *Salt of the Earth* thereafter, was printed at the rate of 2,000 copies per month during the period of the Goff's affiliation with the RU. Publication was the responsibility of the community collective of the RU in San Jose, of which Mrs. Goff was a member and later chairman. She also served as a member of the newspaper committee of the San Jose RU. The paper was often prepared in the offices of the Mexican-American group, the Brown Berets, in San Jose. It was then taken to San Francisco where a printer, identity not known to the Goffs, produced the 2,000 copies at a cost of \$140. Barry Greenberg, who for a time was editor of the paper, usually approved the paper's content before printing. The Goffs were unable to estimate the number of copies sold each month, but Mrs. Goff recalled that in the first week after an issue appeared, some 400 to 500 copies would be sold. There was also a mailing or distribution list used to disseminate the newspaper. The Goffs said that a substantial number of copies were sold or given away, mainly in the vicinity of factories, by RU members attempting to engage the workers in discussion in order to identify with them and to exploit their

problems. The San Jose newspaper consistently devoted particular attention to the Vietnam war issue, according to the Goffs, emphasizing that young Americans were being killed on foreign shores to support the world's financial exploiters. At the time the Goffs severed their RU connections there were plans afoot to produce *Salt of the Earth* as a biweekly rather than a monthly publication. Also, the RU in San Jose was attempting to locate an office to rent to serve as a base for the newspaper operation.

It was the opinion of the Goffs that most RU regions produced small newspapers and publications. They said that there was no national RU publication during their period of RU membership. The RU newspaper in San Francisco was *Wildcat* and another RU newspaper recalled by the Goffs was *People Get Ready*, published by the RU in Richmond, Calif.

A major propaganda effort of the RU, through its campus front groups at San Jose State College, the Radical Action Movement and the Bill Haywood Collective, according to Mr. Goff, was the showing of propaganda films. Anti-Vietnam war movies were shown which portrayed the American soldier and the U.S. effort in Vietnam in the worst possible light. Mr. Goff recalled viewing films in which atrocities allegedly committed by American soldiers, the killing of U.S. GIs, and the destruction of U.S. aircraft were portrayed. Some films had foreign-language soundtracks and showed the Vietcong building boobytraps for U.S. GIs and the GIs being wounded. Some films depicted the Vietcong using the crudest of weapons and defeating the "Western imperialist giant." The message of these movies, according to Mr. Goff, was that the Vietcong will be victorious because they are operating under the superior communist system based on Mao Tse-tung's interpretation of Marx and Lenin. Mr. Goff recalled that one such film had an English-language soundtrack by a man identified as a CBS or NBC commentator who very effectively criticized the U.S. presence in Vietnam and the U.S. effort there. Mr. Goff said that it was apparent to him that these films were intended to show "how rotten the Americans were."

Mr. Goff recalled a film on another subject shown under RU front group sponsorship at the Newman Center at San Jose State College 1 week prior to the scheduled appearance of industry recruiters on campus. The film dealt with a labor dispute and strike at the Esso petroleum refinery at Richmond, Calif. It portrayed police and Esso security guards fighting with demonstrators, and there was much soundtrack comment alleging imperialist tactics by Esso and the brutalization of strikers by the company. The film was shown for the purpose of creating the climate for a successful demonstration upon the arrival on campus of the industry recruiters. As the film showing ended, according to Mr. Goff, there were shouts from plants in the audience: "Are we going to let the Esso pigs do this? Are we going to let them on campus?"

Mr. Goff said that the expense of film rental and showing was paid by RU. Occasionally donations were solicited from the audience to help defray the expense.

The Goffs commented on another propaganda technique utilized by the RU growing out of its participation in protest demonstrations. At such demonstrations, RU members would purposely harass and pro-

voke the police. At the first sign of reaction by the police an RU photographer would begin taking pictures in the hope of getting photographs which could be publicized to support the RU's constant allegations of the brutality of the police.

The following excerpts from the testimony of Mr. Goff before the committee on October 21, 1971, concern the exhibition of propaganda films on campus by RU student front groups:

Mr. FERRY. Let me ask you then to go back a minute. How did you happen to join RAM or was it the Revolutionary Action Movement?

* * * * *

Mr. GOFF. Some of the circumstances were, I came on the San Jose State College campus, receiving a leaflet of an advertisement of a film, and this film was just so shocking to me because it showed the Vietcong side of shooting down American planes and setting boobytraps.

It showed the boobytraps when they set them and then afterwards it showed the GIs shot down, American GIs dead on the ground, and the people were roaring and raising clenched fists and saying "Right on: Power to the people." And the thing that was outstanding about this type of film was that the leaflet was inviting GIs from Fort Ord, and any other place was welcome to attend these films.

* * * * *

Mr. GOFF. * * * they have films that are purchased by the RU from Newsreel;¹ out of San Francisco, "Terror in the Skies" rings a bell. I think that is the film that I saw; I am not sure of the language of the narrator.

Mr. FERRY. Was it in English?

Mr. GOFF. No; it was completely geared and fashioned to make the American look bad. It showed the Vietcong; it showed them setting boobytraps—I think I mentioned that earlier—and it showed the women in the rice fields working, and all of a sudden here come some planes, and they dive in these holes and come up with machineguns, brand new weapons, and it showed them down an aircraft. And then the RU has a plan for the people that are attending this film to stand up and give a mighty yell. "How many people say 'Right on,'" and people would rise and say "Right on," you know.

Mr. FERRY. Where was this shown?

Mr. GOFF. At the Newman Center in San Jose; it is a public place where any group can hold meetings without any fee.

Mr. FERRY. Was this an RU meeting?

Mr. GOFF. No; it was planned by the RU in advance to attract GI personnel and other possible recruits and also it was preparing for demonstrations that were going to be held at the San Jose State campus * * *.

PROPAGANDIZING THE ARMED FORCES

At the opening of committee hearings on October 21, 1971, the Honorable Richard H. Ichord, committee chairman, commented as follows:

Yesterday the committee began hearings of a preliminary nature under resolution calling for an investigation of attempts to subvert the United States armed services.

Our inquiries are prompted by reports in the media of widespread morale and discipline problems in the military, particularly the Army. I have an interest in this subject as a member of the Committee on Armed Services subcommittee which is looking into manpower and recruitment problems.

The Chair also has an interest as chairman of this committee which has the responsibility of investigation and calling to the attention of the Congress information concerning organizations which seek to overthrow the Government by force and violence. Unfortunately, there are such organizations and individuals and they follow Marxist-Leninist doctrines.

¹ Newsreel is a New York-based producer and supplier of new left films and distributor of propaganda news films from communist North Vietnam, etc. See *Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement: Students for a Democratic Society*, HCIS report, 1970, p. 99.

I do believe that there is reason for concern about the morale and discipline of the armed services, but all of these problems are not the direct result of subversive elements in our society. However, some undoubtedly are, but there is a complexity to these problems to which simple answers will not apply and which are beyond the mandate of this committee to examine.

I have instructed the staff to keep an "eye on the ball," so to speak, in this investigation to insure that we do not get into areas which are properly within the mandate of the Committee on Armed Services.

The distinguished chairman of that committee, F. Edward Hébert, and I have been very closely in touch, not only to insure that our committee lines of demarkation are not breached, but also, and more importantly, to insure that mutually pertinent facts developed by the inquiries of either committee are promptly brought to the attention of the other.

Yesterday, we took testimony in executive session showing that the Socialist Workers Party has been an active participant in a GI project near Fort Lewis, Washington, called the Shelter Half. This is one of the widely publicized GI coffeehouses about which we have all read, but which we really did not know too much about. I was not surprised by the testimony because our hearings, no matter what the subject matter, seem to consistently dredge up Socialist Workers Party involvement.

The Socialist Workers Party, despite a name which seems innocuous, is, in fact, the second largest and the most active of the Marxist revolutionary organizations within the United States. This has not been brought very often to the attention of the American people. The Socialist Workers Party are the Trotskyite communists within the Nation. The testimony showed that the Trotskyites, the SWP, played a very important and a very disciplined role in such activities in the Seattle area.

Today we are going to examine a newer and smaller revolutionary organization known as the Revolutionary Union. This is an organization which the Committee on Internal Security has not yet studied.

The testimony today will give us, I think, some understanding of the organization and its aims and will give pertinence to testimony that is to be taken next week, which I understand will show a significant involvement of the Revolutionary Union in efforts to radicalize and disrupt the military at another west coast military base.

I think this is timely, and it is timely to be taking a look at the Revolutionary Union organization because it is apparent that it has close ties with Red China. For example, a New China News Agency report from Peking dated September 23, 1971, shows that a delegation of the Revolutionary Union from the United States had arrived in Peking on September 21 for a visit to China on invitation. The New China News Agency report from Peking dated October 6, 1971, shows that the members of the delegation of the Revolutionary Union of the United States were among a group of "American friends" who met and had a friendly conversation with Chou En-lai, the Red Chinese premier, and other Red Chinese leaders just 16 days ago.

The Goffs testified that the RU is a very secretive and completely compartmented organization. The RU member is to be aware of the RU affiliation and activities of only a handful of individuals, those in his own collective of three to 10 members. They stated that as a consequence they had firsthand knowledge of only three RU members directly involved with the military as active-duty soldiers or potential inductees.²

Lawrence Goff testified that the order that the RU would concentrate on infiltrating the Armed Forces was made at the highest organizational level and passed down to the rank and file with instructions that this be a primary program of the organization.

The following is quoted from an internal document of the RU obtained by Lawrence Goff on August 13, 1970. The document is self-

² James Blair Ransom, on active duty in the Army, and Ronald Lee Gracia and Chris Menchine, who had received induction notices. See information regarding Ransom on p. 81 and refer to app. I regarding all three individuals.

described as "a summation of the last Central Committee meeting"³ and sets forth guidelines for RU operations:

Importance of Military Work. Until recently the RU has given little attention to work in the military. This situation must be reversed, and comrades capable of doing such work must be mobilized. We must realize that most recruits and draftees are from the working class, with the next largest group coming from near-lumpen elements who are objectively revolutionary because of the severe oppression they encounter in the service. We must understand the working class character of the military, and also the important fact that these youths are being taught the skills necessary to overthrow the state. Moreover, the military as a reflection of the proletariat is multi-national, with the common oppression of Black and brown soldiers forging unity in struggle against the common enemy. This development can be seen most clearly in the organization of Movement for a Democratic Military,⁴ in which Black and brown people are playing a leadership role.

In his testimony, Lawrence Goff stated that the RU was convinced that the average GI would make a fine revolutionary, since he was already trained and disciplined, a necessary prerequisite to his effective participation in a successful violent revolution. The RU was satisfied that with the war in Vietnam and current problems within the military little effort would be required to convince the GI "that he is being used" and that he is being "killed for imperialist reasons." The main effort of the RU's program against the military is to recruit the GI into the revolutionary movement and to build a "base" for concerted revolutionary action within the Armed Forces. Mr. Goff described the RU goal as enlisting the GI to do whatever can be done "to smash the imperialist powers," and said that RU leaders were convinced that with an established revolutionary base in the military forces, the organization could "just about overthrow the whole organization of the Armed Forces."

Lawrence Goff testified that the RU established a collective in the Salinas-Monterey area, close to Fort Ord, Calif., for the specific purpose of attempting to contact and to influence the GIs there and to bring them under the discipline of the RU. A GI coffeehouse was founded outside Fort Ord by the RU and was considered one of the organization's prime means of contacting the Fort Ord GIs. Also, according to Mr. Goff, "booze parties" were held for the Fort Ord GIs where they were exposed to Mao Tse-tung ideology. In addition, there was a continuing program of showing anti-Vietnam war films, advertised in advance by leaflets directed to the GI at Fort Ord and other area military bases. In his testimony Lawrence Goff stated that Barry Greenberg, whom Goff identified as a national leader of the RU, was active in revolutionary work in the Fort Ord area.

³ See app. II, p. 180, document 7.

⁴ (Committee footnote.) In testimony before the committee on Oct. 27, 1971, Detective Terry Mangan of the Seaside, Calif., Police Department, identified the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) as an organization active in the Fort Ord, Calif., area beginning in about March 1970, set up for the purpose of disrupting and neutralizing Fort Ord as a military base. MDM's program, according to Mangan, included enlisting GIs to act against the Army to create dissension within the ranks by encouraging the GI to participate in demonstrations, engage in activities designed to "tie up Fort Ord," and to file for conscientious objector status. MDM distributed its propaganda illegally on the post. According to Mangan, the leadership of MDM was in constant contact with leaders of the RU in the San Jose, Calif., area, and within the MDM, at a leadership level, there was a small group of individuals who were members of the RU and actually directed the MDM, but did not inform the MDM membership that they themselves were affiliated with the RU. "The Cadre," or leadership group of the MDM, was composed of eight to 10 individuals, several of whom were GIs on active duty. Among MDM activities regarding which Mangan testified was that organization's holding paramilitary exercises in the Los Padres National Forest, adjacent to Fort Ord, and the conducting of regular target practice sessions in that area.

Lawrence Goff testified that members of the RU, whether civilians or GIs, in their contacts with members of the Armed Forces constantly counseled GIs to engage in insubordination, to refuse to obey orders, to refuse to work, and the like. He testified that at a demonstration engineered by the RU on Armed Forces Day 1970, GIs were encouraged not to work and to refuse any command given.

Mr. Goff testified that when an RU member received a notice of induction into the Armed Forces, the RU decided whether he would be more useful to the revolution in the Armed Forces or outside. A decision in this regard was made at the lowest organizational level, the collective, then passed to the higher organizational bodies for confirmation or reversal. Mr. Goff explained that should a member be expert in demonstrations or riots, valuable as a teacher of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought to young recruits, or as a writer of leaflets and articles, every effort would be made to keep him out of the military. In this event, a collective decision would be reached as to action which should be taken. One procedure was to obtain a doctor's statement certifying the inductee as physically unfit for military service. Another was to hold demonstrations and disruptions at the draft office on the date of induction, and if that were unsuccessful, plans were made toward having the inductee go underground or spirited outside the country.

However, according to Mr. Goff, the RU is totally convinced of the importance of the military to its revolutionary goal. It is considered decidedly more important for RU members to go into the military than to avoid military service. It was constantly pointed out that members in the service would have the opportunity and advantage of bringing the GI over to the revolutionary type of thinking, and it was agreed that a good proportion of the populace would support the military in its actions and attitudes.

Mr. Goff stated that those RU members whose entry into the military was authorized by the RU itself were "handpicked" and "trained to do anything at all necessary to raise the consciousness of the GI to a revolutionary type thing." Once in the service, there was no limitation placed on the type of activity the RU member should engage in, so long as it was directed toward the building of a revolutionary "base" among the members of the Armed Forces. The most dedicated and disciplined RU members and those with "a high level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought" were to enter the Armed Forces. The RU had total confidence in these members and was satisfied that they would at the proper time launch into programs of "fragging," sabotage, or insubordination, whatever, if it was found to be useful or in furtherance of the revolution, that is what they were to do." Mr. Goff testified that he knew one RU member in the military who stated he could not wait to get to Vietnam where he could engage in "fragging," the killing of one's own officers and fellow soldiers by the use of explosives.⁵

Testimony was given to the effect that while in the military service, RU members were required to report back to the organization on a regular and timely basis on the progress of their revolutionary effort within the military. Mrs. Goff recalled having read letters from a GI RU member⁵ stating that he had already met "quite a few GIs and

⁵ Identified by Mrs. Goff in executive session testimony on Oct. 22, 1971, as Jim Ransom.

even some of his sergeants who seemed to have a very high level of consciousness as far as revolutionary thinking was concerned" and was jubilant at the prospects of the great revolutionary work he was going to accomplish in the service.

THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION AND INDUSTRY ⁶

The RU sees to it that its members who are in a position to do so, i.e., not students or housewives with families to tend, obtain gainful employment, according to the Goffs. Despite the best efforts of the organization, a good proportion of the membership is not employed. The RU is totally demanding with regard to the employment of its members, insisting that jobs be sought only in industry at the worker level and prescribing those plants and factories at which employment is to be sought. Mr. Goff, an unemployed member of a workers collective in the San Jose RU, was ordered to obtain such a factory job so that he could work on behalf of the revolution directly among the proletariat. He was given a list of plants at which he was to apply for employment and was under instructions that he was not to file applications at other factories in the area. The Goffs advised that the RU was so insistent that its members work only at the blue collar level in industry that those with college educations were instructed to hide this fact when applying for a job. On his application the RU member is to list as references other RU members, often members of the organization who are not publicly known, who are prepared to lie to the prospective employer regarding the background and past activities of the applicant.

According to the Goffs, the RU member's reason for obtaining employment is not for necessary sustenance, but rather for two entirely different reasons: (1) to enable him to work intensively and actively to raise the revolutionary consciousness of his fellow employees and (2) to make it possible for him to contribute financially in a substantial way to the RU.

During their affiliation with the RU, the Goffs were aware that active members of the RU in San Jose were blue collar workers at the local plants of General Electric, General Motors, Western Electric Company, Food Machinery Corporation, and Owens-Corning-Fiberglas, as well as at the Paul Masson Wineries, a large box factory, and a local printing plant. The Goffs said that RU member Angie Kalvelage, who held a responsible and good-paying position with the local Retail Clerks Union, felt that she could better proselyte the working class for the revolution by changing employment to the box factory, which she did.

Mr. Goff testified that Bruce Franklin, a founder and national officer of the RU, had once claimed that 75 percent of the members of the RU in Palo Alto were operators at the telephone company. The RU attached great significance to the employment of its members in the telephone industry since it was recognized as a vital communications link and because substantial information important to the RU could be obtained through its members there. The Goffs knew that two RU members in the San Jose region were employed at the San Jose telephone company.

⁶ See also chapter III under the heading "The Workers Collectives."

The RU was also very interested in infiltrating the Postal Service by the placement of its members on the Postal Service employment rolls, but apparently had met with little success in this regard in San Jose, according to the Goffs. During a postal strike, the Postal Service employees reportedly expressed themselves as not wanting anything to do with the RU members who were attempting to capitalize on the strike.

Mr. Goff stated that at the lengthy weekly meetings of the workers collective of which he was a member, a good part of the time was given over to required reports by the members regarding their activities on behalf of the RU at their places of employment. Those dealt with the members' efforts to relate to their fellow workers in order to identify those areas of discontent which could be exploited by the RU. The collective would then engage in discussions to determine what would make a good "mass line" for the RU with the goal of organizing radical caucuses at the factory involved.

Because of the strict compartmentation of the RU and the secrecy of its operations, the Goffs said that they were not able to determine whether there were RU units comprised of professional people such as doctors and lawyers.

FRONT GROUP ACTIVITIES

In addition to its intensive front group activity at the college level in San Jose where it operated the Radical Action Movement and the Bill Haywood Collective,⁷ the RU also concentrated on students of the high schools and junior high schools, according to the Goffs. They advised that the RU student collective centered at San Jose City College directed front groups targeted at these younger students. One center of such activity was the local Community Center, located near Overfelt High School in San Jose, where teenage high school and junior high school students congregated. The students were engaged in discussions in an effort to influence them favorably toward the RU philosophy. Students were contacted to urge or support student strikes and to endeavor to proselyte the more "politically active" students. The stated purpose of this concentration on the very young was to build a base among the young proletariat, guide them into working class employment, and train them for service to the revolution.

The Goffs stated that RU prepared and financed leaflets were passed out at the schools, which attempted to capitalize on and exploit the complaints of the students. Some claimed unequal and unfair treatment of ethnic groups in the student body, in particular the Mexican Americans. The RU also made a specific effort to seek out for possible recruitment those "more advanced teachers who are dissatisfied with our system of government."

The following is an excerpt from the testimony of the Goffs before the committee on October 21, 1971, regarding RU-directed activities among the younger students:

Mr. FERRY. What were the educational requirements of membership within the RU?

Mr. GOFF. The educational requirements—there was absolutely none because they feel that the educational system of this country is absolutely a pack of lies;

⁷ Refer to information under the headings "The Student Collectives," p. 39, "Spreading the Word," p. 76, and "Demonstrations, Confrontations, Violence, Sabotage," p. 65.

in fact, that is in one of their songs, that going to school is ridiculous, and they try to encourage young people to strike the schools. And, in fact, that is where several front groups are formed, in junior high schools and even high schools to get the children to begin the thing and start indoctrinating them with Mao Tse-tung thought that all the schools teach in this country is the system of this type of government, which they believe is absolutely a farce and no good.

Mrs. Goff. Yes; I would like to say I have a daughter 11 years of age at this time, and she was even encouraged to start a radical revolutionary type newspaper in her school and also encouraged to write articles for the RU newspaper.

According to the Goffs, the RU in San Jose attempted to establish a "United Front Against Imperialism" in cooperation with the San Jose Liberation Front, centered at San Jose State College, particularly in support of the Mexican-American agricultural workers in the area, attempting to instigate boycotts, lettuce strikes, and the like.

The Goffs stated that the Santa Clara County Workers Committee in San Jose was a front group organized by the RU through which it hoped to extend its influence through the labor unions, welfare agencies, and local plants and factories. The RU also organized unions among the tenants of low-rent apartment houses and developments in the belief that there were issues there to be exploited in advancing the revolution. Food cooperatives were also promoted, and the most active such organization in San Jose at the time the Goffs terminated their RU membership was being operated by the offshoot *Venceremos* organization, which considered this to be a good avenue through which to recruit the support of the Negroes and Spanish-speaking Americans of the community. Toward the end of the Goffs' RU membership, RU-operated day care centers for the children of working mothers were being planned. These community-centered activities were the responsibility of the community collective of the RU in San Jose.

The Goffs said that the RU newspaper, originally known as *Maverick* and later as *Salt of the Earth*, was considered a front operation by the organization. The names chosen for the papers themselves were carefully selected to avoid any radical connotation, and efforts were made to attract individuals with no RU connections to work for the paper on various causes and issues.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION RELATIONS WITH BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The Goffs advised that during the period of their membership in the RU in San Jose, the organization attempted to establish working relationships with the Black Panther groups in the area. The RU offered to come to the defense of the Panthers in the event of police actions or raids against Panther facilities. The Panthers were willing to accept this support from the RU, but declined to agree to reciprocate should RU facilities be raided. It was apparent to the Goffs that the Panthers were willing to accept support from any quarter, but that they did not wish to develop any sort of liaison with the RU or make any contribution to its activities, except where both organizations were exploiting the same issues at public protest demonstrations. It was the belief of the Goffs that subsequent to the split in the RU which precipitated the formation of the *Venceremos* organization, this latter group was successful in establishing an active working relationship with the Black Panthers.

The Goffs stated that although many members of the RU were identified to them as former members of other revolutionary or communist

groups, the RU maintained no working relationship with any of the old left groups in the San Jose area. The RU views the Communist Party, U.S.A., as revisionist in its philosophy and programs, and terms the Communists "Russian socialist-imperialists." The RU is in total disagreement with the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyite communist revolutionary organization. Similarly, the RU had total antipathy for the formerly pro-Chinese communist Progressive Labor Party and was convinced that every Progressive Labor Party activity worked against the establishment of a good "mass line" with the proletariat.

Mrs. Goff, in her appearance before the committee as a witness on October 21, 1971, testified as follows concerning these matters:

The CHAIRMAN. * * * the Trotskyites were the ones who provided most of the leadership for the recent demonstrations here in Washington in May, which is one of the reasons for the success of the Trotskyite communist group. The reason for its growth has been that it has used a single issue, to wit, the war in Vietnam, and also has been very diligent toward trying to keep down violence.

I take it this group is more or less violence oriented and is this one of the reasons why the antipathy between the Trotskyite communists, who want to deal—

Mrs. GOFF. The RU considers that PL'ers and Trotskyites and the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, U.S.A., as revisionists. In other words, they have revised their initial plans that they had for a violent overthrow; they have revised these plans and are now advocating working through the courts and on issues, whereas the RU is different in that it stresses violent overthrow * * * they don't want to be revisionists.

The CHAIRMAN. They apparently think that the way of Mao Tse-tung is the true way?

Mrs. GOFF. Yes, definitely; in fact, you would call the "red book" their bible because that is just exactly how, they are that dedicated and devoted to it.

According to the Goffs, the leadership of the RU includes individuals who were formerly members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Several of these persons were present at the meetings of the central committee of the RU attended by the Goffs and were identified to the Goffs as veterans of the left movement who acted as advisers to the RU. They were excused from attendance at certain routine RU meetings and functions reportedly because of the press of their advisory and organizational duties.

One such individual was Leibel Bergman, one of RU's founders and a member of its highest policymaking body, the political committee. In addition to being identified to the Goffs as a former member of the Communist Party, Bergman was said to have been influential for a time in the Progressive Labor Party. During the Goffs' membership in the RU, Bergman traveled to the east coast, where he was engaged in establishing new RU collectives. Bergman was stated to have spent time in communist China.

Another person identified to the Goffs as a former Communist Party member was William Howard Hinton, who resided in Pennsylvania and was the leader in efforts to establish the RU there. Hinton reportedly lived in communist China for several years and was a visitor there in October 1971.⁸ He is the author of a book *Fanshen*, dealing

⁸ According to three separate Radio Peking broadcasts between September 29 and October 6, 1971, William H. Hinton was identified as present among a contingent of "American friends," which also included delegations from the Black Panther Party and Revolutionary Union, who traveled to communist China for the October 1, 1971, "National Day" anniversary celebrations at the invitation of the Peking regime. Since the publication of *Fanshen* in 1966, Hinton has frequently appeared as a speaker on China at various pro-Peking gatherings.

with his experiences in China and with the Chinese communist revolution. The Goffs stated that this book was utilized in some RU study groups. The Goffs were also told that Hinton had been affiliated with the Chinese Red Guard while living in that country. Hinton was reported to the Goffs to be a secret member of the RU.

Vern Baun, a man about 60 years old, affiliated with the RU at the leadership level, was identified to the Goffs by Barry Greenberg as an oldtime communist who, because of his experience, acted as an adviser to the RU.

In addition, Robert Avakian, one of the RU's founders and leader of RU activities in the San Francisco area during the period in which the Goffs were members of the RU, was identified as a former member of the Students for a Democratic Society at a leadership level.

Chris Milton, known to the Goffs as an RU member and in attendance at the January 1971 central committee meeting of the RU, according to Mrs. Goff, was said to have lived in Red China and to have been affiliated with the Chinese Red Guard.

The Goffs learned through their RU affiliation that several members of the organization in the San Jose area had traveled to Cuba with the cane-cutting Venceremos Brigades. Aaron Manganiello, a Spanish-speaking American known to the Goffs to have been a secret member of the RU's highest policymaking body, the political committee, was reported to the Goffs to have been very influential in the U.S. operations of the Venceremos Brigade. At the split in the RU in January 1971, Manganiello went with Bruce Franklin and the offshoot Venceremos organization. The Goffs offered the opinion that because of Manganiello's influence in the Venceremos Brigade and his affiliation with the Franklin-led Venceremos organization, there may be a strong connection between the two. The Goffs were unable to offer any substantiating data in this regard.

The Goffs advised that during their RU affiliation, the RU in San Jose used the office facilities of the Mexican-American group, the Brown Berets, in preparing the RU newspaper for publication.

Section B: Venceremos

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPATIENT REVOLUTIONARIES

Goffs' Testimony

In about January 1971, a split occurred in the RU organization over serious ideological differences. One faction, which retained the name Revolutionary Union, remained loyal to Barry Greenberg and was led by Robert Avakian, Leibel Bergman, and Chris Milton. The dissidents, under the leadership of Bruce Franklin, split off and formed the organization which took the name Venceremos. Franklin's group has no known connection with the Venceremos Brigade, made up of U.S. young people invited to Cuba by the Castro government ostensibly to assist in the Cuban sugar harvests. The Goffs estimated the membership of the loyalist RU faction in the San Francisco Bay area as about 200 and that of the Venceremos as approximately the same.¹

The ideological differences between the two factions are detailed in two documents: "Position Paper A," prepared by Bruce Franklin in the fall of 1970, and "Position Paper B," a rebuttal to Franklin's paper, prepared mainly by Avakian and presented at the RU central committee meeting of January 1971.

When Franklin presented paper "A," which stated that the political consciousness of the masses was already sufficiently high to begin waging the "military" or guerrilla warfare phase of the revolution at once, a series of debates and arguments ensued which led eventually to a schism in the organization.

The RU loyalists, followers of paper "B," felt that the awareness of the masses was not yet sufficiently developed to embark on armed revolution and that the organization should concentrate all its energies on raising the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat to the proper pitch. Further, the RU loyalists maintained that no successful revolution can occur until the tools of production and the system of communication are in the hands of the masses, and that situation does not exist. This faction felt that the process of revolutionary education of the proletariat would take some 15 years to accomplish. The followers of the paper "B" position did not discount the importance and necessity of guerrilla warfare to the success of the revolution, but were convinced that the time was premature.

The followers of Franklin maintained that the active revolution would be instigated by small guerrilla bands and that the vanguard of the armed revolutionary action would be the lumpenproletariat² com-

¹ Reproduced in app. II, p. 197, from the Jan. 4, 1971, issue of *The Stanford Daily*, a Stanford University campus newspaper, is an article by Bill Evers captioned "Revolutionary Union Splits Over Differences in Ideology, Tactics."

² Term defined in app. II, p. 178, footnote.

posed of such groups as the Black Panther Party, which was considered the most advanced revolutionary organization. The paper "B" faction, conversely, could not see militant black groups as the revolutionary vanguard, which precipitated charges of racism from the followers of Franklin.

The RU, or paper "B" faction, saw the proper line of organizational activity to be support of the legal struggles of the working class to obtain the rights and benefits to which it is entitled and at the same time to educate the workers that the only way that they can obtain what is rightfully theirs is to mass and revolt. According to the RU loyalists, engaging in terrorist actions, destroying jobs and factories, and injuring the proletariat would most assuredly not result in obtaining a mass following in any revolutionary effort. Those who followed Franklin accused their opponents of spending too much time in organizational and administrative effort and not indulging in enough revolutionary acts.

The RU loyalists were satisfied that Franklin's program is not a correct interpretation of the theory of Chairman Mao and not conducive to establishing the necessary "mass line" or developing a truly revolutionary communist party needed to provide guidance during revolution.

At the height of the furor which led to the split in the RU, Bruce Franklin conducted a telephone campaign to gain support for his position, but this effort was apparently not very successful outside the San Francisco Bay area, according to the Goffs. During the same period Barry Greenberg sent for persons from other parts of the country to come and support his position at special meetings held to argue the two opposing views. Among those called by Greenberg were William Howard Hinton, who was handling RU organizational affairs in Reading, Pa., and Leibel Bergman, who at the time was on the east coast.

It appeared to the Goffs that the Franklin group attracted some of the RU members who were financially better situated than those who remained with the RU faction and that the latter group was thus financially damaged by the split.

After the Venceremos organization was formed, there were three members who were officially purged from the RU. These were Bruce Franklin, his wife Jane, and Janet Weiss. The RU loyalist faction felt that rank-and-file RU members who defected to the Franklin faction may have been misguided or misinformed. Such persons, if they so desired, could be readmitted into the RU, but would be made to undergo serious criticism and chastisement.

In order to gain access to and to develop information regarding the Venceremos group, Mr. Goff sided with that faction and prepared and submitted a paper favoring the position held by Bruce Franklin. Thereafter, Barry Greenberg and Leibel Bergman visited Mr. Goff's home, where Bergman remained several hours discussing Mr. Goff's paper with him and attempting to dissuade him from leaving the RU for the Venceremos organization. Mr. Goff believed that Bergman did not want to lose Mr. Goff to the Venceremos because of his proletarian leadership potential. Mr. Goff explained that Barry Greenberg, leader of the RU in San Jose and an RU leader on the national level, had come from a middle-class background and experienced difficulty in re-

lating to working-class people. The Greenbergs became quite friendly with the Goffs and appeared to be intentionally assimilating much about the way in which individuals from a poorer background think and react.

Mr. Goff was accepted into Venceremos and affiliated with that group, despite the efforts of Greenberg and Bergman to dissuade him. Mrs. Goff remained in the RU and told the RU members that her husband was simply going through a stage and would eventually see the light and return to the RU.

According to Mr. Goff, the Venceremos is structured similarly to the RU, with collectives and higher administrative bodies. The difference between the two groups lies in interpretation of Mao Tse-tung's guidelines for revolution. Generally the more radical individuals in the RU, those willing to commit acts of sabotage and terrorism, switched promptly to the Venceremos. Many of these individuals, according to Mr. Goff, had access to firearms and explosives and had knowledge of their use. The Venceremos group complained that the RU spent too much time on matters of organization and discipline and too little in revolutionary activity. Mr. Goff found the discipline in Venceremos much more lax and the organization itself much more disorganized. Many who went with Venceremos were those who had difficulty in accepting the strict discipline of the RU. The Goffs offered the opinion that, of the two groups, the RU is the much more dangerous because of its long-range plans for revolution, the secrecy and subterfuge of its operations, and its concentration on building a "mass line" among the working classes. The Goffs feel that the Venceremos group is composed of individuals ready to engage in unorthodox and unwise activities and is more immediately dangerous in terms of terrorism and violence, but that Venceremos will divulge its planned activity and, as a result, its members will be arrested or killed before Venceremos can present a long-range threat.

The Venceremos organization centers its organizational activities around front groups and food cooperatives. It is dedicated, as is the RU, to obtaining control of the means of production and the facilities of communication.

The Goffs stated that Venceremos has participated in virtually every demonstration and protest activity on the Stanford University campus and in the Palo Alto area. On occasion, Venceremos has invited all other radical groups, except the RU, to participate with it in such activities.

Serious differences and arguments have arisen between the RU and Venceremos regarding stolen property. The Goffs recalled that, on one occasion, Venceremos members armed with guns accompanied Bruce Franklin to confront Barry Greenberg in an argument over stolen weapons. The incident evolved into a discussion session in which Greenberg settled the issue. RU people claimed that a Venceremos member had stolen a gun, a typewriter, and a jacket from the RU. In retaliation RU stole six weapons from Venceremos.

Venceremos members made the claim that, while they were members of RU, they had contributed substantial sums of money which the RU used to purchase weapons and that now that the contributors were with Venceremos, the weapons were rightfully the property of Venceremos.

Among those who split from the RU to join Venceremos were Vernon and Yvonda Black, who ran the San Jose collective of Venceremos; Jeff Browning; Janet Weiss; Mike Fox; Paul Sampson; Nancy and John Kincaid; Mike Gaylor; and Dean Granholm. Aaron Manganiello, a former secret member of the political committee of the RU, was among those who went with Venceremos, according to the Goffs.

Mr. Goff recalled having been told by Vernon Black that Mike Gaylor was to be in charge of "proficiency" for Venceremos in the San Jose area; that Gaylor would be the leader in demonstrations and would, among other things, indicate when to "off the pigs" (kill the police).

The Goffs stated that the following quotations from Bruce Franklin's "Position Paper A" represent the basic revolutionary policy of Venceremos.

A strategic application of protracted war recognizes that only through armed struggle can the masses liberate themselves, but at the same time sees this armed struggle not in terms of glorious campaigns and actions but as the sum total of a war of attrition conducted by the masses against the ruling class.

* * * * *

We see both advantages operating in the recent successful ambush of two pigs in Chicago. The guerillas fired from a huge high-rise apartment complex, and were even able to prevent three attempts by massed pigs to recover the bodies of their fallen fellow oinkers. The enemy had no idea exactly where the fire was coming from. They did not have the optikon [sic] of returning massive fire, because to do so would have further revolutionized the thousands of people in the apartment complex, not to mention the effects on the city, the nation, even the world. Even in searching for the guerillas, the pigs had to kick in literally hundreds of doors.

* * * * *

Sabotage thus becomes an integral part of the strategy of protracted war unfolding first through urban guerilla warfare. The social pacifist argument that certain particular acts of sabotage (or window breaking) will not destroy imperialism is merely the opposite side of the adventurist view that these particular acts will bring the empire to its knees. Sabotage must be based on the principle of protracted war: the accumulation of small acts, engaged in by more and more people, constitutes strategic action.

Decaying imperialism is vulnerable to material attack not only as an economic system but also as a physical entity. Its utility systems are delicate, over-stretched, indefensible, and absolutely vital. * * *

* * * * *

The struggle will be characterized mainly by small un;it [sic] operations on a constant and expanding basis, punctuated by mass uprisings. Since the revolutionary forces will be operating "integrated with the enemy," it will be difficult, except in the final phase of the struggle, for relatively large military formations to come together. On a day-to-day basis the fight will be characterized by ambushes, acts of sabotage, and interdiction of supply and communication facilities, and executions by small units using their ability to quickly concentrate and disperse to harass and create havoc among the enemy. But since the revolutionary struggle is a war of the masses, and given the deterioration of the entire system, periodically the essentially guerilla character will take on insurrectionary form, with strikes, mass demonstrations, rioting, and even mass armed uprisings. As the situation becomes more desperate for the ruling class and the contradictions become more acute, the spacing between [sic] such uprisings will probably be shortened, and their development will become more generalized so as to erupt in many areas simultaneously. The week of mass uprisings in April, 1968, was an example of this.

For most of the struggle, the main emphasis in operations will be against the police, and other forms of para-military fascist formations. The use of the military by the ruling class is likely to be intermittent and confined to extremely serious or extended situations. * * *

The following are excerpts from the testimony of Mr. Goff before the committee which concern the split in the RU and the formation of Venceremos:

Mr. FERRY. Mr. Goff, will you briefly describe the affiliation of the Venceremos party?

Mr. GOFF. As I know it, there was a Venceremos Brigade and they weren't any part of RU at all.

* * * * *

Mr. FERRY. Now, Mr. Goff, you mentioned the Venceremos Brigade. Now, what is the Venceremos party?

Mr. GOFF. The Venceremos party, since then I have learned that there is another party that has started called the Venceremos.

Mr. FERRY. When did it start?

Mr. GOFF. It seemed to start about the time there became a serious split in the RU organization.

Mr. FERRY. Were you a member of the RU organization at that time?

Mr. GOFF. Yes, I was.

Mr. FERRY. Would you describe that split, please?

Mr. GOFF. That split was caused by what the RU called a lot of ideological struggle or just real good argument because two points of view had come to a head, Barry Greenberg, which seemed to be the main leader, only paid leader that we know of at that time, and Bruce Franklin—

Mr. FERRY. Who is Bruce Franklin?

Mr. GOFF. Bruce Franklin is another RU member who was on the highest committee; also, when he was in the RU, one of the national leaders.

Mr. FERRY. Is he no longer in the Revolutionary Union?

Mr. GOFF. No, because of the split. He had a little different type of ideology.

Mr. FERRY. Will you explain to me what was the difference in the ideology between the Revolutionary Union and the Venceremos party?

Mr. GOFF. The Venceremos party is led by primarily Bruce Franklin. His ideology was that the revolution was going to take place in 3 or 4 years and that he should begin his violent tactics now as sniping police officers, obstructing traffic, sabotage, using explosives, and to start forming guerrilla bands to go in and out of cities, what they call "trashing the place," the city; these things immediately he began to start.

Now, on the other hand, Barry Greenberg felt like even though these things will be necessary in a revolution that the main thing to do right now is build a base among the working-class people, you see, because without the working-class people of this country, you can't have a revolution because they are the ones that control it.

So Barry Greenberg, which I feel is a much greater threat, has the long-range knowledge and organized idea of building a base among the working-class people. Speaking of your Armed Forces, he considers these working-class people because he doesn't feel like the rich have anything to do with the GI type thing and the production workers. He feels if he can get the working people and the Armed Forces then he will have it. That is a very organized plan.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. * * *

Now, you say there were approximately 400 of these members in the Bay area? How do you arrive at that estimate?

Mrs. GOFF. That was told to me personally by Barry Greenberg at one time, that was before the split in the organization. At the split I can't be positive, but it was stated also by Barry Greenberg that approximately half of the people split so that left about 200.

The CHAIRMAN. Split into what?

Mrs. GOFF. Formed another organization. There was a dispute over the military strategy papers, paper "A" and paper "B," and they represented different

ideas on how the revolution was going to take place. There was an argument there and so the organization more or less split in half. Some stayed with the RU and others went.

The CHAIRMAN. Into what group, what was the name?

Mrs. GOFF. At first there wasn't a name; they followed the author of paper "A," who was Bruce Franklin, who has publicly been identified in *The Red Papers 1, 2, and 3*, and the name of the group was Venceremos that he went with.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other source for your estimate other than what Greenberg told you as to the number of people in the Bay area?

Mr. GOFF. Yes; I attended the first central committee meeting, which was very unusual for a person as young in the organization to go. There were representatives in the central committee meeting only of the area—like say, from the San Jose area, approximately that would be five or six people, maybe, from the San Jose area that would go to the central committee meeting and we represented the whole San Jose area, which constituted probably 55 or 60 people, and we numbered at least 70 at the central committee meeting. This included people from Chicago, New York, Detroit, and other States in this country. So there were several people from the Bay area at that meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard them talk about how many members they had?

Mr. GOFF. No, sir; that was a very, very confidential matter; no one was allowed to talk about that. Barry Greenberg didn't stick very close to security regulations. I think he broke them more than anybody; that is the reason we got so much information.

CHAPTER VIII

"WE WILL WIN"

In his recent book, "FROM THE MOVEMENT TOWARD REVOLUTION,"¹ H. Bruce Franklin, one of the organizers of the Revolutionary Union and leader of the dissident faction which split off from that organization in January 1971 to form Venceremos,² described Venceremos as follows:

VENCEREMOS

Venceremos began as a Chicano organization in Redwood City, California, in early 1969, when it set up a revolutionary two-year college mainly for Chicano students. In the summer of 1970, it began to recruit white members as it led in the formation of the People's Medical Center and an associated child care center.

In late 1970, the Revolutionary Union, an organization made up of dozens of revolutionary collectives, mostly in the San Francisco Bay area, split on the question of armed struggle, particularly as it related to national liberation movements within the U.S. Over half of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, including all the collectives from South San Francisco through Sunnyvale and some in San Jose, merged into Venceremos. Since these collectives had been heavily involved in youth organizing within white proletarian communities, in factory organizing, and in anti-imperialist struggles on the campuses, the new combined organization was multi-national, mainly proletarian in leadership and membership, extremely diversified in its activities and base, and quite militant.

With the merger, Venceremos assumed recognized leadership of the *FREED YOU* newspaper, which then became bi-lingual; the San Jose working-class newspaper, *THE MAVERICK*; Venceremos College; the People's Medical Center; a number of workers' caucuses and community organizations; and the Young Partisans, a revolutionary youth organization with chapters on all the local community college campuses and in many high schools and junior high schools. Venceremos was committed to showing that a diversified multi-national revolutionary organization could work.³

As described by Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff in their testimony before the committee in October 1971, the split within the Revolutionary Union which culminated in H. Bruce Franklin's leading out of the organization about half of its membership in January 1971 was over an unresolvable difference in ideology and methodology.

The RU loyalists under the leadership of Robert Avakian advocated a continuing program of Marxist-Leninist political education and an intensification of recruitment in preparation for a mass proletarian revolution to take place years in the future. Franklin maintained that the time was ripe for the formation of a "peoples militia" and, along with his wife, Jane Franklin, Aaron Manganiello, and others, demanded that the RU intensify its preparation for an armed

¹ Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, New York, N.Y., 1971.

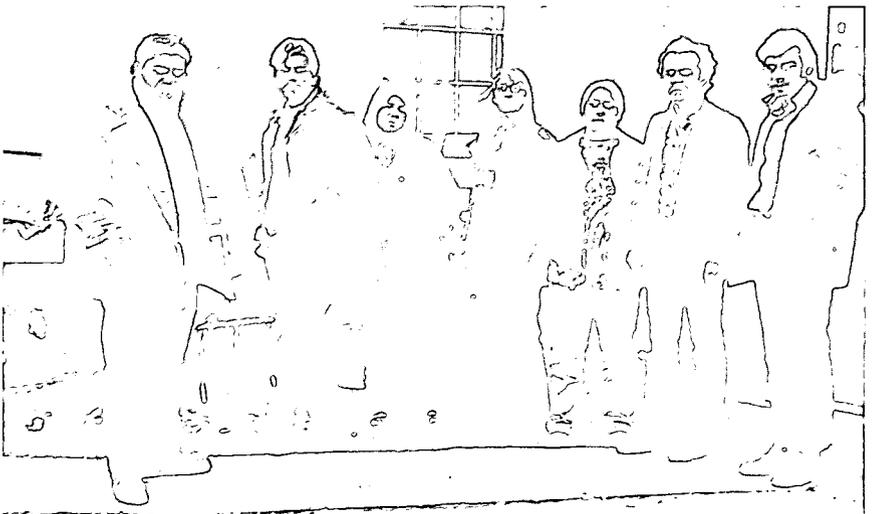
² Translated from the Spanish by its adherents as "We Will Win!" The Venceremos organization and the pro-Cuban Venceremos Brigade are often confused. They are distinct organizations, although individual members of the Venceremos organization have participated in the expeditions to Cuba by the Venceremos Brigade.

³ (Committee footnote.) An informative and accurate history of Venceremos and an exposition of its philosophy appeared in the Stanford University campus newspaper, *The Stanford Daily*, on Nov. 10, 1971, in an article captioned "Venceremos Stresses 'Centralism,'" by Kevin Smith. This and an earlier article from *The Stanford Daily* of Feb. 22, 1971, entitled "Venceremos Stresses Action, Not Theory," by Ed Kohn, are reproduced in app. II, pp. 200-202.

struggle in the immediate future by the obtaining of arms, becoming technicians with the weapons of revolution, and proceeding at once with guerrilla actions which would lead to mass revolution. In addition, Franklin and his followers charged that the RU had played down the "vanguard role" of the Black Panther Party in the revolutionary struggle.

H. Bruce Franklin, at the time of his defection along with some 150 followers from the Revolutionary Union in late 1970 or early 1971, suggested to Aaron Manganiello that this group of predominantly white revolutionaries, fresh from the Revolutionary Union, amalgamate with his "Venceremos," a Chicano revolutionary group in Redwood City, Calif., which had been in existence for several months. Manganiello was allegedly most reluctant, since he feared that his Chicano, or Mexican-American, organization would be engulfed, transformed, and reoriented by such a move. Franklin is said to have then impressed Manganiello with the claim that the ex-Revolutionary Union members wished to join the Venceremos only to learn from them and to assist in their effort; further, that Manganiello would continue in his capacity as leader of the Venceremos. Manganiello reportedly agreed and he now holds the position of chairman of the central committee of Venceremos. At the same time, Franklin, who has a substantial following on the Stanford University campus and in Palo Alto, is actually guiding the fate of Venceremos from behind the scenes. At the time of the addition of the ex-Revolutionary Union followers of Franklin to the Venceremos, the educational thrust of the organization through its Venceremos College began to decline. The virtually pure Chicano makeup of Venceremos has changed markedly with the addition of a substantial number of white youths as members and recruits. However, the current leadership of Venceremos, by agreement, is more than 50 percent Chicano.

[Photo from the December 1971 Venceremos booklet, *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*]



Aaron Manganiello (Chairman), Sal Jimenez, Linda Lopez, Jean Hobson, KATHERINE Davis del Valle (Minister of Information), Juan Flores (Secretary of the Central Committee), Bruce Franklin.
El Comité Central De Venceremos

A public statement of "The Program of Venceremos," as set forth on page 23 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972, follows:

[*Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 7, April 1-15, 1972, p. 23.]

PROGRAMA DE VENCEREMOS

Venceremos is a revolutionary, multi-national organization which uses Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse Tung Thought to struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people.

We're revolutionary because we believe that the only way the people can really win is by seizing all of the power now held by the U.S. ruling class by any means necessary.

We're multi-national because we understand that the quickest way to victory is through the cooperation of people of all colors. Because people and nations of color are the most oppressed, they have the greatest understanding of how to deal with that oppression. For that reason, our Central Committee has six Third World members and two whites.

We use Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse Tung Thought because it is a theory of revolution that sums up the struggles of people, all around the world. It is a tool of liberation which the people have used successfully for the last hundred years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We demand equal pay for equal work, free 24 hour-a-day child care centers, free and non-discriminatory education that teaches our true history and the skills we need to determine our own destinies, control of our own bodies, including birth control and free abortion if desired but excluding involuntary abortion and compulsory sterilization (genocide).

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

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

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

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

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

We want all Third World, working class people, and youth now imprisoned, to be set free because the overwhelming majority of them have not been tried by their peers. They have received only injustice from this system. Free All Political Prisoners.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VENCEREMOS COLLEGE

Venceremos College was formed in the spring of 1969 under the leadership of Aaron Manganiello as a "college without walls." In their testimony before the committee, Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff identified Manganiello as a "secret member" (i.e., not publicly identified) of the Revolutionary Union, who had followed Franklin out of that organization in January 1971. The college operated from a storefront in Redwood City, Calif., and classes were held at the storefront headquarters at 2755 El Camino Real, Redwood City, or in private homes.

The following is quoted from a brochure entitled "Venceremos," dated 1970, and identified as having been "put together by the students of Venceremos College * * * to provide a means of spreading the word of what Venceremos College is." Under the heading "FOUNDING IDEOLOGY," it is stated:

It is necessary that we build individual political awareness of the institutional racism and oppression of people of color. That we also heighten political awareness of La Raza ["The Race," a reference to the brown race, or Mexican Americans] in our communities. To provide means for development of revolutionary technologists, and means for self-determination is essential for growth of all op-

pressed people. To develop the revolutionary communal spirit, among students and members of the community, through building alternatives to the system. It is our duty to provide a correct knowledge to students, faculty, and community people of the history and oppression of Third World People. Venceremos must build revolutionary leaders to lead in the struggle for liberation. It is important that Venceremos develop in students and community a dedication to the liberation of all people of color and to make students and community aware of the basis of unity among people of color and *all* oppressed people of the world.

With all goals geared towards social change for La Raza and all oppressed people Venceremos!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

In 1970 Aaron Manganiello authored a booklet entitled "Venceremos," the cover of which describes it as "A political critique on self-determined third world education," by Aaron Manganiello, "Director, Venceremos College." The following appears on page 10 of that booklet:

I refer to the end result of our education methods as "revolutionary technicians", people who are skilled in particular expertise (doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc. [sic]) but with a value system, political philosophy, and devotion to organize in the communities for self-determination. Here, I would be a total cop-out if I didn't include "By Any Means Necessary" and having an understanding of capitalist contradictions and a love for Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis, I understand that "By Any Means Necessary" means the inevitable armed struggle as the conclusion we will all come to in order to rid ourselves of the capitalist oppressors and before true self-determination is possible. Thus the term "Revolutionary Technologist."

If we are to be true to our ideals of serving the people, then we must not wait to involve the community at some future date when we have a graduating class who have received their "education" in sterile cubicles void of actual practice and investigation, who then go to the community and say, "We are here to be your leaders, we have come to organize you." Look at our degrees, credentials, and qualifications." Qualifications indeed! These would be the same qualifications presented to us throughout history by the power elite from Fat Head Nixon down to the pigs in the streets. No, this will never do, we must involve the people from the getgo [sic]. They must be full participants with all the powers the students and staff maintain. They must help us meet the challenges of contradictions and through struggle heighten the political consciousness of all.

The "FALL QUARTER 1970 CATALOG & SCHEDULE" of Venceremos College lists among the courses to be offered two to be taught by Manganiello: "Political Education I and II." This is the course description in the catalogue:

This class will cover the essential elements in Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tse-Tung Thought. A historical analysis of capitalism and imperialism and its relationship to Chicanos and all oppressed peoples.

Other courses offered included:

Chicano Education

Colonialist nature of the educational system. * * * Theory and practice of Chicano education.

Social Theory

Colonialist nature of the social sciences. Social thought and social ideology. A Chicano social philosophy.

The Prison System

Racism and colonialism in American penal institutions. Being in and coming out. Life as a *pinto*. Social justice and a Chicano perspective.

Community Development

Setting up food conspiracies in the Barrio. Surveying community needs. Developing community cooperatives.

* * * * *

History of the Farmworkers' Strike

The entire history of the development of the Farmworkers Union and the field workers' strike and boycott, from 1965 to 1970. Birth of pride and dignity for farmworkers.

* * * * *

Draft Education

Weekly seminar on the problems and aspects of Selective service. People's rights and alternatives to the draft. Explanation of the draft laws and its influence on our lives.

Also scheduled to be offered were courses in "Weaponry," "Field Cadre," "Karate," and "Cuba Investigation," but details had not been worked out.

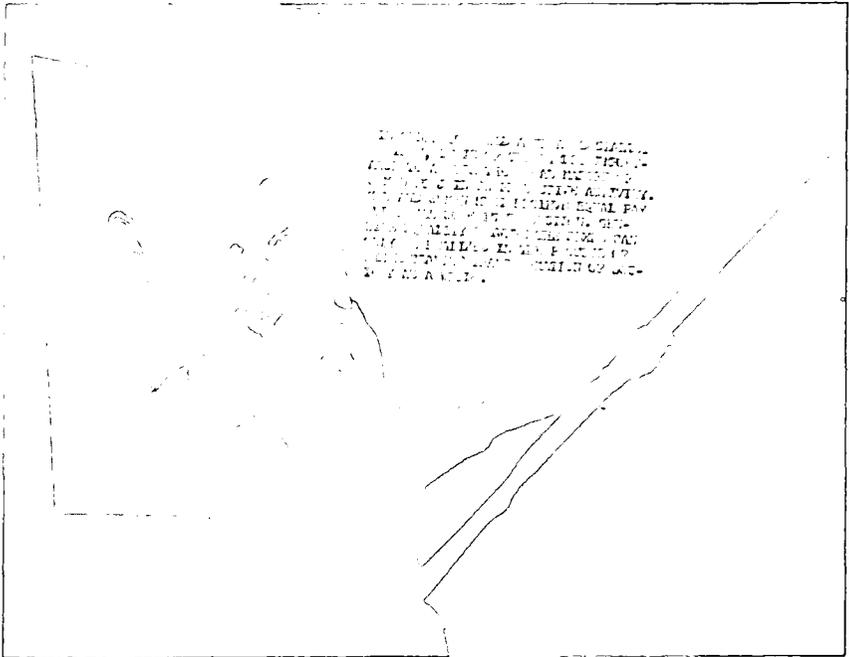
Venceremos College "Orientation Week" September 28 through October 3, 1970, was scheduled to include a welcoming address by Aaron Manganiello, "Movies, Panther flicks," a "Weapons Demonstration," and a "Karate Demonstration."

Venceremos College, as an educational institution in Redwood City, is virtually defunct and the college appears to have engaged in no activity of significance in recent months.

[Photo from the 1970 Venceremos College brochure, *Venceremos*.]



Venceremos College, 2755 El Camino Real. Redwood City, Calif.



From the brochure "Venceremos," produced by the students of Venceremos College in 1970. The wall poster behind the young woman holding the gun is a photograph of the late Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a prime leader of the Cuban communist revolution.

WHITES IN THE THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE

Pamoja Venceremos, the publication of the Venceremos organization, in its issue No. 3, dated June 17, 1971, on page 12, carries an article concerned with the ideology of Venceremos and in particular its views with regard to the place of whites in the "Third World" struggle. The following is quoted from that article:

The ideology of Venceremos, or its motivating force, is Marxism-Leninism and the teaching of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China, Che Guevara, Malcolm X, Emiliano Zapata, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, and others. * * *

Venceremos College [in Redwood City] is the ideological arm of Venceremos organization, a revolutionary organization made up of Chicanos, Indians, many other brown people, Asians, and White revolutionaries. * * *

* * * * *

The Venceremos organization has been in the foreground of the proletarian battle against capitalism. * * *

* * * * *

White people are not our natural allies, but when certain white persons are first of all AWARE of the racism that has enabled their people, as a whole, to dominate most of the world for centuries, and when those white persons put themselves on the line, body and mind, by their repeated actions, attitudes, and ways of life, devoting their lives to the forthcoming revolution led by us oppressed

people, then those white persons must be considered our brothers and sisters as well. We checked out the white comrades at Venceremos and they ARE brothers and sisters.

VENCEREMOS—PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

Produced in December 1971 by "Venceremos Publications" of 1969 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, Calif. 94303, the headquarters of the Venceremos organization and the office of its newspaper *Pamoja Venceremos*, was a booklet, in English and Spanish, somewhat similar in size and appearance to Mao's "little red book." *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, entitled *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, and for sale publicly at \$.25 per copy. The English portion of this document is reproduced in its entirety here:



VENCEREMOS

Principles of Unity

VENCEREMOS PUBLICATIONS



Introduction

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

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

Table of Contents

Introduction

- I. National Liberation and International Revolution
- II. Power to the People
(Dictatorship of the Proletariat)
- III. Democratic Centralism
- IV. The Liberation of Women
- V. Armed Struggle

2

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

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

4

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

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

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



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

5



Aaron Manganiello, Chairman of the Central Committee, Venceremos

6

I. National Liberation And International Revolution

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

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

7

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

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

The strategy for the U.S. revolution is basically

8

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

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

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

9

stitutions for the people.

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

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

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

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

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

11

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

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

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

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

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

10

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13

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

We accept Chairman Mao's statement on discipline:

- (1) the individual is subordinate to the organization.
- (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority.
- (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
- (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

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

15

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

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

III. Democratic Centralism

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

We believe that democratic centralism is the

14

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

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

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

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

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

Practice (Correct Methods of Work)-- Without

16

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

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

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

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

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

(3) When arrested, VENCEREMOS cadre will

17

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

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

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

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

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

(8) Every member will pay dues every month.

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

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

18

IV. The Liberation Of Women

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

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

19

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

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

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

20

V. Armed Struggle

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

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

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

21

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

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

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

**DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!
ILA HORA YA LLEGO!**

22

Other Publications Include:

PAMOJA VENCEREMOS; a bi-monthly revolutionary newspaper

25¢ per issue; bulk orders available on request

GUNS & POLITICS; the revolutionary's gun book

50¢ per copy; 10-100 copies, 25¢; over 100, 25¢

AGAINST REVISIONISM: A DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY 1966-1970

1-100 copies, 10¢; over 100, 5¢

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

postage only

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

23

* (Committee footnote.) A direct quote from *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the "little red book" of Mao, p. 61. The full quotation is: "Every Communist must grasp the truth, 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,'" and is shown to have been taken from "Problems of War and Strategy" (Nov. 6, 1938), *Selected Works*, vol. II, p. 224.

ACQUISITION OF FIREARMS

Venceremos, as does the Revolutionary Union, keeps much of its operations secret. The size of the membership is not accurately known. Certain members make no attempt to hide their Venceremos affiliation, but a substantial number are said to be "underground" and not publicly known. Organizationally similar to the Revolutionary Union, Venceremos is broken down into collectives of very limited membership, which are, to a degree, kept isolated from each other so that the individual member is without substantial information concerning the size of the organization or details of its overall activities. Venceremos meetings at all levels reportedly adhere to the principles of "democratic centralism," and decisions are arrived at by collective consent.

According to law enforcement sources, Venceremos, like the Revolutionary Union, is strongly weapons oriented and thus much of its operation is kept secret. Some of the collectives are reported to possess large supplies of firearms and ammunition, and numerous members have been observed practicing with various types of firearms including automatic military rifles in clandestine conditions.

Set forth elsewhere in this report is information furnished the committee by Lawrence Goff to the effect that Michael Gaylor, an ex-GI and a member of the RU in San Jose who had left the organization with H. Bruce Franklin and his followers in January 1971 and had become a member of Venceremos, was identified to Mr. Goff as in charge of "proficiency," the development of expertise among Venceremos members in the various means of waging violent revolution, for the latter organization. Gaylor, as of late 1971, was reported to be in charge of the acquisition of firearms and firearms training for Venceremos; further, Gaylor is known to have spent substantial sums of money in the legitimate purchase of firearms and ammunition for Venceremos use.

Reproduced on the two following pages are page 19 of issue No. 11 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, the newspaper of the Venceremos organization, dated October 7-21, 1971, and the centerfold from *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972.

[Pamoja Vencemos, No. 11, p. 19, Oct. 7-21, 1971.]

THE WEAVER STANCE

POLITICAL POWER

After a great deal of research and practice, I have come to the conclusion that there is only ONE right way to shoot a pistol in self-defense. It is called the Weaver Stance. This Weaver Stance, combined with constant practice as well as a thorough understanding of the limitations of the pistol in combat, should give you the self-confidence you need to be effective with a pistol in an armed confrontation.

The Weaver Stance consists of: standing erect and facing the target squarely; drawing the pistol from its holster, pocket or waistband smoothly and quickly; putting your left hand out in front of you, pointing towards the target, your hand forming a cup.

To practice the Weaver Stance start out at home. Put up a suitable target, like a life-sized poster with a clearly defined aiming point right about the solar plexus. Stand erect, facing the target squarely. Put your (UNLOADED) pistol in your holster, pocket or the waistband of your pants. Now draw the weapon smoothly, bringing it up to eye level. At the same time bring your left hand up, extended towards the target with your hand cupped. Your right hand, wrapped around the grip of the pistol, will form a fist. Push that fist into the cup of your left hand, your arms extended but slightly bent, and your muscles tensed. Then get a good sight picture aligned squarely with your aiming point and squeeze off a shot.

Make sure that all four fingers of your left hand are wrapped firmly around your right hand and make sure that both of your thumbs are on the left hand side of the pistol.

(Many people wind up with their left thumb crossing the rear of the grip, immediately below the hammer of the piece--and wind up with a severely bruised thumb when the pistol cocks itself for the second shot.)

Divide your practice into five parts--stand erect and square to the target, draw smooth and get that left hand extended and cupped simultaneously, get a firm grip with your arms slightly bent and tensed, get a good sight picture,

squeeze off a shot. Practice each part in succession. Don't try for speed at first--instead, try to do each separate act as well as you can.

At first, the whole thing will take you about three or four seconds. Practice until you get it down to two seconds or less. When you do, it's time to go to the range.

IMPORTANT--start practicing at no more than seven yards from the target; five is even better. The first time you shoot a pistol you're going to be spraying bullets all over the place, so it's important not to get discouraged right away. The truth is that most pistol fights are at distances of much less than 25 yards, which is the standard range for target pistol shooting.

When you can get five shots in the black of a rapid fire target at five yards, move back to ten. When you can hit the black every time at ten yards, move back to fifteen. If you get to the point where you can hit the black consistently at 25 yards, you'll be a damn good pistol shot.

WARNING--NEVER shoot a pistol like you were target shooting--it is the quickest way to get yourself killed in combat. Never shoot a pistol with only one hand. Never shoot with your left hand wrapped around your right wrist--you might as well shoot one-handed. Never cup your left hand and use it to support the base of the grip--if you have a revolver with its original grip this is probably alright, but with an automatic or a revolver with combat grips, you'll have much more support with the standard two-handed hold. Always practice with the gun at least held loosely in your right hand pointed at the ground, if it is impossible to start out with the piece in a holster or belt. Never simply point at the target--AIM. The only time you'll ever find yourself in a position to simply point a pistol is when you're two or three feet away from an opponent and every tenth of a second could mean life or death. When you start hitting the target consistently, start shooting strings of five rounds at a time as fast as you can aim and squeeze the trigger.

After all, your first shot might miss. 19

The method that I've outlined places primary importance on accuracy. That's because any fool can draw a gun and fire it inside of a second--but most people including most pigs, can't draw and fire a gun ACCURATELY in less than two or three seconds. So, while your opponent might "beat you to the draw", and get off the first shot, chances are very good that he'll miss. Meanwhile, having kept your cool and aimed carefully, YOUR first shot will stop his insanity permanently.

Finally, don't worry about speed. The more you practice, both at home and on the range, the faster you'll get. If you're conscientious about practice, you'll be able to draw and fire a lethal shot every time at ranges up to and beyond 15 yards in less than a second. The record, using the Weaver Stance, is .34 of a second, from the lethal area of a man-sized target at 25 yards. Thousands of combat shooters can do it in half a second. Most pigs, trained by outmoded methods, can't do it in less than two or three seconds.

Kent Hutchings
Vencemos



The two-handed Weaver Stance emphasizes accuracy over speed. However, with practice one can draw a pistol and hit the target in half a second.

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

Here's how to make them:

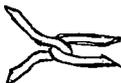
Pick up some heavy construction staples--medium length (about 1 1/2" long)--they cost about 30¢ per pound. Hook two of them together and hold them straight up.

Spider:



People's
Weapon

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



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



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

The Black Udder



During battle, one helicopter attempts unsuccessfully to rescue another.

**ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 25, 1972, A BOMBING ATTEMPT
WAS MADE ON A SAN MATEO COUNTY SHERIFFS' HELICOPTER.**

**FIGHT, FAIL, FIGHT AGAIN, FAIL AGAIN, FIGHT AGAIN, FIGHT AGAIN...
UNTIL VICTORY.**

VENCEREMOS ARSENAL SEIZED

The following article and its accompanying photograph appeared in the September 3, 1971, issue of the *Palo Alto Times*, a daily newspaper of general circulation in Palo Alto, Calif.



PHS 742-111

44 PAGES, FOUR SECTIONS

PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1971

Phone - 331-100
Fax - 331-966

15c Copy - \$1.75 Month

Guns, bomb device

Menlo police seize arsenal

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

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

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

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

THREE OTHERS

Police said they would seek complaints against three other persons who live at the Chester Street address with Mrs. Kipling and Newman. They are Susan Flores, 27; Geraldine Foote, 23; and Bruce Pollock, 23.

Police Chief Victor Cizancas said he is working closely with state and federal authorities to determine if the group and their associates

belong to a paramilitary organization and are in violation of state laws.

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

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

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

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

Police said they seized a sward-off 18-gauge shotgun, an M1 carbine, a 21 caliber rifle and two, 33 caliber rifles, four 45 automatic handguns and a 38 automatic

handgun. Also seized were several thousand rounds of ammunition for the guns, telescopic sights, and gun maintenance equipment.

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

The bomb detonation device consisted primarily of a battery wired to an alarm clock. Cizancas gave this account of the seizure and events leading to it:

On Wednesday at midnight a middle-aged couple was walking on the 100 block of Chester and was confronted

by four black males who came from 107 Chester. They demanded \$25 from the couple. One of the men threatened the couple with a knife. The two people were released unharmed when it was found they had no money. They reported the attempted robbery.

Shortly afterward two Menlo Park police officers went to 107 Chester St. to in-

vestigate. They were met at the door by a woman who said she was Mrs. Flores. She said she knew the black men but would not discuss the case. A man who identified himself as Newman joined her, armed himself with a shotgun, refused to let police enter and threatened to shoot police if they did.

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

CHARGES

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

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

On Thursday at 5:30 p.m. police and two deputy district attorneys returned with a search warrant for the arrest. (Continued on page 2, col. 3)

Menlo Arsenal

(Continued from page 1)
gun brandished by Newman. At that time they saw the bomb timing device.

After obtaining another search warrant for the timing device and other possible weapons, police returned at 10 o'clock this morning and seized the arsenal, located in closets.

Mrs. Kaplan was arrested at that time.

REGISTRATION

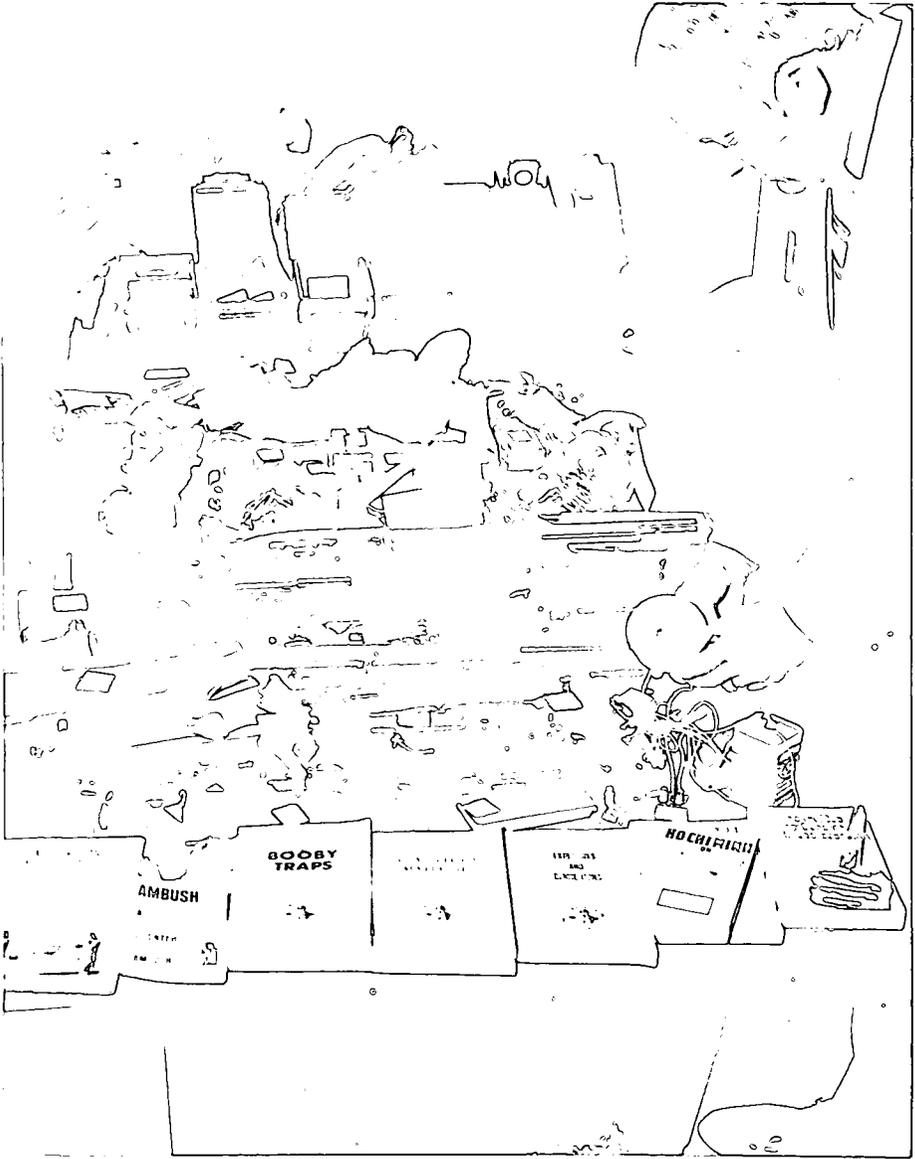
Cizancas said police now are checking on the registration of the guns.

Mrs. Flores, Miss Foote and Pollock were not present when the arsenal was seized. Mrs. Flores later contacted police and said she wants to consult her attorney. Mrs. Flores is the estranged wife of John Flores, an assistant professor of German at Stanford University who was arrested April 9 in connection with a sit-in at Stanford University Hospital. Mrs. Flores has been active in anti-ROTC activities at Stanford.

Last month, she was sentenced to two years probation and fined \$100 by Superior Court Judge W. Howard Hartley after she pleaded guilty to a charge of felony assault on a police officer in connection with a near-riotous party last February in Redwood City.

Miss Foote, a former Stanford student, now working as secretary for a computer firm, was banned by a court injunction from the Stanford campus for her part in campus disruptions last year.

Pollock, who has himself as an unemployed food preparation worker, was arrested after the Stanford Hospital sit-in and charged with numerous misdemeanors.



Victor Cizancas, Chief of Police, Menlo Park, California, examines bomb detonation device and arms cache seized at 107 Chester Street, Menlo Park, on September 3, 1971. (Photo by Gene Tupper, *Palo Alto Times*.)

Charged by the Menlo Park Police in this matter were: Morton Newman, born September 10, 1942, Bronx, N.Y.; Eleanor Karen Kaplan, also known as Eleanor Karen Levine, born May 7, 1942, Bronx, N.Y.; Susan McKevitt Flores, born July 24, 1944, New York, N.Y.; Geraldine Helen Foote, born January 11, 1951, Portland, Oreg.; and Bruce Kenneth Pollock, born March 19, 1946, Akron, Ohio.

Law enforcement sources familiar with the above-described incidents have advised that, except for the listing of the weapons seized, the newspaper account is accurate. Seized by the police were two .30 caliber U.S. military carbines, one .30 caliber U.S. military rifle, a .22 caliber rifle, and the following five handguns: two Colt .45 caliber automatics, one Walther P-38 automatic, one Star 9-mm. automatic, and one Browning 9-mm. automatic. It was determined that none of these weapons had been reported stolen or were illegally held.

The time device referred to in the newspaper account was stated to have been found inside the residence at 107 Chester Street in a brown leather satchel, the top of which was propped open, revealing the contents. It consisted of a household alarm clock, a 9-volt dry cell battery, a wooden clothespin with metal bolts through it to afford an electrical contact, a small knife switch and an electrically activated door buzzer. All these items were wired together in a fashion to produce a timed electrical circuit. At the time of discovery, there was no explosive material connected with this system, or otherwise in evidence nearby.

The following is a listing of books and other published materials seized in the course of the search:

- "Explosives and Bomb Disposal Guide" by Robert R. Lenz (Book on sabotage)
- "Special Forces" Handbook January 1965 (ST 31-180, paperback book on special warfare)
- "Ambush and Counter Ambush" by Panther Publications (Paperback book on ambushes)
- "Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques" by Dept. of the Army (TM31-200-1, book)
- "Explosives & Demolitions" by Dept. of the Army—Combat Bookshelf (Paperback book, FM5-25)
- "Demolition & Materials" by Dept. of the Army—Combat Bookshelf (Paperback book, TM9-1946)
- "The Garand" by Dept. of the Army—Combat Bookshelf (Book on care of rifles)
- "Booby Traps" by Dept. of the Army—Combat Bookshelf (Book)
- "Fundamentals of Small Arms" by Dept. of the Army—Combat Bookshelf (Book, TM9-2205)
- "Guerrilla Warfare & Marxism" by William J. Pomeroy (Book) ⁴
- "45 Automatic" by American Rifleman (Pamphlet, reprint)
- "Military Rifles" by American Rifleman (Pamphlet)
- "Mossberg for Accuracy" (Pamphlet)

⁴ "After World War II, another member of the U.S. Communist Party, William J. Pomeroy, went to the Philippines, became a member of the Philippine Communist Party, joined the Huks, and served with them until their eventual defeat." (House Committee on Un-American Activities Report 1351, 90th Cong., 2d sess., 1968, *Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the United States*, p. 10. Pomeroy's book was published by International Publishers, which was cited as the "official American Communist Party publishing house" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on page 80 of its House Report 1920, May 11, 1948.

- "How To Sight In A Telescopic Sight" (Pamphlet)
- "Counter Sniper Guide" (Pamphlet)
- "British Textbook of Explosives" by The Combat Bookshelf (Pamphlet)
- "U.S. Cal. .30 Carbine" (Pamphlet)
- "Clausewitz on War" by Anatol Rapoport (Paperback book)
- "HoChiMinh on Revolution" by Bernard B. Fall (Paperback book)
- "Introduction to Modern Gunsmithing" by Harold E. MacFarland (Book)
- "Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung" (Book)
- "How Guerrilla Fighters Could Win The World" by The War of the Flea (Paperback book)
- "Pistols and Revolvers" by Joseph E. Smith (Book)
- "Home Gunsmithing Digest" by Tommy LiBish (Book)
- "NRA Illustrated Firearms Assembly Handbook Vol. #2" (Book)
- "Small Arms of the World" by Joseph E. Smith (Book)
- "Special Forces Foreign Weapons Handbook" (Book)
- "Firearms & Self-Defense A Handbook for Radicals, Revolutionaries and Easy Riders" (Pamphlet)⁵
- "Incendiaries" by Department of the Army (Handbook)

Also confiscated in the police search were several documents self-identified by their content as internal documents of the Venceremos organization.

Pamoja Venceremos, the publication of the Venceremos organization, in its issue No. 9, dated September 10-24, 1971, carried the following items regarding the Chester Street situation:

⁵ Identified by the Goffs as a standard text for conducting firearms training among RU members (cf. Goff testimony, pp. 63); in addition, NPAC/PCPJ Hearings, part 3 (July 13-15, 1971), pp. 3332 and 3416 identifies its SDS Radical Education Project origins.

PAMONA VENCEREMOS

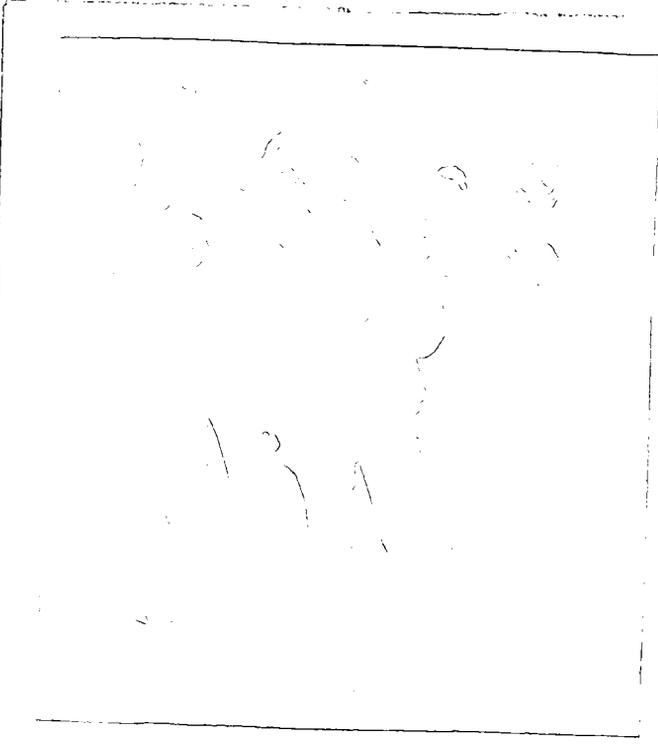
Together we will win

NUMBER 9
NUMERO 9

PERINUDA REVOLUTIONARY NEWS SERVICE
SERVICIOS DE NOTICIAS REVOLUCIONARIO DE LA PERINUDA

25¢

SEPT. 10-22 1977



We WILL Defend Our Homes

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

[The identical photograph appears on page 4 of the newspaper with the caption ; "Sue Flores, Eleanor Kaplan, Gerry Foote and Mort Newman of Chester Street."]

PAMOJA VENCEREMOS, Sept. 10-24, 1971

VENCEREMOS STATEMENT

Venceremos believes and practices that the people must join together to seize power over our lives. We realize that the present State does not believe in people's power, and we understand that we must organize and defend ourselves. We will not subject ourselves to fascism. We demand that the city government not be a part of

fascism reaching into our daily lives through wrecking our environment (Willow Expressway), wasting our money (taxes and assessments for war and useless projects), taking away our jobs, discriminating against Third World peoples, the poor, and the young - and then harrasing and jailing us for resisting.

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

Chief Cizenkas says they're investigating to see if Venceremos is a paramilitary organization, etc. We not only think - we know - that the Menlo Park Police Department is part of a Military Organization that conspires to control the populace all over the world by whatever means they can manage: "peacetime" draft, bombs, napalm, chemical and biological warfare, fascist court systems, lies instead of education, torture, coups, prisons, anything they can use any time they need force - that is, all the time, because racism, fascism, and money-madness breed resistance.

WE DEMAND

We have to do whatever we can wherever we can do it. Therefore:

- 1) WE DEMAND THAT THE MENLO PARK POLICE UPHOLD LAWS ALREADY IN EXISTENCE AGAINST ILLEGAL ENTRY AND FOR OUR RIGHT TO DEFEND OUR HOMES AGAINST SUCH ILLEGAL ENTRY.
- 2) WE DEMAND THAT THE POLICE BE DISARMED BECAUSE THEY SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO BRANDISH THEIR GUNS IN ATTEMPT TO GAIN ILLEGAL ENTRY (NOT TO MENTION THEIR OTHER THREATS TO BASIC RIGHTS AND LIFE).
- 3) WE DEMAND THAT THE POLICE GIVE RECEIPTS AT THE TIME OF SEARCH FOR ALL PROPERTY TAKEN FROM THE PEOPLE. (THIS IS TO PREVENT THEM FROM SO EASILY PLANTING THINGS).
- 4) WE DEMAND THAT THE POLICE PROVIDE ON-THE-SPOT INFORMATION ABOUT LEGAL RIGHTS IN CASES OF SEARCH AND ARREST. THEY MUST FIRST CAREFULLY STATE THE CONDITIONS WHICH ALLOW SEARCH AND ARREST BEFORE ANY ACTION IS TAKEN. NO DETENTION WITHOUT PHONE CALLS!
- 5) WE DEMAND AN END TO POLICE PROPAGANDA AIMED AT DISARMING THE PEOPLE

BY CONVINCING PEOPLE THAT IT IS ILLEGAL TO OWN GUNS, THAT IT IS ILLEGAL TO OWN A SHOTGUN SAWED OFF TO A LEGAL LENGTH, ETC.

6) WE DEMAND AN END TO POLICE CENSORSHIP--PROPAGANDA THAT TRIES TO SCARE PEOPLE BY CONVINCING US THAT IT IS ILLEGAL TO OWN LEGAL REVOLUTIONARY AND LEFTIST (NOT TO MENTION OTHER) LITERATURE. WE HAVE ALL OUR LIVES BEEN DENIED THE TRUTH (SEE THE PENTAGON PAPERS). WE DEMAND RECOGNITION OF OUR RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE, PAST AND PRESENT.

7) WE DEMAND AN END TO POLITICAL-ECONOMIC ARRESTS. THESE INCLUDE ALL ARRESTS BASED ON RACE, INCOME, AND POLITICS. ARRESTS AROUND VAGUE TERMS LIKE "PARAMILITARY" AND "CONSPIRACY" DO NOT HOLD UP EVEN IN OUR COURT SYSTEM AND ARE ONLY A MEANS OF HARASSMENT AND PUNISHMENT FOR BELIEFS NOT POPULAR AMONG THE RULING ELITE.

8) WE DEMAND AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE RACIST PRACTICES OF THE MENLO PARK POLICE FORCE. WHY ARE BLACK PEOPLE ALWAYS SUSPECT ON THE WEST

SIDE OF BAYSHORE FREEMAY?

- 9) WE DEMAND THAT WE BE ALLOWED TO BE PRESENT AND OBSERVE DURING ANY AND ALL SEARCHES OF OUR PROPERTY.
- 10) WE DEMAND THAT PEOPLE BE ALLOWED TO CALL LEGAL OBSERVERS BEFORE A SEARCH BEGANS (INCLUDING SEARCHES OF CARS STOPPED ON THE ROAD).
- 11) WE DEMAND THAT ALL THE CHARGES AGAINST THE PEOPLE AT CHESTER ST. BE DROPPED, AND THAT ALL THE PROPERTY STOLEN FROM THEM BY THE POLICE BE RETURNED.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
VENCEREMOS!!!

c/s



STANFORD VENCEREMOS SPLIT, SUMMER 1971

In the summer of 1971, the membership of Venceremos on the campus of Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif., split over revolutionary philosophy and method. Venceremos on the Stanford campus, until that time had been largely organized around the university's disciplinary procedures against suspended Associate Professor H. Bruce Franklin, a member of the central committee of Venceremos (who was finally fired from his tenured faculty position in January 1972).

A dissident group within the campus Venceremos left the organization after reaching a decision that it should no longer support Franklin but should concentrate on community service programs and welfare rights advocacy. This group of Venceremos dissidents emerged as the all-white "intercommunal subgroup" of the Oakland Black Panther Party and assumed the name "Intercommunal Survival Committee To Combat Fascism of the Black Panther Party."

The Venceremos central committee, composed of over 50 percent Mexican Americans, labeled the deserting group "racist sissies," stating that those who withdrew from Venceremos had abdicated their commitment to the multinational third world tenet of Venceremos and further, by opting to concentrate on community service rather than active preparation for imminent armed revolution, had totally deserted that prime Venceremos position.

The split was described in the following article in *The Stanford Daily* dated September 27, 1971.

The membership of Venceremos as of February 1972 was estimated by knowledgeable sources at about 225 persons, with a hard core of dedicated revolutionaries located in the Palo Alto, Calif., area under the leadership of H. Bruce Franklin.⁶

⁶ See app. I, pp. 131 through 155 for persons identified as affiliated with the Venceremos organization.

[The Stanford Daily, September 27, 1971.]

Campus Venceremos Splits

By BILL EVERS

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

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

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

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

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

"Other Priorities"

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

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

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

"Racist Sissies"

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

They made two major points in their argument. First, they said that any white radical who is not

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

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

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

Panthers Criticized

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

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

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

ISC members say they believe in self-defense, which for them means defending "survival programs," like these community service programs. But they do not approve of "revolutionary cultists" brandishing guns to provoke the police

CHAPTER IX

VENCEREMOS IN ACTION

A 16-page internal document of the Venceremos organization, titled "Summation of Practice of Palo Alto-Menlo Park Area," which from its content is indicated to have been prepared in the late summer of 1971, gives an account of Venceremos activities in the Palo Alto and Menlo Park area of California from December 1970 through July 1971. It evaluates the efforts of the organization and sets forth criticisms and recommendations for improved performance.

According to this document, the Palo Alto Venceremos worked with the Palo Alto Tenants Union (PATU) to assure defeat at the polls of a proposal to build major office buildings along University Avenue and the election of a "liberal" city council in Palo Alto. The local Venceremos chose one Jean Hobson, described as "an open communist revolutionary," as the Venceremos candidate for a city council seat. Hobson was defeated, receiving 800 votes, but Venceremos claimed a moral victory based on the election to council seats of "liberals" to three of the four openings. The document offers the criticism: "We didn't have enough open comrades working in PATU, and people working with it now have decided that we need at least one open comrade in each neighborhood council." It notes however that:

We did lay out in our propaganda the relation of the war in Southeast Asia to the local problems of housing, war industry, unemployment, child care, big business development, etc. Certainly more people understand now that the Stanford trustees are representatives of the real enemy, the American ruling class.

Also discussed is the organization Palo Altans Against the War (PAAW), which is stated to have been begun mainly by PATU and Venceremos "cadre," following the U.S. invasion of Laos in February 1971. It is stated: "We organized several actions, at the phone company, Hewlett-Packard, the P.A. [Palo Alto] Times, etc. But we were not able to keep these actions lively. We began having trouble finding things for people to do." PAAW eventually degenerated into a paper organization and is no longer in existence, according to this account. The document then confronts the question of why a communist revolutionary organization such as Venceremos should choose to organize and become active in Palo Alto, "not a proletarian city." It quotes the comments of Palo Alto city councilman Berwald on this subject:

It is my conviction that such a group selected Palo Alto because it represents the finest things in American life—fine schools, a low tax rate. If it can bring this government down, it can do it anywhere in the United States.

The document comments: "Right on! Power to the people!"

Another organization discussed is Citizens Against Willow Expressway (CAWE), a citizens group opposed to a new expressway and Bay bridge to link the East Bay with the Palo Alto area. This organization is assessed as one without a "widespread anti-imperialist con-

sciousness," as well organized, and as composed of persons of "petty-bourgeois and aristocracy of labor backgrounds," including "a number of small homeowners." It is stated:

The fight is not yet seen in the necessary larger context of the war and the national liberation struggles of the black people living in East Menlo. * * * Here is a clear opportunity to unite the left behind Third World leadership, but this means we will have to have leadership from the BLF¹ or some other militant black group.

Regarding Venceremos involvement in CAWE, it is stated:

Our cadre are well integrated with the people in CAWE, but the openness of politics is not there. Two cadre functioned for a long time as closed members; they probably should have been open from the beginning. We did not push anti-imperialist politics hard enough.

Concerning activity in Palo Alto to provide child care centers, the document states that progress in this direction had been effectively halted when the non-Venceremos community leader of the program made a public disclaimer of any link between Venceremos and this effort, which was published in the press. The document urges that further serious consideration be given to "seizing the old pig station" (occupying the former police headquarters in downtown Palo Alto) to force the city to allow its use as a child care center. It is stated that the leadership of the Venceremos collective deeply involved in the child care center effort was ready to do just that, but the action was not taken. The document laments, "We will never know [the results] because we didn't do it," and urges action.

The Mid-Peninsula Free University (MFU) came under discussion in the document and was described as a "counter institution" founded in 1965 which had provided "courses and activities for the local petty-bourgeois hip movement." It is stated that power in MFU lay in the elected officers and in late 1969 a "new generation of leaders * * * with a greater political consciousness" was elected. "Revolutionaries did good work with the new leaders * * * turning them into revolutionaries also." The document continues:

The catalog we changed in terms of the need to serve the people and do political education; the courses reflected this change. The goal was to change the constituency of the MFU to a more proletarian and Third World base, but this goal was never realized, possibly partly because the MFU was centered in Palo Alto which does not have a large proletarian, Third World community. It was a "left" error to think that we could instantly proletarianize a petty-bourgeois institution. * * *

In time there was a "drastic reduction in the MFU's mass base" (i.e., the revolutionary leadership totally lost support) and the MFU withered and died.

The one important beneficial result from the MFU fiasco, according to the document, was that:

The position we gained in the MFU gave us the newspaper, a concoction of hip prose and gossip which we turned into the FREE YOU, a damn good revolutionary newspaper vital to the street struggle and United Front of 1970. The FREE YOU was put out weekly by hard-working and dedicated comrades and was the forerunner, along with a smaller newspaper put out by Redwood City comrades, of PAMOJA VENCEREMOS.

¹ (Committee footnote.) Black Liberation Front (BLF) was a front for the now defunct Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) to help build revolutionary nationalist leadership. RAM was a Detroit-based group dedicated to "unleashing violence"—a power RAM and BLF said blacks should exercise.

An additional benefit accruing to Venceremos from the MFU situation is noted in the document :

The comrades recruited in and around the MFU have been among our strongest in terms of self-reliance, initiative, leadership, dedication, seizing the time. They have provided the leadership for street struggles, the newspaper, and subsequent struggles * * *.

The document next discusses action in "The Streets" and furnishes a brief history. Beginning in the summer of 1968—

MFU people and The Red Guard (forerunner of the RU) had established a "tradition" of street action in Palo Alto, especially with the Election Eve protest in November of 1968 against the Humphrey-Nixon ballot. Already there had been confrontations with the pigs, and a few arrests. But on Election Eve, hundreds of people defied the police in a running street confrontation, resulting in a few arrests, including (5 days later) the first arrest of Comrade Bruce Franklin. The following trials were political trials, and we won them all, in the period just before the courts began to realize we were serious.

In the summer of 1970, the "organization in this area devoted its main energy" to the weekly confrontations with the police at "People's Plaza" in downtown Palo Alto. "We emphasized that offing the pig is serving the people * * *."

A major focus of Venceremos in the summer of 1971 became the major presence of hard drugs on the streets of Palo Alto. Plans were made for a propaganda campaign "leading up to a struggle to force the city to respond to drugs as a social rather than criminal matter."

The activities of Venceremos in the area of legal defense are reviewed in the document. It is stated that money for bail bonds is readily available, but that it has been found imperative to exercise care in deciding to whom to advance such funds, in view of substantial instances of nonrepayment. The organization also refers arrestees to attorneys, assists them in obtaining the services of a public defender if they qualify, teaches classes in basic law, and presents speakers at community functions on the law, political prisoners, and the like. It also sees to it that at confrontations with the police, individuals with cameras are present and to act as "legal observers." Work of the organization in jails includes assisting in the planning of trial strategy and arranging for the raising of defense funds. Venceremos considers the jail a good place to do "mass work," i.e., to provide assistance to the proletariat and to impress them with the organization's concern and interest in their problems. The document claims that it has been successful in its legal defense efforts and has had good results in obtaining the release from jail in a reasonable time of all those arrested as an outgrowth of a "struggle."

The following paragraph is quoted from the document:

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

The document gives attention to the matter of revolutionary work with women. It states:

It is clear, from the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and from our own practice, that the primary contradiction in the world today—that

between the imperialists and oppressed peoples and nations—must be at the heart of our work, including our work with women. We must combat liberalism and at all times lead toward and in active struggle against the real enemy.

An indication of Venceremos activity at the high school level also appears:

The high school women's group had the advantage of being together on-the-job so to speak—at school together five days a week. Comrades organized a large group of women around women's liberation with demands like birth control and self-defense for women. This group had a lot of spirit and did some good actions like freeing a sister from "the hall" at school by marching in, to her counselor and demanding her release, shouting the military recruiters off campus, and having a four-day women's week when women came to speak on different issues.

But when school ended for summertime, this group, too, ended. * * *

Comrades feel they would have gained more respect with a concrete anti-pig, anti-imperialist program which we fought for as strong women. * * *

The following statements are quoted from a section of the document devoted to "On-the-job organizing":

In every collective there are people with jobs. We have teachers, factory workers, people in electronics, restaurants, shopping center stores, whatever people can do for a living * * * The telephone company was the one place where we were able to concentrate people * * * One comrade has done serious and consistent work in his factory, and was helpful in influencing the newspaper to relate to the struggle there.

The document enumerates the following as among the weaknesses of the Venceremos organization: A failure to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought seriously; weaknesses in on-the-job organizing; sectarianism; failure to integrate with people and thus a failure in mass work; and a failure to "mobilize the masses in struggle."

It contains this inspirational paragraph, laudatory of Venceremos, its goals, and its efforts:

What other organization in this area has been able to keep itself together, much less lead struggles against imperialism? We have basically a terrific gang of fighting, loving comrades. Most important, we have the thought of those revolutionaries who made the revolution work that guide our action. We have the principles of unity and we have survived some heavy struggles with the enemy and with revisionism in our own ranks and remained together still fighting. VENCEREMOS!

The document concludes with a 1936 quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China:

What we need is an enthusiastic but calm state of mind and intense but orderly work.

PAMOJA VENCEREMOS

Shortly after its withdrawal from the Revolutionary Union, the Bruce Franklin faction which assumed the name Venceremos, began the publication of its own newspaper, originally called *Venceremos* and since May 18, 1971, *Pamoja Venceremos*.² The address for the paper

* The initial issue of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. 1, No. 1, dated May 18, 1971, on its first page defines Pamoja Venceremos and comments as follows:

"Pamoja" means TOGETHER. It is the Swahili word, the word of Black people all over the world, for the unity necessary to bring about liberation from all forms of oppression to which we have been subjected throughout history.

* * * * *
PAMOJA VENCEREMOS simply means TOGETHER WE WILL WIN! As Black people, Brown people, and all people of color, we are TOGETHER in our struggle against a common oppressor—the white ruling class of America. As revolutionaries we are together with poor and working white people, with all progressive people dedicated to smashing our common enemy, the white ruling class of racist, imperialist America, and all its lackeys.

appears currently as 1969 University, East Palo Alto, Calif. 94303, and the paper has appeared biweekly since February 1971.

Volume 1, No. 1, of *Venceremos*, dated February 24, 1971, carried an "Editorial Statement" which included the following:

Venceremos is a Mid-peninsula newspaper concerned with the conditions and struggles of working men and women in this area. This new paper is a merger of the *Venceremos* newspaper based in Redwood City and the *Free You* based in Palo Alto. It is an *intercommunal* news service because we realize that in each city and region working people make up many different communities—brown, black, Asian, native-American, and white—and that our struggles cannot be separated. * * *

* * * * *

Those most oppressed by U.S. imperialism and capitalism are Third World communities (people of color). It naturally follows that from their experience they are best able to lead and direct the political struggles necessary to put an end to the system's oppression. The white people on our paper recognize this and have accepted Third World leadership. Only in this way can we deal with our own racism.

Pamoja Venceremos appears as a tabloid-size paper of 24 to 28 pages. The major articles in each issue are presented both in the English and Spanish languages. Articles have appeared in support of and urging the immediate release of "political prisoners" such as Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and the Soledad Brothers; alleging brutal and illegal police activities, particularly against blacks and Mexican Americans; lauding the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the life in China under the communists; setting forth *Venceremos*' position on international developments in strident opposition to the Vietnam war and "U.S. imperialism"; charging businesses and factories with mistreatment of workers; supporting labor disputes; encouraging interest in community problems such as housing, welfare, and schools and the protests, demonstrations, and confrontations related to such matters; supporting protests against the U.S. military, such as the "U.S.S. Coral Sea" incident³; and supporting other organizations such as the Young Lords and the Black Panthers. Considerable space was given in the 1971 issues to the dismissal action taken by Stanford University against Associate Professor of English H. Bruce Franklin, a member of the central committee of *Venceremos*. The newspaper has also contained reprints from *Granma*, the publication of the central committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, and material from Liberation News Service, which has been described as the "wire service of the underground press."

Representative of the articles found in *Pamoja Venceremos* is one appearing on page 5 of issue No. 14, dated November 19–December 3, 1971, by Aaron Manganiello, chairman of the central committee of *Venceremos*, entitled "Chairman Aaron Explains Why the Pigs Want the People to Fear Revolutionaries," from which the following is quoted:

There is only one real friend to all these poor and working people and this is where the main trend of the world today is—Revolution. Whether in Northern

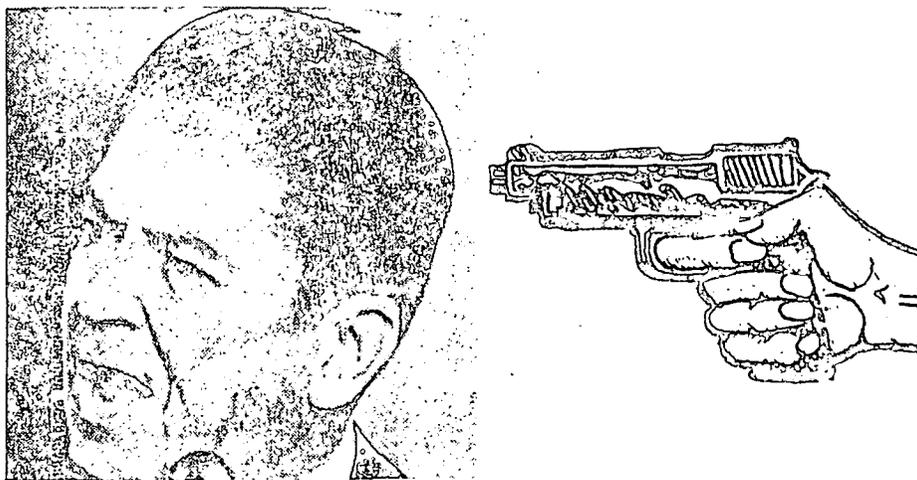
³ It is interesting to note that the U.S.S. *Coral Sea* protests have led to further protests involving several other U.S. Navy aircraft carriers, the U.S.S. *Constellation* and U.S.S. *Kitty Hawk* during late 1971 and early 1972. Since that time, the *Coral Sea* protests have led to the establishment of a formal "Carrier Movement" organization known as "Support Our Sailors" with headquarters in San Francisco. Cf., for example, the reportage in the nationally-distributed GI "underground paper" *CAMP News*, vol. III, No. 3 (March 15, 1971), pp. 6–7.

Ireland, Vietnam, Cuba, Guatemala, Africa, Venezuela. All over people find out that the real ally of poor and working people is the revolutionaries and revolutionary movements in their countries. So in the U.S., large segments of the population from Maine to California have turned forward with this revolutionary tide in order to defeat these oppressors and get them off our backs.

1971 has been a phenomenal year for revolutionary organizations. More than ever revolutionary organizations like Venceremos are sending comrades to work in factories to make contacts with our brothers and sisters on the job, to expose bad working conditions, poor health care, lousy wages, inhuman treatment, arbitrary firing and layoffs, and to link up the workers with the revolutionary movement. Together we have a real fighting force.

All of us know that the workers have everything and the bosses really have nothing. Like you think the Board of Directors of General Motors can build a car? Hell no! Some of them can't even drive and have chauffeurs take them around. You know that bosses can't do the work you're doing. The workers really have the power. This power together with a tightly disciplined revolutionary organization can win true liberation for people.

Typical of the graphic art appearing in *Pamoja Venceremos* is that reproduced here from page 23 of issue No. 11 of the newspaper, dated October 7-21, 1971. This photograph of California Governor Ronald Reagan with a drawing alongside it of a hand holding a gun to the Governor's head, uncaptioned, accompanied an article entitled "Welfare Cuts, Your Right To A Fair Hearing," with the byline "Debbie Hobson, Venceremos, Redwood City." The article urged welfare recipients in California to launch a letterwriting campaign to the California Department of Social Welfare to demand individual hearings in the face of planned reductions in welfare benefits.



[Note: Illustration accompanying an article with the byline "Debbie Hobson, Venceremos, Redwood City" captioned "Welfare Cuts, *your right to a fair hearing,*" which appeared on page 23 of *Pamoja Venceremos* No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971. The article urges welfare recipients to launch a letterwriting campaign to the California Department of Social Welfare to demand individual hearings in the face of reductions in welfare benefits.]

Contained in an internal document of the Venceremos organization, indicated to have been produced in the late summer of 1971, is an evaluation and criticism of the newspaper, its content, and its operation. The following is quoted from that document:

We need to use the newspaper as an organizing tool.

* * * * *

We should have newspapers at every mass event and use it as a way of talking with people and organizing. The failure of some comrades to use the paper this way is a failure to seize the time. The newspaper is a giant leaflet that should educate, agitate, and organize the people. * * *

The document then devotes itself to a discussion of the paper's management problems: there is a lack of continuity in the leadership of the paper. Deadlines are often not met. Money is always short. There is a need for timely and "exciting" material to print pertinent to "workers and workers' struggles." Help is needed to translate articles into Spanish. In this regard it is stated: "Many brown people are taken advantage of in this capitalist system because they can't speak English. As communists, we have to relate to them what is happening IN SPANISH."

Particular attention is given in the document to the matter of non-Venceremos people working on the newspaper. Instructions are given that care must be exercised in the choice of such persons so that they will not suffer shock upon being faced with strong revolutionary communist talk and attitudes. At the same time, such individuals must be impressed that their participation is necessary and helpful.

Also dealt with in some detail in the document is "Defense of the Office" of the newspaper. The following is quoted :

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

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

VENCEREMOS IN THE COUNCILS OF GOVERNMENT

In recent months, the Venceremos organization in the Mid-Peninsula area of California has become active publicly at meetings of the various local city councils where such matters as public housing, alleged improper actions by the police, gun control, and similar social issues have been on the agenda. In some instances, groups publicly identifying themselves as Venceremos have been unruly, discourteous, and disruptive in such meetings. In other instances, Venceremos members, through established procedures, have sought and obtained permission to present their views before the local governing body, which they have proceeded to do in an orderly and well-prepared manner.

In certain of these situations, Venceremos has found itself with unusual allies. For example, the city council of Palo Alto recently undertook a study of a proposed local gun control ordinance. Venceremos in its opposition to any such move, found itself allied with protagonists of deep political conservatism, citizen gunowners, and sportsmen, all far removed in the political spectrum from the communist revolutionary Venceremos organization.

In mid-January 1972, James Shoch of the Palo Alto Venceremos presented to the Palo Alto City Council, in the name of the Palo Alto Venceremos, a proposal supported by a detailed paper of analysis, that the council consider the passage of a resolution to the following effect:

"The City Council of Palo Alto moves to instruct the city attorney to prepare a report regarding the possibilities of drafting city ordinances and/or employing city zoning laws to prohibit any corporation which receives funding from the United States Department of Defense from establishing new operations and/or facilities in Palo Alto."

The supporting paper presented by Shoch ended with the statements:

Revolution is the main trend in the world today, as Chairman Mao Tsetung has said. It's time that the City Council of Palo Alto recognizes this and moves to join the peoples of the world in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The following week, Shoch presented a second paper in support of the Venceremos position to the city council, noting the apparent favorable reaction of one of the council members to the proposal and concluding thus:

The lines are now clearly drawn. On the one side are the handful of financiers, industrialists, and their servants who live off the labor and resources of the world's people. On the other side are those millions and millions of people struggling to wipe U.S. imperialism from the face of the earth. In the forefront of this struggle are the heroic Indochinese peoples.

The *Redwood City Tribune*, a daily newspaper published in Redwood City, Calif., in its February 8, 1972, issue, contains the following article regarding the appointment of David Ransom, an admitted member of the Venceremos organization, to a well-paying post with the Redwood City Housing Concerns Committee, and its accompanying photograph:

On the same date, February 8, 1972, Mr. James S. Williams, Redwood City city councilman, registered his opposition to Ransom's appointment in the following statement:

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW COUNCILMEN: EVENTS AND PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE RECENT HIRING OF MR. DAVID RANSOM AS A STAFF AIDE TO THE REDWOOD CITY HOUSING CONCERNS COMMITTEE IS THE REASON FOR MY MAKING THIS STATEMENT.

I DO NOT CONDONE, RATHER I OPPOSE THE SELECTION OF THIS MAN FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

1. MR. RANSOM ADMITS HE IS A MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VENCEREMOS ORGANIZATION.

2. MR. RANSOM WAS PREVIOUSLY THE EDITOR OF AN "UNDERGROUND" BI-WEEKLY TABLOID WHICH ENDED PUBLICATION IN SEPTEMBER OF 1969.

3. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE REDWOOD CITY TRIBUNE, RANSOM SAID THAT HE ASSUMED THAT COMMITTEE WAS AWARE OF HIS ACTIVIST BACKGROUND WHEN HE WAS INTERVIEWED BUT HE ADDED THAT THE FORMAT OF THE APPLICATION FORMS PRECLUDED LISTING HIS POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS.

EVIDENTLY SOME OF THE COMMITTEE WHICH RECOMMENDED HIS APPOINTMENT DID NOT KNOW OF MR. RANSOM'S BACKGROUND, OTHERWISE WOULD HE HAVE BEEN SELECTED?

THIS STATEMENT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS A COMPLAINT OF MR. RANSOM'S PERFORMANCE OF DUTY, BUT I WISH TO GO ON RECORD AS OPPOSING THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. RANSOM AND TO MAKE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR TO THE CITIZENS OF REDWOOD CITY THAT THE CITY COUNCIL AS A BODY DID NOT VOTE FOR HIS APPOINTMENT.

VENCEREMOS AND THE MILITARY

As an example of activity of the Venceremos organization focused on the U.S. military, the following is set forth:

In testimony before the committee on October 27, 1971, Detective Terry Mangan of the Seaside, Calif., Police Department described a protest demonstration at Fort Ord, Calif., on September 18, 1971. This was a rally in support of Billy Smith, a Negro soldier to be tried for allegedly having "fragged" (murder of one's fellow soldiers by the use of explosives) officers in Vietnam. Mangan testified that prior to the arrival at Fort Ord of a marching group of some 200 to 300 protesters, several vehicles containing members of the Venceremos organization tried to go on post in their vehicles and were stopped by the military police. Discovered in these vehicles were "stacks" of Black Panther Party newspapers and other underground literature and a wooden crate containing paving stones and lengths of lead pipe.

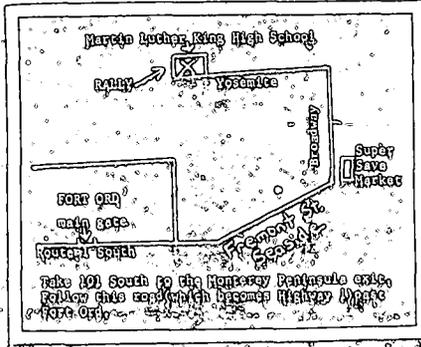
(A copy of an advertisement for this rally follows:)

... DOWN IN MONTEREY

RALLY and MARCH on FORT ORD

SATURDAY
SEPT 18

12:00
NOON



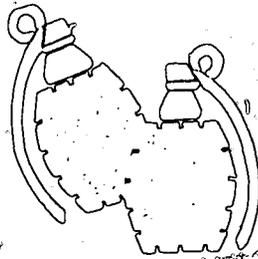
FREE BILLY SMITH!

Billy Smith is a black GI from Watts accused of murdering (killing with a hand grenade) officers in Vietnam. The US Army shot arrested him in 1968 when he had deserted his company, drafted him and sent him to fight for them in Vietnam. He was charged with the premeditated murder of two lieutenants, the attempted murder of one lieutenant and a first sergeant, and two soldiers of assault on two NCO's. The Army's case rested on the team's grenade pin found in Billy's pocket when he was arrested. But this grenade pin cannot be linked in any way to the grenades that killed the officers. In addition, some of the other "evidence" against Billy were captured after the hanging incident. No one even knew they they would be necessary.

And then to with cases of how communists (including ML) tried to get Billy Smith's company all grenades were taken off to keep them away from Billy. Smith has to keep them away from all the collected money. Billy's company hated the officers but Billy was picked because he was black, poor, and doing political organizing.

Billy Smith has been in solitary since the day he was killed (March 16). He has been in solitary at Ft. Ord in Monterey since May. The Army is asking for the

death penalty. They want to murder Billy. He still has to be freed by a "fair trial" or legal trickery, but only by the POWER OF THE PEOPLE. Billy's life depends on our willingness to take the offensive against the U.S. Army and the capitalist system to kill him for.



For further info or for help to get Billy out call ML at 321-6791.

[Back page (p. 28) of *Pamoja Venceremos* No. 9, dated September 10-24, 1971. The telephone number in the lower right corner, 321-6791, as of September 1971, was that of the residence telephone of Michael A. Holman at 747 Dolores Street, Stanford University campus, Palo Alto, California. The documentation of Holman's affiliation with the *Venceremos* organization appears in the appendix I.]

CHAPTER X

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos programs reveals first that their assessment of the mood of the people of the United States is far removed from reality. The Venceremos people believe, for example, that revolution in the United States is just around the corner. The Revolutionary Union people are also convinced revolution is inevitable although they allow this Nation an extra 10 or 15 years. According to Marxism-Leninism, people in the United States are groaning under the heel of the "capitalist imperialists." The American Marxist, convinced of the infallibility of his prophets, focuses upon and magnifies any discontent, unrest, or injustice in our society and thinks he finds evidence of a sleeping proletarian giant waiting only to be prodded into a rage which will sweep away the Government and the economic and social systems. That his assessment may be wrong does not occur to him because, he says, the revolt of the proletariat is an essential of "scientific" Marxism and incontrovertible. A second aspect revealed by the report is the present inability of the Venceremos and Revolutionary Union people to carry out any successful armed revolution against local, State, or Federal Governments.

The Revolutionary Union and Venceremos should not, however, be examined solely on the basis of their own activities and propaganda or their own ability to effect a revolution. They are in fact a part of the larger revolutionary scene and add significantly to the sound and fury of the politically disaffected. Also, by constant emphasis on firearms in the context of their use against the police and public authorities, they create a climate encouraging to those who might be inclined to resolve grievances against the Government by violent action.

And why should a committee of Congress be concerned? Why not let these people write and talk revolution, secure in their first amendment rights, and leave it to law enforcement agencies to arrest and prosecute those who transgress the law? The answer is that the Congress has a duty to the people to inform itself concerning any organized effort to overthrow the Government and to gather facts in sufficient detail so that the revolutionary effort may be accurately evaluated. This is the purpose of the mandate of the Committee on Internal Security, and it is noteworthy that the mandate does not confine the committee to investigations of those situations in which the revolutionary activity has some probability of success.

Joining Marx and Engels, these organizations "openly declare that their ends can be attained only by forcible overthrow of all existing social contradictions."¹ They have gathered firearms and explosives

¹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Moscow, Foreign Language Publishing House, 1955, p. 65, as quoted in pamphlet, *China's Foreign Policy: A Leninist Policy—By the Revolutionary Union*.

and have trained members in their use under anticipated guerrilla warfare conditions. Included in their organization is a "secret apparatus" intended for completely illegal activities—assassinations, robberies, and sabotage. Noting these methods, coupled with an illegal objective, the committee has no difficulty in finding that the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos organization constitute a potential threat to the internal security of the United States.

This judgment has also been made in light of the avowed Maoist orientation of the two organizations. The Revolutionary Union has already had one delegation in Red China. It is noted that one of the instigators of the Revolutionary Union, Leibel Bergman, after many years on the west coast, now resides in Newark, N.J., coincidentally permitting ready access to the Red Chinese delegation to the United Nations. It would be naive for us to assume that our indigenous Maoists in contact with the Red Chinese would not receive more than moral support or that Red Chinese intelligence would not make use of such excellent friends.

The committee takes special note of the testimony that members of the Revolutionary Union were ordered to seek employment in plants having military contracts and in the telephone companies. Although sabotage or espionage may not have been immediate objectives, as far as the Goffs knew, they cannot be discounted as possibilities considering ultimate objectives of the RU; the discipline exercised; the education in incendiaries and explosives; and the existence of the "secret apparatus," which included sabotage as one of its potential duties. Lawrence Goff noted that he had instructions to join his union and attempt to control it, which should serve as an alert to both labor and management wherever the Revolutionary Union or Venceremos is active.

All public utilities, especially those involved in communications, have an obligation to exercise great care in processing employment applications so as to screen out from sensitive positions those persons who have knowing and purposeful membership in organizations which teach or advocate a change in our Government by other than lawful means. While our Constitution does not permit such persons to be "outlawed," neither does it guarantee that we must provide for mechanisms for our own destruction. Security personnel in American industry must be constantly vigilant with respect to the potential for sabotage and disruption by employees who have vowed allegiance to a concept of violent revolution.

Restricting employment of such persons in defense facilities was, of course, one objective of H.R. 14864 (the Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act of 1970), a bill originating in the Committee on Internal Security in the 91st Congress and which passed the House on January 19, 1970, but received no action in the Senate. The bill was again introduced in the 92d Congress (H.R. 819, H.R. 1032, and H.R. 4134).

It is not enough that local law enforcement officers must collect necessary intelligence and evidentiary material under local laws concerning organizations such as the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos. They must also confront the dedicated revolutionary whose response to hours and days and weeks of hate-mongering and revolu-

tionary rhetoric may be an eruption of violence and the death or injury of an officer. The hearing record of the Committee on Internal Security is filled with evidence given by dedicated, professional, local law enforcement intelligence officers through whom the Congress is kept informed concerning the details of internal security problems. In behalf of the Congress, this committee expresses its gratitude to these men.

It is obvious from the testimony of the Goffs that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as usual, has been doing a highly commendable job in covering the activities of revolutionary groups and forwarding its evidence to the Department of Justice. The committee is aware of the practical difficulties in proceeding under Federal criminal statutes against such organizations, but would expect that special attention be given these matters by the Department of Justice with a view toward prosecutive action. The committee understands that the chairman will formally call this report to the attention of the Attorney General with a request for appropriate consideration under title 18, U.S. Code.

It would also seem logical that the Department of Justice would proceed against the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos to effect their designation pursuant to E.O. 10450. This order, promulgated by President Eisenhower in 1953, and since amended, established a program for the screening of civilian employees in the executive branch to assure that their employment and retention in employment "is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security." By the terms of E.O. 10450, as amended, a person's membership in, or association with, subversive organizations therein defined, including organizations which seek to overthrow the Government of the United States by unlawful means, is a relevant subject of investigation and inquiry. Pursuant to this order the Attorney General furnishes to the head of each department and agency the name of each such organization designated as of the type described in the order. The evidence adduced before the Committee on Internal Security with respect to the nature of the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos certainly points to the fact that they are of the type embraced within the Executive order. This report is therefore commended to the Department of Justice also for study in this connection.

The committee also recommends the enactment by the Congress of preventive legislation of the type represented by H.R. 819 entitled the Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act.

The matter of RU's interest in the armed services and the wisdom and judgment exercised by the military in the induction, retention, and assignment of RU members in the service will be treated in some detail in a separate report by this committee.

This report, then, will supply the Congress with up-to-date information on one segment of the overall internal security problem, and should be a valuable source as well for those who are working on the problem on the local and State levels.

APPENDIX I

REVOLUTIONARY UNION AND VENCEREMOS MEMBERS

Set forth in this document are the identities of members of the RU and Venceremos. Those marked by an asterisk were identified by Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff in executive session of HCIS on October 22, 1971. Also listed are individuals identified from public sources as members of the RU and as members or affiliates of Venceremos. In the main, these identifications were made from the pages of Venceremos publications: *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, dated December 1971, and the newspapers *Venceremos*, *Pamoja Venceremos*, or the forerunner publication, *Free You*, of Palo Alto, Calif. In such instances, that information which documents the connection of the individual with the organization is set forth just as it appears in the Venceremos publication.

Those individuals indicated by asterisk to have been identified by the Goffs on October 22, 1971, were each notified of the testimony by registered mail pursuant to the requirements of House rule XI, 27 (m). Each was afforded the opportunity to appear voluntarily before the committee in executive session to affirm, deny, qualify, or comment on the identification. Receipt of the committee's letter was verified in each case. Ample time was provided for all to respond. The communications from the few who responded are printed in full beginning at page 156 of this appendix. None of them, in the end, availed themselves of the opportunity to appear before the committee. Therefore, on April 25, 1972, the committee voted to release the executive testimony of October 22, 1971.

Where available through law enforcement agencies, the full name and date and place of birth of these individuals is set forth.¹



***Alexander, Gertrude Louise** (born May 18, 1915, New York, N.Y.). Betty Sue Goff testified that Gertie _____ was present at the central committee meeting of the RU which she attended in January 1971. According to Mrs. Goff this individual was described to her by Barry Greenberg as a member of the RU and as an oldtime communist who served as an adviser to the RU. Mrs. Goff subsequently identified a photograph of Gertrude Louise Alexander as the "Gertie" to whom she had referred in her testimony and furnished an affidavit attesting to her knowledge of Gertrude Alexander's RU membership.

¹Data set forth in this chapter has been limited intentionally to avoid repetition. The reader is referred to the index for references to all information contained in the report concerning these persons.



Avakian, Robert Bruce (born March 7, 1943, Washington, D.C.). The Goffs testified that Avakian was a leader of the RU in the San Francisco area; a member of both the political committee and secretariat (the highest policymaking bodies of the RU) and of a special high-level panel of certain team leaders which met each 2 weeks. Avakian was responsible for preparation of much of "Paper B," the reply to Bruce Franklin's position paper, "Paper A," which precipitated the split in the RU in January of 1971 and the formation of Venceremos. Avakian was often seen at demonstrations, but to the Goffs' knowledge did not attend any meetings of the RU in the San Jose area while they were affiliated with the organization. See chapter I, also.



***Avery, John Wallace** (born April 6, 1948, Altadena, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Avery was a member of a workers collective of the RU in San Jose. He was believed to have been employed at the General Electric Corporation plant in San Jose and was concerned with RU organizational activities at the plant.



Ballinger, Lee Russell (born June 29, 1946, New Haven, Conn.). *Pamoja Venceremos* No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, on page 13 carried an article bylined "by Lee Ballinger, Venceremos."

Baun, Vernon Wilburt, also spelled **Bown** (born October 14, 1917, at Evergreen, Wis.). The Goffs testified that Barry William Greenberg had identified Baun to them as an oldtime communist. Baun was in attendance at a central committee meeting of the RU in January 1971, attendance at which was limited to RU members. The Goffs were informed that because of Baun's experience in the communist movement he acted as an RU adviser. See also chapter I.



Bergman, Leibel (born May 5, 1915, Grand Forks, N. Dak.). The Goffs testified that Bergman was identified to them as one of the founders of the RU. He was at a central committee meeting in October 1970 attended by Mr. Goff. Bergman was a member of the political committee and is believed to have served later on the secretariat and the national committee, the highest policymaking bodies of the RU. At one time Bergman ran a collective of the RU in San Francisco. His responsibility during the latter part of the Goffs' membership in the RU was to organize new collectives of the RU in different parts of the country. At the time of the split in the RU, Bergman was on the east coast so engaged and was flown back to the San Francisco Bay area to support the RU loyalist faction against the arguments of Bruce Franklin and those dissidents who left the RU to form Venceremos. Bergman acted as an adviser to the RU and was considered to be a veteran of the communist movement in this country. Leibel Bergman

came to the Goff residence in an unsuccessful attempt to talk Mr. Goff out of defecting to the Venceremos faction. According to Mr. Goff, Leibel Bergman did not oppose the use of bombing and sabotage as revolutionary tactics, as advocated by Bruce Franklin, but Bergman was convinced that the time for the introduction of such activities was premature. See chapter I, also.



***Bergman, Lincoln** (born October 27, 1944, Houston, Tex.). RU leaders in San Jose identified Lincoln Bergman to the Goffs as an RU member. RU member Michael David Fox later advised the Goffs that Lincoln Bergman was a member of Venceremos.



***Black, Vernon Calvin, Jr.** (born November 16, 1939, St. Louis, Mo.). The Goffs testified that Vernon Black was a member of a workers collective of the RU in San Jose and an employee of Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Corporation, Santa Clara, Calif. At the time of the split in the RU, Black went with the Venceremos faction and became chairman of the San Jose collective of Venceremos.



***Black, Yvonda** (born June 12, 1931). While in the RU in San Jose, Yvonda Black was chairman of the Santa Clara County Workers Committee, a front group of the community collective of the RU in the San Jose area. At the split in the RU, Yvonda Black left the RU to join the Venceremos faction as did her husband, Vernon.



***Bokum, Consuelo Linacre-Harkness** (born November 22, 1946, Santa Fe, N. Mex.). The Goffs testified that "Conci" Bokum had become an RU member shortly before the split in the organization. She worked in the People's Legal Defense Office in San Jose and was a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose. Bokum lived in the Palo Alto, Calif., area. At the time of the RU split, Bokum defected to the Venceremos group.



***Borovoy, Nancy Katherine** (born October 30, 1948, San Francisco, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Nancy Borovoy had been enrolled at San Jose State College for perhaps 4 or 5 years taking courses there. Borovoy was a member of the workers collective of the San Jose RU since she was employed at the Valley Medical Center in the San Jose area as a nurse's aide. Active on the San Jose State campus, Borovoy attended all demonstrations there and was arrested on several occasions for her participation in demonstrations. On one occasion her apartment was raided by the San Jose Police Department and firearms were confiscated. Attempts to recover these weapons precipitated demonstrations by the RU at the San Jose Police Department.



***Browning, Jeffrey Paul** (born April 6, 1948, Tampa, Fla.). The Goffs testified that while in the RU in San Jose, Jeff Browning was a member of one of the two workers collectives, the one of which Lawrence Goff became chairman. Browning worked at the General Electric Corporation plant in San Jose for a short time in 1970. He was very suspicious of the Goffs and was convinced that they were in the RU as informants for the police or the FBI. Browning voiced these suspicions frequently, but RU leader Barry Greenberg, who was close to the Goffs, refused to believe Browning and in fact suspected that Browning himself might be a plant or an informer. At the split in the RU, Browning defected to join the dissident group under Bruce Franklin, which became known as the Venceremos organization.



***Casquero, Larry Craig** (born May 3, 1948, Oakland, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Casquero was an excellent leader and an accomplished speaker and agitator. He was considered a key leader of the RU in the San Jose area. A member of the RU local executive committee, Casquero was treasurer of the RU for the entire San Jose region and possibly for

the entire San Francisco Bay area in the early days of the RU. Casquero was a member of the Radical Action Movement (RAM) and the Bill Haywood Student Collective on the campus of San Jose State College (front groups of the RU) as well as a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose. He later became a member of a workers collective because of his having obtained employment at the Western Electric Corporation plant in the San Jose area. He also worked for the San Jose city recreation department. The Goffs stated that Casquero was considered to be a part of the secret apparatus of the RU. Casquero spent considerable time on the campus of San Jose State College and was arrested for participation in demonstrations there.



***Charyn, Marlene Phillips** (born March 26, 1942, New York, N.Y.). In her testimony the Goffs stated that Marlene Charyn had been recruited into the RU by Barry and Mary Lou Greenberg. Charyn was devoted to the Black Panther Party and knew a number of the leaders of that party. She was eventually accused of undermining RU leadership

and was purged from the ranks of the RU.



Cherry, Miriam Clare (born February 12, 1930, Murray, Utah). Cherry is reportedly employed at the Stanford University Ministry, Palo Alto, Calif. *Free You*, on page 18 of its January 21, 1971, issue, carried an article bylined "by Miriam Cherry, Venceremos."



***Collins, Laura Lei** (born August 21, 1950, in Hawaii). The Goffs testified that Laura _____ had been a member of a workers collective of the RU in San Jose, that she had served as chairman of one of the two workers collectives there for a period of time, and that she was an employee of the telephone company in San Jose, Laura _____, according to the Goffs, had attended college in Santa Cruz and had entered the RU in Santa Cruz. The Goffs characterized Laura _____ as a dedicated revolutionary. Both Goffs subsequently identified a photo of Laura Lei Collins as the Laura _____ to whom they had referred in their testimony and furnished affidavits attesting to their knowledge of Collins' RU membership and activities.



Cox, Charles Russell (born March 27, 1944). Bylines to articles in *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, page 13; No. 14, dated November 19-December 3, 1971, page 11; vol. II, No. 3, dated February 6-20, 1972, page 25; and vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972, page 14, read "Charlie Cox, Venceremos."



Crouse, Linda P. (born May 4, 1938, East Orange, N.J.). She identified herself as a Venceremos member at a public meeting in Cubberly Auditorium, Stanford University, on April 26, 1971.



Cummings, Mary Hope (born August 19, 1951, Oakland, Calif.). Byline to an article on page 15 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 12, dated October 21-November 4, 1971, reads "Mary Cummings, Palo Alto Venceremos."



Dacayanan, James Francis (born September 2, 1953). *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 4, dated February 21-March 6, 1972, on page 21 carried an article bylined "James Dacayanan, Deputy Minister of Information."



Del Valle, Katarina Davis (born November 6, 1951). The Venceremos publication *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, dated December 1971, identified Del Valle as a member of the central committee of Venceremos and as its minister of information. *Pamoja Venceremos* on page 4 of its issue No. 15, dated December 3-16, 1971, carried an article bylined "Katarina Davis del Valle, Minister of Information, VENCEREMOS." *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 2, dated January 22-February 5, 1972, on page 3, carried a "STATEMENT BY KATARINA DAVIS DEL VALLE, MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF VENCEREMOS."



***Doll, Catherine Ann** (born January 10, 1950, San Jose, Calif.). According to the testimony of the Goffs she attended San Jose City College and was a member of the community collective and of the street collective, later known as the San Jose City College Student Collective, of the RU in San Jose.



Dolly, Jean Tarshis, nee Bonner (born August 1, 1945, New York). Appearing in *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 9, dated September 10-24, 1971, on page 23, and vol. II, No. 5, dated March 7-20, 1972, on page 5 were articles bylined "Jeanie Dolly, Palo Alto Venceremos."



Dolly, Joan Noreen, also known as **Nora Dolly** (born June 20, 1946, Newark, N.J.). In *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 4, dated February 21-March 6, 1972, on page 13; in vol. II, No. 6 (erroneously labeled "Volume II, No. 3, February 6-20, 1972," which appeared about March 20, 1972), on page 6; and in vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972,

on page 3, Joan Dolly is identified as the candidate of Venceremos for a seat on the city council of Menlo Park, Calif., in elections to be held April 11, 1972.



Dolly, John James (born June 20, 1946, Newark, N.J.). *Pamoja Venceremos*, in an article on page 3 of its issue No. 4, dated July 2, 1971, listed John Dolly as one of four Venceremos members fired by Stanford University. Dolly was identified there as a genetics laboratory assistant in the hospital at Stanford. In addition, *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 6,

dated July 28, 1971, on page 7, carried an article bylined "John Dolly, Venceremos." In an article on page 19 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 13, dated November 5-November, 1971 [sic], Dolly was identified as one of the fired Stanford employees and as a Venceremos member.

Dubose, Shelley Serdahely (born November 6, 1950). *Pamoja Venceremos*, on page 11 of its issue No. 13, dated November 5-November, 1971 [sic], carried an article bylined "Shelley Dubose—Foothill Venceremos."



***Dunbar, Roxanne Amanda** (born September 10, 1938, San Antonio, Tex.). The Goffs testified that Roxanne Dunbar had been a member of the same Venceremos Brigade in Cuba with RU member Melody Ann Hartline. She was said to have been recruited into the RU by Hartline and to have engaged in RU organizing activities in the New Or-

leans, La., area.



Elledge, Candis Ann, nee Coulter (born October 27, 1948). She identified herself as "a member of San Jose Venceremos" at a public meeting of the San Jose, Calif., City Council on October 4, 1971. An article on page 4 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, in an account of developments at that meeting stated "Candy Elledge from San Jose Venceremos read a statement * * *."



Elledge, Robert H. (born August 5, 1949). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 6, dated July 28, 1971, on page 16, carried an article bylined "Bob Elledge, San Jose Venceremos."



Erickson, Leif Charles (born May 4, 1948, Honolulu, Hawaii). A Venceremos member, according to the pamphlet *100 Flowers*, No. 1, spring 1971, Stanford University.



Filene, Myron Douglas (born April 5, 1948, Alhambra, Calif.). Information concerning "Myron Filene of Venceremos" appeared in an article on page 9 of the vol. II, No. 3, issue of *Pamoja Venceremos*, dated February 6-20, 1972.



Flores, John Martin, also known as **Juan Flores** (born September 29, 1943, Virginia). The Venceremos publication *Venceremos—Principles of Unity* dated December 1971, identified Flores as secretary of the central committee of Venceremos. He is reportedly employed in the German department, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. An article on page 6 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 7, dated August 12-25, 1971, described Juan Flores as a professor of German and a member of the central committee of Venceremos. *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 13, dated November 5-November, 1971 [sic], on page 20 carried an article bylined "By Juan Flores, Central Committee, Venceremos."



Foote, Geraldine Helen (born January 11, 1951, Portland, Oreg.). An article on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, is bylined "Gerry Foote, Venceremos," and page 26 of the same issue carried an article bylined "Gerry Foote, Co-Chairman Ruchell Defense Committee, Venceremos." See chapter VIII, also.



***Forrester, Jodi Ann** (born January 28, 1952, Los Angeles, Calif.). According to the Goffs' testimony, Forrester was active in the women's liberation movement and was an effective crowd agitator. She was a member of the student collective of the RU in San Jose.



***Fox, Michael David** (born July 3, 1953, Cleveland, Ohio). The Goffs testified that Fox was known to them as a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose and was reportedly on the proficiency committee of the RU, which committee concerned itself with the tactics of waging armed revolution, guerrilla warfare, and the revolutionary use of weapons and explosives.

The Goffs testified that Fox bragged about having beaten a policeman at the time of the demonstration against South Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky in San Francisco, and that Fox fancied himself an expert in the field of explosives and spoke authoritatively on details of these matters. He also admitted that he had been a former dope addict and claimed that he had frequently broken into automobiles to steal items to sell to satisfy this habit. According to the Goffs, Fox was undisciplined and did not adhere to many of the RU rules. He was close to Bruce Franklin, an organizer of the RU and later the leader of the Venceremos organization. Fox defected from the RU to Venceremos at the split and was an agitator for the split during discussions on that matter. *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 8, dated September 1-9, 1971, on page 7 carried an article in which the activities of "Michael Fox of Palo Alto Venceremos" are mentioned.



Franklin, Howard Bruce (born February 28, 1934, Brooklyn, N.Y.). The Venceremos publication, *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, dated December 1971, identified Franklin as a member of the central committee of Venceremos. The Goffs in testimony identified Franklin as one of the founders of RU and as the leader of the ideological split in the RU

in late 1970 and early 1971 which resulted in approximately one-half of the RU defecting under Franklin's leadership to form the new organization, Venceremos. According to the Goff's testimony, Franklin was in attendance at both central committee meetings of the RU which they attended. They characterized him as extremely radical and extremely militant and as a person who was able to command a completely dedicated and loyal following. They testified that the Franklin residence contained a library of communist literature. Besides personally owned volumes, Franklin maintained substantial supplies of revolutionary books which he distributed or sold to RU members. The Goffs recalled that at the RU demonstration staged against South Vietnamese Vice President Ky in San Francisco, Franklin, a tactician at demonstrations, was instructing groups of RU followers as to what positions to take and the manner in which they should move to outmaneuver the police. Franklin instructed his troops in a loud voice not to be afraid of the "pigs." See chapter I, also.



Franklin, Jane Morgan (Mrs. Bruce Franklin) (born April 13, 1934, Rocky Mount, N.C.). The Goffs testified that Jane Franklin was fully as radical and militant as her husband. She was arrested on occasion for participation in demonstrations. While a member of the RU she was on the political committee. Jane Franklin held an influential position in the ranks of the RU and, since the split and her affiliation with Venceremos, is said to hold an equally important position in that organization. The following issues of *Pamoja Venceremos* carried, on the pages indicated, articles bylined "Jane Franklin, Venceremos": No. 4, dated July 2, 1971, page 4; No. 7, dated August 12-25, 1971, page 24; No. 10, dated September 26-October 6, 1971; page 2; vol. II, No. 1, dated January 7-21, 1972, page 18; vol. II, No. 2, dated January 22-February 5, 1972, page 21; and vol. II, No. 5, dated March 7-20, 1972, page 23.

Franklin, Karen (born December 17, 1956). *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 5, dated March 7-20, 1972, carried on page 19 an article bylined "Karen Franklin, Deputy Minister of Information."



Freed, Jeffrey Paul (born July 7, 1944, Brooklyn, N.Y.). *Pamoja Venceremos* in its issues No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, on page 14; vol. II, No. 3, dated February 6-20, 1972, on page 24; and vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972, on page 21, carried articles bylined "By Jeffrey Freed, Venceremos" or "Jeff Freed, Venceremos."

Furumoto, Alice Ann (born March 28, 1952). Appearing on page 5 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 12, dated October 21-November 4, 1971, is an article with the byline "Alice Furumoto, Venceremos." On page 3 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 4, dated February 21-March 6, 1972, is an article bylined "Alice Furumoto, Shockley CJP Defendant, Stanford Venceremos."



Garrett, Paul Douglas, also known as **Doug Garrett** (born February 28, 1953, Palo Alto, Calif.). An article on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 5, dated March 7-20, 1972, named "Doug Garrett, a member of Venceremos" as the Venceremos candidate for the school board of Palo Alto, Calif. Also, on page 10 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972, is a photo of Garrett with the caption, "VENCEREMOS MEMBER, DOUG GARRETT IS RUNNING FOR PALO ALTO SCHOOL BOARD, THE ELECTION IS APRIL 18 * * *."



Garrett, Susan Leslie (born November 30, 1950). An article on page 5 of the May 1971 issue of *People Get Ready* carried the byline "by SUE GARRETT" and, written in the first person, contains the statement, "I'm also a member of the Revolutionary Union." A news release, handed out at the municipal courthouse, Richmond, Calif., on April 5, 1971, by Robert Avakian, self-identified as a spokesman for the Revolutionary Union, named Sue Garrett as a Revolutionary Union member. Concurrently,

a flyer showing "Revolutionary Union, Box 291, 1230 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, Calif. 94133" as originator named Sue Garrett as a member of the Revolutionary Union.



***Gaylor, Michael** (born September 30, 1947, Woodbury, N.J.). The Goffs testified that Gaylor is an ex-GI and a Vietnam veteran. He was a member of the street collective, later known as the San Jose City College Student Collective. While in the RU, Gaylor was on the proficiency committee. Gaylor spent considerable time trying to recruit young people into the RU. At the time of the split, Gaylor went with the Venceremos organization. He stole some weapons from the RU and as a result was kidnaped by RU members and held at gunpoint. He was forced to return the stolen weapons. The Goffs stated that Gaylor had some involvement with narcotics either as a user or a seller.



***Gracia, Ronald Lee** (born September 23, 1947, San Francisco, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Gracia lived with RU member Chris Menchine. He worked at the Lucky Stores in the San Jose area and was a member of a workers collective of the RU in San Jose. Gracia was also a member of the Radical Action Movement, an RU front, at San Jose State College. He was not known to have held any position of leadership in the RU. At about the time the Goffs left the RU, Gracia was about to be drafted into the military, but he had not left the area when they terminated their RU connections.



***Granholm, Dean Allen** (born August 3, 1949, Yakima, Wash.). The Goffs testified that Granholm lived with RU member Paul Raymond Sampson. He was a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose and at the time of the RU split defected to the Venceremos faction. The Goffs stated that Granholm allegedly had some \$12,000 in a bank account or trust fund which the RU badly wanted him to give to the organization. They did not know whether he acceded to these demands.



Greenberg, Barry William (born February 25, 1940, Bronx, N.Y.). The Goffs testified that Barry Greenberg was the head of all RU activity in the San Jose area. They also stated that he was the only RU official known to have received a regular salary from the organization. According to the Goffs, Greenberg was a member of the high-level organizations within the RU including the political committee. In charge of all RU operations in the San Jose area, according to the Goffs, Greenberg spent virtually all his time on RU matters. According to the Goffs, Greenberg was a candidate for his Ph. D. degree at Stanford. The Greenberg residence was literally filled with RU papers and revolutionary documents of various types, according to the Goffs. They stated Greenberg was a national leader of the RU.



Greenberg, Mary Louise, nee McKinley (born January 9, 1940, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada). The Goffs testified that Mary Lou Greenberg was extremely radical and militant and was a key leader in the RU. In addition to being very active in local RU affairs, she met biweekly with a specialized group for high-level discussions regarding RU policy. At the local level Mary Lou Greenberg was regularly in attendance at meetings of the San Jose collectives. She participated in RU-directed demonstrations and was arrested on occasion for participation in such activities. The Goffs were informed that Mary Lou Greenberg was a member of the political committee, the highest policy-making body of the organization, in the original RU structure.



Griffin, Robert F. (born December 14, 1938, San Francisco, Calif.). Griffin is reportedly employed by Hansen Laboratories, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 13, dated November 5–November, 1971 [sic], on page 18, and No. 14, dated November 19–December 3, 1971, on page 14, carried articles bylined "BOB GRIFFIN, STANFORD VENCEREMOS."



Hamilton, Steven Charles (born April 21, 1944, Los Angeles, Calif.). According to the testimony of the Goffs, Hamilton, believed to have been a former member of the Progressive Labor Party, attended the January 1971 meeting of the central committee and served on the political committee of the RU. Hamilton remained loyal to the RU during the split and was a member of a high-level policymaking body of the RU, possibly the steering committee. See chapter I, also.

Harper, Neil Edward, also known as **Ned Harper** (born September 12, 1937). *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 2, dated January 22–February 5, 1972, on page 13, and vol. II, No. 3, dated February 6–20, 1972, on page 23, carried articles bylined "Ned Harper, Palo Alto Venceremos."

Harper, Sheila Thorne (born January 8, 1939). An article on page 11 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 5, dated July 15, 1971, and one on page 8 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 10, dated September 26–October 6, 1971, both bear the byline "by Sheila Harper, Venceremos."

***Harris, Lawrence Paul** (born September 7, 1923, in Canada). The Goffs testified that Larry Harris was reported to have been a former member of the Progressive Labor Party. He was a key leader in the RU and very close to the top leadership. Harris was respected by Barry Greenberg for his expert knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory. Harris served as a member of the political committee of the RU and operated on behalf of the RU in the San Francisco area.



***Hartline, Melody Ann** (born June 18, 1947, Oceanside, Long Island, N.Y.). Melody Hartline had gone to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade either early in her RU affiliation or just prior to having joined the RU. According to the Goffs, Melody Hartline while in Cuba had become acquainted with Roxanne Amanda Dunbar from the

New Orleans, La., area who was also a member of the Venceremos Brigade. Hartline reportedly recruited Dunbar into the RU. While a member of the RU in San Jose, Melody Hartline was assigned to the community collective.



***Hartline, Perry Lee** (born December 16, 1947, El Centro, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Perry Hartline was a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose and was also in charge of producing the RU newspaper *Salt of the Earth* for a short time. Hartline claimed to have beaten three or four people in the course of his past revolution-

ary efforts. He carried a gun when doing "political work" on the streets of San Jose. Hartline was characterized as a good agitator of crowds and was arrested several times for participation in demonstrations. On one occasion his apartment was raided by police and weapons were found.



***Hinton, William Howard** (born February 2, 1919, Chicago, Ill.). Lawrence Goff testified that Hinton was identified to him as an oldtime communist and as a secret member of the RU. Hinton had spent considerable time in China. At the time of the discussions regarding a split in RU, Hinton came to San Francisco from Pennsylvania to speak in sup-

port of the RU faction and against the position of Bruce Franklin and his Venceremos dissidents. The Goffs testified that Hinton is the author of a book entitled *Fanshen*, concerning the Chinese communist revolution. This book was utilized by the RU in its indoctrination of RU members.

Hobson, Rebecca Elizabeth, also known as **Beckie Hobson** (born July 29, 1954, Palo Alto, Calif.). An article on page 5 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 6 (erroneously identified in its masthead as "Volume II, No. 3, February 6-20, 1972" which appeared about March 20, 1972), carried an article with the byline "Beckie Hobson, High School Rehabilitation Movement, High School Venceremos."

Hobson, Deborah Jean (born January 12, 1951). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, on page 23, carried an article with the byline "Debbie Hobson, Venceremos, Redwood City." *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 6 (erroneously identified in its masthead as "Volume II, No. 3, February 6-20, 1972," which appeared about March 20, 1972), on page 3, carried an article with the byline "Debbie Hobson, Redwood City, Venceremos."

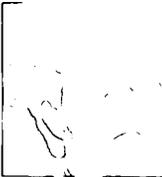


Hobson, Jean Stevens (born January 20, 1928, San Antonio, Tex.). The *Venceremos* publication *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, dated December 1971, showed Jean Hobson to be a member of the central committee of *Venceremos*. *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 1, dated May 18, 1971, in an article on page 21, stated that Jean Hobson, *Venceremos* candidate for a seat on the Palo Alto, Calif., City Council, who had run "openly as a communist revolutionary," had received 800 votes.

Hoey, Patrice Marie, also known as **Pat Hoey** (born January 30, 1951, Queens, N.Y.). On page 19 of the newspaper *Free You*, dated February 3, 1971, is an article with the byline "By Pat Hoey, *Venceremos*."

Holman, Alison (born August 2, 1956). *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II No. 6 (erroneously identified in its masthead as "Volume II, No. 3, February 6-20, 1972," which appeared about March 20, 1972), carried an article on page 9 with the byline, "Alison Holman, High School Rehabilitation Movement, High School *Venceremos*."

Holman, Andrea Lynn (born June 25, 1954, New York, N.Y.). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 14, dated November 19-December 3, 1971, in an article on page 23 set forth information concerning the activities of "Andrea Holman of Palo Alto *Venceremos*." Appearing in *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 4, dated February 21-March 6, 1972, on page 11, is an article with the byline "Andrea Holman, High School *Venceremos*."



Holman, Michael A. (born June 1, 1952). An article on page 20 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, is bylined "Mike Holman, *Venceremos*."



Hutchings, Kent Wilcox (born December 20, 1947, Ann Arbor, Mich.). Articles appeared in the following issues of *Pamoja Venceremos* on the pages indicated each with the byline "Kent Hutchings, *Venceremos*": No. 8, dated September 1-9, 1971, page 23; No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, pages 19, 24, and 26; No. 12, dated October 21-November 4, 1971, pages 9 and 12; No. 14, dated November 19-December 3, 1971, page 12; and No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, page 4. In *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 6 (erroneously identified in its masthead as "Volume II, No. 3, February 6-20, 1972," and which appeared about March 20, 1972), on page 11, is an article with the byline, "Kent Hutchings, Deputy Minister of Information."



***James, William Edward**, also known as **Ted** (born December 21, 1951, Troy, N.Y.). The Goffs testified that Ted James was known to them as a member of a student collective of the RU in San Jose and of the Radical Action Movement, an RU front group on the San Jose State College campus. He was still enrolled in college during his RU membership. According to the Goffs, James was arrested on more than one occasion and was known to them to have used drugs.



Jiminez, Salvador Joseph (born November 22, 1948). Jiminez was described as a member of the central committee of Venceremos in the Venceremos publication *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, dated December 1971.



***Kalvelage, Angela Maria** (born September 21, 1946, Nuremburg, Germany). The Goffs testified that Angie Kalvelage was a member of the workers collective of the RU in San Jose and was considered to be extremely radical. She had been arrested on several occasions for participation in demonstrations in the San Jose area. At San Jose State College, Angie Kalvelage was involved with the Radical Action Movement group and the Bill Haywood Collective, both RU front groups. Kalvelage had been employed by the Retail Clerks Union in San Jose and for a cardboard box factory in Santa Clara. Active in RU matters, Kalvelage did considerable typing and paperwork for the RU and was said to be a member of an investigating team which traveled to other areas of the country on behalf of the RU. Angela Kalvelage, along with RU member Larry Casquero, appeared at the Goff residence in Lemoore, Calif., in August 1971, after the Goffs had terminated their RU relationship, demanding the return of unnamed property of the RU.



Kaman, Reva Kelley (born June 15, 1946, in Virginia). She identified herself as a Venceremos member on a broadcast over radio station KCBS, San Francisco, on February 1, 1971.



Kaplan, Eleanor Karen, also known as **Eleanor Karen Levine** (born May 7, 1942, Bronx, N.Y.). She is reported to be an assistant professor of psychology at California State College at Hayward, Calif. The following issues of *Pamoja Venceremos* carried articles on the pages indicated, each with the byline "Eleanor Kaplan, East Bay Venceremos":

No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, page 28; vol. II, No. 1, dated January 7-21, 1972, page 6. In an article on page 2 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, Eleanor Kaplan is identified as a member of Venceremos. See also chapter VIII.

Karl, Terry (born November 21, 1947, St. Louis, Mo.). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 2, dated June 1, 1971, in an article on page 5, commented on the activities of "Terry Karl of Venceremos."

Karp, Cindy (born March 8, 1951, Milwaukee, Wis.). An article on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972, was bylined "Cindy Karp, Mtn. View Venceremos."



323-2634."

Keilch, Hughella Harvey, nee **Spitler**, also known as **Rusty** (born January 31, 1947, Bisbee, Ariz.). Accompanying an article on page 4 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 5, dated July 15, 1971, was the indication that additional information concerning labor problems at the telephone company was available through contact with "Rusty Keilch, Venceremos,



Keilch, John Fitzgerald, Jr. (born February 13, 1946, California). An article on page 3 of *Pamoja Venceremos* No. 4, dated July 2, 1971, named John Keilch as one of four members of Venceremos fired by Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. Keilch was shown to be a library assistant there.



***Kincaid, John** (born January 28, 1951, Millbrae, Calif.). According to the Goffs' testimony, John Kincaid was a member of the workers collective of the RU in San Jose but suffered from a heart condition and was removed from that collective. John Kincaid worked for the Lucky Stores in the San Jose area. He and his wife Nancy were recruited into the RU by RU members Barbara Joan Kingston and Stephen Samuel Smith. At the split in the RU, John Kincaid defected to the Venceremos faction, along with his wife Nancy.



***Kincaid, Nancy Carol** (born February 18, 1952, in California). The Goffs testified that Nancy Kincaid was a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose and had worked on the RU newspaper. Recruited into the RU by RU members Barbara Kingston and Stephen Smith, she defected to the Venceremos faction at the time of the RU split, along with her husband John Kincaid.



***Kingston, Barbara Joan** (born February 12, 1942, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.). The Goffs testified that Barbara Kingston held a responsible position within the RU in San Jose. She was selected by the political committee to travel to Detroit to organize an RU collective there. Barbara Kingston was among those persons flown to the San Francisco Bay area by the RU loyalist faction in late 1970 to support that faction in its arguments with the dissidents who later defected to form the Venceremos organization.



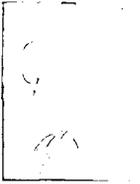
***Klingel, William John** (born November 20, 1947, Detroit, Mich.). The Goffs testified that Bill _____ was a member of the RU and believed to have been a member of the RU's political committee before the RU ideological split. According to Mrs. Goff's testimony, Bill _____ had been in attendance at the central committee meeting of the RU which she attended in January 1971 and had served as chairman of that meeting on one of its two days. Lawrence Goff testified that he had attended an RU meeting in midsummer 1970 to which only RU members were admitted and there had been introduced to Bill _____ by first name only; further that he had observed Bill _____ on other occasions at closed RU meetings. Both Goffs subsequently identified a photo of William John Klingel as the Bill _____ to whom they had referred in their testimony and furnished affidavits attesting to their knowledge of Klingel's RU membership and activities.



Lee, Donald Addison (born November 14, 1949, Texas). He is reported to be a student and resident at Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 14, dated November 19-December 3, 1971, on page 8, carried an article with the byline, "By Don Lee, Stanford Venceremos."



Lind, Philip Samuel (born November 29, 1950, Portland, Oreg.). An article on page 2 of *The Stanford Daily* dated January 27, 1971, entitled "Repression Of University Workers" bore the byline, "phil lind" and concluded with, "Phil Lind is a member of Venceremos."



ceremos."

Lockwood, Stephen Towne (born September 14, 1949, Elgin, Ill.). An article on page 9 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 12, dated October 21-November 4, 1971, is bylined "Stephen Lockwood, Venceremos." On page 28 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 14, dated November 19-December 3, 1971, is an article with the byline, "Stephen Lockwood, Redwood City Ven-



Lonsdale, Fred De Lappe (born November 29, 1949, in California). A byline to an article on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 2, dated June 1, 1971, reads "Fred Lonsdale, Venceremos."



Lopez, Linda Ann (born October 16, 1950, San Francisco, Calif.). The *Venceremos* publication *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, dated December 1971, identified Lopez as a member of the central committee of Venceremos.



***Manganiello, Aaron Joseph** (born February 26, 1943, Harlingen, Tex.). A December 1971 publication of the Venceremos organization, *Venceremos—Principles of Unity*, identified Manganiello as chairman of the central committee of Venceremos. His name, followed by this title, appeared as a byline to an article on page 5 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 14, dated November 19–December 3, 1971. He was also so identified in an article on page 4 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 10, dated September 26–October 6, 1971. The Goffs testified that before the split in the RU which resulted in the formation of Venceremos, Aaron Manganiello had been a secret member of the RU. At the split, Manganiello supported the position of H. Bruce Franklin and followed Franklin in the formation of Venceremos. See also chapter VIII.



Manganiello, Deanna Rae, nee Halsrud (born January 24, 1946, Mason City, Iowa). A byline to an article on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 7, dated August 12–25, 1971, reads "Deanna Manganiello, Central Committee, Venceremos."



***Masaoka, Janis** (born October 3, 1951, Oakland, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Jan Masaoka had attended both central committee meetings of the RU at which they were present (October 1970 and January 1971). She had attended the University of California at Santa Cruz and had done volunteer work for a People's Medical Center in Santa Cruz. Masaoka was a member of the local executive committee of the RU in the Salinas-Santa Cruz area. In her RU activities, Masaoka mingled with Army personnel at Ft. Ord, Calif. She had been active also on behalf of farmworkers involved in a lettuce strike. At the end of 1970 when the RU ideological split occurred, Masaoka remained loyal to the RU and did not defect to Venceremos.



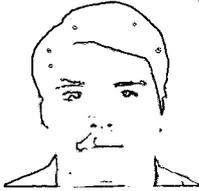
***Menchine, Chris** (born November 15, 1950, San Francisco, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Menchine had been very active in RU affairs in San Jose. He was a member of the student collective of the RU, a member of the RU local executive committee, and was cochairman of the proficiency committee, that committee concerned with the tactics of armed revolution and guerrilla warfare. In addition, Menchine attended high-level meetings with national leaders of the RU and was considered a key figure in the organization. Menchine also belonged to the Radical Action Movement, an RU front group on the San Jose State College campus. At the time the Goffs terminated their RU affiliation, Menchine had received a draft notice but had not entered military service. The RU wanted to keep Menchine out of the military service because of his importance to RU operations.



***Miller, Michael Charles** (born August 14, 1946, at San Francisco, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Mike Miller had attended the central committee meetings of the RU held in October 1970 and January 1971. He handled the obtaining of and showing of films for various meetings of RU front groups. The Goffs testified that Miller had been a leader in a demonstration directed against big business at the Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, in the fall of 1969. He also participated as an RU member in the Esso refining plant strike in Richmond, Calif. Very security conscious, Miller continually stressed that people should stop talking about various aspects of RU operations. At the split in RU, Miller remained loyal to the RU faction.



***Milton, Christopher Zhitlowsky** (born June 25, 1949, St. Louis, Mo.). Betty Sue Goff testified that Chris Milton was in attendance at the central committee meeting of the RU held in January 1971. Milton had lived in Red China. He remained loyal to the RU during the ideological split which resulted in the formation of the Venceremos organization. See chapter I, also.



Monica, Douglas Robert (born November 24, 1950, Oakland, Calif.). A flyer advertising a program on "The Revolution and Socialist Construction in China," to be held at the Washington School, Berkeley, Calif., on January 14, 1972, identified one of the speakers as "Doug Monica" of the Revolutionary Union, "Recently Returned From the People's Republic of China."

Montoya, Jacqueline Rose (born February 25, 1948). An article on page 3 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 6 (erroneously identified in its masthead as "Volume II, No. 3, February 6-20, 1972," and which appeared about March 20, 1972), carried as a byline, "Jackie Montoya, Redwood City Venceremos."



Mooney, Barbara (born June 11, 1931, Los Angeles, Calif.). An article on page 3 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 4, dated July 2, 1971, named Barbara Mooney as one of four Venceremos members fired by Stanford University. She was identified there as a biology research assistant.



Mumford, Emily Stearns (born October 30, 1950, New York, N.Y.). An article on page 20 of the newspaper *Free You* dated February 3, 1971, carried the byline "Emily Mumford, Venceremos."



Newman, Morton (born September 10, 1942, Bronx, N.Y.). In an article on page 2 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, Mort Newman was identified as a Venceremos member. Appearing as byline to an article on page 15 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 14, dated November 19-December 3, 1971, is "Mort Newman, Venceremos Workers Committee." On page 10 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 4, dated February 21-March 6, 1972, is an article bylined "Mort Newman, Menlo Park Venceremos." See also chapter VIII.



Noble, Amanda Dixon James (born January 5, 1951, Brooklyn, N.Y.). The byline to an article beginning on page 17 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, reads "Amanda Noble, Venceremos."



Noble, Charles Woodbridge, also known as **Chuck Noble** (born May 19, 1947, Alexandria, Va.). The byline to an article on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 8, dated September 1-9, 1971, reads "cw noble, Veneceremos."



Ober, Lynn Barbara, nee **Zimmerman** (born October 28, 1943). The byline to an article appearing on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, is "Lynn Ober (Child Care Now and Palo Alto Venceremos)."



Ober, Peter Chapin (born April 28, 1939, Springfield, Mass.). Set forth on page 2 of *The Stanford Daily* for January 5, 1972, was a letter to the editor defending the Venceremos organization, signed "Peter Ober (Assistant Professor of German and member of Venceremos)."



***O'Neal, Daniel Abner** (born March 20, 1948, Vallejo, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Danny O'Neal was considered by the RU as one of its best leaders at demonstrations. He was a leader of the Radical Action Movement, an RU front group on the San Jose State College campus. O'Neal was also a very good writer and had written many leaflets distributed by RU on the campus. He also wrote for the RU newspapers. O'Neal was a member of the student collective of the RU in San Jose and attended central committee meetings. The Goffs re-

called that O'Neal's wife, not believed to be an RU member, had become pregnant and that O'Neal had found himself in serious trouble with the RU since he had not asked for RU permission to have a child.

***O'Neill, Lu Carol** (born September 2, 1948, Van Nuys, Calif.). The Goffs testified that Lu Carol O'Neill was a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose. She was also a member of the Soledad Defense Committee and had done considerable work in the prisons and in the prison area. Lu Carol O'Neill did not participate in many RU demonstrations. She attempted to recruit her husband, Danny O'Neill (not to be confused with Daniel Abner O'Neal, above) into the RU. Although Lu Carol O'Neill's husband was sufficiently radical, he was not acceptable to the RU because he was considered a "male chauvinist."



Pillsbury, Thomas B. (born September 1, 1951, Oakland, Calif.). Appearing as bylines to articles on pages 9 and 15 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 2, dated June 1, 1971, was "Tomás Pillsbury, Venceremos." An article on page 26 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 8, dated September 1-9, 1971, was bylined "Tomás Pillsbury, Redwood City Venceremos."



Pollock, Bruce Kenneth (born March 19, 1946, Akron, Ohio). In an article on page 2 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, Bruce Pollack [sic] was identified as a member of Venceremos. An article on page 24 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 2, dated January 22-February 5, 1972, was bylined, "By Bruce Pollock, Venceremos."

On page 8 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 5, dated March 7-20, 1972, was an article bylined "Bruce Pollock, Menlo Park Venceremos." This same byline appeared on an article on page 6 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 6 (erroneously identified in its masthead as "Volume II, No. 3, February 6-20, 1972," which appeared about March 20, 1972). See also chapter VIII.



Purkey, Stewart (born May 27, 1947, Allegan, Mich.). The newspaper *Venceremos* on page 17 of its issue No. 2, dated March 10, 1971, carried an article with the byline "Stu Purkey, Venceremos."



Rabine, Merle Clifford (born May 17, 1943, Cleveland, Ohio). An article on page 6 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 12, dated October 21-November 4, 1971, carried the byline "Merle Rabine, Stanford Venceremos." Another article, appearing on page 7 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, was bylined "Merle Rabine, Venceremos."



Ransom, David Demorest (born January 10, 1941, Buffalo, N.Y.). Bylines in the name of this individual appeared in the following issues of *Pamoja Venceremos* on the pages indicated: No. 12, dated October 21–November 4, 1971, page 2, as “David Ransom, Venceremos”; No. 16, dated December 18–31, 1971, page 10, as “David Ransom, Venceremos”; vol. II, No. 1, dated January 7–21, 1972 on page 18, two articles, one bylined “Dave Ransom of Venceremos” and the other “Dave Ransom, Venceremos”; vol. II, No. 4, dated February 21–March 6, 1972, page 20, as “Dave Ransom, Redwood City Venceremos”; and in two articles in vol. II, No. 6 (erroneously identified in its masthead as “Volume II, No. 3, February 6–20, 1972,” which appeared about March 20, 1972), one on page 18 bylined “Dave Ransom, Redwood City Venceremos” and one on page 22, bylined “David Ransom, Redwood City Venceremos.” See also chapter IX.



***Ransom, James Blair** (born October 19, 1951, Palo Alto, Calif.). Ransom, as of January 1972, was a private in the U.S. Army, Social Security # 558-86-4129, assigned to the 3d Armored Squadron, 3d Cavalry, Ft. Lewis, Wash. The Goffs testified that Jim Ransom joined the RU at a very young age and claimed to have been in the organization since its beginning. An extreme radical, Ransom had been arrested for participation in demonstrations several times. He was constantly in the forefront at demonstrations and regularly served as a leader of the crowd. Ransom voiced his hatred for the police and would incite crowds against the police. A member of the student collective of the RU in San Jose, Ransom worked in the San Jose State College area. The Goffs advised that Ransom had received a draft notice and that the RU had directed that he go into the military. In the Army he claimed to be engaged in doing the work of the RU. Ransom was a member of the local executive committee of the RU in San Jose and attended both central committee meetings at which the Goffs were present. The Goffs testified that they believed Ransom to have been a member of the secret apparatus of the RU, that body which discussed and planned bank robberies, assassinations, kidnappings, and similar activities on behalf of the revolution. Ransom was not security conscious and frequently talked excessively about RU secret affairs.

***Ransom, John Swift** (born February 6, 1954). According to testimony by the Goffs, John Ransom, a brother of James Ransom above, was a member of the RU in Palo Alto, Calif. At the split in the RU he joined Bruce Franklin's Venceremos faction. John Ransom was a member of a student collective while in the RU.



***Roemer, Julie Ann** (born September 24, 1947, Coronado, Calif.). According to testimony by the Goffs, Julie Roemer was employed by the telephone company in San Jose and was a member of a workers collective of the RU in San Jose. She was in frequent attendance at demonstrations where the RU was involved.



***Saibel, Robert Edward** (born February 13, 1947, Seattle, Wash.). The Goffs testified that Bob Saibel was considered to be a key leader in the RU. He worked at the Owens-Corning Fiberglas plant in Santa Clara and was chairman of one of the workers collectives of the RU in San Jose. Saibel was present at the meeting of the central committee of the RU in January 1971 to which Mrs. Goff was a delegate. He did some writing for the RU and at the central committee meeting he kept a record of the proceedings. According to the Goffs, Saibel was arrested for participation in demonstrations in San Jose.



***Sakata, Linda Mieko** (born August 4, 1947, Kauai, Hawaii). The Goffs testified that Linda Sakata was known to them as a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose and worked in RU matters in the area of San Jose City College. She was characterized as a radical who was in the forefront of many demonstrations. However, when not engaged in demonstrations she was a rather reserved person. Sakata was arrested on several occasions for her activities in the course of demonstrations. The Goffs recalled that Linda Sakata made application to travel to Cuba with a Venceremos Brigade but was not accepted. She remained loyal to the RU during the ideological split which precipitated the formation of the Venceremos organization.



***Sampson, Paul Raymond** (born September 25, 1953, Spokane, Wash.). The Goffs testified that Paul Sampson was a member of the RU for a short time before the split, and upon the defection of the dissident group to form Venceremos. Sampson went with the defectors. The Goffs were informed that Sampson had become a member of the Venceremos collective in San Jose. While in the RU, Paul Sampson specialized in working to recruit youngsters of high school age.

Sapir, Caroline Marie, nee Iverson, also known as **Carrie Sapir** (born March 15, 1946). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 13, dated November 5-18, 1971, carried on page 11 an article containing information concerning the activities of "Cary Saper [sic], a member of Venceremos." On page 21 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 3, dated February 6-20, 1972, is an article with the byline, "By Carrie Sapir, Mt. View Venceremos." Reportedly written by the same individual is an article on page 10 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 5, dated March 7-20, 1972, which is bylined "By Carrie Ballinger, Mountain View Venceremos." An article on page 10 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 7, dated April 1-15, 1972, commented on the activities of "Carrie Ballinger of Venceremos."



Sapir, Marc Abbe, M.D. (born July 3, 1941, Brooklyn, N.Y.). Dr. Sapir reportedly operates the People's Medical Center, Redwood City, Calif. *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 15, dated December 3-16, 1971, on page 24 carried an article which was bylined "Marc Sapir, Venceremos, South City."



Satisky, Devera Eve (born November 30, 1942, North Carolina). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 4, dated July 2, 1971, on page 3 carried an article which named Devera Satisky as one of four Venceremos members fired by Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. She was identified there as a law school secretary. An article in *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 13, dated November 5–November, 1971 [sic], on page 19 mentioned Devera Satisky and stated, "Devera is a Venceremos member."



Sayre, Henry Marshall (born May 2, 1948, Boulder, Colo.). Sayre is reported to be a senior student and resident at Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. He identified himself as a Venceremos member at a public meeting at Cubberly Auditorium, Stanford University, on April 26, 1971.



***Schachter, Karl** (born April 27, 1949, Detroit, Mich.). The Goffs testified that they knew Karl Schachter to have been a member of the community collective of the RU in San Jose. Schachter worked on behalf of the RU at a teen center located in the vicinity of Overfelt High School in San Jose. For a period of time Schachter worked as an assistant cook at some local establishment in San Jose.



Shoch, James Ellis (born June 21, 1947, Texas). Articles with the byline "Jim Shoch, Venceremos" have appeared in the following issues of *Pamoja Venceremos*, on the pages indicated: No. 3, dated June 17, 1971, page 6 and page 14; No. 4, dated July 2, 1971, page 11; No. 6, dated July 28, 1971, page 17; No. 7, dated August 12–25, 1971, page 22; No. 8, dated September 1–9, 1971, page 10; No. 10, dated September 26–October 6, 1971, page 14; No. 11, dated October 7–21, 1971, pages 8 and 9 (three articles); No. 14, dated November 19–December 3, 1971, page 8; No. 15, dated December 3–16, 1971, page 8; No. 16, dated December 18–31, 1971, page 19; vol. II, No. 1, dated January 7–21, 1972, page 5; vol. II, No. 5, dated March 7–20, 1972, page 3. In vol. II, No. 3, dated February 6–20, 1972, on page 6, the byline appeared as "Jim Shoch, Palo Alto Venceremos." See also chapter IX.



Shores, Rhonda Frances (born September 16, 1953, Fresno, Calif.). An article on page 6 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 8, dated September 1–9, 1971, set forth information concerning the activities of "Rhonda Shores fo[sic] Venceremos."



***Shubert, Craig Arthur** (born December 4, 1949, Shenandoah, Iowa). According to testimony by the Goffs, Shubert was a member of the student collective of the RU in San Jose and for a period of time was editor of the RU paper *Salt of the Earth*. He was also active in the Radical Action Movement, an RU front group, on the campus of San Jose State College and was widely known as a campus radical. Shubert had been arrested on occasion for his activities during demonstrations. The Goffs recalled that on one occasion Shubert was arrested as a passenger in a car from which weapons were confiscated by the police.



***Smith, Stephen Samuel** (born July 31, 1942, Brooklyn, N.Y.). The Goffs testified that Steve Smith had served as chairman of the community collective of the RU in San Jose but had left for Detroit, Mich. Smith was also affiliated with an RU front group known as the Santa Clara County Workers Committee. He was active in a strike at the Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Corporation in Santa Clara, Calif., as an RU member. The Goffs learned that Steve Smith had recruited Yvonda Black and her husband Vernon Calvin Black, Jr., into the RU.

***Snyder, Lawrence Frederick** (born April 24, 1948, Seattle, Wash.). According to testimony by the Goffs, Larry Snyder was chairman of the proficiency committee of the RU in San Jose, that body concerned with the tactics of armed revolution, guerrilla warfare, and violent disruptions. The Goffs recalled that on one occasion Snyder traveled to Los Angeles to buy guns for the RU. He spent time in the study of guns and explosives and he and RU member Chris Menchine wrote a paper for the RU concerning safety regulations and the legality of weapons. The Goffs stated that Snyder had been arrested at demonstrations and at that demonstration directed against South Vietnamese Vice President Ky in San Francisco Snyder is said to have thrown bricks and built barricades. Snyder considered himself to be extremely militant. The Goffs were of the opinion that Snyder might be a member of the RU secret apparatus. Snyder was a member of a workers collective of the RU in San Jose and was employed at the Paul Masson Winery, Saratoga, Calif.

***Stahl, Matthew Patrick** (born August 13, 1950, Mexico City, Mexico). In their testimony, the Goffs stated that Mat Stahl had been a member of the RU in San Jose during its early stages.



Trounstine, Philip John (born July 30, 1949, Cincinnati, Ohio). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 10, dated September 26–October 6, 1971, on page 2 carried an article bylined "Phil Trounstine, Venceremos."



***Weiss, Janet Margaret Cooper** (born July 28, 1946, Norton, Va.). Weiss was self-identified as an RU member in an article on page 20 of the December 30, 1970, issue of the newspaper *Free You*, a forerunner of the current Venceremos publication *Pamoja Venceremos*. Lawrence Goff testified that Janet Weiss was in attendance at the central committee meeting of the RU held in October 1970. Also, she wrote a paper in support of the Bruce Franklin position in the ideological split in the RU. According to the Goffs, Janet Weiss was officially purged from the RU at the central committee meeting of that organization held in January 1971. She defected from the RU to join the Venceremos organization headed by Bruce Franklin.

White, Geoffrey Vincent (born May 3, 1948, California). *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 1, dated January 7-21, 1972, on pages 14 and 15 carried an article with the byline, "article by Geoff White, Venceremos."



Willis, Donald Dwight (born November 19, 1947). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 7, dated August 12-25, 1971, on page 2, carried an article with the byline "Don Willis, Venceremos." On page 26 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 13, dated November 5-November, 1971 [sic], was an article written in the first person, signed "Don Willis," containing the statement "I'm a member of the Palo Alto Tenants' Union and Venceremos."

Youdelman, Doris Salzberger (born August 20, 1947). She is reported to be an employee of Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 13, dated November 5-November, 1971 [sic], on page 2, carried an article with the byline "Doris Youdelman, Stanford Venceremos."



Youdelman, Jeffrey (born February 15, 1947). Articles in *Pamoja Venceremos*, as listed, contained articles with the byline "Jeffrey Youdelman, Palo Alto Venceremos" on the pages indicated: No. 6, dated July 28, 1971, page 2; No. 11, dated October 7-21, 1971, page 21; No. 15, dated December 3-16, 1971, page 6; No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, page 11; and vol. II, No. 2, dated January 22-February 5, 1972, page 17. Set forth on page 4 of *Pamoja Venceremos*, vol. II, No. 2, was a statement attributed to "Venceremos member Jeffrey Youdelman."

Zebroski, Margaret Anne, also known as **Peggy Zebroski** (born May 19, 1950). *Pamoja Venceremos*, No. 16, dated December 18-31, 1971, on page 23, carried an article with the byline "P. Zebroski, Venceremos."

**RESPONSES TO COMMITTEE LETTERS SENT UNDER
HOUSE RULE XI, 27(m)**

In response to letters sent by the committee, under House rule XI, 27(m), to those individuals named by the Goffs in their testimony and who had not been publicly identified as affiliated with the RU or the Venceremos organization, replies were received from eight such persons. The correspondence from seven of these individuals is reproduced in this section. That from the remaining person is maintained in committee files and has not been printed, in conformance with his request. That person was one of four of those replying to the committee who was interviewed. The results of those interviews are also set forth:

WILLIAM H. HINTON

Fleetwood, Pa.

Sunday, Nov. 28
1971

Richard H. Ichard
Chairman
House Committee On Internal Security
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Ichard;

I returned from seven months of travel in China on Thursday, Nov. 18th. On Saturday, Nov. 20th your communication was delivered to me. Since I have not yet had time to settle myself or my family back into normal life I am not in a position to make any commitments that would take me away from home at this time.

I suggest that you write me in a month or so when my affairs are once again in order.

**MELODY ANN HARTLINE
PERRY LEE HARTLINE**

Perry Hartline
Melody Hartline
2000 NW Tabacco
Portland Oregon

29 November 1971

Congressman Richard H. Ichord
House of Representatives
Committee On Internal Security
Washington, D.C.

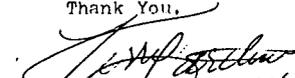
Dear Congressman Ichord:

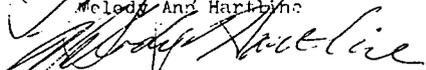
We wish to first of all thank you for allowing us the opportunity to rebut and/or examine before publishing the statements and disclosures of un-named witnesses in regard to our relationship with this "Revolutionary Union". However we have very little money and no lawyer. We have no way of getting to Washington D.C. without creating for ourselves hardship of the most severe kind but thank you all the same for the opportunity.

Secondly we have a small request to make of you that would be deeply appreciated by us if you could find your way clear to help us. Would it be at all possible for you to send us a copy of what ever it is that the person/persons said about us? If you or your office cannot supply us with the information perhaps you might put us in contact with someone that could. We will gladly pay postage either way.

We understand that a Congressman is a very busy person but we would at least like to know what un-named person/persons are saying about us to Congressmen and Senators. I'm sure you understand how we feel. Not living in your district or even in your state we suppose you really don't feel any obligation towards us but the gesture would be truly appreciated by us all the same and if nothing else we will certainly mention you to our friends, you seem to be quite sincere and honest in your efforts.

Thank You,


Melody Ann Hartline


Perry Lee Hartline

CHRIS MENCHINE

December 7, 1971

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Internal Security
Washington, D.C. 20515

Mr. Richard H. Ichord:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of Nov. 15, 1971, with reference to the testimony introduced before the House Committee on Internal Security.

Experience with the actions of your Committee, and like committees which have preceded it, such as HUAC, leads me to believe that the sole purpose of all such committees is to vilify, degrade, slander and intimidate persons because they may have opinions, beliefs or commitments which some members of the Committee consider "un-American" or "subversive," whatever these words may mean.

The issue for me is not whether what you offer is a public or private hearing; the real issue is why I should be compelled to come to any inquisition at all.

You refer to the resolution authorizing the Committee and setting up its purpose and nature. A reading of the resolution reveals that it has its roots in the shameful McCarthy period and the witchhunts conducted during that time. I believe the resolution is contrary to the First Amendment and your Committee is therefore unconstitutional. Then, as now, the Committee's purpose is to usurp the right of citizens of our country to read, speak, assemble and associate freely and openly as citizens. You, as committee chairman, presumably serve the American people and are paid by them. Accordingly, you owe your total allegiance to them as citizens who have the right to speak, act, organize and associate as they choose.

Your letter clearly is in line with other recent Government activities which are designed to suppress the growing dissent among the American people. I am referring to such things as the New Economic Policy and its wage controls, which represent an effort to deprive workers of their right to strike for what they and their families need to survive. I am referring to increasing governmental use of the Taft-Hartley Law, which forces workers against their will to return to work for nearly three months. I am referring also to such things as attacks on the American mass media by people like Spiro Agnew, who demand censorship of newspapers, radio and television to prevent them from telling the truth about the Indo-China War, what really happened inside Attica prison, what is really happening to the living standards of America's working people, etc.

Your reference to the activities of individuals affecting the actions of members of the U.S. Armed Forces is appalling since Congressmen should be primarily concerned with the fact that many thousands of young men have needlessly died in Vietnam. That illegal war has been conducted in a manner which shames the U.S., violates international law, the law of humanity, and the U.S. Constitution.

Your reference to the policies and objectives of the "world Communist movement" bears the stamp of the McCarthy period and is obviously dated. Recent reports in the press clearly demonstrate that there is no "world communist movement" or "conspiracy," and that you therefore are dredging up this notion as a tool to intimidate the American people and to prevent them from carrying out their rights and responsibilities as citizens of this country and of the world.

For these and many other reasons, I will not appear before your Committee or aid or legitimize its clearly unlawful, unconstitutional or repressive purpose.

Sincerely,
Chris Menchine
Chris Menchine

JEFFREY BROWNING

February 3, 1972

Dear Mr. Sanders,

This is to notify you that I intend to appear before the House Internal Security Committee to testify about the Revolutionary Union and my part as a member of it. I request that I be given at least a month's time to prepare written and oral testimony and to get legal counsel. I also request that you send me as soon as possible, any testimony already given about the RU and which you can send me.



Jeffrey Browning

193 N. 5th St. #C

San Jose, Ca. 95112

193 N. 5th St. #C
San Jose, Ca. 95112
February 4, 1972

Dear Congressman Ichord,

I'm writing to tell you that I intend to be a witness before the House Internal Security Committee to testify about the Revolutionary Union and my part as a member of it. I'm writing to all committee members because I don't trust the Chief Counsel because it is clear that whoever controls your committee is a tool of the FBI. From the news of Larry and Betty Goff's testimony I believe you heard some outright lies as part of a publicity stunt by the FBI to get support for its fascist policies. By the time I quit the RU in December, 1970 as part of a split, it was obvious to me that Larry Goff was an agent because he had been trying to increase antagonism between the two sides of the split and because his "story" was unlikely. I guess the letters sent out to RU and former RU members were to intimidate them because you obviously are not investigating in order to get a reasonably clear picture of organizations which may be involved in the kinds of activity described in your committee resolution.

I intend to give honest, responsible testimony to try to get the truth to the American people and their elected representatives about the criminal, unconstitutional activities of the FBI through its informers and agents in organizations such as the RU. At this point the radical and revolutionary movement has been confused, split up and influenced so as to isolate it from the public in general through the unconstitutional use of informers and agents.

It is your duty to find out the truth about this situation and not to be a mere tool of the FBI and its allies. I strongly request that you be at whatever hearing I appear at. I will be sending written testimony also.

Sincerely yours,


Jeffrey Browning

Jeffrey Paul Browning stated as follows to committee investigator Albert H. Solomon, Jr., on February 15, 1972.

Browning volunteered that he had been a member of the RU in San Jose and stated that he had not been affiliated with this organization for a year. He declined to discuss any details of his activities or those of the organization while he was an RU member. He also declined to furnish any information regarding his activities since that time.

Browning stated that he planned to appear before the committee but that he most certainly would not do so without an attorney at his side to protect him. He said also that he needed the services of an attorney to assist him in preparing his presentation before the committee. Browning indicated that since he had not yet hired an attorney he anticipated that he would not be ready for a committee appearance in the immediate future. Browning then commented that he had not made a firm decision as to whether he would travel to Washington to appear before the committee and indicated that he did not know whether such an effort would be worth his time, money, and energies.¹

Browning then launched into a verbal attack against the committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He said that the committee, by its having heard the Goffs as witnesses, was abetting the illegal and unconstitutional activities of the FBI in its efforts to disrupt and suppress dissent against the established capitalist system among the country's youth. He decried the FBI's use of infiltrators and informers. He claimed the FBI is engaged in gross political persecution and that the committee, in cooperating with the FBI, is equally guilty of such persecution. Browning stated that the FBI, with the assistance of the committee, is thus involved in a monstrous political frameup.

Browning then volunteered certain comments relating to his own political philosophy. He stated that society in this country and in the world is divided into distinct camps—capitalism and communism. The capitalist system worships power, is rotten to the core, and has no consideration for the perpetually victimized masses of the poor and underprivileged. The communist philosophy, which reveres the self-determination of the individual, is gaining strength daily throughout the world and will soon be victorious everywhere.

¹ Browning has not contacted the committee since that date, Feb. 15, 1972, to confirm that he denies to avail himself of the opportunity to appear as a witness.

ROXANNE DUNBAR

March 20, 1971 [sic]

Roxanne Dunbar
 Box 24173
 Houston, Texas 77029

Mr. Richard Ichord
 Chief Counsel
 House Committee on Internal Security
 House of Representatives
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ichord:

Thank you for your letter and the information on the House Committee on Internal Security. I appreciate being invited to talk with the committee about my political philosophy and activities, and I would like to accept this opportunity to discuss my views with you.

There are two qualifications to my acceptance, one is financial, the other style. I would require that the committee cover the expenses of myself and my attorney, David Berg of Houston.

The question of style refers to two points in your letter-- my "membership" in the Revolutionary Union "revealed" to you by a secret witness in testimony. The other is my right to subpoena witnesses on my behalf. These two points give me the impression of a trial of sorts, which does not seem fitting for the committee. I do not wish to participate in an "investigation" and I would not be coming to defend myself against charges. Rather, I would be happy to come talk with the committee in an atmosphere that is open and if the members of the committee are interested in learning about me and explaining the purpose of their hearings fully.

If these qualifications are agreeable to your committee, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

Roxanne Dunbar
 Roxanne Dunbar



Telegram

NFA518 WAE167(1-011515C116002)PD 04/25/72 1343

IGS IPMHSTC HOU

ZCZC 209 ED PD HOUSTON TEX 25 1119A CST

PMS RICHARD M ICHORD, CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

FAX WASHINGTON DC

BT

ROXANNE DUNBAR DECLINES TO VOLUNTARILY APPEAR BEFORE
YOUR COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY AT ANY TIME
 DAVID H BERG ATTORNEY FOR MS ROXANNE DUNBAR.

NNNN

1347 EST

On the evening of March 29, 1972, Roxanne Amanda Dunbar was interviewed at 13702 Waxahachie, Houston, Tex., by committee investigator Albert H. Solomon, Jr.

At the outset of this interview, Miss Dunbar was asked if she wished to comment concerning her affiliation with the Revolutionary Union. Her immediate reply was that she had never joined the Revolutionary Union. It was pointed out to Miss Dunbar that in both her pamphlet "NO MORE FUN AND GAMES," dated August 1971, and in her later paper, "The Movement and the Working Class," she had stated she had become a member of the Revolutionary Union, and that the committee was in possession of additional documentary evidence and testimony attesting to her Revolutionary Union affiliation. She then admitted that she had, indeed, been a member of the Revolutionary Union for a short period in late 1970.

Miss Dunbar advised that she had joined the Revolutionary Union while in Cuba as a member of a contingent of the Venceremos Brigade in the early fall of 1970. At that time she was a member and leader of a group, which she would not identify, in the New Orleans, La., area which desired affiliation with an activist organization of national stature. Therefore, shortly after her return to the United States she had traveled to the west coast where she conferred with leaders in the Revolutionary Union seeking guidance, instruction, and support for her local New Orleans group. She requested that her group be affiliated into the Revolutionary Union and that she be allowed to recruit and expand in the name of the Revolutionary Union in New Orleans. Miss Dunbar said that she had traveled to the west coast and conferred with Revolutionary Union leaders in the company of Dr. Vernon Grizzard, whom she indicated was also active in her New Orleans group. Her efforts to obtain Revolutionary Union affiliation for her New Orleans organization were unsuccessful. She received no guidance or support from Revolutionary Union leaders on the west coast. After her return to New Orleans in early November 1970 there were disagreements between herself and the Revolutionary Union leaders which resulted in her severing her ties with that organization. Miss Dunbar said the total span of her association with the Revolutionary Union covered a very few months in late 1970. She determined that the Revolutionary Union was wracked with dissension, which later resulted in a good part of the membership splitting and forming an organization which became Venceremos. Miss Dunbar said that she had reached the decision that she wanted no part of the Revolutionary Union or the Venceremos organization and added that she had never affiliated with Venceremos. She claimed that she had been on the west coast and in contact with Revolutionary Union representatives only for a period of weeks in the late fall of 1970. She maintained that she had never made any other effort on behalf of the Revolutionary Union.

Miss Dunbar claimed that she knows very little about the Revolutionary Union, its history, or its activities. She commented that she would be unable to assist the committee in this regard. In fact, Miss Dunbar denied detailed knowledge of the Revolutionary Union. She stated that she would be happy to appear before the committee, at its expense, to give the Congressmen her views on political philosophy.

She offered to explain why the youth of the United States is totally disenchanted with conditions as they exist here; why there are wholesale refusals to serve in the Armed Forces; why the U.S. involvement in Vietnam is illegal and unconscionable; why there is major unrest on college campuses; and why third world elements find their situation in this country intolerable. She volunteered further to inform the Congressmen as to what must be done and quickly to correct inequities and injustices in our society.

Miss Dunbar commented that her attorney, David Berg, had indicated to her that she should not travel to Washington voluntarily to appear before the committee.

Inquiry was then made of Miss Dunbar regarding the various pamphlets and papers written by her which appear to have received some notice in "movement" circles.

Regarding "NO MORE FUN AND GAMES," a 76-page pamphlet dated in August 1971, Miss Dunbar advised that except for its first article, the content was comprised of reprints of articles she had written originally for a publication of that name in 1968 and 1969, produced by a women's liberation organization in the Boston, Mass., area. (The pamphlet itself identifies this organization as "Cell 16, Female Liberation, Cambridge, Mass.") To accompany these reprints, Miss Dunbar stated that she had written a new article to appear as the first item in the pamphlet. She claimed that she had taken her manuscript of the new article and the reprints to a printer, picked up the finished product, and had mailed out some 100 copies to her friends in the "movement" before re-reading the document. When she did so she was shocked and dismayed to find that in some mysterious fashion the first article had been altered, largely rewritten, and now contained a great deal of violent and terroristic revolutionary trash that she had never seen before. When asked how this could have happened, Miss Dunbar stated that she is convinced that this was done by agents of the establishment in an effort to malign her.

Miss Dunbar was then asked about the paper "The Movement and the Working Class" on which her name appeared as author. She agreed that she had, indeed, written this document in late 1971. She stated that it had been written as an "antidote" to the scurrilous first article in "NO MORE FUN AND GAMES." This later paper, according to Miss Dunbar, accurately portrays her political philosophy and contains none of the advocacy of "guerrilla warfare" which someone inserted into the "NO MORE FUN AND GAMES" article. Miss Dunbar intended this paper to be an "historical document" outlining the U.S. protest movement. She said she sent this paper to a number of her "movement" friends as a first draft seeking their reaction to it. She indicated she had received some responses but said she had taken no further action with regard to this document.

In the course of the interview, Miss Dunbar alternately referred to herself as an individual who, until about a year ago, had been a nationally recognized leader in the women's liberation efforts of the U.S. protest movement and as a nobody who was being wrongly accused of being some sort of a wild revolutionary. In commenting on her important position within the "movement," Miss Dunbar stated that her name was often used without her knowledge or permission to endorse causes with which she did not agree and in which she had no interest.

She gave two examples. She stated that the Atlanta, Ga., underground newspaper *The Great Speckled Bird* had published her name as an individual who supported antiabortion legislation being considered by the Georgia Legislature. She said also that the Socialist Workers Party had published information indicating that she endorsed that party's presidential candidate, Linda Jenness, and that she was identified publicly as a member of the youth arm of the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance. Miss Dunbar stated that both these public disclosures were inaccurate and totally without any basis. Miss Dunbar also commented that written material had appeared periodically showing her name as author, about which she knew nothing. She did not furnish specific examples of such activity. When inquiry was made of Miss Dunbar regarding an internal document of the Revolutionary Union captioned "Statement by Roxanne Dunbar, New Orleans,"² dated December 10, 1970, in which her disagreements with the Revolutionary Union are outlined, she stated that she had not written this paper but believed it had been written by Professor H. Bruce Franklin of Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif., formerly a leader of the Revolutionary Union who now heads the spin-off organization, Venceremos.

Miss Dunbar was asked if, while she was in Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade in the fall of 1970, she had been contacted by any person she believed to be connected with Cuban Government intelligence. She replied that during her stay in Cuba she had been approached by an individual identified to her as connected with Cuban intelligence. This individual explained that a large number of Cuban refugees in the United States including a sizable number in the New Orleans area, were attempting to return to Cuba since they had become disenchanting with life in the United States and had left close family members in Cuba. Miss Dunbar said she was asked if she would be willing to conduct research and inquiries among the large Cuban refugee group in New Orleans to determine their feeling or position regarding the Cuban communist revolution which was then 10 years old. The purpose of such inquiry was to assure that the Cuban Government did not readmit Cuban nationals whose political philosophy was alien to that of the current Cuban Government. Miss Dunbar said that she declined to assist in this matter, stating that the major New Orleans newspapers often carried articles on Cuban refugees pertinent to this subject. She said that she had indicated that she did not want to engage in any activity which might somehow be considered espionage. The Cuban intelligence officer indicated that the appropriate New Orleans newspapers would be reviewed. She claimed that she had had no subsequent contacts with anyone believed by her to be connected with Cuban Government intelligence, either in Cuba or in the United States.

Inquiry was made of Miss Dunbar regarding the reported purchase by her of a substantial number of weapons and supplies of ammunition in the New Orleans area in the spring of 1971. Miss Dunbar replied that at that time she was affiliated with a female rights group in the New Orleans area, which she did not identify, which wanted to become familiar with and proficient in the use of firearms for purposes

² Summarized in app. II, p. 187.

of self-defense. She said that she is a gun fancier and collector and agreed to purchase weapons and ammunition as well as to instruct these women in the use of firearms. She then bought one weapon each of several varieties with money the group provided to her. She said that she had bought these legally from authorized gun dealers. She commented that since each weapon is different in handling and use it was necessary to obtain one each of several varieties of guns. Miss Dunbar commented that if she were engaged in illicit activities she certainly would not have bought these weapons in her own name and legally. She stated that she had purchased two 20-inch barrel 12-gauge shotguns, which she said that in her ignorance she did not know were riot guns used by police, because she was talked into this purchase by a gun dealer. Miss Dunbar claimed that the guns she had purchased were maintained only a short time and that she had given some training to the women of the organization. The organization then became disinterested and had second thoughts about attracting undue attention because of its interest in firearms. She then sold all the guns openly and legally after a few months.

Miss Dunbar was asked concerning a "telephone code" reportedly found in her possession by the New Orleans Police Department at the time of her arrest in November 1971. Miss Dunbar stated that the search at the time of her arrest was totally "illegal" and that if she had had sufficient funds she would have filed suit against the police department. Concerning the code she prefaced her reply by explaining the great compulsion of "movement" people to engage in secretive, mysterious activities. This code was one evidence. The code was given to her by telephone on an unrecalled date by someone in the "movement" named "Don." Miss Dunbar said that she never knew the identity of this person. She recalled that she had received some sort of message once, and once only, where this code was used. She declined to furnish further details.

Miss Dunbar stated that her arrest in New Orleans and later in Lafayetté, La., was an outgrowth of her having applied for a Louisiana driver's license in the name of another individual. She admitted that she had done so but said that it was necessary for her to have another identity since she was living with a married man at the time in the New Orleans area. Miss Dunbar claimed that she had never been arrested before or since on any charge.

Miss Dunbar claimed that much of the interest of the authorities in her and her activities was a direct outgrowth of an article which appeared in *Newsweek* magazine in March 1970, wherein she was identified as a leader in the women's liberation movement, an activist, and a person leaning toward Marxism. She was described therein as some sort of leader or theoretician for the women's liberation movement in the Boston area. She said this is a false accusation and that she had considered filing suit against the magazine but had been told that such action would cost thousands of dollars, which she could not afford. She thus dropped the idea and never even wrote a letter of complaint to the editor of the magazine.

Miss Dunbar stated she is totally convinced that all major leaders of dissent and protest in the United States are actually agents in the service of the U.S. Government. She stated that Professor H. Bruce

Franklin is widely suspected of being an agent of U.S. military intelligence with the responsibility of spurring youth on the west coast to actions of violence which in turn will insure repression by the establishment. She said further that she is satisfied that all major leaders of the Black Panther Party were actually agents of the U.S. Government, publicizing hate such as "kill the pigs." This she viewed as particularly bad since much of this hate propaganda was aimed largely at Negro children and youth.

Miss Dunbar's attention was invited to her letter of March 20, 1971 [sic], addressed to the committee, wherein she indicated an interest in appearing before the committee. She claimed that she had not written the letter and had never seen it before. It was pointed out to Miss Dunbar that her handwritten signature is on this letter, and she claimed that she had not written the signature. Miss Dunbar believed that the letter had been written by her attorney, David Berg.

Miss Dunbar stated that she has been entirely divorced from the protest movement in the U.S. for the past year. She claimed that she has engaged in no organizational activity of any sort in this area and has had only occasional contact with anyone known to her to be in the "movement." She commented that she is currently working as a part-time secretary in the employ of the "Kelly Girl" organization and that she is unable to obtain career employment because of her harassment by the authorities. Miss Dunbar said that she once resided at 13702 Waxahachie, Houston, where she was interviewed, but that she does not now live there. She declined to furnish a current residence address. Miss Dunbar concluded by stating that she would not become an informer regarding the activities of others she had known within the "movement." She maintained that she is not now and has never been a revolutionary in the sense of advocating violence or terrorism of any sort.

JANIS MASAOKA

Jan Masaoka
1163A S. Van Ness Ave.
San Francisco, Calif.

January 31, 1972

Richard Icherd
Chairman
House Committee on Internal Security

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of January 22, 1972. I attach hereto an affidavit which I ask to have made an official part of the records of the House Committee on Internal Security.

Sincerely,

Jan Masaoka

Jan Masaoka

My name is Janis Masaoka. I set forth the following under oath:

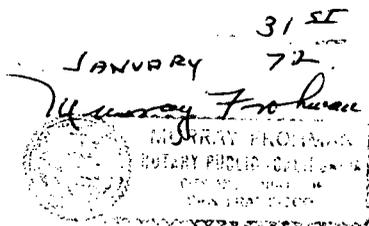
I attended the University of California, Santa Cruz, from October, 1969 to December 1970.

I was anxious to find a political organization in which I could try to remedy some of the injustices I saw in our society. In the summer of 1970 I joined the Revolutionary Union in the thought that it provided a vehicle for political action and seemed to want to fight racial discrimination.

I left the Revolutionary Union a few months later because I was disenchanted with it. It was difficult to find out what they were doing and I was realizing that my political beliefs were irreconcilable with those of the Revolutionary Union. In addition, they certainly did not seem to be accomplishing anything.

Since the time of my resignation from the organization, I have had no connections or contact with it.

Janis Masaoka
Janis Masaoka



Janis Masaoka was contacted by committee investigator Albert H. Solomon, Jr., on February 16, 1972. She was given the opportunity of commenting regarding her former membership in the RU, to volunteer any information regarding that matter, or to make any statement whatsoever regarding the RU or any other matter. Miss Masaoka stated that the affidavit which she had forwarded to the committee contained everything she wished to say and that she did not wish to volunteer any further information or to make any further comment.

INTERVIEW WITH OTHER FORMER RU MEMBER

Another admitted former member of the RU in San Jose volunteered the following information to a committee investigator on February 19, 1972:

This individual stated that he had joined the RU in San Jose in the spring of 1970 after he had officially proclaimed his adherence to the five ideological principles of the organization: 1) democratic centralism; 2) willingness to bear arms and to shoot to kill; 3) willingness to participate actively in the revolution to overthrow the state; 4) the dictatorship of the proletariat; 5) support of the Black Panther Party. He stated that upon becoming a member of the RU he was assigned to a local collective of the organization in San Jose and began attending lengthy and frequent meetings of this body. He also participated in public protests and demonstrations in which the RU assumed a leadership role, including some on the campus of San Jose State College and the November 1970 mob action against President Nixon at the San Jose Civic Auditorium. He also worked on the RU newspaper, *Maverick*, and was active in an RU front organization in San Jose.

According to this former RU member, an ideological split developed within the Revolutionary Union in the fall of 1970. One group, comprising about one half of the membership of the organization in the San Francisco Bay area and led by Stanford University professor H. Bruce Franklin, defected from the Revolutionary Union to form another organization, which assumed the name "Venceremos." There were two major differences between those loyal to the RU and the dissidents. The dissident faction wanted guerrilla activities, as the first phase of the armed revolution of the proletariat, to begin immediately, while those loyal to the RU were convinced that the masses were not ready to engage in or support such action. Secondly, the dissidents maintained that the third world elements (Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and all nonwhite minorities) would lead the armed overthrow of the state since they comprise the most deprived and victimized segment of the population under the current corrupt capitalist system. The dissidents maintained further that the Black Panther Party would be the "vanguard" of the revolution. Those loyal to the RU could not accept this concept. This former RU member commented that upon reflection he was amused at this effort of a small group of white revolutionaries to dictate to the nonwhite population in this country when and how it was to initiate a revolution to overthrow the state.

This individual advised that he elected to defect from the RU to join the dissident group and did so in mid-December 1970 to become

a member of Venceremos in San Jose. After a period of confusion and inactivity, Venceremos in San Jose was organized into collectives similar to the Revolutionary Union. Venceremos took with it from the Revolutionary Union the San Jose RU newspaper, the *Maverick*. The Venceremos organization produced only one issue of the newspaper under the name *Maverick*, which was dated January 1971. The Revolutionary Union in San Jose, having lost control of the newspaper, began publication of a paper under the new name *Salt of the Earth*. The Venceremos organization, which used the *Maverick* name for one issue only, changed the name of its newspaper thereafter to *Venceremos* and later to *Pamoja Venceremos*.

According to this individual the San Jose Venceremos found itself to be only an appendage to the main organization, the center of activity of which was in the Palo Alto, Menlo Park, and Redwood City, Calif., area. Venceremos leaders gave no guidance to the San Jose group and did not even visit their brother revolutionaries in San Jose. Several former Revolutionary Union members who had deserted to the Venceremos soon dropped out of the latter organization because of lack of a program and total confusion within the organization. All of those who dropped out remained revolutionaries and they divided themselves almost equally into two groups. One group was comprised of the verbal activists who talked of nothing but obtaining guns, ammunition, and explosives and stockpiling them in anticipation of an early all-out attack on the police and the city. The other group was composed of intellectual revolutionaries who had no intention of engaging in violent action in the immediate future. These individuals reached the conclusion that the slower revolutionary timetable of the RU was preferable to that of Venceremos, but they did not reaffiliate themselves with the RU.

This individual stated that he had terminated his affiliation with Venceremos in early 1971 and he claimed to have had no subsequent association with the Revolutionary Union or the Venceremos organization.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION MAILING ADDRESSES

On page 69 of *A Selection From the Red Papers 1, 2, and 3*, a booklet identified as "published by the Revolution Union," which appeared about April 1, 1972, the following are listed as Revolutionary Union addresses:

Bay Area R.U.
Box 291,
1230 Grant Ave.,
S.F., Calif. 94133
Los Angeles R.U.
Box 19904
L.A., Calif. 90019
Chicago R.U.
% People's Voice
712 S. 5th Ave.
Maywood Ill. 60153

Ohio R.U.
P.O. Box 12245
Cinn. Ohio
Dover R.U.
Box 714
Dover N.H. 03820
New York R.U.
% McDermott
2257 Grand Ave.
Bronx, N.Y. 10453

Phila. R.U.
Box 1986
Phila. Pa. 19105
Reading R.U.
Box 3203
Reading, Pa. 19604
Trenton Area R.U.
G.P.O. Box 2722
Trenton, N.J. 08607

As noted in the body of this report, 1230 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, Calif., is the address of a commercial mail-handling service.

In April 1972, there appeared in print a Revolutionary Union document, *Red Papers 4*, with the subtitle "Proletarian Revolution vs. Revolutionary Adventurism—Major Documents from an Ideological Struggle in the Revolutionary Union." The title page of this booklet, copies of which were indicated to be available at \$1 each, shows a "national mailing address" for the Revolutionary Union of Post Office Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654.

In response to a committee subpoena, the U.S. Postal Service provided information concerning the following three of the above post office boxes, current as of March 28, 1972:

Post Office Box 3203, Hampden Station, Reading, Pa. 19604, was rented February 10, 1971, by one Ellen Potteiger,* of 226 North 10th Street, Reading, Pa., in the name of "Reading R. U.," which she described as a "political action group."

Post Office Box 2722, Main Office, Trenton, N.J. 08607, was rented November 20, 1970, by one William Thomas of 108 Park Street, Westfield, N.J., in the name of TARU. (As stated in the body of this report, TARU is the acronym used by the Trenton Area Revolutionary Union.) In describing the nature of the activities of the TARU on the application for this box, Thomas entered "Nonprofit, educational."

Entitled to receive mail through Post Office Box 1986, William Penn Annex, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105, was one William Biggin.

*Pursuant to House rule XI, 27(m), and committee rule 16(c), Ellen Potteiger, William Thomas, and William Biggin were notified by registered mail of their identification in this regard and informed that they would have the opportunity to appear voluntarily before the committee to affirm, deny, qualify, or comment on the identification. Receipt of the committee's letter was verified in each case. Ample time was provided for response. Only Ellen Potteiger replied. Her undated letter, received June 15, 1972, follows:

Records of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, Philadelphia, Pa., revealed that as of May 1972 William Biggin, referred to above, had two matters pending before that court. One was a "Petition for Review of Deportation Order," filed February 18, 1972, indicating that Biggin, a citizen of Canada, was under an order of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to depart the United States. Biggin, who had entered this country in the status of a student, had been found to have "failed to pursue his course of study" at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. Biggin's petition claimed that this order was capricious, arbitrary, and politically motivated. The other matter before this court as of May 1972 was filed by Biggin on February 8, 1972. It was an appeal from a decision of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, January 10, 1972, which, in a suit filed by Biggin against Temple University, had found in favor of the university in its refusal to allow Biggin to re-register as a graduate student in January 1971. In his appeal, Biggin made the claim that the university's action had been politically motivated since he admittedly had engaged in organizing protests against conditions at the university, campaigns for the removal of bad administrators there, protests against unwarranted university expansion, protests against the Vietnam war, and in activities with the publication, the *Philadelphia Free Press*.

1510 NORTH UNION ST.,
MIDDLETOWN, PENNA. 17057.

Mr. DONALD SANDERS,
Chief Counsel, House Committee on [sic]
Room 309, Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C. 200515.

DEAR MR. SANDERS: I would like to reply to your letter about the introduction of information about me to your executive session. Yes, I had applied for a post office box in the name of the Reading Revolutionary Union. At that time I was working with people there in anti-war activities.

For a year now, I have not lived in Reading and have not been associated with these people, their groups, or activities. I had forgotten about the postal box and have asked now to have my name removed.

I continue to be removed from any organized activities or groups in my new location.

Please consider this information in your committee. I swear to it and would appreciate it being entered into the record.

Sincerely,

/s/ Ellen Pottelger
ELLEN POTTEIGER.

Copy : Mr. Richard Ichord.

APPENDIX II

"THE SPLIT IN SDS"

By Jack Weinberg and Jack Gerson, *I.S.*, September 1969, pages 51, 52

In fact, of course, the very dynamic which originally created the National Collective demanded that the two RYM factions, however hostile to each other, form a united bloc against the common enemy, PL. Indeed, the growing sentiment for an open test of strength within RYM—which could not be afforded so long as PL remained a threat—intensified the desire to get rid of PL.

The split within the National Collective grew out of the intervention of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union into the politics of SDS. At the March SDS National Council meeting in Austin, Texas, the Revolutionary Union (RU), a political grouping long germinating in the San Francisco area, came to the surface. The RU developed, after a number of splits and additions, out of a group which functioned at the center of the Radical Caucus of the California Peace & Freedom Party. By the time of its public debut in March, it included members drawn from two sources: indigenous new left Maoism, and pro-Chinese split-offs from the Communist Party—including some of the original founders of PL who had subsequently split from it.

This organizational merger, between a harder current of new left Maoism and traditional hard line Stalinism, led to a political synthesis which had great appeal to many members of the National Collective. The handful of RU members who showed up at the Austin meeting for all intents and purposes walked away with it. In the fight against PL, they were able to protect themselves as the most consistent "Marxist-Leninist Stalinist-Maoists." They emerged as a hard political pole within the National Collective which represented the logical conclusion of at least one aspect of the collective's own internal development. The entire National Collective came very rapidly to reflect the political influence of the RU.

While a significant and influential section of the National Collective was won over to RU politics, another section, though influenced politically, sought to congeal an alternative pole. This other group, centered around a section of the SDS National Office, the Michigan and Ohio regions of SDS and the Columbia chapter, published a number of documents in *New Left Notes* (the SDS discussion bulletin), culminating in a long convention resolution entitled: "You Don't Need to Be a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" (or for short "Weatherman").

Weatherman most sharply differs from RU politics, in that it totally de-emphasizes the revolutionary potential of the industrial working class, while the RU at least envisions an important role for the industrial workers in bringing about a revolutionary transformation of society. On the basis of this and several other differences, the National Collective ceased to exist as a unified group. The two sections of the National Collective emerged as the leadership of competing tendencies in the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM); the Weatherman tendency is sometimes called RYM I; the RU-led tendency calls itself RYM II.

RYM differentiates themselves from the Weatherman group primarily on the grounds that they, as opposed to Weatherman, claim to have a working class orientation. They point out that to the extent that Weatherman even uses the term "working class," they redefine it so as to deprive it of all meaning.

To the Weatherman, with the exception of the self-employed and those who live off profit from their capital investments, the entire American population are members of the working class. RYM II is basically correct in their opposition to this concept which lumps together the hippie, the cop, the student, the general, the corporation executive, and the auto worker—all as members of the working [sic] class. In defining the working class toward which they orient, they share the fairly traditional view of revolutionary movements which have considered themselves in the tradition of Marxism: a central focus on the industrial proletariat, the creators of surplus value, with some understanding of how other sectors of the working population can as the result of economic pressure and insecurities become proletarianized and begin to develop essentially proletarian attitudes.

It is this traditionalism of RYM II, the fact that what it, as opposed to Weatherman, has to say, seems to jive with the writings of Marx and Lenin, with the historical traditions of the world Communist movement, which accounts for its greatest appeal. RYM II represents the first development within the history of SDS of what can appear at a glance to be a major indigenous SDS tendency with politics of a revolutionary Marxist character.

For those who have been waiting for SDS to develop its own brand of revolutionary politics with a consistency, with an internal logic, with a world view, RYM II has a definite attraction. No longer are such characteristics the monopoly of the various, seemingly irrelevant "old left sects." Now SDS has, it seems, thrown up its own brand of Marxism, out of its own experience. On the face of it, it could not but appear that this new Marxist synthesis would have a relevance to the America of the 1960's that none of those antiquarian traditions which have in the past represented themselves as Marxist could possibly have.

Beneath this fiction, however, lies quite a different reality. What RYM II represents is the remarkably successful capture, by a relatively typical "old left splinter group," of a

large section of SDS. This fact, of course, in and of itself, in no way invalidates the politics of RYM II. It is merely presented to strip away the illusion.

The Revolutionary Union's "Red Papers," in putting down the so-called "splinter groups," tell us how they have functioned to make it difficult to "win over many genuine revolutionaries to the work of developing a revolutionary party in the United States." These genuine revolutionaries "are turned away through the work of parties claiming to be anti-revisionist and revolutionary, but whose politics and organizational methods belie that claim. A whole host of 'Maxist-Leninist-Trotskyist' organizations, differing and splitting from each other on almost a daily basis, share a political line and organizational style that sabotages mass struggle." This is quite a statement to be made by a group representing a split-off from a split-off. The Bay Area Revolutionary Union (RU), the political core of RYM II, politically represents a split-off from the Progressive Labor Party (it includes members of PL's founding central committee) and some other smaller split-offs from the CP.

It was faction fights in the old Stalinist movement, and within PL itself, which generated the hard politics toward which an SDS, plagued by the invasion of "external cadres" from PL, eventually moved in order to fight PL politically. It was just last March, at the Austin SDS National Council meeting, that RU made their first move in SDS. They were welcomed enthusiastically by the SDS leadership because they were able to provide much of what SDS was looking for—cadres who understood PL and could take them on politically, who could do the job against PL at which the indigenous SDS had failed. RU did its job and did it well. But of course, such services never come free. RU's price—a piece of the organization. RU was able to build as a result of this intervention a substantial tendency around themselves within SDS—RYM II.

RYM II has, just like the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA), recruited many indigenous SDSers. That does not make it any more than WSA an "indigenous SDS product." Within SDS, the distinction between politics which have developed within the organization, and politics which have been brought in from outside, ceased to exist—as has the distinction between "external cadres" and "internal cadres." The history and source of political tendencies is relevant at this point in SDS only to the extent that it sheds light on their content. . . .

Commitment to the "white skin privilege" concept is one of the fundamental principles which hold the Weatherman tendency of RYM together. RYM II and members of the RU, however, have been its chief spokesmen in the movement. While it is also reflective of political views quite important to their overall approach, the "white skin privilege" formulation may be somewhat foreign to their Stalinist tradition. In part, the formulation probably represents an accommodation to the SDS currents they are trying to attract. It is

likely that over the next period, they will either drop "white skin privilege" or totally change the concept they associate with the slogan.

It is foreign to their tradition in that it too easily gives away their view of the relationship between their politics and the working class. Traditional Stalinist formations throughout the world, and particularly in industrialized countries, have been quite successful in projecting themselves as being the party of the working class. Under Stalin, the class interests of the international proletariat were systematically subordinated to the foreign policy needs of the Soviet Union, often in the form of direct and immediate counter-revolutionary activities.

With the rise of Maoism, the notion that revolution will come by the countryside surrounding the city has been popularized. This is the view that the economically underdeveloped nations, by struggling against imperialism, will strangle the countries of the advanced capitalist world. The primary force in the fall of capitalism will be the outside strangler, not the class struggle at home. Maoist politics, in their most fully developed forms, represent a political view whose primary commitment is support for the "primary struggle" in the world—the struggle against imperialism. It looks around for the international vanguard of this struggle, finds the Communist Party of China, and proclaims itself the American franchise holder. (For RU, the most important reason to smash PL is to attempt to establish its title to that franchise.) . . .

The influence of Maoism on the American revolutionary movement can not but have a reactionary effect. Following the lessons of Maoism at best confuses the building of a real proletarian revolutionary movement at home. Systematic application of them directly counterposes itself to building such a movement.

The explicit resurrection of Stalin and Stalinism in the revolutionary movement—and its fairly broad appeal, is primarily attributable to the great popularity of Maoism within the movement. As the RU says in their "Red Paper," Stalin is the bridge between Lenin and Mao theoretically, practically, and organizationally. Who can deny that?

Some are now trying to turn the question of Stalinism in our movement into a joke, or alternatively into a peripheral question. They attempt to mock those who express concern with the growing Stalinism, and attempt to create an atmosphere in the movement in which the expression of such concerns is viewed as an expression of liberalism, red-baiting, or worse. Many independents who have such concerns have decided to keep quiet rather than face derision. More than one RU member has said "one of Stalin's biggest mistakes is that he didn't get Trotsky sooner." For those who hold that view, one cannot but conclude that only tactical considerations prevent them from murdering their political opponents in the movement. On the basis of such attitudes, neither the working class nor anyone else will be liberated. . . .

COMBAT, Vol. 4, No. 2, January 15, 1972

Editor: Lawrence V. Cott

- 'REVOLUTIONARY UNION' SURFACES ITS CHINA-TRIPPERS: The country's youngest, fastest-growing and potentially most dangerous Communist party, Revolutionary Union, is preening itself after a major coup -- the visit to Communist China of its leaders. RU bosses Robert Avakian, Mary Lou Greenberg and Douglas Monica are now touring the U.S. reporting to young radicals on their recent six weeks in mainland China. The RU team, part of a large American delegation (COMBAT, Dec. 15), got red carpet treatment, and visited Canton, Shanghai, Peking and the holy places of Maoism, including the caves at Yen-an. All met Chou En-lai (now a regular tourist attraction for visiting Americans) but Avakian was ushered into the presence of Mao Tse-tung himself. Avakian worships Mao; Mao appreciates Avakian. Avakian told confidants that the Chinese are so impressed with Revolutionary Union and with Avakian that he has been given his own personal contact with the Chinese Reds in this country.

What pleased Mao is Avakian's track record in revolution. From a middle-echelon role in SDS, he became one of the three founders of RU (another founder is Stanford Prof. H. Bruce Franklin, who now runs a rival gun-toting Communist group called Venceremos). Avakian and RU have concentrated on propagandizing the proletariat and they have begun a string of "mass line" periodicals (Maverick, Wildcat, People Get Ready, Salt of the Earth), plus the theoretical journal pushing Mao-think, Red Papers. And they have moved into vital industries, principally on the West Coast. Telephone, gas and electric, oil and steel companies have been the major targets for infiltration. With increasing frequency, RU members are getting influential labor union positions, using the unions as both sword and shield. RU attacks businessmen in the name of the union (sword); when management points out the Communist credentials of the RU agitator, he replies, "Just a typical red-baiting smear attack, branding all union men as reds" (the shield).

Revolutionary Union is making impressive gains. Avakian and other haranguers have enlisted support in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago areas. New Orleans already has a resident recruiter. A Los Angeles branch is being established as this issue goes to press. RU influence is seen in such places as Dayton and Alliance, Ohio. RU appears ready to absorb the already totally-radical Young Lords, a Puerto Rican revolutionary group busy chiefly in New York, New Jersey and San Juan (a Young Lord official made the trip to China, too). Leibel Bergman, an old CPUSA member and one of RU's mystery men for three years, has quietly moved into northern New Jersey and observers note this puts him within easy reach of the newly-seated Red Chinese UN delegation. No question now -- Revolutionary Union has replaced Progressive Labor Party as the Peking-sanctioned Communist party in the U.S.

PUBLIC RU DOCUMENTS FURNISHED BY
LAWRENCE AND BETTY GOFF

Title of DocumentSummary of Contents

"The Red Papers"
#1

Recognition of class struggle leads to recognition of necessity for violent revolution; duty of revolutionaries to build united front against imperialism, principally with working class; but must first raise consciousness of workers about their exploitation by capitalists; the state is the instrument of class rule; RU recognizes need for organized armed struggle against state and assumes responsibility for organizing struggle; first step is building of collectives for creation of M-L¹ party. RU principles: 1. trend is for people of world to fight imperialism; 2. blacks are struggling against imperialism and internal oppression; 3. revolutionaries must join US working class; 4. need M-L party and proliferation of collectives.

"The Red Papers"
#2

All revolutionaries must defend the Black Panther Party; strategy for proletarian revolution is the United Front against Imperialism which will link up with Third World liberation struggles; long range objective proletarian revolution and dictatorship of proletariat in U.S.; United Front "spearheads" are: 1. liberation of black and Mexican Americans; 2. support of colonial liberations; 3. fight U.S. bourgeois fascism; 4. fight exploitation of women; 5. unite proletariat against attacks on living standards by monopoly capitalists. Progressive Labor Party considered by RU as leftist opportunists; C.P., USA are revisionists; "Lumpenproletariat"² most ready to fight and capacity for destruction great but as a class cannot seize and maintain power.

"The Red Papers"
#3

Bob Avakian, Bruce Franklin, Jane Franklin, Mary Lou Greenberg, and Steve Hamilton identified as with Central Committee of Bay Area Revolutionary Union; document entirely concerns the fight of women for liberation; situation of women improves under communism; women rising up all over country against their superexploitation; reports formation of RU caucus in telephone company by women because of exploitation of women employees - the operators suffer worst conditions - RU organizers in telephone company admitted to women they were communists and pointed out liberation of women is tied up with liberation of working class; a Liberation Women's Union formed by RU; Newsreel SDS, other collectives and women's groups to organize in working places and involve themselves in strike activity.

1 - M-L = Marxist-Leninist

2 - Lumpenproletariat = "dispossessed and unrooted individuals cut off from the economic and social class with which they might normally be identified" - Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary.

INTERNAL RU DOCUMENTS FURNISHED BY
LAWRENCE AND BETTY GOFF

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or description of document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
1	"Bill Hay- wood Collec- tive - Statement of Principles"	The Big Bill Haywood Collective is a cross-class youth organization seeking to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought to the concrete conditions in San Jose and, by so doing, lead the youth movement into active opposition to U.S. Imperialism.	Larry Goff	1/27/70
2	Central Com- mittee Report, April, 1970	RU is recruiting "widely and boldly"; RU collectives exist in San Francisco, San Jose, the East Bay (Oakland and nearby cities), the Midpeninsula (San Mateo County area), and in the Midwest.	Larry Goff	5/25/70
3	Political Committee Report	Membership said to have quadrupled during past year; RU will work with League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit if RU branch set up there; will support Black Panthers despite "some major disagreements"; urges stepped-up RU recruiting, improved propaganda methods, strengthening of collectives and improving security.	Larry Goff	5/25/70
4	"The Maverick" (RU news- paper)	Problems of "The Maverick", have resulted from the fact that while RU has grown, the paper has not been used as it should; as of the date of this report it was over \$1,000 in debt; purpose of paper is to provide revolutionary comrades with source of propaganda and revolutionary thought; distribution and selling have fallen off; "The Maverick" should also be a paper for the radical student and should be a world communist newspaper.	Larry Goff	7/16/70

<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Title or description of document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
5	"On Discipline and Points of Attention"	Emphasizes discipline of work and thought; urges that time be well spent doing the things which are now legal but will become illegal (no specific); moderation in the use of marijuana permitted; limited alcohol; no hard drugs; discourages such drugs as "bennies".	Larry Goff	7/16/70
6	"Report on Maverick Distribution:	Outlines the problems of selling and distributing Maverick; recognizes the dedication required to sell the paper.	Larry Goff	8/13/70
7	Central Committee Report	Emphasizes main task of RU is building a multi-national Marxist-Leninist organization; notes change in RU policy; whereas blacks were formerly urged to join the Black Panther Party rather than the RU they are now being taken in as members of the RU; notes importance of working among military recruits and draftees.	Larry Goff	8/13/70
8	"Why Attack PL?"	Characterizes Progressive Labor Party as an ally of US imperialism which has constantly attempted to wreck the anti-war movement, attacked every revolutionary nationalist struggle, refused to participate in trade union problems, and as an enemy of all revolutionary forces in the world today; shows RU as originator of document which decrees that PL will no longer be allowed to function at Stanford University.	Larry Goff	9/14/70
9	"Womens Commission Recommendations"	Become self sufficient, be militant, and don't rely upon men to take the lead.	Betty Sue Goff	9/18/70

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or description of document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
10	Notes on the Womens Commission	Document concerns the Women's Commission in RU; the report was from the Steering Committee and indicated that since the Women's Commission has fulfilled its missions (to insure the fight against oppression and exploitation of women is waged by all RU members) the necessity for its continued existence should be examined.	Larry Goff	8/10/70
11	"Becoming A National Organization - A Report to the Central Committee"	Report of findings of visiting RU delegations to East, Midwest and Northwest US, where groundwork laid to establish RU collectives and regional organizations with end product to be national organization; society within cities has collapsed; living conditions unbearable among disadvantaged who are ready to revolt but lack a revolutionary party for leadership. New Left consists of "considerable motion but little direction", again because of lack of leadership; key to revolution is "proletarian ideology" and its situs is working class. Recruiting and organizational successes claimed in many parts of US; specific recommendations set forth to ensure RU's growth in size and power, including further development in capability to engage in armed struggle, recruitment and improved organization on national scale.	Received by Larry Goff from Barry Greenberg	9/30/70
12	"Street Work In San Jose"	Account of efforts of RU street organizers among disadvantaged youth in downtown San Jose; finds ingredients present for very powerful political consciousness present but bemoans lack of success in organizing large segment of Chicano, black and white youth; RU representatives carried "dope" (marijuana) with them, used it and passed it out, but talked down use of hard drugs; marijuana characterized as very valuable tool for mass work; RU-centered effort on anti-police campaign; claims to have established entre into the ghetto society and to have identified advanced political elements there, but cites as failure its effort to enlist a "Chicano" or "brown person" as RU worker.	Larry Goff	10/7/70

<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Title or description of document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
13	Monthly Report on RU by its Leaders	Self-described as monthly report on discussions by RU leaders to be read and discussed by each collective; subject matters include: RU's work toward becoming national organization; continuing absolute need for security, noting current nationwide investigation of the organization, decreeing that membership lists of any sort are prohibited; problems in radically organizing the military where it is stated the traditional method is formation of highly secret cellular organization within and that "comrades" should be urged to join the military; attention to be afforded recently discharged GI's for recruitment and involvement; the dreary financial situation of RU; and the need for RU to work toward becoming more "proletarian" by recruiting from "working class"; also cited is necessity for increased efforts to work with other revolutionary organizations.	Larry Goff from Barry Greenberg	10/14/70
14	"Build the United Front Among the Broadest Section of Youth and Students"	Efforts must be made to avoid being a <u>white</u> movement; the interest of the black and Third World peoples must be put first. Urges necessity for a disciplined communist organization capable of organizing illegal as well as legal work.	Betty Goff	10/14/70
15	"Student Work in San Jose"	Former SDS members set up the Bill Maywood Collective which in turn organized the Radical Action Movement in San Jose; members of RU, RAM and HAVE joined to form the San Jose Liberation Front; sales of "Maverick" have increased; San Jose State College campus is the best area of work because ties can be maintained with many sources of support; San Jose Liberation Front described as anti-imperialist organization of from 20 to 50 members.	Betty Goff	11/7/70

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
16	Review of RU Work Nationally	Five-week trip through East and Mid- west US by Barry Greenberg and RU delegation determined existence of high level of political activity but lack of Marxist-Leninist direction and organization; RU already a na- tional organization with collectives in cities such as New York, Chicago and Detroit.	Larry Goff	10/14/70
17	Summary of Central Committee Meeting	Meeting described as noteworthy for its "stark amateurishness" and lack of preparation by leaders; discussed whether RU could develop as a national organization; the correct "military strategy"; necessity to become further involved in youth and student movement.	Betty Goff	10/26/70
18	"Security"	RU is "an American Communist revolu- tionary organization" to engage in open political work and clandestine activity; activities to include obtaining weapons, weapons training, illegal sit-ins, obstructive demon- strations, encouraging resistance among military, draft counseling, publishing and speaking about need to overthrow state; security of operations and communications deemed of prime importance; membership to include class of "secret" members whose affiliation is known only to those with "need to know"; precise instructions outlined to assure security of meetings, of telephone communications, security of members' persons and houses, cellular organization to assure security and identification of infiltrators.	Received by Larry Goff at San Jose RU local Executive meeting	11/6/70
19	RU Political Committee Report	Notes division in RU over question of military strategy and upcoming posi- tion papers on the matter; agreement to participate in Black Panther Party Constitutional Convention 11/70; rec- ommends RU leaders train in fist fighting because "working people know that if you won't fight on an every day level, you're sure not going to be reliable on a higher level, and that if you're talking about smashing the state, there will be a few	Larry Goff	11/7/70

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
19 Cont.		heavier scenes than street brawls;" the masses are "rich in skills" in this area and training should be sought from them.		
20	"Finance Report"	RU financial program dictates two thirds of income goes to national effort, one third to local; pressing need for subsistence funds for full-time RU workers, office and equipment for "Maverick", RU publication; model budget for RU member set at \$150 per month, all excess to be donated to RU; personal savings exceeding living expenses to be donated; each member's financial situation to be examined by RU leadership.	Larry Goff	11/15/70
21	Open letter - "Dear Comrades in Revolutionary Struggle"	Account of participation of RU collective in two-month Venceremos Brigade trip to Cuba; Brigade characterized as advanced consciousness of broad mass of youthful vanguard in revolutionary struggle; extensive international contacts made by RU representatives while in Cuba; RU members had opportunity to educate Brigade members from U.S. on the proletarian revolution, necessity for armed struggle to overthrow imperialism, and RU's readiness to prepare for military action; determination made that most whites gravitated to Weatherman; non-whites to Black Panthers.	Larry Goff	11/18/70
22	"Paper A" Venceremos Position on Revolution	The revolution must be waged by a strategic application of protracted guerrilla warfare; not glorious struggles but war of attrition waged by masses against ruling class; guerrilla warfare must begin in cities because the masses can attack and fade back into crowds; enemy doesn't know where fire is coming from in ambushes in cities; pigs have to kick in hundreds of doors to find revolutionaries; sabotage is integral part of strategy of attrition; imperialism vulnerable and fragile utilities susceptible to attack; targets will be police and quasi-military	Larry Goff	11/18/70

<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
22. Cont.	"Paper A" Cont.	units; struggle beginning with small units attacking will end with mass uprisings; struggle will include ambushes, sabotage, and attacks on communications and supplies;		
	"Paper B" RU Position on Revolution	Adventurism will not win revolution; a true M-L party must be first formed; main form of struggle will be non-military for a while; military work for now will have to be carried on by separate apparatus; consciousness of people must be raised; armed struggle still necessary when people are ready for mass revolt; fight must be based on united front, merge communist agitation with practical struggles of workers; RU will create disciplined squads to give leadership at strikes and demonstrations; create separate apparatus to carry out military actions at appropriate times; work more within armed forces-agitation and propaganda and counseling to GIs to unite them with masses; create broader propaganda on need for armed revolution, organize self defense on a mass basis; develop technical competency of all cadre.		
23	Paper on Armed Struggle	Need for armed struggle is one of the organization's three principles of unity; recognizes that certain offensive actions against the state are necessary to topple the capitalists and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.	Larry Goff	11/18/70
24	"Maverick Tasks"	Outlines tasks related to the editing, production, funding and distribution of "Maverick" newspaper; provides a checklist for guidance of staff personnel in both the publication and selling of papers; mentions the problems of selling the paper since some take papers to sell but forget to return the money or the papers; the paper is in debt of over \$1,000; a fund raising drive sent out 200 letters and had 10 replies; "Maverick" is set and printed in Berkeley, Ca.	Betty Goff	11/18/70

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
25	"Report From A Workers Collective"	Document is report of RU members working in large unnamed company; following observations made in report: company tied to government because making defense products helps government carry out its policies; it is easy to relate to workers that they are in belly of the imperialist monster; there are three unions at the company - all RUsers there work in same union which is operated like a company union; women working in production most oppressed-women do all rotten jobs, men get the better ones; majority of company infiltration is by female RUsers; some were placed there, others were recruited on the job; some are too timid in responding to daily harrassment-must lead an undercurrent of rebellion; caucus developed as means of being more bold in organizing - even some non-comrades in caucus became organizers; caucus made up of some blacks, hip-whites, and straight whites; unions manipulated by ruling class but must be used at this time; problems in caucus organizing caused by lack of political experience of caucus members; by raising awareness of workers even such actions as bombings of their own workplace can be justified and approved by them.	Larry Goff	12/21/70
26	"A paper Concerning Armed Struggle"	Quotes Mao's statement that the seizure of power by armed force is the central task and the highest form of revolution; communist parties have been able to overthrow governments while they are waging imperialist wars because they cannot at such times defend themselves against revolution; before revolution can be waged revolutionary situation must exist i.e., lower classes do not want to live in the old way, the upper classes cannot carry on in the old way and until majority of class-conscious workers realize that revolution is necessary and are willing to die for it revolutionary party must indulge in painstaking operations of	Betty Goff	12/29/70

<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
26 Cont.		<p>training and gathering revolutionary strength to prepare for revolution ideologically, politically, organizationally, and militarily; despite its struggles white American proletariat is not currently in a revolutionary situation; revolutionary party must be able to defend itself by force against fascist attacks; must not be afraid to use peaceful legal struggle but must be careful not to confine struggle to legal means; before waging military actions party must learn about weapons, how to obtain money, and underground communications in organized fashion; problem of guerrilla activity now is not activity itself being wrong but weakness or inability of party to take such actions under its control for maximum utilization.</p>		
27	"Statement by Roxanne Dunbar, New Orleans"	<p>Statement prepared by Roxanne Dunbar and sent to local leadership in the organization for wide distribution; tells of her joining the RU while in Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade, her visit to the Bay area to obtain information on which to base her efforts to organize for RU in the South, the fact that she was unable to obtain answers to questions about organizing for RU; her rebuff by the RU leadership in Richmond (Calif.), the subsequent demands by RU that she return from New Orleans to answer the same questions she had asked of the party leadership; and upon her refusal to go, the warning that she would not be allowed to organize for RU. She criticizes the RU for having a faction which centers around working class and denies Third World vanguard role.</p>	Betty Goff	12/29/70

<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
28	"Summing Up The Struggle in San Jose"	All San Jose cadre must participate in ideological struggle; ideological struggle is means of developing unity; struggle showed need for strong knowledge of M-L theory; must recruit more boldly but more carefully; must make sure persons political awareness is high enough; organization will get several more persons into plants; work more on unemployed; better program for cadre development needed; "Maverick" newspaper has too many experts; should be paper for workers; Third World work has been superficial and sporadic; leadership young and inexperienced and needs developing.	Betty Goff	12/29/70
29	"Against Brainwash Part 2: What Is Happening to the United Front Against Imperialism Strategy for Proletarian Revolution?" (Prepared by RU of South San Francisco, Redwood City, Menlo Park, Palo Alto, Stanford, Mountainview, Sunnyvale, California)	Revolutionary groups turn revisionist because they do not put into practice M-L theory about primary contradiction of world within the empire; black liberation struggle is both national and class struggle; Avakian 2 years ago said consciousness of the working class was lower than that of oppressed people but now thinks that oppressed people lack largeness of mind of the proletariat; proletariat political committee of RU did not indulge in self criticism enough to realize its mistakes; three principals of unity are dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism and armed struggle; discussions of military strategy were put off by RU leadership; it was to have been discussed if plans for a separate apparatus for military activities could be formulated; discussion, even though this was done, was put off; Avakian wrote that strategy must be formulated now before military tactics; announcement that "Paper A" people are leaving RU (too much bureaucratic centralism); lessons learned: recruit "boldly and wisely" among honest forces, look out for hacks, encourage self reliance; practice self-criticism at all levels of organization, do not allow paid members to become bureaucrats, just writing letters, etc., combat liberalism, don't let ML thought be used	Betty Goff	12/29/70

<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished by</u>	<u>Date</u>
29 Cont.		as a club to beat down new ideas, don't recruit people who don't understand that black people are a nation.		
30	"Report from The Political Committee to All Cadre: United to Carry Thru the Ideological Struggle in the	Contains repudiation by the RU political committee of the split in RU; move to split set back the revolutionary struggle and attempt to achieve unity through ideological struggle; dissidents are building factionalism rather than a principled struggle; leaders of the move to split afraid that democratic centralism to be applied at next Central Committee meeting and therefore decided to split; call made to collectives which split to reconsider, join and continue ideological struggle in principled manner, based on democratic centralism.	Betty Goff	12/29/70
31	Open letter by Janet Weiss	Document authored by Janet Weiss (RU member purged with Bruce and Jane Franklin) expresses support for Franklin's "Paper A"; Weiss claims she joined movement to oppose war but learned it was problem of fight against imperialism which required revolution; the revolution must be led by the proletariat and particularly by the proletariat who are identified with the "oppressed internal colonies"; it is incorrect to identify the major problem in America as a class question when it is actually a national question.	Larry Goff	12/29/70
32	"A Letter to All Comrades on the State of the Struggle Over the Military Question:	Authored by identified RU member from Oregon who alleges he helped author Paper A. Following opportunistic statements are being made by RU leaders: Paper B is correct line, Paper A repudiated, some Paper A leaders are saboteurs and agents, some Paper A leaders are crazies in approach to armed struggle. Author states RU has not done enough about military struggle. Paper A leaders who forced this issue should be applauded; author is not new to ideological struggle; has been in Dubois Clubs and Progressive Labor Party; left both because they became revisionist; if RU is to survive	Larry Goff	12/29/70

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
32 Cont.		it must challenge opportunism, dogmatism, sectarianism, and commandism that characterizes current struggle.		
33	"Responsible Committee Reply to the 'Open Letter'"	Prepared by Barry Greenberg; it is his reply to "Letter to all Comrades on the State of the Struggle on the Military Question" (which opposed Paper B); Author of "Open Letter to All Comrades", is accused of smear tactics; open letter was not documented; contains unwarranted character assassinations of RU leaders; author of letter wrongly thinks that RU ideological struggle is over; Paper B supporters do think armed struggle should be taken more seriously; RU must develop military strategy based on and following from united front strategy; author of open letter was wrong in attacking RU position without first taking up matter with Responsible Committee.	Betty Goff	12/29/70
34	"Against Fascism: Dare to Struggle; Dare to Win"	An important movement against imperialism was the struggle in Palo Alto against ROTC, Hoover Institute, etc. (much imperialism in Palo Alto); this two months of good struggle proved if you don't hit, it won't fall; tactic was 200-700 people trashing every imperialist outpost on campus; sectors of the movement realized that open RU members were in the leadership of these demonstrations; pig infiltrators necessitated strict democratic centralism and tight cells or affinity groups; secret coordinating committee had to be established--consisting of high school union RU and third world groups--to guide radical caucus; showed people that pigs were not invincible; pigs have trashed certain members' houses; persons who knew how to use guns volunteered to defend RU house; RU filed Federal suit against Palo Alto police for alleged civil liberties violations. Palo Alto RU had "Free You" newspaper which ran	Betty Goff	12/29/70

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
34 Cont.		a "pig of the week" column exposing red squad members; has circulation of 4,000; suit filed by group including comrades, ministers and lawyers; successes were: ROTC kicked off campus; stopped night raids on RU house; stopped malicious warrants from being served; drove pigs off campus; Palo Alto Red Squad disbanded; forced city to end curfews after rock dances by trashing all banks in the city; Palo Alto struggles emphasized need to arm now, need for armed revolution now; widest recruiting going on in Midpeninsula; largest plant caucus is in Midpeninsula where women comrades organized caucus of 80 people.		
35	RU's United Front Song	Sung to the tune of "Nellie Grey", song is adapted from an old IWW song, "The Commonwealth of Toil"; document gives both the IWW words and the words of RU version. RU version extols the struggles of the worker against the pigs and others; also third world people, women's liberation, students.	Betty Goff	1/11/71
36	Uncaptioned - Radical Action Movement at San Jose City College	Discusses RAM activities at San Jose City College; its relation with the street people and how the campus provided a medium of contact with other radical elements; states that women's activities are in semi-dormant state and most efforts to interest large numbers are ineffective; everyone is waiting for someone else to do the work, or the groups isolate themselves from the rest of the students and street people; Teen Center has developed into one of the more active recruiting facilities with many unemployed or unoccupied; contact with street people at Teen Center indicates that teens are interested in shooting, weaponry, beating the draft, and in having fun.	Betty Goff	1/27/71

<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
37	Notes of November 1970 Meeting of the "Responsible Committee"	Responsible Committee is subcommittee of Central Committee; to be divided temporarily into sections to handle plans for regional and national Central Committee meeting and to develop RU line.	Betty Goff	1/27/71
38	"Where I Stand vis a vis the Old RU and the New Organization" by Marlene Charyn	Author condemns both factions; says RU in San Jose is revisionist; asserts she was unjustly purged from RU for criticizing leadership; she was unjustly labeled as insane and patronized as mental patient; members of San Jose RU carried out orders blindly which is not true objectivity; throwing Charyn out was not democratic centralism, it was fascism; new RU faction is revisionist - not new but a museum piece; Charyn states she is following the Panthers and did not join Venceremos.	Betty Goff	1/27/71
39	"Working Class Organizing in San Jose"	"We have begun to sink roots among a small section of the working class in San Jose;" most successful results from using "NEWSREEL" films; least successful among Chicanos; RU has been involved in support of 6 strikes; had some success in 2 of strikes in raising "anti-imperialist consciousness" but failed to follow up with potentially progressive people.	Betty Goff	2/3/71
40	"Report on Democratic Centralism"	Treatise on democratic centralism and ideological discipline and their application to RU organization; ultimate control vested in Central Committee but collective leadership at all levels; RU's overall purpose at this time is the building of a multi-national proletarian revolutionary organization on a national scale based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.	Betty Goff	2/3/71

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Statement of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
41	Regional Central Committee Meeting	Claims "Paper B" adherents have won out over "Paper A opportunists" (reference to RU-Venceremos split); as to assertion that RU has no military strategy states, "Paper B does put forward a strategy; Armed insurrection followed by civil war;" cites formal expulsion of Bruce and Jane Franklin, Janet Weiss, and Marlene Charyn.	Betty Goff	2/3/71
42	"Santa Clara Workers Committee"	Describes formation of Santa Clara Workers Committee in Fall of 1969 to work in support of strike at Pittsburgh Des Moines Steel Co.; effort not successful because RU failed to understand and apply mass line; there were tendencies to force RU ideas on workers ("commandism") or failure to interject political ideas in workers' discussions ("taillism").	Betty Goff	2/3/71
43	"Why We Must Become a Multi-National Proletarian Organization"	Sets forth detailed reasoning why a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party in order to successfully overthrow the Government must be proletarian (worker-class) based and "multi-national" (embracing the third world); RU to date has been essentially all-white but must concentrate on recruitment of other ethnic groups; Black Panther Party, though not working-class oriented, demands continued support of RU since the Panthers have contributed much to the spawning and growth of socialist ideas and basis for revolutionary retaliation; Panthers, because of racially segregated stand, not acceptable as vehicle for true revolution of proletariat.	Larry Goff	2/8/71

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Statement of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
44	"Political Education and Cadre Development"	Outlines 10-week Marxist fundamentals course for all members who have not completed this study; main subjects to be covered: 1) "dialectics and historical materialism"; 2) "capitalism, the last system of exploitation"; 3) "imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalism"; 4) "the State, the necessity of armed revolution and the dictatorship"; 5) "the National Question"; 6) "The Woman Question"; 7) Fascism; 8) the need for a communist party; also outlines six-level program of further study of above subjects.	Betty Goff	2/22/71
45	"Notes on the Maverick Collective"	Old "Maverick" collective failed and the newspaper effort to be taken over by new community collective because of "importance at this time of carrying out systematic propaganda and agitation in the working class..."	Betty Goff	2/12/71
46	Regional Executive Committee Notes	Names 5 "open" members of Regional Exec. as "Barry, Marylou, Steve, Bob and Doug" and says there are other secret members; includes order that RU members turn over their tax refunds to RU, citing Mao: "At no time and in no circumstances should a communist place his personal interests first"; RU looks on Venceremos as part of anti-imperialist peoples movement, but specific requests from Venceremos must be cleared through RU hierarchy; Bruce and Jane Franklin to be treated as renegades; no association with them permitted; says RU supports Black Panthers even though Panthers have wrong political theory and cannot be considered M-L vanguard; concerning revolutionary violence states, "The role of the communist is to build the mass movement, integrating revolutionary violence as a secondary aspect and giving tactical and political leadership to the people who are already striking back."	Larry Goff	2/10/71

<u>Docu- ment No.</u>	<u>Title or Description of Document</u>	<u>Summary of Contents</u>	<u>Furnished By</u>	<u>Date</u>
47	Uncaptioned document <u>Re Security Procedures</u>	Document is reworked version of 11/6/70 document "Security" outlining in detail security procedures to be adhered to in RU operations. No major changes from 11/70 document.	Larry Goff	2/10/71
48	Speech by Bob Avakian at Bay Area Central Committee Meeting	Is critical of "renegades who were unable to deal with ideological contradictions scientifically" and unable to use "Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-Tung Thought"; Marxists must be "scientifically ruthless in applying this Thought; envisions revolution in U.S. developing by "acts of violence connected with mass movement" and corresponding increase of Marxist-Leninist "leadership to revolutionary violence;" revolutionaries must prepare "a steel military staff for the eventual mass onslaught, the insurrection, and civil war."	Betty Goff	2/22/71
49	"Internal Finances-- Bay Area"	Required monthly dues from each member to range from \$5.00 minimum upward to 15% of larger incomes; other required donations to organization to include cash realized from blood donations, income tax refunds, proceeds from federal student loans, one week's salary per month and all personal savings in excess of \$250.00.	Larry Goff	3/2/71
50	"Why the Working Class Must Lead"	Outlines the goals, strengths and enemies of the working class as seen from the Marxist-Leninist point of view; sets forth the strategy and tactics of the collective struggle based upon conditions, the level of oppression, and levels of resistance of the masses; states that the black and brown workers must play the leading role within the working class as a whole and within the black and brown liberation movement; proclaims that RU is the only communist organization with deep roots in the black, brown and workers community, and as such is the only organization capable of bringing these together into one multi-national communist organization.	Larry Goff	2/8/71

* * * * *

In addition to the above documents, the Goffs furnished 24 reports concerning the Local Executive Committee meetings of the San Jose Revolutionary Union. These 24 documents are not being described herein because their contents are repetitive of the contents of the documents described above. The 24 Local Executive Committee documents are being maintained in the Committee files.

The Stanford Daily, January 4, 1971

Revolutionary Union Splits Over Differences In Ideology, Tactics

By BILL EVERS

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

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

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

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

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

Revolution When?

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

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

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

Black Nationalism

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNAL DOCUMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY UNION

"Personal and Political Behavior of Comrades"

1. Comrades must study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way. Comrades should read a minimum of seven hours a week.

2. Maintain close ties with the masses.

3. Be bold in making criticism—self criticism. In addition, comrades must act on criticism about themselves. Comrades have ample time to wake up, but the alarm must be set.

4. Do not brand people opportunists or being [sic] "waging struggles" against other comrades lightly.

5. Comrades may not be lazy. All members must work actively in the organization.

6. Comrades must financially support the organization. Comrades must not live extravagantly nor should they make unnecessary purchases.

7. Comrades should not drink excessively at any time; that is, every comrade must always be in control of his or her words and actions. Comrades must not drink at all in emergency situations.

8. Comrades must not use hard drugs. Hard drugs means cocaine, opium and opium derivatives, methadone and other types of speed, LSD, Mescaline and other related drugs.

9. The use of marijuana is prohibited. There must not be any marijuana in a comrade's house, yard or car.

10. Promiscuity is [sic] sexual affairs is not permitted. Sexual relations are not a matter of personal indulgence and should not be entered into frivolously. We want to encourage the development of stable, monogamous relationships based on proletarian politics, where there is mutual love, respect and equality between male and female.

11. We agree with Lenin that children are "a joy to the proletariat," and therefore a serious attitude should be taken toward having and raising children. Children should be considered a collective responsibility. There should be collective child care and baby sitting assistance, and there should be collective discussions about deciding whether or not to have children.

12. Vacations must be approved by the highest regularly meeting body to which the comrade belongs.

13. Where comrades live and with whom are political questions and should be discussed collectively.

14. Comrades should not make themselves vulnerable for arrests which have nothing to do with the struggles of the people. This means, for instance, making sure your car is working properly, paying all traffic and parking tickets promptly, etc.

15. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from [sic] the masses. Masses refer to all who are part of the United Front, such as petit-bourgeois grocery-store-owners.

16. Return everything you borrow.
17. Pay for everything you damage.
18. Speak politely.
19. Do not hit or swear at people.
20. Pay attention to the customs and practices of the masses. This means be clean, keep your house clean, etc.

[Typed copy of article in *The Stanford Daily*, February 22, 1971.]

STANFORD DAILY, Feb. 22, 1971

VENCEREMOS STRESSES ACTION, NOT THEORY

By ED KOHN

(First in a series)

(Editor's note: This is the first in a series of news analyses describing political activism - both on the Right and on the Left - found on the Stanford campus. Other articles will describe some of the various movements over the past five years and attempt to place in context some of the recent campus developments. Today's article deals with one of the more influential Left groups, Venceremos.)

Those familiar, bright red Venceremos buttons--and many people wearing them--have taken on a new significance in recent weeks. To the University administration and the Trustees, they represent at least the potential for "great and irreparable injury."

To the conservative Free Campus Movement, Venceremos represents a movement that intends to shut down the campus and its members constitute a threat to their persons.

And to many members of the Stanford community, the AK-47 emblazoned-button wearers are sections of a puzzle which is missing some pieces.

But a few pieces of information--admittedly incomplete because like many revolutionary groups, Venceremos chooses to keep much of its modus operandi secret--about the group have surfaced.

Venceremos is a multinational, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist organization based in Redwood City. Its members are organized into 10-12 person collectives, with collective members known as "cadre". During some actions, some collectives apparently break down into "affinity groups" of three to five members.

Size Unclear

The exact size of the group remains unclear; there are both "open" (public) and "closed" (unpublicized) members. Individual members are not permitted to know the total membership of the group for "security reasons"; none will even hazard (sic) a public guess. One student who studies Midpeninsula politics estimated its strength at about 400.

The collectives operate independently in conjunction with the group's Central Committee, of which suspended Prof. H. Bruce Franklin, his wife Jane, and Aaron Manganiello are members.

Venceremos follows a policy of "democratic centralism," where, after discussion (frequently referred to as "criticism,") all of the group's members agree to abide by the majority decision.

Ties With Other Groups

The group maintains close if not interlocking -- ties with many organizations, including the People's Medical Center and Venceremos College in Redwood City, the Midpeninsula Free University, the now-defunct Free You, and the Palo Alto Tenants' Union in Palo Alto; and the Partisans (formerly the Young Partisans), a revolutionary high-school organization which is active in at least three local schools and publishes Class Struggle. On campus Venceremos is tied in with the Radical Caucus, an operationally defunct umbrella group for other radical organizations (including last year's Off-ROTC Movement), the Workers' Action Caucus, the Labor Action Group, the Stanford Workers Against the War, and the Stanford Community Against War and Fascism, to name a few.

It is also closely allied with other collectives in California, Oregon, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and the South. Venceremos gained much of its current strength on the Midpeninsula when an ideological split developed within the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, a larger group centered in the East Bay.

Revolutionary Union Split

In December, following months of argument, most Midpeninsula radicals left the Revolutionary Union, charging it had downplayed the vanguard role of the Black Panther Party and had become "racist," had adopted an "incorrect" position on the importance and timing of armed struggle, and that it had become "revisionist".

Most of the people in the splinter faction joined Venceremos, which had already been in existence for almost a year in Redwood City, which is a predominately (sic) chicano community. Venceremos' leadership--the Central Committee--is always composed of at least 50 percent Third World peoples, and is now, according to one member, at least 50 percent chicano.

The group's name, Venceremos, is Spanish for "we will win." The slogan, "Venceremos" was first popularized by Field (sic) Castro during the Cuban Revolution and is now used by groups of American young people cutting sugar cane there. There is no organization link between Venceremos and the Venceremos Brigades.

United Front Politics

Venceremos holds practice (and action) over theory; its principle (sic) objective is to "serve the people" and "to raise their level of (political) consciousness." Members of the organization are subject to collective discipline which, among other practices, prohibits the use of marijuana at parties. Many members take marksmanship courses and train themselves how to use pistols, rifles and shotguns, and most do their "revolutionary physical exercises" regularly.

The group operates along the principles of a "united front .. where you consolidate the left, join forces with the middle, to isolate the right," one member said. Venceremos believes that the present united front on campus "includes all people, all groups, which are anti-imperialist."

Members of the group are quick to point out that not everything the group does is violent.

Panther Vanguard

"We're not trying to organize people to go out and trash things. In fact, we say people should do what they can (to end the war); if that means not paying the tax on your telephone bill, if you want to write letters to your Congressman, peacefully picket something...that's OK."

The group views the Black Panther Party as the vanguard of the American Revolution and some of its forthcoming literature will "strongly" resemble similar Panther tracts.

[The Stanford Daily, November 10, 1971.]

Venceremos Stresses 'Centralism'

By KEVIN SMITH

First of a series

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

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

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

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

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

Third World

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

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

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

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

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

Local Section

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

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

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

Principal Contradiction

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

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

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

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

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

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

Venceremos Splits

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

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

(Please turn to back page)

Leftist Group Organized Centrally

(Continued from page one)

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

Central Committee

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

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

The Central Committee's second task is generating the "correct" political position. At a later time, Manganiello feels this will take primary importance. Manganiello explained that he feels Democratic Centralism is a better system than the most frequently used alternatives: complete dictatorship or complete democracy.

Mao, in an essay entitled "On Correcting Mistaken

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

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

Unity Principles

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

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

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

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

(Next: the Free Campus Movement and the Radical-Libertarian Alliance.)

I N D E X

INDIVIDUALS

A

	Page
Agnew, Spiro.....	158
Alexander, Gertrude Louise (Gertie).....	131
Avakian, Robert Bruce (Bob).....	4,
5, 7, 8, 14-19, 22, 27, 37, 45, 50, 86, 87, 93, 132, 139, 177, 178, 188, 195,	197
Avery, John Wallace.....	132

B

Ballinger, Carrie (<i>see also</i> Sapir, Caroline Marie).....	152
Ballinger, Lee Russell.....	132
Bardacke, Frank.....	5
Baun, Vernon Wilburt (Vern) (also spelled Bown).....	11, 86, 132
Berg, David H.....	162, 164, 167
Bergman, Leibel.....	11, 27, 37, 44, 45, 85, 87-89, 129, 132, 133, 177
Bergman, Lincoln.....	133
Berwald.....	117
Biggin, William.....	171, 172
Black, Vernon Calvin, Jr.....	40, 90, 133, 154
Black, Yvonda (Vonda) (Mrs. Vernon Calvin Black, Jr.).....	21, 40, 90, 133, 154
Bokum, Consuelo Linacre-Harkness (Conci).....	133
Bonner, Jean Tarshis. (<i>See</i> Dolly, Jean Tarshis.)	
Borovoy, Nancy Katherine.....	133
Bown, Vernon. (<i>See</i> Baun, Vernon.)	
Browning, Jeffrey Paul (Jeff).....	90, 134, 159, 160, 161
Brusaschetti, Carlo.....	75

C

Casquero, Larry Craig.....	29, 46, 55, 56, 65, 134, 144
Castro, Fidel.....	201
Charyn, Marlene Phillips.....	21, 59, 134, 192, 193
Cherry, Miriam Clare.....	116, 134
Chou En-lai.....	17, 79, 177
Cizanckas, Victor.....	109, 110, 114
Cleaver, Eldridge.....	116
Collins, Laura Lei.....	135
Cott, Lawrence V.....	177
Coulter, Candis Ann. (<i>See</i> Elledge, Candis Ann.)	
Cox, Charles Russell (Charlie).....	135
Crouse, Linda P.....	135
Cummings, Mary Hope.....	135

D

Dacayanan, James Francis.....	135
Davis, Angela.....	121
Del Valle, Katarina Davis.....	94, 135
Doll, Catherine Ann (Cathy).....	21, 136
Dolly, Jean Tarshis (Jeanie) (nee Bonner).....	136
Dolly, Joan Noreen (also known as Nora Dolly).....	136
Dolly, John James.....	136

Dolly, Nora. (<i>See</i> Dolly, Joan Noreen.)	Page
Dubose, Shelley Serdahely	136
Dunbar, Roxanne Amanda	136, 142, 162-167, 187, 197

E

Eisenhower (Dwight D.)	130
Elledge, Candis Ann (Candy) (nee Coulter)	137
Elledge, Robert H. (Bob)	137
Engels, Friedrich	10, 50, 128
Erickson, Leif Charles	137
Evers, Bill	87, 116, 197

F

Fall, Bernard B.	112
Fanon, Frantz	202 ¹
Filene, Myron Douglas	137
Flores, John (also known as Juan Flores)	94, 109, 137
Flores, Juan. (<i>See</i> Flores, John.)	
Flores, Susan McKeVitt (Sue)	109, 111, 113
Foote, Geraldine Helen (Gerry)	109, 111, 113, 137
Forrester, Jodi Ann	138
Fox, Michael David (Mike)	46, 60, 66, 67, 70, 90, 133, 138
Franklin, Bruce. (<i>See</i> Franklin, Howard Bruce.)	
Franklin, Howard Bruce (pen name Will B. Outlaw)	7-13, 21, 22, 27, 28, 32, 37, 39, 44, 45, 50, 66, 72, 82, 86-95, 106, 109, 115, 116, 119-121, 132-134, 138, 142, 147, 151, 155, 165-167, 169, 177, 178, 189, 193, 194, 200, 202
Franklin, Jane Morgan (Mrs. Bruce Franklin)	9, 13, 27, 37, 88, 93, 139, 178, 189, 193, 194, 200, 202
Franklin, Karen	139
Freed, Jeffrey Paul (Jeff)	139
Furumoto, Alice Ann	139

G

Garrett, Doug. (<i>See</i> Garrett, Paul Douglas.)	
Garrett, Paul Douglas (also known as Doug Garrett)	139
Garrett, Susan Leslie (Sue)	14, 22, 139, 140
Gaylor, Michael (Mike)	60, 90, 106, 140
George (code name). (<i>See</i> Goff, Lawrence.)	
Gerson, Jack	14, 173
Goff	70
Goff, Betty Sue (code name Kay)	16, 21, 26, 28-32, 37-45, 47-67, 70, 72, 76, 77, 79, 81-93, 95, 112, 129- 136, 138-142, 144-156, 160, 161, 178-180, 182, 183, 185-196
Goff, Lawrence Lee (code name George)	16, 21, 26-29, 31-67, 70-73, 76-95, 106, 112, 129-136, 138-142, 144-156, 160, 161, 178-186, 189, 193-196
Gracia, Ronald Lee	79, 140
Granholm, Dean Allen	21, 57, 90, 140
Greenberg, Barry William	4, 16, 21, 27-29, 33, 35, 37, 41, 42, 44-47, 49, 50, 52-61, 64, 66, 71-73, 76, 80, 86-89, 91, 92, 131, 132, 134, 140, 141, 181-183, 190
Greenberg, Mary Louise (Mary Lou) (nee McKinley)	17-19, 21, 27-29, 37, 41, 44, 45, 49, 52-54, 56-59, 61, 63, 66, 70, 89, 134, 177, 178
Griffin, Robert F. (Bob)	141
Grizzard, Vernon	163
Guevara (Ernesto) Che	12, 98

H

Halsrud, Deanna Rae. (<i>See</i> Manganiello, Deanna Rae.)	
Hamilton, Steven Charles (Steve)	7-9, 14, 16, 27, 141, 178

¹ Incorrectly spelled "Franz" in this reference.

	Page
Harper, Ned. (<i>See</i> Harper, Neil Edward.)	
Harper, Neil Edward (also known as Ned Harper)	141
Harper, Sheila Thorne	141
Harris, Lawrence Paul (Larry)	27, 45, 141
Hartley, Howard	109
Hartline, Melody Ann	136, 142, 157
Hartline, Perry Lee	142, 157
Hébert, F. Edward	79
Hill, Marie	116
Hilliard, David	5, 116
Hinton, William Howard	13, 44, 85, 86, 88, 142, 156
Hobson, Beckie. (<i>See</i> Hobson, Rebecca Elizabeth.)	
Hobson, Deborah Jean (Debbie)	122, 142
Hobson, Jean Stevens	94, 117, 143
Hobson, Rebecca Elizabeth (also known as Beckie Hobson)	142
Hoey, Patrice Marie (Pat)	143
Holman, Alison	143
Holman, Andrea Lynn	143
Holman, Michael A. (Mike)	127, 143
Hoover, J. Edgar	11
Howard, John H.	9
Hutchings, Kent Wilcox	107, 143

I

Ichord, Richard H.	78, 156-158, 160, 162, 168, 172
Iverson, Caroline Marie (Carrie). (<i>See</i> Sapir, Caroline Marie.)	

J

Jackson, George	116
James, Ted. (<i>See</i> James, William Edward.)	
James, William Edward (also known as Ted James)	21, 74, 144
Jenness, Linda	165
Jiminez, Salvador Joseph (Sal)	94, 144

K

Kalvelage, Angela Maria (Angie)	29, 56, 66, 82, 144
Kaman, Reva Kelley	144
Kang Piao	17
Kaplan, Eleanor Karen (also known as Eleanor Karen Levine)	109,
	111, 113, 144
Karl, Terry	145
Karp, Cindy	145
Katzman, David	22
Kay (code name). (<i>See</i> Goff, Betty Sue.)	
Keilch, Hughella Harvey (nee Spitler) (also known as Rusty Keilch)	145
Keilch, John Fitzgerald, Jr.	145
Keilch, Rusty. (<i>See</i> Keilch, Hughella Harvey.)	
Kincaid, John	21, 90, 145
Kincaid, Nancy Carol	90, 145
Kingston, Barbara Joan	145
Klingel, William John (Bill)	146
Kohn, Ed	93, 200
Kuo Mo-jo	17

L

Lee, Donald Addison (Don)	146, 202
Lembke, Daryl	10
Lenin, Nikolai	7, 9, 10, 13, 25, 32, 50, 51, 77, 174, 176, 197, 198
Lenz, Robert R.	111
Levine, Eleanor Karen. (<i>See</i> Kaplan, Eleanor Karen.)	
LiBish, Tommy	112
Lind, Philip Samuel (Phil)	146
Lockwood, Stephen Towne	146
Lodge, Henry Cabot	10, 116
Lonsdale, Fred De Lappe	146

	Page
Lopez, Linda Ann	94, 146
Lumumba, Patrice	98

M

MacFarland, Harold E.	112
Magee, Ruchell	121
Malcolm X	98
Mangan (Terence) Terry	80, 126
Manganiello, Aaron Joseph	86, 90, 93-97, 101, 121, 147, 200, 202
Manganiello, Deanna Rae (nee Halsrud)	147
Mao Tse-tung	1, 2, 5, 7, 9-11, 13-15, 18, 25, 27, 32, 35, 37, 38, 48-52, 54, 71, 76, 77, 80, 85, 88, 89, 98, 103, 105, 120, 121, 124, 176, 177, 186, 194, 202
Marx, Karl	7, 10, 25, 32, 50, 77, 128, 174
Masaoka, Janis (Jan)	147, 168, 169
McCloskey, Paul N., Jr. (Pete)	125
McKinley, Mary Louise. (See Greenberg, Mary Louise.)	
Melville, Herman	9, 10
Menchine, Chris	21, 31, 32, 79, 140, 147, 154, 158
Miller, Michael Charles (Mike)	148
Milton, Christopher Zhilitowsky (Chris)	2-6, 13, 86, 87, 148
Monica, Douglas Robert (Doug)	14, 17-19, 22, 148, 177
Montgomery, Edward S. (Ed)	8, 12-14
Montoya, Jacqueline Rose (Jackie)	148
Mooney, Barbara	148
Mosher, Thomas Edward	12
Mumford, Emily Stearns (Emmy)	148
Murphy, George	31, 68

N

Newman, Morton (Mort)	109, 111, 113, 149
Newton, Huey	116, 202
Nguyen Cao Ky	66, 70, 71, 138, 154
Nixon, Richard (M.)	1, 19, 31, 46, 67-69, 72, 96
Nkrumah, Kwame	98
Noble, Amanda Dixon James	149
Noble, Charles Woodbridge (Chuck)	149

O

Ober, Lynn Barbara (nee Zimmerman)	149
Ober, Peter Chapin	149
O'Neal, Daniel Abner (Dan) (Danny)	21, 149, 150
O'Neal (Mrs. Daniel Abner)	150
O'Neill, Danny	150
O'Neill, Lu Carol	21, 150
Outlaw, Will B. (See Franklin, Howard Bruce.)	

P

Pillsbury, Thomas B. (Tomás)	150
Pollock, Bruce Kenneth	109, 111, 150
Pomeroy, William J.	109, 111
Pott, Stuart L. H.	26
Potteiger, Ellen	171, 172
Purkey, Stewart (Stu)	150

R

Rabine, Merle Clifford	150
Ransom, David Demorest (Dave)	124-126, 151
Ransom, James Blair (Jim)	46, 79, 81, 151
Ransom, John Swift	151
Rapoport, Anatol	112
Reagan, Ronald	122

V

	Page
Roemer, Julie Ann.....	151
Rosen, Milton.....	1
Rowe, Ken.....	125

S

Saibel, Robert Edward (Bob).....	152
Sakata, Linda Mieko.....	152
Salazar, Ruben.....	68
Sampson, Paul Raymond.....	90, 140, 152
Sanders, Donald G.....	159, 172
Sapir, Caroline Marie (nee Iverson) (also known as Carrie Sapir) (<i>see also</i> Ballinger, Carrie).....	152
Sapir, Carrie. (<i>See</i> Sapir, Caroline Marie.)	
Sapir, Marc Abbe.....	152
Satsiky, Devera Eve.....	153
Sayre, Henry Marshall.....	153
Schachter, Karl.....	21, 56, 153
Scheer, Mortimer.....	1
Seale, Bobby.....	68, 116
Shoch, James Ellis (Jim).....	124, 153
Shores, Rhonda Frances.....	153
Shubert, Craig Arthur.....	21, 75, 154
Smith, Billy.....	126, 127
Smith, George E.....	125
Smith, Joseph E.....	112
Smith, Kevin.....	93, 202
Smith, Stephen Samuel (Steve).....	145, 154
Snyder, Lawrence Frederick (Larry).....	46, 154
Solomon, Albert H., Jr.....	161, 163, 169
Spitler, Hughella Harvey. (<i>See</i> Keilch, Hughella Harvey.)	
Stahl, Matthew Patrick (Mat).....	154
Stalin (Josef).....	7, 15, 50, 51, 176
Stevens, Marcelle.....	31

T

Thomas, William.....	171
Ting Hsi-lin.....	17
Trounstine, Philip John (Phil).....	154
Tunney, John.....	31
Tupper, Gene.....	110

W

Weinberg, Jack.....	14, 173
Weiss, Janet Margaret Cooper.....	88, 90, 155, 189, 193, 197
White, Geoffrey Vincent (Geoff).....	155
Williams, James S.....	126
Willis, Donald Dwight (Don).....	155

Y

Youdelman, Doris Salzberger.....	155
Youdelman Jeffrey.....	155

Z

Zapata, Emiliano.....	98
Zebroski, Margaret Anne (also known as Peggy Zebroski).....	155
Zebroski, Peggy. (<i>See</i> Zebroski, Margaret Anne.)	
Zimmerman, Lynn Barbara. (<i>See</i> Ober, Lynn Barbara.)	

ORGANIZATIONS

A

Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.....	16
--	----

B

BLF. (<i>See</i> Black Liberation Front.)	Page
Bay Area Emergency Action Committee-----	8
Bay Area Revolutionary Union. (<i>See</i> entry under Revolutionary Union.)	
Bay Area Unemployed Workers' Committee-----	21
Bell Telephone Company-----	36, 39
Bill Haywood Collective (<i>see also</i> Revolutionary Union)-----	26,
35, 39, 40, 47, 49, 65, 77, 83, 134, 144, 179, 182	182
Black Liberation Front (BLF)-----	118
Black Panther Party (BPP)-----	5,
6, 8, 12-14, 20, 36, 43, 64, 67, 84, 85, 88, 94, 109, 116, 121, 126, 134,	
167, 169, 178-180, 183, 184, 192-194, 197, 201, 202	
Constitutional Convention, November 1970-----	183
Oakland, Calif-----	115, 116, 202
Intercommunal Survival Committee To Combat Fascism (ISC) --	115,
116, 202	
Black Student Union-----	16
Brown Berets-----	76, 86, 202
Northern California-----	202

C

CAWE. (<i>See</i> Citizens Against Willow Expressway.)	
CPUSA. (<i>See</i> Communist Party of the United States of America.)	
California Peace and Freedom Party. (<i>See</i> Peace and Freedom Party, California.)	
Cell 16, Female Liberation-----	164
Child Care Now-----	149
China Books-----	50
China, Government of:	
Communist Government (People's Republic of China)-----	1, 5, 19, 32, 202
Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries-----	17
Chris Milton Offense Committee-----	3
Citizens Against Willow Expressway (CAWE)-----	117, 118
Communist Party, China-----	23
Central Committee:	
International Liaison Department-----	17
Communist Party, Cuba:	
Central Committee-----	121
Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA)-----	1,
6, 11, 71, 85, 111, 173, 175, 177, 178	
National Structure:	
Central Committee-----	6
National Committee-----	11
Districts:	
Northern California District:	
San Francisco County:	
American Federation of Labor (AFL) Section-----	11
Communist Party, Philippines-----	111

D

DuBois Clubs. (*See* W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.)

F

Ford Motor Company-----	39
Fort Ord (California)-----	80
Free Campus Movement-----	200
Fresno State College, Fresno, Calif-----	16

G

General Electric Corporation (San Jose, Calif.)-----	132
General Motors Corporation-----	39

vii

H

Hsinhua. (*See* New China News Agency.)

Page

I

ISC. (*See* Black Panther Party, Oakland, Calif., Intercommunal Survival Committee To Combat Fascism.)Independent Socialist Clubs of America. (*See* International Socialists.)

International Publishers..... 111

International Socialists (formerly Independent Socialist Clubs of America) 14

Iranian Student Association..... 69

L

Labor Action Group..... 200

League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Detroit..... 179

Liberation News Service..... 121

Liberation Women's Union..... 178

M

MDM. (*See* Movement for a Democratic Military.)MFU. (*See* Mid-Peninsula Free University.)

Mid-Peninsula Free University (MFU)..... 9, 13, 118, 119, 200

Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM)..... 80

The Cadre..... 80

N

National Collective..... 173, 174

National People's Congress:

Standing Committee..... 17

New China News Agency (Hsinhua)..... 17

New Left Project..... 197

New Women's Collective..... 22

Newsreel 78, 178, 192

O

Off-ROTC Movement..... 200

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union:

Local 1-561..... 16

P

PAAW. (*See* Palo Altans Against the War.)PATU. (*See* Palo Alto Tenants Union.)PL. (*See* Progressive Labor Party.)PLP. (*See* Progressive Labor Party.)

Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company..... 24

Palo Altans Against the War (PAAW)..... 117

Palo Alto Tenants Union (PATU)..... 117, 155

Panther Publications..... 111

Partisans (formerly Young Partisans)..... 14, 200

Peace and Freedom Party..... 9, 68, 69, 125

California 8, 173

Peninsula Red Guard..... 9, 11, 12

Peninsula Revolutionary News Service..... 113

Pennsylvania State University (State College, Pa.)..... 16

People's Legal Defense Office..... 133

People's Medical Center..... 93, 147, 152, 200

People's Republic of China. (<i>See</i> China, Government of, Communist Government.)	
Progressive Labor Movement. (<i>See</i> Progressive Labor Party.)	
Progressive Labor Party (PLP) (formerly Progressive Labor Movement) -	1,
2, 9, 11, 14, 70, 71, 85, 141, 173, 175-178, 180, 189, 197	
Central Committee-----	175
Progressive Labor Club (University of California, Berkeley)-----	8

R

RAM. (<i>See</i> Radical Action Movement.)	
RAM. (<i>See</i> Revolutionary Action Movement.)	
RAVE. (<i>See</i> Radical Audio Visual Education.)	
REP. (<i>See</i> Students for a Democratic Society, Radical Education Project.)	
R.S.U.-----	5
RU. (<i>See</i> Revolutionary Union.)	
RYM. (<i>See</i> Students for a Democratic Society, Revolutionary Youth Movement.)	
RYM I. (<i>See</i> entry under Students for a Democratic Society (Chicago).)	
RYM II. (<i>See</i> entry under Students for a Democratic Society (Chicago).)	
Radical Action Movement (RAM) (<i>see also</i> Revolutionary Union)-----	26,
35, 39, 40, 47, 65, 68, 70, 71, 77, 78, 83, 134, 140, 144, 147, 149, 154, 182, 191	
Radical Audio Visual Education (RAVE)-----	182
Radical Caucus-----	173, 200
Radical Education Project. (<i>See</i> entry under Students for a Democratic Society.)	
Radical Student Union:	
Berkeley-----	16
Red Guard (China)-----	86
Red Guard of San Francisco-----	11
Red Guards-----	2, 5, 6, 13, 119
Red Union (<i>see also</i> Revolutionary Union)-----	6
Redwood City Housing Concerns Committee-----	124-126
Resistance, The-----	13
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)-----	78, 118
Revolutionary Union (RU)-----	2-4,
6-8, 11, 14, 16-43, 45-62, 64-74, 76-95, 106, 112, 119, 120, 128-134,	
136, 140-142, 145-148, 150-152, 154, 157, 160-163, 165, 168-171, 173-	
187, 189-195, 198, 201	
Central Committee-----	30,
42-45, 55, 80, 85-87, 92, 131, 132, 138, 141, 146-149, 151, 152, 155,	
179-181, 183, 189, 192, 193	
Responsible Committee-----	190, 192
Maverick Collective-----	194
National Committee-----	45, 132
Political Committee-----	43,
45, 46, 53, 55, 57, 85, 86, 90, 132, 140, 141, 145, 146, 183, 189	
Regional Committee-----	42, 44, 45
Regional Executive Committee-----	194
Regional Meeting-----	44, 193
Secret Apparatus-----	45, 46, 151, 154
Secretariat-----	45, 53, 132
Steering Committee-----	45, 181
Women's Commission-----	180, 181
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio-----	16
Bay Area-----	5-8, 12, 15, 17, 87, 93, 171, 173, 175, 197, 201
Central Committee-----	178, 195
Correspondence Committee-----	7, 8
Secretariat-----	45
Berkeley, Calif-----	16, 197
Bronx, New York-----	16, 17, 171
Chicago, Ill-----	16, 17, 171, 177, 183
Detroit, Mich-----	16, 183
Dover, N.H-----	17, 171

Revolutionary Union (RU)—Continued	Page
East Bay area.....	179
Eugene, Oreg.....	16
Fresno State College, Calif.....	16
Los Angeles, Calif.....	16, 17, 171, 177
Midpeninsula (San Mateo County area).....	179
New York City.....	16, 177, 183
Oakland, Calif.....	179
Ohio.....	17, 171
Palo Alto, Calif.....	16, 39, 82, 151
Student Collective.....	151
Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pa.....	16
Philadelphia, Pa.....	17, 171, 177
Reading, Pa.....	16, 17, 88, 171, 172
Redwood City, Calif.....	16
Richmond, Calif.....	14, 16, 17, 20, 53, 197
Salinas-Monterey Collective.....	80
Salinas-Santa Cruz:	
Local Executive Committee.....	147
San Francisco, Calif.....	16, 20, 93, 132, 140, 179, 197
San Jose, Calif.....	14,
16, 17, 20, 21, 27, 30, 54, 56, 58, 60, 63, 67, 70, 77, 80, 82, 84,	
86, 88, 92, 93, 133-135, 138, 142, 151, 161, 179, 196, 197	
Community Collective.....	28,
40, 76, 84, 133, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 145, 150, 152, 153	
Local Executive Committee.....	27, 30, 41, 134, 147, 151, 183, 196
Newspaper Committee.....	41, 76
Proficiency Committee.....	41, 59, 60, 63, 64, 138, 140, 147, 154
Security Committee.....	27, 41, 53, 54
Street Collective.....	136, 140
Student Collective.....	58, 138, 144, 147, 149, 154
San Jose City College.....	83, 136, 140
Workers Collective.....	27, 82, 83, 132, 133, 135, 140, 144, 145, 151, 152, 154
Santa Cruz.....	135
Sunnyvale Collective.....	93
Trenton Area Revolutionary Union (TARU).....	16, 17, 171

S

SDS. (<i>See</i> Students for a Democratic Society.)	
SWP. (<i>See</i> Socialist Workers Party.)	
San Francisco Municipal Railway.....	24
San Francisco State College (Calif.).....	15
San Jose City College (Calif.).....	83, 136, 140, 191
San Jose Liberation Front.....	68, 69, 84, 182
San Jose State College (Calif.).....	26,
39, 47, 65, 75, 77, 78, 84, 134, 140, 144, 147, 149, 154, 169	
San Jose Tenants Union.....	40
Santa Clara County Workers Committee.....	30, 40, 68, 69, 84, 133, 154, 193
Shelter Half.....	79
Socialist Workers Party (SWP).....	1, 70, 71, 79, 85, 165
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).....	165
Soledad Defense Committee.....	150
Solidarity Committee.....	16
Stanford Community Against War and Fascism.....	200
Stanford University (Calif.).....	94, 115, 116, 121
Stanford Workers Against the War.....	200
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).....	6,
8, 13, 14, 16, 63, 86, 173-175, 178, 182	
National Council.....	173, 175
National Interim Committee (NIC).....	8
Columbia Chapter.....	173
Michigan region.....	173
Ohio region.....	173
Radical Education Project (REP).....	63, 112
Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM).....	173, 174

X

	Page
Students for a Democratic Society (Boston) ¹ (also referred to as Progressive Labor Party (PLP) faction and Worker-Student Alliance faction) -----	175, 197
Students for a Democratic Society (Chicago) (also referred to as national office faction and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) faction)	
RYM I (Weatherman faction)-----	8, 175
National war council, December 27-30, 1969, Flint, Mich-----	8
RYM II-----	173-175
Support Our Sailors-----	121

T

TARU. (<i>See</i> Revolutionary Union, Trenton Area Revolutionary Union.)	
Teachers, American Federation of:	
University of California, Berkeley-----	15
(Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of-----	14
San Francisco East Bay area-----	25
Teamsters Union. (<i>See</i> Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.)	
Temple University-----	172
Third World Liberation Front-----	16
San Francisco State College-----	15
Trenton Area Revolutionary Union (TARU). (<i>See</i> entry under Revolutionary Union.)	

U

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee-----	69
United States Government:	
Defense, Department of:	
Army, Department of the-----	60, 63, 109, 111, 112
Justice, Department of-----	130
Federal Bureau of Investigation-----	26, 28, 31, 62, 130
U.S. Postal Service-----	24, 83
University of California, Berkeley-----	8, 15

V

Venceremos -----	2, 25,
28, 43, 57, 59, 60, 67, 76, 84, 86-96, 98-102, 104-107, 109, 112, 114-130, 132-138, 140, 143, 145, 147-155, 163, 165, 169, 177, 192, 194, 197, 200-202	
Central Committee-----	94, 95,
101, 103, 115, 116, 121, 135, 137, 138, 143, 144, 146, 147, 200-202	
East Bay-----	144
Foothill-----	136
High School:	
High School Rehabilitation Movement-----	142, 143
Menlo Park-----	117, 149, 150
Mid-Peninsula area, Calif-----	123
Mountain View-----	145, 152
Palo Alto-----	94, 109, 115, 117, 124, 135, 136, 141, 143, 149, 153, 155
Redwood City, Calif-----	94, 109, 122, 142, 146, 148, 150, 151
Ruchell Defense Committee-----	137
San Francisco-----	202
San Jose, Calif., collective-----	90, 93, 133, 137, 170, 202
South City-----	152
Stanford University-----	94, 115, 116, 146, 150, 155
Workers Committee-----	149
Venceremos Brigade-----	86, 87, 91, 93, 136, 142, 152, 163, 165, 184, 187
Venceremos College-----	93-98, 200
Venceremos Publications-----	99, 100, 105

¹ Headquarters now located in Chicago.

W

W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America-----	Page 189
WSA. (See Students for a Democratic Society (Boston).)	
Weatherman -----	174, 184
Weatherman faction. (See Students for a Democratic Society (Chicago), RYM I.)	
Welfare Rights Organization-----	40
Western Electric Company, Inc.-----	38
Worker-Student Alliance. (See Students for a Democratic Society (Boston).)	
Workers' Action Caucus-----	200

Y

Young Communist League. (See Young (Communist) Workers Liberation League.)	
Young (Communist) Workers Liberation League (YCWLL) (also known as Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) and Young Communist League) -----	6
Young Lords-----	121, 177
Young Partisans (now Partisans)-----	93, 200
Young Socialist Alliance. (See entry under Socialist Workers Party.)	

PUBLICATIONS

A

Against Revisionism; A Defense of the Black Panther Party 1966-70-----	105
--	-----

B

Bay Area Worker, The-----	22
Berkeley Barb-----	11
Black Panther, The (newspaper)-----	6

C

Camp News (newspaper)-----	121
China's Foreign Policy: A Leninist Policy (pamphlet)-----	19
Class Struggle-----	200

E

Encounter Ambush (book)-----	109
------------------------------	-----

F

Fanshen (book) (William Hinton)-----	44, 142
Firearms and Self-Defense, a Handbook for Radicals, Revolutionaries and Easy Riders (pamphlet)-----	63
Free Billy Smith-----	105
Free You (newspaper)-----	93, 118, 121, 131, 155, 190, 200
From the Movement Toward Revolution (book) (Franklin)-----	93

G

Granma (newspaper)-----	121
Great Speckled Bird, The (newspaper)-----	165
Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism (book) (Pomeroy)-----	109
Guerrilla Warfare and Special Forces Operations-----	63
Guns and Politics-----	21, 105

I

I.S. (International Socialists publication)-----	173
India's Aggression in Pakistan—The Background of Blangladesh (pamphlet) -----	25

M

Maverick (newspaper)-----	9,
	20-22, 27, 42, 56, 69, 76, 84, 93, 169, 170, 179, 180, 182, 184, 185

	Page
May Day (newspaper)-----	22
Movement, The-----	2
Movement and the Working Class, The (Dunbar)-----	163, 164

N

New Left Notes-----	173
No More Fun and Games (pamphlet) (Dunbar)-----	163, 164

O

On the Move (newspaper). (*See* West Bronx on the Move.)

P

P.O.W., Two Years With the Viet Cong (book) (Smith)-----	125
Pamoja Venceremos (formerly Venceremos) (newspaper)-----	20,
98, 99, 105, 118, 120, 121, 131, 155, 170	
Peninsula Observer (newspaper)-----	125
People Get Ready (newspaper)-----	14, 17, 20-22, 77
Personal and Political Behavior of Comrades (Revolutionary Union internal document)-----	53
Philadelphia Free Press-----	172
Position Paper A-----	132, 184, 185, 189
Position Paper B-----	33, 132, 185, 189

Q

Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung (book)-----	37, 49, 50, 52, 99
---	--------------------

R

Red Papers 1, The-----	7, 8, 27, 34, 37, 49, 92, 175, 178
Red Papers 2, The-----	24, 27, 37, 49, 92, 175, 178
Red Papers 3, The-----	27, 37, 49, 92, 175, 178
Red Papers 4, The-----	171

S

Salt of the Earth (newspaper) (formerly Maverick)-----	17,
19-22, 27, 40, 41, 52, 56, 76, 77, 84, 142, 154, 170	
Santa Clara County Community News (<i>see also</i> Salt of the Earth)-----	21
Selection From the Red Papers 1, 2, and 3, A-----	171
Socialism Utopian and Scientific (book) (Engels)-----	50
Spartan Daily (San Jose State College newspaper)-----	75
Stanford Daily, The-----	87, 93
Summation of Practice of Palo Alto-Menlo Park Area (Venceremos internal document)-----	117

T

Terror in the Skies (film)-----	78
---------------------------------	----

U

Unconventional Welfare Devices and Techniques-----	60, 109
--	---------

V

Venceremos (book) (Manganiello)-----	96
Venceremos (brochure)-----	95, 98
Venceremos (now known as Pamoja Venceremos) (newspaper)-----	20,
120, 121, 131, 170	
Venceremos—Principles of Unity-----	99, 100-105, 131, 135

W

West Bronx on the Move-----	16, 22, 23
Wildcat (newspaper)-----	17, 20-22, 77

