

TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

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

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

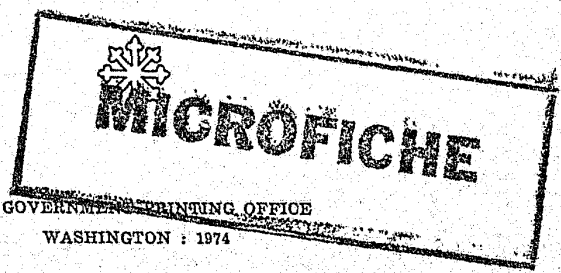
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Terrorism

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ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA, *Chief Investigator*

(II)

TERRORIST ACTIVITY

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1974

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

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:55 a.m., in room 2228, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

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

Senator THURMOND. Ladies and gentlemen, the subcommittee will come to order.

We are honored today having as our witness here the attorney general of California, Mr. Younger.

Mr. Younger, I want to state that we are very appreciative of your appearance here. You have an outstanding reputation and I am sure that what you say will be of tremendous benefit to this subcommittee and to the full Judiciary Committee. We will be glad to hear from you at this time.

TESTIMONY OF EVELLE YOUNGER, ATTORNEY GENERAL, STATE
OF CALIFORNIA; ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM MEDIGOVICH,
CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE ANALYST

Mr. YOUNGER. Thank you, Senator. It is an honor to appear before you today to testify on the nature and extent of the terrorism in the State of California. I hope we shall be able to provide helpful input into this as far as your studies and responsibilities are concerned.

I would like to identify my associate on my left, Mr. William Medigovich, who is a criminal intelligence analyst with our Division of Law Enforcement, a gentleman who has worked with your staff and is well known to them.

Senator THURMOND. We are very pleased to have him with us.

Mr. YOUNGER. First, if I may, I would like to briefly identify some of this paraphernalia. We have placed on display a number of items which may be of interest to the subcommittee.

The weapons we have before us came from a variety of sources. All have been involved with terrorist groups or terrorist activities and most of them have been obtained where we or some local agency has served a search warrant. Some were obtained in various "safe houses" maintained by terrorist groups.

This German manufactured Walther automatic is similar to one that is presently in evidence in northern California now in connection with a murder prosecution where two suspected members of the SLA are charged with the murder of an Oakland school superintendent.

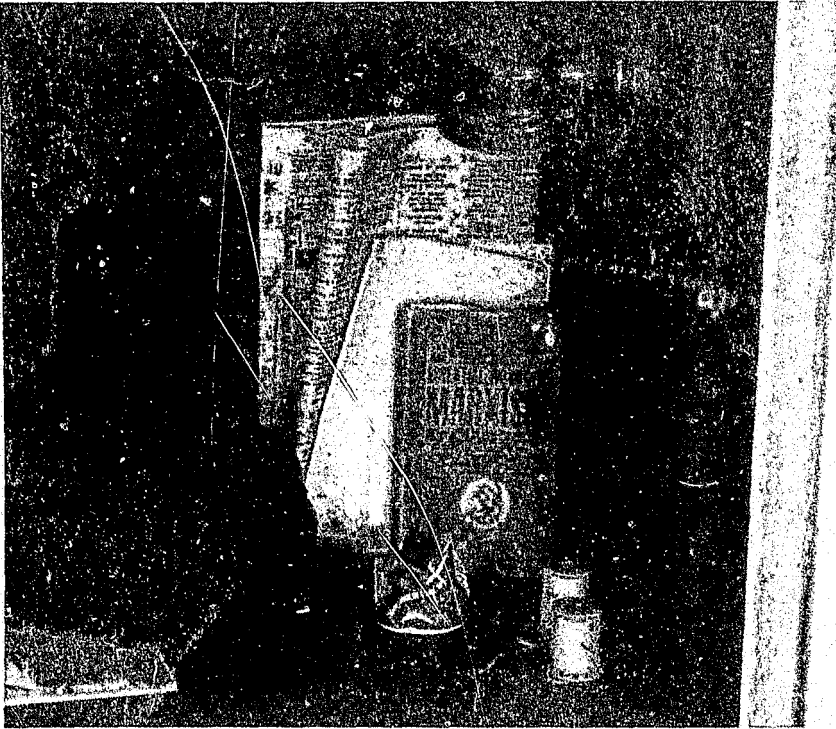
This little beauty is a Chinese AK-47 made in Communist China.

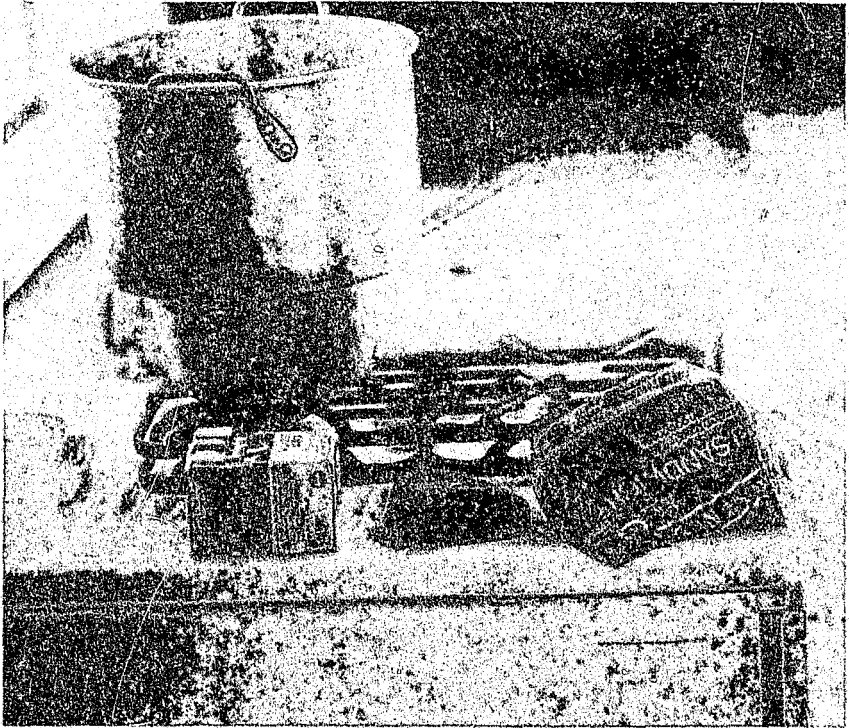
We brought these merely to illustrate the type of weapons frequently used by terrorists.

The sawed-off shotgun over on the right is also commonly used.

Terrorists can get weapons from abroad. They are able to steal weapons from National Guard armories; in addition to this, it has become increasingly easy to make explosive devices. Anyone with a basic knowledge of chemistry or the ability to read and follow directions is able to put together some pretty impressive weapons.

We have also brought a number of items that were obtained from a search of various SLA "safe" houses. It illustrates the care and thoroughness by which they gathered and filed information. They not only had all sorts of revolutionary documents and propaganda but they had a pretty good library so far as criminalistics, investigative techniques, and police manuals, are concerned.





The adjoining photographs, taken at an SLA Safe House on W. 84th St., Los Angeles, showing radical literature and ammunition.

The materials referred to included booklets titled, "On Organizing Urban Guerilla Units", "The Paper Trip", "Credit!", "100 Ways to Disappear and Live Free"; and reproductions of covers of publications titled, "Headin' South", "National Liberation War in Viet Nam", "Beat the Heat: A Radical Survival Handbook", "For the Liberation by Carlos Marighela", "Dialectical and Historical Materialism by Joseph Stalin", "Theory and Practice of Modern Revisionists by Jacques Grippa", "Guerrilla Broadcasting", "From Marx to Mao Tse-Tung", "Oppose Book Worship by Mao", "The Police Weapons Center", "Special Forces Demolition Techniques", "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung", "150 Questions for A Guerrilla by General Albert Bayo", "Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-Tung", "U.S. 30 Carbines", "The Essential Stalin", "Mao Tse-Tung, A Biography, by Jules Archer", "Tricontinental, spring 1973", "Malcolm X Talks to Young People", "Revolution, Violent and Nonviolent (from February 1968 Liberation)", "Fingerprint Identification (FBI pamphlet)", "Mao Tse-Tung: People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs (statement of May 20, 1970)", "Mao Tse-Tung, Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?", "Venceremos", "Lenin on the Struggle Against Revisionism", "Sandigan, Filipino Newcomers Service Center Handbook, San Francisco", "Letter to a Comrade on our Organizational Tasks by V. I. Lenin", "In Defense of Self Defense", "Operation and care of 9mm Parabellum Automatic Pistol", "Ithaca Gun Model 37 Repenter", "Buying a Used Gun", "The Browning Hi-Power Pistols", "The American Rifleman, issues of January and July 1973", "The Foundations of Leninism by J. V. Stalin", "Declaration of Regis Debray at his court martial in Bolivia, November 1967", "Comrade George, An Investigation Into the Official Story of His Assassination", "Realistic Guide to Police, Fire, and Aircraft Radio", "The Firearms Dictionary", "The State and Revolution, by V. I. Lenin", "Blood in My Eye by George L. Jackson", "The U.S. Military Apparatus", "The University-Military-Police Complex", "Mini-Manual of the

Urban Guerrilla by Carlos Marighella", "U.S. Carbine Cal. 30 M-1 Parts", "Simple Shotgun Repairs", "Statement by Mao Tse-Tung In Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression."

We have here an SLA target list which is a computer printout containing information which was obtained in an SLA safe house in Contra Costa County, Calif. There are 900 targets listed and we have identified these targets in a variety of ways, alphabetically, by the corporations, or the companies, by the cities in which the targets resided. But Mr. Medigovich will have some information about that if you are interested.

This, of course, is "Prairie Fire," quite a popular and widely distributed political statement of the Weather Underground. I am sure your committee has already received copies of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. May all this printed and written material be received for the record with a reservation of the right of the Chair to determine whether it is to be included in the printed record?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. YOUNGER. I would like to, if I may, Senator, summarize very briefly a more complete report which we are making available to you and the members of your committee.

[Full text of the report referred to appears as appendix I, p. 25.]

This past year, California terrorists commanded headlines throughout the Nation and the world. The actions of the Symbionese Liberation Army, the Zebra killers, the Weather Underground, and imitative terrorists such as the Los Angeles bomber have provided a tough challenge to Federal, State, and local law enforcement officers. During the past 9 months California has experienced over 50 acts by known and suspected urban guerrilla and extremist acts. We have been quite selective and careful in identifying these acts. These are politically motivated terrorist attacks and it is clear that the number is increasing. There were a total of 35 in 1973 in our State and so far this year in the first 9 months there have been 50.

Our prognosis of future actions in California stated in our June report remains unchanged. The trend of revolutionaries to organize into small, cohesive, and highly clandestine cells is also likely to continue. It would be unwise to characterize the SLA as a historic anomaly, not to be repeated. A similar group could arise again and not only in California.

The SLA exemplifies the new breed of terrorist we will continue to encounter. He is better educated, resourceful, disciplined, and armed with a political ideology which serves to motivate him. Along with this, he usually has no interest in material or monetary gain; neither he nor his peripheral supporters can be easily bribed. In addition to these characteristics, the new breed of terrorist views himself in a historical perspective; time, he feels, is on his side. He views the revolutionary struggle as a protracted one, and he chooses where and when he will act with deliberation. In this regard, bits and pieces of information, however slight, are appearing in underground publications indicating that plans are already being formulated to insure that the 200th anniversary year of the United States is marred with domestic violence.

The domestic terrorist identifies closely with his foreign counterparts and their struggles abroad. The exploits of the Tupamaros, Al

Fatah, and the IRA are studied and followed. Similar to foreign terrorists, U.S. revolutionaries are attempting to institutionalize their activity; to many it has become a full-time occupation.

Although urban guerrilla warfare is a new development in this country, it has been a way of life in Latin America and the Far East. Revolutionary sympathizers in this country eulogize the exploits of the SLA; however, their tactics were not original. True, they successfully carried out America's first political kidnapping; however, even this act was copied from abroad.

If we are to credit the SLA with originality, it can be found in the manner in which they achieved publicity. No other terrorist group has become so visible in so short a time. From the day their first communique was printed in full, to the day of their shootout—live and in color—they remained a media favorite. All this publicity tends to romanticize the terrorist in the eyes of the public and is instrumental in attracting additional sympathizers and supporters.

In examining various terrorist groups operating in our State, one common characteristic emerges—they all have an unmistakable Maoist basis. This is true of the Weather Underground, the SLA, BLA, and their predecessors, the Revolutionary Union and Venceremos Organization. Although there are distinctive differences in how each group interprets its own role in bringing about a revolution in this country, their guiding political philosophy is Marxist/Leninist doctrine as interpreted by Mao Tse tung. However, this Maoist philosophy has been augmented by the practical experiences of revolutionary favorites such as Che Guevara, Franz Fanon, Carlos Marighella, and Vo Nguyen Giap.

I might say that while most card-carrying revolutionaries probably are basically indoctrinated by reading material from Mao and others, in many cases they are simply unstable people, who, having read and considered this material, become confused. I wouldn't want to suggest that all of these terrorists have a very well-defined political philosophy. I think they do not, although in many cases they can rattle off the rhetoric of the revolutionary with great ease.

The apprehension of terrorists is a difficult task. Conventional police methods employed against politically motivated terrorists are inadequate. Ordinary felons are much more vulnerable to detection than "political" terrorists. The example of the Weather Underground fugitives who have been at large for 4 years illustrates this point. The FBI's list of 10 most wanted suspects contains 6 terrorists. Again, the recent shootout in Los Angeles with the SLA illustrates the difficulty and the hazards of dealing with these people. Any common garden variety bank robber, if surrounded by a large number of well-armed policemen, if told on a loudspeaker or bull horn to come out with his hands up, would probably come out, no matter how many weapons he might have. He is not seeking confrontation. He can't win. He probably would prefer to go back to prison and hope he will escape another day. But a terrorist not only doesn't avoid a confrontation but maybe actually seeks it. I suspect the SLA types in their revolutionary fantasy, their exhibit, couldn't have been improved upon. So far as they are concerned, I suspect that was the ultimate in their strange thinking.

As I say, the FBI list of the 10 most wanted suspects contains six terrorists. The new breed of politically motivated terrorist is considerably more resourceful. His organizations are highly resistant to police penetration; vigilance is the norm. This is primarily due to the cellular nature of their organizations. The classic guerrilla cell system permits a greater degree of autonomy and security. Each cell is responsible for its own support, and leadership is usually collective in nature. As in the case of the SLA, members are cautioned to develop credible alternate identities and to conduct themselves in a manner which will preclude detection. Friends and associates are carefully chosen, and they avoid associating with persons who are themselves under suspicion.

Again, it is perfectly obvious that the SLA types wouldn't be at large today unless they were able to locate and identify and take advantage of certain friendly acts. In the old days, John Dillinger or Pretty Boy Floyd had a limited number of people they could turn to for help when they were being sought by the authorities, but obviously, the situation today is different. There is no other way to explain the success that some of the SLA people and others have had in avoiding capture over a long period of time.

Two essential needs of the urban guerrilla are arms and money—both are easily obtainable. Weapons of every description are available on the open market. Parts needed for illegal weapons can be inexpensively purchased through mail order firms. Weapons stolen from State and Federal military installations may also wind up in the hands of terrorists. Adequate financing is also easily obtainable. In addition to funds voluntarily given by friends and sympathizers, the American economy makes it simple for terrorists to obtain cash. Although advertised and unadvertised armed robberies of banks and businesses are also used, the use of stolen or fraudulent credit cards is common. Whereas the foreign terrorist must rely almost exclusively on kidnapping, robbery and extortion for his financing, his U.S. counterpart need only rely on a credit card.

Again, many people are concerned and want to know how these activities are financed. Is there any money coming from any foreign governments—and there may be some. The Black Liberation Army, for example, at one time received some financial support from a foreign terrorist group. However, to a local terrorist, money is not a real problem, they do not require much, and to the extent that they do need financing, a stolen credit card still beats robbing a bank.

On May 31st my office in Los Angeles was bombed by the Weather Underground. The second time, incidentally, that has occurred, so I have somewhat of a personal interest in it.

Senator THURMOND. What was the nature of the bombing of your office?

Mr. YOUNGER. It was in the hall just outside of our reception room. It occurred during the middle of the night. It did substantial damage to the hall, to the building, and to some of the furniture and equipment. It did not injure anyone.

Senator THURMOND. Did you think the purpose of that was to injure someone, to destroy records, or just to commit an act of sabotage as a warning in some way?

Mr. YOUNGER. It would appear to be just sort of a defiant act demonstrating to the establishment that the Weather Underground was alive and well. They took credit for the bombing. They had, as you know, been inactive for some time and this again suggests the desire for publicity. The imitative characteristics of these people are very strong. After the SLA engaged in the shootout and went out in a blaze of glory on live television, in living color, the Weather Underground became active again. Apparently that was the principal purpose of bombing our office, was just to indicate that they didn't want to be forgotten. When the SLA was getting all of this attention they were saying, hey, the Weather Underground is still around.

I might say, less than 2 months later copies of "Prairie Fire," purported to have been written by four Weather Underground fugitives, were distributed in the bay area of California. The authors claim credit for 19 terrorist bombings across the United States since 1969. They also claim that these actions precipitated other armed actions throughout the country. During the 1 month period following the distribution of "Prairie Fire" on July 25th, approximately 20 bombings and attempted bombings occurred in California. During the same period last year there were only three. Regarding the recent rash of bombings, I do not mean to imply that all these were carried out by the Weather Underground, but that their acts, coupled with the publicity surrounding their book, served to motivate imitative groups and individuals to action. I need only remind you that the tragic bombing of the Los Angeles airport occurred within this period.

I think it would be inappropriate for me to comment on the case at this time; this case in Los Angeles is before the courts. A gag order is in effect at the moment by the court. The bombing, however, some of the facts surrounding it are significant. Here again the bombing occurred. A cassette tape recorder was used to transmit the demands and the rhetoric employed was imitative of the SLA and the Weather Underground.

California prisons have become the focal point of attention by various outside organizations ranging from those which are genuinely concerned with improving the inmate's lot to those actively instigating rebellion. Much of the increased interest in our prisons came about as the Vietnam war diminished as a public issue. Antiwar organizations found themselves searching for substitute causes in order to preserve their membership roles. To many antiwar activities, protest had become a full-time occupation and in order to remain employed, new targets were needed. Correctional institutions are highly desirable as targets for revolutionaries for they provide eager activists with a fertile ground from which to recruit. In the case of the SLA, I am sure you know that DeFreeze was just an ordinary hoodlum with a taste for violence in prison when he started meeting with some of these outside groups and he was persuaded that he wasn't really just a common hoodlum and thief and robber, that he was really a political prisoner. He became convinced that not only was he a political prisoner but his destiny was to be a martyr, and once that transformation occurred he became a much more dangerous and complicated individual, and that has happened to a number of people in prison. Once, as I say, a person who has robbed banks for 10 years is convinced that he

has not been robbing banks because he is a criminal but because he is really fighting for the oppressed people everywhere, he becomes a much more dedicated revolutionary.

The disruptive activities of organizations such as the National Lawyers Guild, Venceremos, Prison Law Collective and the United Prisoners Union are well known to law enforcement officers in California. These organizations have close working relationships with each other and it is not uncommon to find key members rotating from one organization to another. They are united in their common goal: To transform the inmate into a political prisoner and destroy the prison system.

We have one document here which is entitled Legal Street Sheet No. 6. Do you have that there?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. It is included as an attachment to our regular report.

Mr. YOUNGER. Legal Street Sheet No. 6. That was prepared by and published by the National Lawyers Guild Regional Office. I think you will find some of the information in there significant.

Senator THURMOND. Would you like that put in the record of this hearing?

Mr. YOUNGER. It is in our separate report which you have received.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Chair approved a blanket order accepting all of this material for later disposal, but I think it might be well if this particular item were ordered inserted in the record at this point.

Mr. YOUNGER. All right, thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be inserted at this point in the record.

[The document referred to follows:]

(This is not a substitute for an attorney's advice. If you have questions contact a lawyer)

LEGAL STREET SHEET #6

SECURITY—HOW NOT TO GET BUSTED

1. Operate on a "need to know" basis—Avoid information it is not necessary for you to know; don't spread information that others do not need to know.

2. Don't answer questions by the FBI. Legally you are not required to—If the FBI keeps bothering you, refer them to your lawyer; don't look at any pictures that the FBI tries to show you; don't admit to anything; don't confirm any information; if you have reason to think that the FBI is investigating you, warn your friends, parents and employer if he's cool. Tell them that they are not required to answer anything and that they should remain silent.

3. Assume all telephones are bugged—Avoid unnecessary mysterious comments; never talk about dope or illegal activity over the phone; if you must talk over the phone, arrange a time when someone may call you from one pay phone to another. A good thing to say is "We have a bad connection and I can't hear you. Can you call me back at this number?" That should be a clue to the person on the other end to go to a pay phone and call you at the pay phone that you are calling from.

4. Assume all mail may be opened and read. Be careful what you write. If you must use the mail for certain communications, use a public typewriter and don't sign the letter or use a pre-arranged code.

5. If you need to type something that you do not want linked to you, use a public typewriter such as one at a public library.

6. In your home—Don't keep dope in the house. Keep your weapons hidden. Everyone in the house should know where they are. People who are visiting and strangers do not need to know that you have weapons. Keep a reasonable number

of weapons. Larger stores of weapons should be in very safe places, like in a house that cannot be linked to the movement.

Kim II Sung says, "You should think of camouflage first of all when you build a house . . ." If you don't want to be hassled or are into secret activity, don't put signs or posters or political slogans in the windows—otherwise you are advertising who you are.

7. In your car—Don't carry dope; if you don't want to be hassled by the pigs, don't put bumper stickers, NLF flags, or pictures on your car; keep your lights and other parts of your car in good condition so you won't get stopped; pay all parking tickets so you don't get stopped on a warrant.

8. Your person—Don't be carrying dope; don't carry phone numbers or papers that the pigs shouldn't have; don't carry any phone numbers or address books in demonstrations or situations where you might get busted . . . like postering, etc.

9. Don't sell dope to people you don't know. Don't buy dope from people you don't know well. Most people are busted on dope by informers or undercover narc agents.

10. Meetings—Don't meet regularly at the same place at the same time. Change the time and place, because people AND pigs get suspicious when they see a group of people meeting at the same house a lot. You never know when the pigs are watching your house, or when a neighbor might want to know what is going on. If a meeting should be kept quiet, then only the people who need to be there should know about it. Don't discuss illegal acts, unless there is no possible evidence of conspiracy, and only with people you know well. If a meeting must be out of doors for protection against bugging devices, it should be away from all buildings. People should look casual, and walk around to prevent lips from being read from binoculars. Don't act suspicious or mysterious. Unless necessary, only first names should be used.

11. Bugging devices—Telephones can be bugged whether they are on or off the hook. If you must talk in the house keep an FM radio on, preferably with classical music which has the best interference and talk lower than the radio. Assume that your car may be bugged. If you must talk in your car, move in a wide radius, between tall buildings for the best interference. Keep the radio on and talk lower than the music. Be extra careful if people in the car should not be seen together. Don't act suspicious. Bugging devices can work up to 500 yards, and sometimes more. If you don't want to talk inside a building, then don't go outside and stand next to it. The phone company works with the pigs. Be aware of telephone trucks parked outside your house or building. Notice if the phone company comes out to work on your lines. Be aware if the phone company is in your area often. The best protection against bugging devices is to write simple messages down. But remember to burn them afterwards.

12. Don't give out names to people you don't know. Never say something that might implicate your friends in a crime, or infer that they know something about it.

13. Never talk to the pigs. Say, I have nothing to say until I talk to my lawyer. Never talk about anything without a lawyer there.

14. Don't talk about illegal activity or secret information with people you hardly know. Don't let anyone involve you in such a discussion if you don't know them well. If you are suspicious of anyone, check out their background and references.

15. Maps, lists, and petitions—Don't sign anything that you haven't read thoroughly first. Don't put your name on a list unless you know what the list will be used for, and who is going to keep the list. If you don't want everyone on the list to have your name, don't sign it. Don't let anyone mark your house on a map with your address on it. It is a possibility that the map could fall into someone's hands who will draw the wrong (or right) conclusions.

There is no such thing as security paranoia. Things are getting heavier, and undercover pigs are increasing. Always be cautious. Your brothers and sisters lives depend on you.

[By the National Lawyers Guild regional office.]

Mr. YOUNGER. These organizations have been involved in everything from smuggling weapons to planning and assisting escapes. In 1971, National Lawyers Guild attorney Steven N. Bingham was involved in an escape attempt involving George Jackson; three guards

were killed in that abortive attempt. He has never been captured. As a matter of fact a warrant is still outstanding for him.

On October 6, 1972, Venceremos members planned and executed the ambush escape of Chino convict Ronald Wayne Beaty in which a prison guard was killed. Four Venceremos members were convicted for their role in the ambush escape.

Less than a year later Thero Wheeler successfully escaped from Vacaville Medical Facility. Wheeler was an active member of the Venceremos organization in prison. In order to manipulate an assignment outside of the facility walls, he wrote a letter of resignation to his Venceremos associates. They, in turn, refrained from overtly visiting him for several months to make it appear that he had been truly abandoned. During the 2-week period just prior to his escape, he received a flurry of visits from several key Venceremos members associated with the Menlo Park Law Commune. Authorities have established that Wheeler attended a number of SLA meetings, however, for reasons unknown, broke away from the group. Wheeler is still at large.

Additional incidents involving lesser known individuals are encountered by prison authorities almost daily. Fortunately, the majority of them are exposed and effectively handled by alert prison officials. Less than a month ago our Special Service Unit learned that a former Weatherman associate serving time at Vacaville was attempting to arrange the murder of a fellow inmate with the sole intention of placing the blame upon the prison guard force. He assured his fellow conspirators that an outside group would put on a demonstration to back up his proposed scenario. When prison authorities were alerted, the responsible inmate was isolated and the plot effectively neutralized.

In summary, I would like to emphasize the fact that California continues to be confronted by terrorism. The groups and individuals engaged in this type of activity find many fertile areas to exploit from bombings to instigating riots in prisons. They take advantage of legitimate organizations and politically naive individuals—manipulating them for their own ends. There is also a whole new dimension for terrorists to exploit, and this has been brought about by the very scientific-technological revolution that has served to transform American society. Last year several Arab terrorists were captured by Italian authorities in possession of a heat-seeking missile which they had intended to use against an Israeli airliner. Each year it is becoming less difficult for a terrorist, with appropriate scientific-technical skills to construct a chemical or biological device capable of mass destruction. The era of superviolence may be upon us.

Finally, by relying on traditional techniques, Federal, State and local law enforcement agencies have had little success in penetrating terrorist cells. The urban terrorist does not wear uniforms or signs. Our most important tool in combating terrorism is intelligence.

Although much research has been conducted concerning terrorist behavior, little information is available at the local level.

I think we have to offer greater input from sociologists and psychologists. They have to be encouraged to conduct research so no stone remains unturned in our efforts to effectively combat terrorism.

Let me say two things in closing, Senator; that I am sure the first will come as no surprise to you.

One of the great problems we have today is that we have to become more proficient in our intelligence gathering and reporting activities. We hope someday, of course, to be able to stop a bombing before it occurs, to stop an assassination. It makes much more sense to do it this way than to prosecute a person for murder after carrying out a successful assassination. But this is all complicated and made more difficult by our Nation's very understandable concern about abuses insofar as intelligence activities are concerned. The Senate, yourself, myself, none of us like to see people who are engaged in intelligence activities abuse their responsibilities and go beyond their charter. It is very difficult sometimes to draw a proper line. If we say we are not going to gather any intelligence that is political in nature, of course we frustrate our efforts to gather intelligence on groups like the SLA because they profess to have a political philosophy on which they are operating.

I don't have any ready answer to this problem. I simply suggest that we have to try under reasonable and strict controls, to perfect our intelligence-gathering capability. The fact that none of us, law enforcement in general, has not really attained a desired level of efficiency is indicated by the success that the remaining SLA members have had in avoiding capture over these past months.

Lastly, let me say, too, that some legislation is indicated, in my opinion. We have tried in California to get the legislature to enact three pieces of legislation which we believe would narrow the options available to the political terrorists. We haven't been successful in persuading the legislature to pass these laws. However, we are going to keep trying.

We suggested after the Patty Hearst kidnaping and after the ill-advised food distribution plan that the legislature pass a law which would make it illegal for corporations and trusts to use corporate funds and trust funds to pay kidnap demands.

As you know, the rash of kidnapings in South America have largely been successful because corporations were willing to pay large amounts of money to ransom their executives. I think the record is over \$12 million. After Patty Hearst was kidnaped the SLA made demands upon the Hearst corporations and Hearst trusts, and without which the money could never have been allocated to this food distribution plan.

There were a whole rash of kidnapings and attempted kidnapings throughout the United States after Patty Hearst was kidnaped where the kidnapers demanded corporate funds or trust funds. If you close that avenue it narrows the options and it would be easy to close if the legislature would pass a law prohibiting the use of corporate or trust funds and holding the trustees or corporate officials personally responsible. That would dry that source of funds up immediately.

We also recommend that our State laws be amended to prevent the distribution of food, tennis shoes, television sets, for that matter, anything purchased with ransom money obtained through kidnaping or extortion.

It is already against our State law to knowingly receive money as a result of kidnaping or extortion. We wanted to take the next step and prohibit not only the receipt of money but the receipt of anything bought with that money.

You and I are well aware of the fact that the theory was that the food was intended to go to poor people. There is really no evidence that the people who collected this food were poor. They may simply have been stronger and better able to get in line for the food distribution.

Lastly, we asked our legislature to pass a law which would provide that any order signed by a judge or any public officer under threats and duress of kidnapers or extortionists would be void. What we want to stop is the possible situation where a judge presiding over a murder case involving a terrorist, finds his wife is kidnaped. He gets a note saying we will kill your wife if you don't sign an order releasing these people charged with murder. We want to make it easy for the judge to sign the order. However, we want to insure that the prison warden or sheriff in charge of the jail will not obey the order.

These three things we think should be pursued and we are again going to bring them to the attention of our legislature next session.

Senator THURMOND. Do you recommend any Federal legislation be enacted?

Mr. YOUNGER. I am not recommending at this point. I would like to try to see if we can get this passed at the local level and what success we have in achieving some limitation on the terrorist activities. I mention it only because our efforts along these lines might be of interest.

Certainly, if it could be accomplished by Federal legislation, I think it would be desirable to prohibit any corporate funds or trust funds from being used to pay kidnap demands, but I am not sure whether that can be more appropriately done at the State level.

Mr. SOURWINE. There would be problems, would there not, General, in some of these particulars you have mentioned, in that they are areas reserved for State action under the 10th amendment?

Mr. YOUNGER. I think that is probably correct.

Senator THURMOND. I notice in this information that you have here, entitled Legal Street Sheet No. 6, it refers to "don't talk until your lawyer is present," and it keeps referring to lawyers and so forth.

Do these terrorists have regular lawyers they go to? What are the types of lawyers who represent these people?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes, sir; and I think Mr. Medigovich has some information in this regard which you have in our special report to you.

Senator THURMOND. Is it many lawyers who represent these people or is it the same group of lawyers, and if it is the same group of lawyers, doesn't that make it suspicious to the Bar Association possibly those people are in cahoots, so to speak, with these people, they are following a course of conduct not best for the country?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir; we also find that often the law enforcement officers making inquiries into their activities are intimidated by the fact that there are lawyers involved, and in my dealings with various police jurisdictions this fact is frequently discussed.

The Attorney General mentioned the prison situation, and in this respect we have found that virtually every violence prone prison revolutionary has a National Lawyers Guild attorney representing him.

Mr. YOUNGER. Of course, this is again a most difficult problem and very sensitive area because most lawyers, who try to deal with prison

problems, are motivated only by the highest ideals and desires to improve our system of justice and aid prisoners. To assume because some lawyer goes into a prison to talk to a prisoner that he is up to no good is improper and, of course, we don't make that assumption.

On the other hand, there is also no doubt that if a person wants to become involved in terrorist activities and wants to support an effort to politicize people in prison, obviously, if he has a ticket to practice law that make it easier for him to do it.

Senator THURMOND. Are these lawyers just serving for a fee or are they in any way aligned with these terrorists from the evidence you have?

Is it a professional service they are rendering, like any lawyer would represent anybody for a fee, or is it just a group of lawyers who seem to have this kind of practice and more or less confine their profession to this type of practice?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Well, the prison system in California, as an attraction has grown in scope. Recently, I think last week, in the New York Times there was an interview with Steven Bingham.

Senator THURMOND. With whom?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. With a former NLG attorney Steven Bingham, a man charged with murder and under indictment in our State on charges of assisting George Jackson in attempting to escape from prison. He recently surfaced in Canada and in an interview there indicated that he was a revolutionary and would always remain a revolutionary. So I think his remarks exemplify the feelings of other revolutionary attorneys who are active in our prisons.

Senator THURMOND. This Legal Street Sheet No. 6, which you put in evidence there, has at the bottom of it "By the National Lawyers Guild regional office."

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Does that mean that the Lawyers Guild regional office prepared this?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. We would assume so. The document was found in a SLA safe house in Concord and we are told that it is in common use among not only among revolutionaries but virtually anyone who wants to work outside of the laws of our State.

I might add that under the paragraph entitled "Security of this document," it is stated that: "You should keep your weapons hidden and that everyone in the house should know where they are, and if you have a larger store of them they should be kept in very safe places." Statements such as these are inflammatory in nature and I think tend to encourage these groups to go ahead with their revolutionary activities.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I ask either you or Mr. Medigovich, General, about the organization of or recruitment for revolutionary groups behind prison walls? This is going on not only in California but all over the country, is it not?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any particular difference between this effort in the Far West and this effort elsewhere in the country?

Mr. YOUNGER. I think maybe only a difference in degree. I think that unfortunately or fortunately for good or bad we are quite progres-

sive in California, that is where things often start out, like the filthy speech movement of the sixties, things like that. It is unfortunate that many of the things that occurred during those turbulent years first occurred in our State. We probably have a greater amount of activity in our prisons, and although it certainly exists in other States, it is just more extensive in California.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now in California, what group or groups have been found at the bottom of this effort, in control of organizing it, pushing it?

Mr. YOUNGER. In the prisons?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Well, the best example is the SLA, which operated initially on a very low key basis. They used false ID's to get into the prisons and kept their activities in a low profile so as to not gain the attention of prison authorities. They worked in concert with a well-known prison organization called the Black Guerrilla Family. Nancy Ling Perry, the SLA theoretician, noted in her personal diary this fact. She stated: "The SLA does, in fact, represent the BGF." There are other more overt organizations who depend on public support. One such organization is the Prison Law Collective in San Francisco. Some of their members have been banned from visiting any of our prisons.

Other prison activists have been identified by correctional officers and inmates as having carried hit lists into prisons.

Senator THURMOND. Carrying what?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Hit lists. These are lists of individuals, inmates in the prisons, that a specific group may target to kill, and some outsiders have been responsible for aiding these prison gangs in carrying out these very hits.

Mr. YOUNGER. I think again it should be emphasized though that most people that go in the prisons, including most attorneys, are properly motivated and are genuinely concerned with the problems of the prisoners. There are a number of people who are persuaded that prisoners are not treated fairly. For example, some people think that a warden should not be able to discipline a prisoner by putting him in solitary after a knife fight between inmates without hearings and being represented. So there is a whole body of law being explored and examined now which relates to the rights of prisoners. It keeps changing. It keeps expanding all the time and there are many fine attorneys and citizens deeply interested in the prisoner problem.

So it is very difficult to identify those that are going in there for ulterior motives and distinguish those individuals from those who are properly motivated.

Even in the case of some of the SLA people who eventually became very violent, dangerous terrorists, some of the initial visits involving these people in prison came from various high minded and sincerely conscientious people from the Berkeley area. They have sort of built a Frankenstein. Some of them were there to improve the prisoner's lot and to assist them when they found out that the prisoners were becoming dangerous and violent and engaged in terrorist activities they withdrew. But, it is sometimes difficult to identify the motives and operating plans of the people who are in prison. One of the most difficult

jobs today is to run a major prison institution and try to be sure that you give to the prisoner all of the privileges and rights he is entitled to, like visitations with lawyer and other people, without simply encouraging the formation of revolutionary activities in prisons. It is an extremely difficult thing.

Mr. SOURWINE. To what extent, if you can tell, are the National Lawyers Guild and its members involved in the drive for revolutionary activity, in the formation of revolutionary organizations and the recruitment of revolutionaries, the development of revolutionary individuals in the prisons in California?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Sir, it is difficult to define precisely because we are most familiar with the efforts of National Lawyers Guild members who live in areas such as Berkeley where there is a great deal more revolutionary fervor present.

The House Internal Security Committee described NLG activities in this regard in several reports. There was a resolution that was raised by members of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers Guild in 1971, which describes in detail what their prison intentions are, and the role of the prisoner as a vanguard of the future revolution. I believe it can be found in Report No. 93-738 the House Internal Security Committee's publication entitled "Revolutionary Targets: The American Penal System."

Senator THURMOND. There is a bill now pending which I introduced to make it a Federal crime to kill police and to provide more protection for the police.

I just wondered if you had occasion to see a copy of that bill or how you feel about it.

Mr. YOUNGER. I have been aware of it. I don't believe I have read the bill. I think that we have recently revived, as you know, by constitutional amendment and by legislation, revived capital punishment in California in appropriate cases, and I think that our legislation which relates to punishment for killing of an officer is adequate so far our State is concerned.

Senator THURMOND. Do you think it would be helpful if we had a Federal law on this subject?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sir, is there in California any equivalent of the Attica Brigade?

Mr. YOUNGER. I am sorry—

Mr. SOURWINE. Of the Attica Brigade. Is there an equivalent in California?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. There are a few chapters in our State. However, they recently changed their name to that of the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

On the 13th of September, the anniversary date of the Attica rebellion, a number of pamphlets and flyers were distributed in California which reflected the situation in New York, however, this activity posed no problems in our prisons.

As the Attorney General mentioned, California is progressive and the actions of prison activists in this State stand as an example for other movements in the United States. A good example of this would be the list of prisoner demands that were presented at the time of

the Attica rebellion to New York authorities. We found that those demands originally were utilized at the Folsom strike in California in 1970. They had simply been rewritten, and all of the names reflecting in California were scratched out and the names of appropriate New York officials were then put in their place.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mentioned something about Ronald Beaty. Can you expand on his story?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. I think the Beaty escape plan, which resulted in the conviction of four former Venceremos members, reflects the type of activity that can take place. It is a good example, and we found that although the Beaty escape occurred in 1972, similar attempts have followed, and we predict that additional attempts of that type will be made.

It seems that the members of the group which aided Beaty in his escape, although they may no longer be associated with Venceremos, have been recognized as being key members in other existing radical organizations involved in the prison movement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you give us some kind of list or chart showing these interconnections, what we might call interlocking directorates?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. We attempted to prepare one for you. However, it became increasingly more complicated and soon became obvious that every one of these individuals and organizations had some type of close relationship with the other. So it wouldn't be a very effective analytical tool.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Revolutionary Union is one of the organizations you mentioned. Are you aware of any connection between the RU and Ron Beaty, his escape, and his other activities?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. No, sir, I think the Ronald Beaty escape was centered around the Venceremos organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any connection between the Venceremos organization and the Revolutionary Union?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. There was initially.

Mr. SOURWINE. It grew out of the Revolutionary Union, did it not?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir. Initially as a result of a split in the movement, the Venceremos organization emerged, and it was far more revolutionary in scope than the Revolutionary Union, the essential difference was those aligned with the Venceremos organization believe that "masses" must first be mobilized before the revolution will begin, whereas those aligned with the Venceremos organization believe that the time for revolution is now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that Ron Beaty was given instructions by a leader of the Venceremos organization who had formerly been a leader of RU?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir. I think you are referring to H. Bruce Franklin. We are well aware of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. We are well aware of that. I think it is important to point out that Beaty was not at large a sufficiently long enough time to really implement any of the activities that he indicated in his testimony he was urged to undertake.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you talking about testimony which is public, suitable for inclusion in our record?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. I am referring to the grand jury testimony of San Bernardino County, which is a public document at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may this be received for our record? You can supply it, can you not?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The document referred to appears as appendix III, p. 61.]

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any interconnection with the RU or its following organization, Venceremos, and the Weatherman Organization?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Again I think we have a similar situation. We are talking about groups which have their own identity yet for their own reasons have chosen one particular approach to revolution over another. The Weathermen as we have seen, confine their activities to bombing empty buildings without resulting in loss of life. However, we are concerned, since publication of their political statement, "Prairie Fire," that this may change. Many analysts who have read the document feel that there may be a possibility that the Weather Underground will change its activities from simple bombings to violent acts more revolutionary in scope.

Mr. SOURWINE. The document you refer to became available or was issued when?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. "Prairie Fire" first appeared on July 25 in California at a select number of stores.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a copy you can give the committee?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes; I have a copy here which is not an original copy, but one that we have reproduced.

Mr. SOURWINE. May this be received? It can be placed in the subcommittee files and included in this record by reference.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The document referred to may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any reason to believe that Maoist money, money from Red China, is in any way helping revolutionary groups in California?

Mr. YOUNGER. I don't think so. We have no such information. As I indicated earlier, money doesn't seem to be a very big factor with the groups we are talking about certainly in California.

They live rather frugally or modestly, and they don't need outside money. They can rob a bank or more often just use a stolen credit card to get it. Among their major problems I don't think money is one of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you give us any information about connections between the Weathermen Underground and the Communist Party USA or Communist organizations?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Again, due to the close knit cellular structure of the Weather Underground at the present time, we don't have enough information to say that they are working in concert with the Communist Party here.

I think they are sufficiently independent, and indeed when you read the political statement of "Prairie Fire," you will see that their political philosophy reflects a mixture of philosophies. I feel that it is heav-

ily weighted toward Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Mao. However, they do include in their bibliography a number of other sources which would seem to show that it is an amalgam.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are Lincoln and Liebel Bergman still active in California?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Liebel Bergman left California in 1971 and to our knowledge is living in New Jersey. He may visit our State from time to time to coordinate with members of Revolutionary Union chapters.

Mr. SOURWINE. How about Lincoln Bergman?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Lincoln Bergman has remained relatively inactive, and we have not been able to associate him with any revolutionary activities at the present time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Arlene Bergman bears what relationship to Lincoln and Liebel Bergman?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. I believe that Arlene Bergman is the wife of Lincoln Bergman.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the relationship between Lincoln and Liebel?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Father and son.

Mr. SOURWINE. Liebel is the father.

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about the activities of Arlene Bergman?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. No, sir, other than that she is known to have been an important member of the Venceremos Brigade and traveled extensively in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her connection, if any, with the Weatherman organization?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether she had been active in the release and publicity of "Prairie Fire," the Weatherman book?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, the detailed report which was furnished by Attorney General Younger is intended as a supplement to the Attorney General's report in June of this year on Terrorism in California. That latter report, I do believe, ought also to be received for this record, with a reservation of judgment about whether it should be printed as a part of the record in the appendix.

Does this suit the pleasure of the Chair?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, that will be done.

[The text of the report referred to appears as Appendix II, p. 51.]

Senator SOURWINE. You have no objection if the committee decides to print this?

Mr. YOUNGER. No, sir, that would be fine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, we could go into a great many additional questions here, but I do believe it would be better if they were explored privately in staff conferences. I know the Attorney General and his associate can help us materially, and I believe arrangements can be made so that we can get that help within the next few days on a conference basis, so I will not ask further questions at this time.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Attorney General, would you be available for that purpose, or would your man be available?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes, sir, we will do whatever we can to assist whatever you desire. Mr. Medigovich will be available here upon reasonable notice whenever you need him, and we will all be available to assist in California.

Senator THURMOND. I would like to ask you this question. How many different terrorist organizations have you identified in California?

Mr. YOUNGER. Well, I suppose it is a matter of definition. I will let Mr. Medigovich answer that. But I have the uncomfortable feeling that we may have some one- or two-man terrorist organizations in California. I think that is what happened in the recent airport bombing. I think the characteristics, the tape-recorded messages, and so forth, are in a sense copying various well-known terrorist organization tactics. I suppose, what, 10 or a dozen of the better known groups.

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. More in the neighborhood of half a dozen. We mentioned the Weather Underground, the remnants of the SLA, Black Liberation Army, Manson Clan. Those are the basic ones that we are concerned with.

I might add that we have become interested in these organizations when they surface and commit a criminal act. We try to anticipate what might be a likely target for a terrorist group, but it is very difficult to substantiate that a new terrorist group may in fact exist. We have bombings, as you can see from our attachment to the written report, that are on a daily basis and the groups that claim credit for them may call themselves any number of names, such as, New World Liberation Front or the Americans for Justice, and they are so numerous that it would serve no purpose here to identify them all.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you have learned that there exists an organization or an individual active in a revolutionary way, active in a terrorist way, you would be remiss in your duty if you didn't try to gather information about that individual or organization and learn if possible what the future plans of the individual or organization might be, wouldn't you?

Mr. YOUNGER. That is correct, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How badly are you hampered in these efforts by the attitude taken by various persons and groups, some of them quite well meaning, that you have no business gathering information, keeping dossiers or keeping tabs on the activities of any individual unless you can prove that they are currently engaged in criminal activity?

Mr. YOUNGER. How badly are we hampered? I think we are not only hampered by those who are politically motivated, those who want to make it appear that whenever we make inquiries concerning these groups we are doing something in the nature of dirty political tricks. We are not only hampered by the extent to which those people are able to peddle that theory but we are also hampered by our own realization that this is a very delicate problem and we impose on ourselves the responsibility to be very careful that we don't just start gathering "political intelligence." It is sometimes hard to draw the line and we are aware of that. Before the SLA, in the initial days when people were journeying from Berkeley to talk to DeFreeze and others in prison about their rights and privileges, some of those people were very motivated by the purist thoughts and desires to improve the lot of the

prisoner and they would have been very, very resentful if we would have suggested there was anything improper about their contacts with DeFreeze and others. They would have attracted a good deal of public support if there was any effort made to keep them from visiting the DeFreezes and others in prison. Yet, some of these same people who were involved originally backed off when they saw the direction it was taking. I wish it were either/or, but it isn't, it is a very difficult area and there is a large gray area there, too, that none of us can easily identify.

Mr. SOURWINE. To look at the other side of the coin—and I will make this my last subject of questioning Mr. Chairman—to look at the other side of the coin, have you found that organizations like the SLA, or if you prefer to confine your answer to the SLA, that the SLA was found to have very good intelligence?

Mr. YOUNGER. I would say so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, the SLA in particular had intelligence not only with respect to California but with respect to matters across the Nation and situations and happenings in Washington, which was far beyond what you would expect a group of its small numbers to be able to accomplish?

Mr. YOUNGER. There is no question about it. They are not stupid. If you read some of the things they say, you may get a little confused as to their political philosophy. It seems to be a mixture of Cuban and Maoist communism coupled with ordinary street rhetoric. I don't think any of them go down in history as being particular exponents of a new political philosophy, but they are sure going to go down in history as good organizers and good planners.

If you read this SLA target list, for example, which was compiled from files and papers in the safe house in Contra Costa County, you will have to be impressed with the fact they have been thorough. This is reflected by their reference materials presented here. They probably had a better library here than many police departments in the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is necessary to assume, is it not, in the absence of any other explanation, that the SLA and some of these other groups have a great deal of help, at least cooperative help, elsewhere in the country from other groups and individuals?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes, sir, I don't see how they could avoid capture otherwise.

Again, as I mentioned before, Dillinger had a tough time in the old days hiding out; there weren't too many people who thought he was a hero or martyr, but times have changed.

Senator THURMOND. Let me ask you this: From your study and the experience you have had with these groups, what is their ultimate purpose? Is it going to bring about a revolution in the country, to pull down this government, or what is their main ambition, as you have been able to determine?

Mr. YOUNGER. I think some of them very strongly want to do just that. They truly want to achieve the destruction of the government in this country. But I think there are all sizes and shapes and philosophies. I think in many cases their motivation is no more complicated than just a desire to get attention. I think that you will find many of them started out by reading a book by Mao, and so forth, and memo-

rized a couple lines and from there on their philosophy sort of goes off in every direction. You will find profound dedicated revolutionaries who seriously want to destroy our form of government and you will also find a bunch of unstable, emotionally ill, copycats as well.

Let me just say in closing that I don't want to suggest at all that these terrorists in California represent any threat to the stability of our country, because they don't. They can bomb buildings and they can kill people and do outrageous things, but there isn't the slightest doubt in my mind that they don't really represent a threat to the continued stability of the U.S. Government. It is not a cancer than can destroy our Nation, it is a small infection that can only be dangerous if it continues untreated. I want to keep it in its proper perspective.

In all of California, with 20 million people, we are probably talking about 200 people at most, maybe even a hundred people. But given the fact, that it is so easy to get a weapon from any number of sources at home or abroad, or even make one, given the fact that anybody who has taken high school chemistry can make an explosive device, given the fact of life that it is relatively easy to steal a credit card and finance any sort of criminal activity, be it bombings or whatever, and finally given the fact that out of a population of 20 million you are going to have some sick, demented people who are willing and capable of doing terrible things to other people, given all those facts, these 100 people or 200 people really represent a problem, not an insurmountable problem, not a threat to our country, but a problem which certainly warrants your attention and ours, and I thank you for giving us a chance to discuss this with you.

Senator THURMOND. Let me ask you this.

Do you think these people have determined which personalities they wish to assassinate or do they just commit an assassination occasionally to get publicity for that organization? Are they approaching this thing in a systematic way to try to destroy those who are in power or how have you found that they do approach that kind of act?

Mr. YOUNGER. I think the SLA, for example, they started out in a very businesslike way. They had their hit list, they had their target, and then apparently—Mr. Medigovich can correct me if I am wrong—it seems to me that it was just by chance that the Oakland school superintendent may have been the subject of a newspaper article one day about the time they were ready to kill someone. I think they made a decision that they had to kill somebody to get attention. No self-respecting terrorist can achieve any prestige in his chosen profession unless he kills somebody or blows up some building and they had to kill somebody and they picked out for what I regard a very illogical reason. Marcus Foster, the Oakland school superintendent.

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. They had done an enormous amount of research on him, including members of his immediate family. The reason he was selected was a mystery to every other revolutionary minded group. Their reasoning was impaired by their own misperceptions of our society.

Let me add that while the country was in the throes of the Watergate investigations and while tremendous criticism was being leveled on the office of the President, the SLA was concerned with issues such as that of nuclear powerplants being built in California. If anything,

it shows that they operated detached from reality, and they kept reinforcing those misperceptions among themselves. I think that is one of the drawbacks of being a member of a small clandestine organization. However, this did not hamper them in selecting people for assassination. Two individuals had death warrants written on them. One of those was Robert Comer. They had his photo, death warrant, and extortion note already prepared in advance. I am sure that an attempt would have been made against him had they not been located as a result of the arrest of the two SLA suspects in custody in Alameda.

Mr. YOUNGER. With your permission, Senator, can I ask Mr. Medigovich a question?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. YOUNGER. Was there any such warrant prepared for Marcus Foster?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, they had issued it and it was sent to the press and the various papers; they had all of the documentation on him.

Mr. YOUNGER. He was listed in much the same way as the other man you mentioned.

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. They would choose certain individuals like they chose the school superintendent for assassination.

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir, and it is interesting to note that the majority of the individuals they had selected represent the private industry sector of our economy. Of the total 900, that is not a complete number because there have been additional people we have found since then, who have been listed, 85 percent were from private industry and the remaining 15 percent represent individuals in government or law enforcement.

Senator THURMOND. Have there been law enforcement people on their list for assassination?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Is that because of the nature of their duties or because of the dislike of an individual or—

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. Well, it is probably the most commonly expressed tenet of terrorists here today that one should kill a "pig" in order to make his day complete. This was part of their philosophy.

Senator THURMOND. And could it be possible that they would kill or assassinate individuals in the private sector to make it appear they are not after the public sector, then they would have certain individuals in the public sector that they were going to assassinate and use that as a subterfuge or camouflage of most of them from the private sector?

Mr. MEDIGOVICH. We could argue about why they selected certain people, but the basic reason is to indicate to the public in general that law enforcement and the Government cannot provide adequate protection of its citizenry and that is what they are trying to do, discredit law enforcement and discredit the Government of the United States.

Senator THURMOND. Let me ask you this. Has any more information come to light out there with regard to Patricia Hearst as to whether she is being held against her will in custody?

Mr. YOUNGER. No more, Senator, other than the fact that the Federal grand jury has based certain criminal charges on the assumption that she, whatever she may have done originally, whether her original

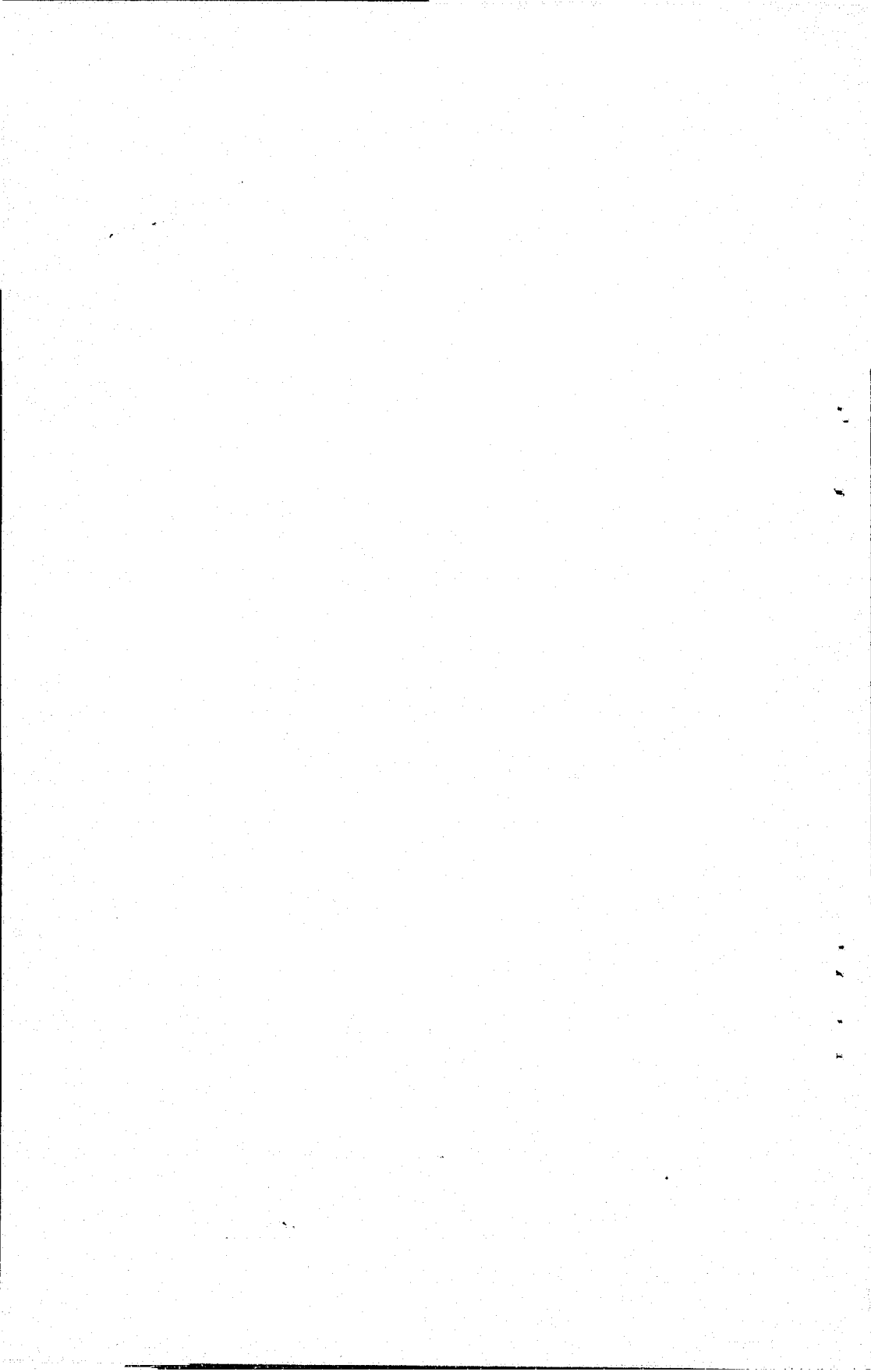
kidnaping, whatever may have been her attitude then, that now she is a willing participant in the various criminal activities. That is the assumption and the theory of the Federal grand jury which has filed charges against her.

Senator THURMOND. We want to express our appreciation to you, Mr. Attorney General, and also to your aide, who has accompanied you and is working with you, and we thank you again for your appearance here and we appreciate your willingness to further cooperate, and chief counsel, Mr. Sourwine, will get in touch with you about the other conferences.

Mr. YOUNGER. Thank you very kindly.

Senator THURMOND. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

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



APPENDIX I

TERRORISM IN CALIFORNIA, JULY 1974

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

(Evelle J. Younger, Attorney General)

TERRORISM IN CALIFORNIA

Introduction

California is confronted by a broad spectrum of terrorism, the ultimate weapon of the new revolutionaries. Terrorism comes in many guises ranging from increasing numbers of individual crimes of violence, to crimes committed by organized groups who employ the systematic use of terror to coerce.

The California terrorist has found a certain degree of security by living and operating in large urban areas. He has knowledge of time-tested and proven techniques of urban guerrilla warfare to call upon to guide him in his actions. The urban guerrilla movements of Latin America, Northern Ireland and Quebec provide ready strategies for eager revolutionaries in California.

The credo of the urban guerrilla is that revolution must be accomplished by the violent destructive acts of terrorism. This manifesto was developed by Carlos Marighella, a former official of the Brazilian Communist Party who broke with the Communists over the insistence that revolution must take place immediately. Marighella is the author of the *Mini-Manual on Urban Guerrilla Warfare*.

The tactics of the urban guerrilla include ambushes on police officers, kidnappings to exchange imprisoned revolutionaries, bank robberies to obtain money, and bombings. These tactics have been employed by urban guerrillas throughout the world and have been used, to some degree, in this country.

According to Carlos Marighella, the goals of the urban guerrilla are:

1. To show the masses that police and military authorities are impotent to protect themselves from urban terrorism and thus powerless to protect society as a whole;
2. To provoke, by acts of outrageous terror, over-reaction on the part of police and the government in order to "radicalize" sympathizers of revolutionary aims; who without the provocation of over-reaction, would not engage in acts of violence; and
3. To combine the first two goals ultimately to overthrow the established government.

During the past several years, there has been an unrestricted flow of propaganda into the prison system, including reactionary literature that has stimulated the hardened criminals into an alliance with the revolutionary extremists. With the end of the Vietnam war, which deprived the revolutionary of a popular divisive cause, he has now turned his movements towards penal institutions. This has resulted in the death of a number of correctional officers and the formation of terrorist organizations in the prison systems with alliances on the street. These alliances helped to form the Symbionese Liberation Army.

History—Formation of Terrorist Organizations in this State

The emergence of terrorism in this state is a result of a continual evolution within the new left and gained particular impetus with the formation of the Revolutionary Union and the Black Liberation Army.

The Revolutionary Union centered on the scientific application of Marxist/Leninist doctrine as interpreted by Mao Tse Tung. All Revolutionary Union members were inculcated with the belief that violent, armed revolution in the United States is inevitable. Within one year after the Revolutionary Union was publicly recognized, the organization had a dozen known collectives in Palo Alto, Redwood City, San Jose, San Francisco, Berkeley, and Richmond and soon began to spread throughout the country.

One of the members, Bruce Franklin, an articulate prophet of the coming American revolution, was an assistant professor at Stanford University. During a sabbatical interlude, Franklin and his wife were sent to France. While in France, Franklin began reading Marxist texts and during that period declared his conversion to Marxist/Leninist Communism.

In early 1971, Franklin led a dissident faction of the Revolutionary Union and formed the Venceremos Organization. The split occurred as a result of discontent and opposition among the more militant Revolutionary Union members concerning the long-term goal of revolution within 15 to 20 years. Franklin's group advocated immediate and armed revolution.

This organization demonstrated its dangerous potential in October 1972, staging the ambush-escape of Chino convict and prison convert Ronald Beatty in which one prison guard was killed and another wounded. Two former members of the Venceremos Organization were sentenced to prison May 31, 1974, for their participation in the escape incident. Another member has been found guilty of second-degree murder.

In the meantime, the Black Panther Party split into two factions in early 1971 and a small nucleus of more dedicated revolutionary members formed a highly-mobile group called the Black Liberation Army. These individuals became followers of exiled Eldridge Cleaver and organized into small groups. This organization has been involved in the assassination of a number of police officers in New York and San Francisco, as well as numerous bank robberies.

During the past five years, revolutionary organizations have begun to radicalize prison inmates and discredit the correctional process. During this period, several prison guards were killed culminating in the escape attempt on August 7, 1970, at the Marin County Courthouse. At that time, Jonathan Jackson, close associate of Angela Davis, burst into the Marin County Superior Court in an attempt to release three prisoners being tried for the murder of a prison guard. The shootout left four dead and two people seriously wounded.

Prior to its recent disbanding, the Venceremos Organization began a wholesale indoctrination program to develop revolutionary cadres in the prisons which resulted in the formation of the Symbionese Liberation Army and the first political kidnapping in this country. Authorities believe that many Venceremos Organization members have gone underground and are active in small affinity groups which will continue to plague California.

Prison Related Groups

The California corrections system, like other prison systems of the nation, has always had prison gangs of one type or another involved in various aspects of hoodlum-type activity. For the most part, these prison gangs have concerned themselves with control of narcotics and other illegal contraband within the prison walls, protection rackets, and petty thievery, gambling and loansharking.

During the past five years, there has been an evident radicalization and politicalization of prison inmates primarily as a result of an agitation campaign by outside groups that have sought to discredit the correctional process in an attempt to raise the revolutionary consciousness of prison inmates.

The new philosophy permeating prisons directs the inmate to stop fighting among his fellow inmates because there is only one common enemy—the government which is operating the prison system.

This new philosophy is built around two concepts, namely, (1) the "political prisoner" concept which embodies the thesis that the inmates were sentenced merely for acts of survival against an oppressive system and the ruling class who forced the inmate to commit the crime, and (2) the "so-called prison movement" concept which pertains to the efforts of the outside elements to condition prison inmates to organize and effect a radical change in the penal system.

Through inflammatory literature sent to inmates, personal visitations, and manipulation of established prison rehabilitative study groups, inmates are taught that the only way the "oppressive" prison system can be changed is through acts of revolutionary violence. Many revolutionary groups are convinced that prisoners will be the vanguard of the revolution and that future leaders will emerge from the prisons. Donald DeFreeze's (Cinque) dominance of the Symbionese Liberation Army serves as an example.

The *modus operandi* usually employed by revolutionary groups is to impress upon the targeted inmate that he is a "political prisoner." In some instances, the

targeted inmate is promised publicity, money, free legal defense, and even the affection of a female supporter. As the targeted inmate is developed by the revolutionary group, he is portrayed as a "political prisoner." Publicity concerning his plight appears in the radical press and in some instances a defense committee is formed in his behalf. False allegations concerning the inmate are circulated and used as a platform to attack the penal system in general. In the meantime, the targeted inmate is bombarded with all types of revolutionary literature. The inmate is then instructed by the revolutionary group to agitate among his fellow inmates and he is given complete assurance that he will receive free legal defense should he run into difficulties with the prison authorities.

The following major groups are presently actively opposing the California State Prison system, many in conjunction with outside cadres such as the Symbionese Liberation Army, can become effective conduits of terrorist-type activities. The outside revolutionaries can utilize established prison programs for their own end. An example of this was the Symbionese Liberation Army in the Black Cultural Association at the California Medical Facility—Vacaville.

United Prisoners Union

The United Prisoners Union is an organization comprised of prisoners, parolees and ex-convicts campaigning for the abolition of the prison system. The organization was originally located solely in Sacramento with the intention of establishing offices in other cities as needed. With a strong union composed entirely of prison inmates, the United Prisoners Union hopes to make successful demands over issues such as a minimum inmate wage and conjugal visiting privileges. They are also geared to provide strong support for prison strikes.

The United Prisoners Union, which now has more than 150 members within the California prison facilities, has been supportive in several internal prison disputes. The United Prisoners Union is reportedly dominated by many members of the Venceremos Underground.

The Polar Bear Party

The Polar Bear Party began as a racist organization composed predominantly of white individuals which describe themselves as a "politically oriented group with the aim of raising the conscience of our brothers here inside in order to promote prison reform and fight for the abandonment of prisons entirely."

As a result of its recent alliance with the Venceremos Underground, the Polar Bear Party is now espousing the Maoist philosophy and has been informed by the Venceremos Underground that they must change Polar Bear Party policy regarding blacks, as the Venceremos is not racist and has no color barriers.

Black Guerrilla Family

James "Doc" Holiday, presently an inmate at San Quentin, is regarded as the inmate leader of the Black Guerrilla Family. The Black Guerrilla Family is a revolutionary Marxist/Leninist organization formed in late 1971 from elements of the Black Panther Party. The Black Guerrilla Family follows the teaching and leadership of former Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver and George Jackson. The group's ideology can be summed up in the following words: "Total liberation from within these concentration camps of the U.S. of Cowards, and survival, by any means necessary!"

The Black Guerrilla Family has spread its membership throughout the entire California prison system. The organization is run by a president, a central committee and five generals. Captains, lieutenants and soldiers carry out assigned tasks for the organization.

The Black Guerrilla Family is engaged in a continuing recruitment program and frequently holds political discussions relating to Marxist theory. In addition, members of this group are known to have engaged in physical training and to have participated in Karate drills. Recently, the Black Guerrilla Family formed an alliance with the New Family, a Mexican-American inmate group involved primarily in control of narcotics trafficking within the penal institutions.

Membership in the Black Guerrilla Family involves a death oath commitment. There is a growing body of evidence which indicates that the Black Guerrilla Family retains some control of paroled members and openly associates itself with underground terrorist organizations such as the Black Liberation Army and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Other Groups

The Mexican Mafia, a violence-prone organization made up primarily of Mexican-American inmates from the East Los Angeles area; and the New Family, a group of Mexican-American inmates who are predominantly from the valley areas of California; and the Aryan Brotherhood, an all-white inmate racist organization, do not, at this time, espouse revolutionary ideologies but remain primarily interested in the monetary gains derived from the control of narcotics trafficking, extortion, and protection rackets. Although these groups are presently not revolutionary oriented, the violence they have exhibited in the past make them potential conduits for terrorist-type activities should outside influences change their immediate goals.

TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE STATE

Black Liberation Army

The Black Liberation Army, or Afro-American Liberation Army, is a group of blacks dedicated to the killing of police officers, the attacking of police stations, the armed robberies of lending institutions, and terrorist activities against white establishments. Recent arrests on the East Coast of key Black Liberation Army leaders have severely diminished the organization's activities. However, at one time, the Black Liberation Army was felt to be the most dangerous force confronting law enforcement and was responsible for a score or more of attacks on police officers and facilities, both in the Eastern U.S. and California.

The Black Liberation Army follows the teachings of Eldridge Cleaver and was formed by young blacks who viewed the Black Panther Party as not revolutionary enough. Members are organized under the cell system with usually ten to twenty persons forming a group. The Black Liberation Army is believed to have functioning units in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and New York City.

Republic of New Africa

The Republic of New Africa is a black separatist group which advocates taking over the Southeast United States and establishing an independent black nation. The organization was founded in 1968 and was based in Detroit, Michigan, until 1971 when headquarters was moved to Hinds County, Mississippi, and the so-called provisional capital of "El Malik" was established.

While functioning as a revolutionary organization in 1971, the Republic of New Africa was involved in paramilitary activities in San Luis Obispo, shoot-outs with law enforcement officers in several states, and the hijacking of a plane to Cuba.

Recently, a number of Republic of New Africa leaders, including Richard Henry, reportedly attended a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, concerning Pan African activities. Although there has been no recent activity in this state on the part of the Republic of New Africa, should the group again become operational, their past activities reflect definite terrorist traits.

Weatherman/Weather Underground

The Weather Underground has been described by the FBI as "one of the most violent of revolutionary organizations." The Weatherman began in 1969 as a faction of the Students For A Democratic Society. The split occurred so that the Weatherman could build itself into a small hardcore organization dedicated to immediate revolution in this country. Weatherman members first engaged in massive antiwar demonstrations in 1969 in both Chicago and Washington, D.C. At that time, its leaders declared their aim was to "destroy imperialism and establish a socialist state."

In early 1970, the Weatherman went underground, members assumed new identities, and leaders declared the group's intentions of conducting guerrilla warfare against the entire U.S. government. The group then became involved in nationwide bombings and has claimed credit for those directed at correctional offices in California and New York in 1971 and the Pentagon Building in Virginia in 1972. The bombings of the State Attorney General's Office in Los Angeles on May 31, and the Federal Building in San Francisco on March 7, 1974, are two of this organization's most recent acts of violence.

Weatherman fugitives have been reported to have been in the Berkeley/San Francisco area on a number of occasions during the past several years; however, they have continued to remain elusive. Most of the hardcore leaders are currently wanted on a variety of federal charges. (See attached photos.) This small nucleus of fugitives remains a viable threat because of their terrorist activities and knowledge of explosives and urban guerrilla tactics.

Black September

The Black September appears to be the most violent faction of these Palestinian organizations currently making headlines for terrorist attacks on innocent people. The Black September is believed to have worldwide sympathizers. The name Black September, or Ailul Al Aswad, symbolizes the wrath of the Palestinian guerrillas over their suppression by King Hussein in September 1970. It is believed that the Black September operates in small cells of six to ten persons, and is divided into four main units which are individually responsible for Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the Americas.

Black September members use forged passports to move about freely throughout countries. In September 1972, reports indicated that four members were to enter the United States using Yemen passports. The proposed trip was brought to light by U.S. officials and the commandos turned back. One member entered at New York and made it to the Los Angeles area before he was advised to leave the United States.

Manson Clan

Members of the Manson Clan continue to cause problems for law enforcement in the state. Originally, the Manson Clan was composed of approximately 100 individuals. It is unknown at the present time just how many are left in this state.

In recent years, the followers of Charles Manson have become associated with the Aryan Brotherhood. When Manson knew he was going to prison, he looked around for a prison gang that he could join. He then had his girls send letters to members of the Aryan Brotherhood and nude photographs in an attempt to influence them. Several of the Manson girls became involved in escape attempts to help members of the Aryan Brotherhood escape from various prisons in this state.

In November, 1972, three Manson girls and three members of the Aryan Brotherhood murdered a young couple in Stockton. More recently, another Manson girl was arrested after becoming involved in a plot to kidnap a foreign consulate officer in the Los Angeles area. Two former members of the Manson Clan are now living in Sacramento and one of the Manson girls attempted to see Charles Manson at Folsom Prison, but was denied admittance.

Members of the Manson Clan, because of their past activities and their potential for violence, could become involved in a terrorist plot to free Charles Manson or other members of the Manson Clan or Aryan Brotherhood now confined in state prisons.

Other Groups

Aside from these viable terrorist-type groups, there are those spontaneous groups who continue to emerge with violent criticism of our ever changing social conditions.

TRENDS

1. The phenomenon of terrorism born out of the student movement of the sixties will continue to plague California during the next several years. The pattern of dissent has changed in the last few years from conditions of popular non-violent civil disobedience, to the state of applied terrorist tactics. This trend has caused the majority of student dissidents to become disaffected by the violence practiced by terrorist organizations.

As terrorist organizations gradually lose those individuals not fully committed to their cause, we are left with small groups of a disciplined and a potentially more dangerous nature. The ability of law enforcement to penetrate the small, mobile, well-structured terrorist organization is becoming increasingly more difficult.

2. The increasing violence in the prison system coupled with the prison revolutionaries' associations with extremists outside the prison walls who are aiding them, makes this situation extremely volatile. Hardcore revolutionaries are selecting, recruiting and proselytizing those behind the prison walls who will be committed to terrorism.

3. There appears to be a possibility of a merger of individuals from less active-prone revolutionary organizations to the smaller well-disciplined terrorist organization in order for them to fulfill a more active role such as that of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

4. The domestic terrorists are tailoring their methods to specific community environments such as the Berkeley/Oakland areas. The actions of the Symbionese Liberation Army are undoubtedly being studied by extremists throughout the United States who may pattern their activities from that of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

DWIGHT ALAN ARMSTRONG



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 19, Born August 29, 1951,
Madison, Wisconsin

HEIGHT: 5'10" to 5'11"

WEIGHT: 160 to 165 pounds

BUILD: slender

HAIR: brown

OCCUPATIONS: chef, dishwasher,
mechanic (auto and airplane),
railroad switchman

SCARS AND MARKS: scar on web
of right thumb

REMARKS: reportedly uses drugs

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBERS

USED: 389-54-0343; 389-54-3043

EYES: brown

COMPLEXION: medium

RACE: white

NATIONALITY: American

A Federal warrant was issued on September 2, 1970, at Madison, Wisconsin, charging Armstrong with sabotage (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2155a, b), destruction of Government property (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1361) and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 371).

WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 25, born December 26, 1944,
Oak Park, Illinois

HEIGHT: 5'10"

WEIGHT: 170 pounds

BUILD: medium

HAIR: brown

REMARKS: reportedly wears glasses

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER

USED: 333-36-2670

EYES: brown

COMPLEXION: medium

RACE: white

NATIONALITY: American

A Federal warrant was issued on April 2, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Ayers with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2101 and 371).

CAMERON DAVID BISHOP

**DESCRIPTION****AGE:** 26, born November 7, 1942, Pueblo, Colorado**HEIGHT:** 5'8" to 5'9"**WEIGHT:** 155 to 165 pounds**BUILD:** stocky**HAIR:** dark brown**EYES:** brown**COMPLEXION:** medium**RACE:** white**NATIONALITY:** American**OCCUPATIONS:** assistant credit manager, auto parts manager, coffee house operator, laborer, mine worker, truck driver**SCARS AND MARKS:** appendectomy scar; tattoo; skunk holding mirror, right forearm**REMARKS:** may have chipped upper front teeth.**SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED:** 522-46-2283

A Federal warrant was issued February 14, 1969, at Denver, Colorado, charging Bishop with destruction of war utilities (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2153a).

SILAS TRIM BISSELL



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 28, born April 27, 1942, Grand Rapids, Michigan

HEIGHT: 5'10" to 5'11"

EYES: green

WEIGHT: 130 to 135 pounds

COMPLEXION: medium

BUILD: slender

RACE: white

HAIR: brown

NATIONALITY: American

OCCUPATION: teacher

SCARS AND MARKS: appendectomy scar

REMARKS: may wear sideburns and beard

Federal warrants were issued on June 9, 1970, at Seattle, Washington, charging Silas Trim Bissell and Judith Emily Bissell with conspiracy to destroy government property and possession of a destructive device not registered according to the National Firearms Act (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 371, 1361 and Title 26, U.S. Code, Sections 5861 (D) and 5871).

KATHIE BOUDIN



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 26, born May 19, 1943, New York,	EYES: blue
New York	COMPLEXION: fair
HEIGHT: 5'4"	RACE: white
WEIGHT: 128 pounds	NATIONALITY: American
BUILD: medium	
HAIR: brown	
SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED:	
134-34-8330	

A Federal warrant was issued on March 17, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Boudin with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for mob action (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073). A Federal warrant was issued on April 2, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Boudin with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2101 and 371).

LEO FREDERICK BURT



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 22, born April 18, 1948, Darby, Pennsylvania (not supported by birth records)
EYES: hazel
COMPLEXION: medium
RACE: white
NATIONALITY: American
HEIGHT: 5'11" to 6'
WEIGHT: 185 pounds
BUILD: muscular
HAIR: brown
OCCUPATIONS: laborer, watchman
REMARKS: reportedly wears mustache and beard, hair worn long in back
SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED:
189-40-9409

A Federal warrant was issued on September 2, 1970, at Madison, Wisconsin, charging Burt with sabotage (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2155a, b), destruction of Government property (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1361) and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 371).

BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN

**DESCRIPTION****AGE:** 28, born January 12, 1942, Chicago, Illinois**HEIGHT:** 5'5"**WEIGHT:** 125 pounds**BUILD:** medium**HAIR:** dark brown**OCCUPATION:** secretary**SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED:** 395-38-5006**EYES:** brown**COMPLEXION:** light olive**RACE:** white**NATIONALITY:** American

A Federal warrant was issued on March 17, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Dohrn with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for mob action (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073). A Federal warrant was issued on April 2, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Dohrn with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2101 and 371).

DAVID SYLVAN FINE

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 18, born March 18, 1952, Wilmington, Delaware (not supported by birth records)

HEIGHT: 5'5"

WEIGHT: 140 pounds

BUILD: medium

HAIR: dark brown

EYES: brown

COMPLEXION: medium

RACE: white

NATIONALITY: American

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 222-38-6798

A Federal warrant was issued on September 2, 1970, at Madison, Wisconsin, charging Fine with sabotage (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2155a, b), destruction of Government property (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1361) and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 371).

RONALD DAVID FLIEGELMAN

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 26, born June 27, 1944, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

SEX: male

EYES: blue

HEIGHT: 5'9"

COMPLEXION: medium

WEIGHT: 175 pounds

RACE: white

BUILD: medium

NATIONALITY: American

HAIR: brown

OCCUPATIONS: flame cutter, welder

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 169-34-0058

A Federal Grand Jury, Detroit, Michigan, returned an indictment, and a bench warrant was issued on July 23, 1970, charging Fliegelman with conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 371).

JOHN ALLEN FUERST

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 26, born, July 15, 1944, New Rochelle, New York

HEIGHT: 5'10"

WEIGHT: 135 pounds

BUILD: slender

HAIR: brown

EYES: brown

COMPLEXION: medium

RACE: white

NATIONALITY: American

REMARKS: may be wearing hair shoulder length, a full mustache and beard covering entire chin; also may be wearing gold wire-rimmed glasses.

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 060-34-9817.

A Federal warrant was issued on April 14, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Fuerst with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for mob action, aggravated battery, and aiding escape (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073).

LEONARD HANDELSMAN



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 24, born January 7, 1946, New York, New York

HEIGHT: 6'5"

WEIGHT: 210 pounds

BUILD: medium

HAIR: brown

OCCUPATION: hospital attendant

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 082-36-0436

EYES: blue

COMPLEXION: light

RACE: white

NATIONALITY: American

A Federal warrant was issued on April 9, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Handelsman with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for mob action, aggravated battery and aiding escape (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073).

JOHN GREGORY JACOBS

**DESCRIPTION****AGE:** 22, born September 30, 1947, New York, New York**HEIGHT:** 5'9"**WEIGHT:** 160 pounds**BUILD:** muscular**HAIR:** light brown**EYES:** gray**COMPLEXION:** ruddy**RACE:** white**NATIONALITY:** American**SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED:** 007-42-1758

A Federal warrant was issued on April 2, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Jacobs with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2101 and 371).

NAOMI ESTHER JAFFE

**DESCRIPTION****AGE:** 27, born June 26, 1943, Glen Wild, New York**SEX:** female**HEIGHT:** 5'2"**WEIGHT:** 105 pounds**BUILD:** medium**HAIR:** dark brown, may be tinted red**EYES:** brown**COMPLEXION:** fair**RACE:** white**NATIONALITY:** American

Federal Grand Juries at Buffalo, New York, on April 30, 1970, and Detroit, Michigan, on July 23, 1970, returned indictments and bench warrants were issued charging Jaffe with transporting stolen checks in interstate commerce (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2314), and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 371), respectively.

JEFFREY CARL JONES

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 23, born February 23, 1947, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

HEIGHT: 5'11"

EYES: blue

WEIGHT: 150 pounds

COMPLEXION: fair

BUILD: slender

RACE: white

HAIR: blond

NATIONALITY: American

OCCUPATIONS: longshoreman, printer

REMARKS: hair may be dyed brown and shorter than depicted in photographs

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 567-62-1868

A Federal warrant was issued on April 2, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Jones with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code Sections 2101 and 371).

THOMAS MICHAEL JUSTESEN



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 20, born May 17, 1950, at Sacramento, California

SEX: male

EYES: blue

HEIGHT: 5'10" to 5'11"

COMPLEXION: medium

WEIGHT: 150 to 165 pounds

RACE: white

BUILD: medium

NATIONALITY: American

HAIR: brown

REMARKS: reportedly wears glasses

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 533-48-9477

A Federal warrant was issued on April 16, 1970, at Seattle, Washington, charging Justesen with conspiracy to unlawfully injure property of the United States (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 371).

CELESTE MAURINE McCULLOUGH

**DESCRIPTION****AGE:** 23, born April 23, 1947, Hazelton, Pennsylvania**HEIGHT:** 5'4" to 5'5"**WEIGHT:** 120 pounds**BUILD:** slender**HAIR:** brown**EYES:** brown**COMPLEXION:** medium**RACE:** white**NATIONALITY:** American**SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED:** 167-36-7873

A Federal warrant was issued on March 17, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging McCullough with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for mob action, (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073).

KATHERINE ANN POWER

**DESCRIPTION****AGE:** 24, born January 25, 1949, Denver, Colorado**HEIGHT:** 5'**EYES:** hazel**WEIGHT:** 145 to 150 pounds**COMPLEXION:** medium**BUILD:** stocky**RACE:** white**HAIR:** light brown, may be dyed black**NATIONALITY:** American**SCARS AND MARKS:** pockmark on left cheek, appendectomy scar, large scar on abdomen**SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED:** 522-74-2089

Federal warrants were issued on September 24, 1970, at Boston, Massachusetts, charging Power with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for murder (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073); on September 25, 1970, with theft of Government property (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 641); and on October 1, 1970, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, with bank robbery (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2113a, b and c).

ROBERT HENRY ROTH



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 20, born March 3, 1950, New York, New York

HEIGHT: 5'8"

EYES: brown

WEIGHT: 130 pounds

COMPLEXION: medium

BUILD: slender

RACE: white

HAIR: brown

NATIONALITY: American

OCCUPATION: stock clerk

REMARKS: usually wears glasses, reportedly has chronic asthma and bronchitis

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 111-40-6569

A Federal warrant was issued on April 9, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Roth with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for mob action, aggravated battery and aiding escape (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073).

SUSAN EDITH SAXE

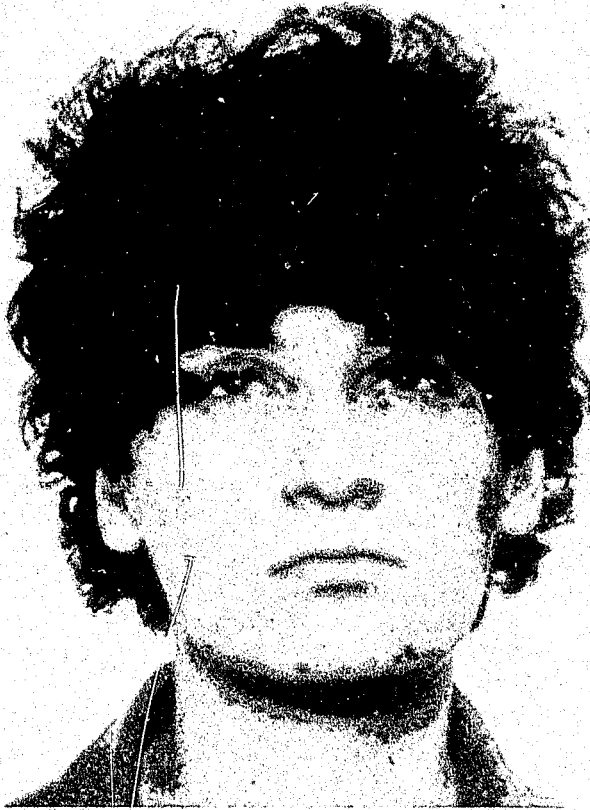


DESCRIPTION

AGE: 24, born January 18, 1949, Hartford, Connecticut
HEIGHT: 5'4" to 5'5" EYES: hazel
WEIGHT: 160 pounds COMPLEXION: medium
BUILD: heavy RACE: white
HAIR: brown NATIONALITY: American
REMARKS: may wear contact lenses; noticeable black spot, white section left of pupil in left eye
SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 095-38-5405

Federal warrants were issued on September 24, 1970, at Boston, Massachusetts, charging Saxe with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for murder (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073); on September 25, 1970, with theft of Government property (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 641); and on October 1, 1970, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, with bank robbery (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2113a, b and d).

ROBERTA BRENT SMITH

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 27, born November 26, 1944, Cleveland, Ohio

SEX: female

HEIGHT: 5'7"

WEIGHT: 145 to 155 pounds

BUILD: medium

HAIR: black

SCARS AND MARES: has facial acne scars

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBERS USED: 280-40-6824; 624-40-5360

EYES: brown

COMPLEXION: medium

RACE: white

NATIONALITY: American

A Federal warrant was issued on June 2, 1971, at Tucson, Arizona, charging Smith with conspiracy and possession of a firearm not registered according to the National Firearms Act (Title, 18, U.S. Code, Section 371, Title 26, U.S. Code Sections 5761(j) and 5871).

LAWRENCE MICHAEL WEISS



DESCRIPTION

AGE: 22, born November 19, 1947, Detroit, Michigan

HEIGHT: 6'1"

WEIGHT: 175 pounds

BUILD: medium

HAIR: brown

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER USED: 385-48-5597

EYES: hazel

COMPLEXION: medium

RACE: white

NATIONALITY: American

A Federal warrant was issued on October 20, 1969, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Weiss with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for escape, bond forfeiture, mob action and aggravated battery (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073). A Federal warrant was issued on April 2, 1970, at Chicago, Illinois, charging Weiss with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws and conspiracy (Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2101 and 371).

APPENDIX II

A REPORT TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE JUDICIARY

This paper has been prepared exclusively for the use of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security and is intended as a supplement to our June 1974 Terrorism in California report. In addition to the supplemental data concerning the current activities of terrorist groups in California, attention is given to areas of specific interest to members of the Subcommittee.

As of the 15th of September, approximately 50 known and suspected urban guerrilla and extremist acts have been carried out in California.¹ These acts represent the period 1 January to 15 September 1974. This number substantially exceeds last year's total of 35. Additional acts of violence are expected to occur during the remaining three and one-half months.

WEATHER UNDERGROUND

There is a growing body of evidence indicating that the nucleus of the Weather Underground is located in California. Significantly, the majority of recent acts has been centered in this state. In addition to this, investigators were able to identify the California firm which printed the recent Weather Underground publication. Distribution of the publication was limited to certain outlets in the San Francisco Bay Area and in Boston. Chicago, the former seat of Weatherman activity, was virtually ignored. Authorities in Chicago indicate that there have been no Weather Underground incidents in their city for the past four years. A further indication that key Weather Underground fugitives may be living and operating in our state is the fact that recent letters were sent from Bernadine Dohrn to various Bay Area newspapers were postmarked Berkeley. Finally, as a result of our continuing investigation into the bombing of the Attorney General's offices on May 31, 1974, additional leads have been developed which support this assumption.

The most recent Weather Underground acts committed in California are the following:

Bernardine Dohrn letter of support to the SLA February 20, 1974

Bombing of HEW Building in San Francisco March 7, 1974

Bombing of the State Attorney General's Office May 31, 1974

Distribution of Underground book *Prairie Fire* July 25, 1974

Bombing of Anaconda American Brass Company, Oakland September 10, 1974

During the period closely following the appearance of the Weather Underground book *Prairie Fire* and all its attendant publicity, there was a rash of bombing activity in the state. It has been established that well publicized actions tend to be emulated by other individuals and groups. The rash of kidnappings that occurred nationwide following the example of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) with regard to Patricia Hearst confirms this phenomenon.

The Weather Underground has been with us for the past four years and on the basis of what has been stated in their recent book, it would appear that they have every intention of continuing their mission of violence against the establishment. What is more, *Prairie Fire* seems to indicate that members of the Weather Underground are contemplating a change from their established pattern of bombing buildings. One of the basic criticisms leveled at the Weather Underground by the Black Liberation Army (BLA) and the SLA has been that an organization composed of basically white, middle-class youths, who are engaged in simple bombings, are located at the far end of the revolutionary scale. The book seems to be a reply to just that kind of criticism. In the preface, as authors stress that they hope the publication will serve as a "dialectic" among those in the mass and clandestine movements. In an accompanying paragraph they state: "It

¹ See attachment A.

is written as an argument against those who oppose action and hold back the struggle." In still another paragraph they write "Prairie Fire is based on a belief that the duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution . . . that the only certainty will be constant change, that the only possibilities are victory or death."

The book gives us a great deal of insight into the thinking of the Weather Underground in 1974. Similar to the SLA, the book provides evidence that the Weather Underground is dominated by women at this point. Each section of the publication indicates a decidedly feminist stance, and virtually every chapter highlights the role of women in the revolutionary movement, both at home and abroad. The introductory preface even begins with the salutation "Sisters and Brothers". With this in mind, it is easy to comprehend why the organization's name evolved from Weatherman to Weather Underground.

SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY

Law enforcement investigators are nearly unanimous in their assessments of the SLA. The evidence clearly indicates that the remaining fugitives—Bill and Emily Harris and Patricia Hearst—are all that remains of the original organization. Shortly after the fiery shootout in Los Angeles, an unidentified woman, calling herself General Cabrella, issued a taped communique from Berkeley. In this tape she urged the remaining members to regroup and prepare for additional engagements.

On June 7, 1974 the three fugitives issued what may be their final taped message. In this tape tribute was paid to the unidentified General Cabrella. Authorities are convinced that this unidentified woman is not a member of the SLA cell, but only a close peripheral associate. Close examination of evidence at various SLA safe houses used during their formative period provided investigators with additional names of suspects; however, most of these individuals broke away or were purged from the main body. Various documents such as training plans and security duty rosters found at the most recent locations used, confirm that the group was composed of the nine publicly identified members. Two earlier members remain in custody.

The investigation concerning the Harrises and Patricia Hearst is still underway; however, it has been hampered by a number of circumstances. Local law enforcement officers have found it difficult to maintain investigative interest as other groups and individuals have arisen to occupy the vacuum left by the SLA. The tremendous application of manpower resources during the Los Angeles Bomber investigation is one such case in point. Further complicating the investigation is the fact that the three fugitives have carefully avoided committing any overt acts which would draw attention to them and provide additional leads as to their whereabouts. Those most critical of law enforcement's ability to swiftly bring the trio to justice are inclined to forget that the group was eventually isolated in Los Angeles and effectively dealt with.

Of a more tactical nature, the SLA has only verified what law enforcement investigators learned some time ago with the Weather Underground: Conventional police methods employed against politically motivated terrorists are inadequate. As members of a subculture, they are keenly sensitive to the presence of informers and outsiders. Security is routinely employed among members of various collectives. The National Lawyers Guild has prepared a number of reference aids called "Legal Street Sheets" which are widely disseminated among members of the revolutionary underground. These provide neophyte revolutionaries with the basic elements of security, which can be expanded upon as their degree of commitment increases. Specific security areas emphasized deal with diverse subjects such as weapons storage, FBI interviews, narcotic purchases and sales. The referenced attachment above was found among items of evidence taken from the SLA's Concord location last January.

Due to the extraordinary amount of press coverage given to the SLA, including in-depth profiles of each of the members, there was an outpouring of sympathy for those killed in the shootout. This tended to obscure to some degree the outstanding efforts of the Los Angeles Police Department in handling the situation without loss of life among their own officers or members of the community. To claim that the SLA was murdered is ludicrous. They were well aware of the circumstances and well prepared for the confrontation. Interviews with witnesses who had been exposed to the terrorists prior to the shootout indicate that, rather than having a death wish, the group was convinced that in the event of an

engagement, they would emerge victorious. If anything, they were the victims of their own delusions.

There are broader reasons why law enforcement authorities were hampered in quickly apprehending members of the SLA, and these reflect upon society as a whole. Marquis Childs accurately provides us with a key to the difficulty.

"What about the highly touted FBI? Why couldn't they find a few criminals readily advertising their criminality.

"An answer touches on what is perhaps the ominous aspect of the case. That is the unwillingness of large elements of the public to cooperate in any way with law enforcement authority. These are not merely extreme leftists who mouth expletives about 'fascist pigs' but ordinary citizens fearful of any commitment that might involve them in crime and the reprisals taken by organized criminals.

"Several times in the Hearst case persons identifying Patricia kept silent rather than risk encounter with authority."²

MAOIST REVOLUTIONARIES—A COMMON HERITAGE

A readily identifiable Maoist ideology extends from the Revolutionary Union, through its Venceremos offspring, to the Weather Underground and the SLA. With the rise of each successive organization, a more revolutionary and more violent terrorist group has emerged. Through this developmental process the organizations changed their operations from the overt to the covert, from mass membership to restricted cell, and from minor acts of violence to open guerrilla warfare.

Although distinctive differences between these organizations exist, the instructional materials, books and pamphlets are the same—Marxist/Leninist doctrine as interpreted by Mao Tse Tung. In 1971 the Secretariat of the Revolutionary Union's Central Committee in California issued a detailed outline for the formal education of newly acquired members. They were introduced to the Communist Manifesto and required to wade through the works of Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Ironically, investigators sorting through materials discarded by the SLA at various safe houses found identical reference works. This is not to say that works of other more recent revolutionaries were not present. The works of Carlos Marighella, Vo Nguyen Giap, Amilcar Cabral and Che Guevara are required as well for they provide examples of practical experience; the basic doctrine is provided by Mao Tse Tung.

It is often commonly accepted that the members of these revolutionary organizations are all young, naive students momentarily at odds with the establishment. Nothing could be further from the truth. One of the founding fathers of the Revolutionary Union, Liebel Bergman, was a long-time member of the Communist Party-USA. He was expelled from the Party in 1959 for promoting a pro-Peking policy. Following his break with the Communist Party he traveled to China where he spent an extended period of time studying the Chinese Revolutionary model and conferring with leading Communist Chinese theoreticians and leaders. The purpose of his stay in China was to conceptualize the organization of a revolutionary movement in the United States based upon the Maoist experience.³

Following his return to the United States in 1968 he held extensive recruiting meetings with key and influential leaders from the major radical organizations in California. These included the Progressive Labor Party, the now defunct Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Panther Party, and the Third World Liberation Front. The result of his labors was the Revolutionary Union. In order to maintain the desired illusion that the new organization was of domestic origin, Bergman withdrew to a less visible role. He was replaced by more flamboyant personalities such as Robert Avalkian and H. Bruce Franklin. From this point on Bergman turned his energies toward organizing additional Revolutionary Union collectives across the United States. By 1971 he was able to report that the Revolutionary Union had over 100 collectives across the United States with a membership approaching 400. Today, Revolutionary Union membership is estimated to be approximately 600. Bergman moved to Newark, New Jersey in 1971, which also coincided with the arrival of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations.

² See "Legal Street Sheet #6," p. 8.

³ Marquis Childs commentary, "The Hearst Case: An Ominous Lesson," Sacramento Bee, Aug. 20, 1974, p. 6.

Still another behind the scenes revolutionary activist with a penchant for anonymity is William Howard Hinton. He is reported to have spent a considerable amount of time in China as well. Hinton has authored a number of works on China concerning the practical aspects of the Chinese revolution. These are used in indoctrination courses held for new Revolutionary Union members. FBI informers Lawrence and Betty Goff testified before the House Committee on Internal Security in 1972, stating that Mr. Hinton had been a secret member of the Revolutionary Union.

A number of younger persons have visited China and returned to the United States to spread their revolutionary knowledge. Christopher Zblitowky Milton is an example of a second generation Communist who spent three years in China, and by his own admission was a member of the Red Guard from 1964-67. He lived in China with his parents, Dr. and Mrs. David Milton, who taught at the Peking Foreign Language School. Based upon his membership in the infamous Red Guard, Milton was spirited around and used as a propaganda attraction for the emerging Revolutionary Union.

By 1971 it had become quite fashionable to visit China, and an entire delegation of Revolutionary Union leaders traveled to that country as guests of the Chinese government. They remained in China for six weeks and upon their return began touring the United States exfoliating the accomplishments of the Chinese people.

The examples described above are included in order to emphasize the manner in which Maoist theory and practice captured the interests of California's revolutionary organizations.

SLA AFFILIATIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

It is interesting to note that the SLA, BLA and the Weather Underground have paid tribute to one another in nearly every communique they have issued since the SLA surfaced following the murder of Oakland Superintendent of Schools Marcus Foster in November 1973.

Although the SLA never acknowledged the fact, links existed between key SLA members and publicly identified Venceremos activists. Investigators who laboriously pieced together the genesis of the SLA found that SLA members outside of the prisons were recruited on the basis of having no prior criminal backgrounds and little visible affiliations with other militant organizations.

A document found at the Concord SLA safe house, following the clumsy arson attempt, indicates that a member or members had been active in a Venceremos collective. The document is a guide to writing progress reports commonly used by Venceremos collectives.⁴

An examination of additional personal papers and notebooks belonging to SLA members showed that a number of them had been involved in various prison related projects including work on the Chino Defense Committee in support of those Venceremos members involved in the Ronald Beatty escape in October, 1972.

A superficial look at key members of the United Prisoners Union indicates that the organization is dominated by former Venceremos members. SLA members were associated with the United Prisoners Union and at least two, Bill and Emily Harris, had a close relationship with a key United Prisoners Union leader. Correctional investigators established that Emily Harris and Richard Douglas Bailey (United Prisoners Union co-chairman) visited California Department of Corrections inmate Barron Broadnax together in December of 1973, one month after the Foster killing in Oakland.

It is also interesting to note that Robin Yeamans, a National Lawyers Guild attorney and member of the Menlo Park Law Commune, provided immediate legal aid to Joseph Remiro and Russell Little following their arrest in Concord on January 10, 1974. Miss Yeamans initially was the attorney of record for Remiro. On January 16th, Oakland police questioned two men as they attempted to remove a sizable quantity of materials from the partially burned SLA headquarters on Sutherland Court in Concord. One of the men, Ray Nelson Hofstetter, is a former Venceremos member, now active in the United Prisoners Union. Both individuals were identified as investigators representing attorney Robin Yeamans.

⁴ See attachment C.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCE AND PRISON UNREST

California prisons remain the target of revolutionary organizations. Much of this continued interest on behalf of revolutionary groups is as a result of the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam, and the concomitant reduction in antiwar protest activities. As student interest in the prison reform movement gained in momentum, membership roles of existing prison support groups swelled and new organizations appeared. In the San Francisco Bay Area alone, there are at least twenty organizations concerned with prison reform.

Most of these organizations are genuinely concerned with improving the inmate's lot, and their goals are admirable and practical. However, other organizations have been responsible for instigating prison violence and promoting the concept that the prisoner is a victim of an oppressive society and therefore a political prisoner. Still other groups publicly characterize themselves as prison reform groups, but privately struggle to destroy the prison system.

Although many such groups have been publicly identified as being responsible for instigating prison violence, the attendant publicity has not acted as a deterrent. On July 25, 1973, Lee Arthur Smith, a California Department of Corrections' parolee, testified before the House Committee on Internal Security concerning the role of the National Lawyers Guild in a prison strike at the California Mens Colony in San Luis Obispo. Smith testified that the planning for the strike was submitted to outside National Lawyers Guild contacts who approved the plan and set a time and date for the strike. Smith was selected to assault a correctional officer in order to generate national attention to the strike. The assault on the correctional officer was also approved by National Lawyers Guild members.

Several months later on August 21, 1973 another publicly identified National Lawyers Guild attorney associated with the Prison Lawyers Association in San Francisco was accused of furnishing an automatic pistol to George Jackson at San Quentin prison. Subsequently Jackson shot and killed a correctional officer before he himself was shot and killed.

Further insight into the prison activities of revolutionary groups was gained as a result of the capture of Chino prison escapee Ronald Wayne Beaty, who escaped from prison on October 6, 1972. Following his capture in San Francisco on December 11, 1972, Beaty provided authorities with detailed accounts of his recruitment by Venceremos members in prison and their subsequent involvement in his escape. Four Venceremos members were convicted for their role in the escape ambush in which a correctional officer was killed.

Apparently Venceremos members were not discouraged by the setback received over the unsuccessful Beaty escape. On August 8, 1973, California Department of Corrections' inmate Thero Wheeler successfully escaped from Vacaville. Wheeler joined the Venceremos organization while at Folsom Prison in 1972. However, realizing that his parole chances would be reduced as a result of his association with the revolutionary organization, he resigned. In order to promote credibility, Wheeler was virtually abandoned by his Venceremos associates for nearly six months. During the interim he was transferred to Vacaville and eventually assigned to work outside of the facility walls. During the two week period prior to his escape, he received a flurry of visits from several key members of the Menlo Park Law Commune. His last visitor was Mary Alice Siem, who visited him the day before his escape. She is the sister of Janet Landes Swift, wife of attorney Sam Swift who is associated with the Menlo Park Law Commune. Following his escape, Wheeler attended a number of SLA meetings with Mary Siem, who, according to investigating authorities, actually lived with Wheeler. Although the full story of Wheeler's involvement with the SLA is cloudy, there is evidence to show that an apparent falling out occurred between Wheeler and Donald DeFreeze. Wheeler is still at large.

Additional incidents involving lesser known individuals are encountered by prison authorities daily. Fortunately, many are exposed and violence averted. In mid-August of this year, yet another attempt at instigating prison violence took place at Vacaville Medical Facility involving revolutionary activist Lee Wood, serving time for robbery. Wood maintained a low profile regarding participation in revolutionary activities in prison. Similar to Wheeler, he dropped most

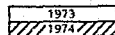
of his outside associates from his visitation list. Shortly before the latest incident was exposed, Wood was visited a number of times by a known revolutionary activist. Wood then held meetings with a number of inmates noted for their revolutionary activities. He told them that Yacaville had been out of the mainstream of prison violence in recent months and that something had to be done in order to change the situation. He suggested that an inmate be killed. Wood then stated that a large demonstration would be mobilized by his outside contacts who would blame the murder on the prison guard force. Fortunately, this plan was brought to the attention of the prison authorities and the plot effectively neutralized.

Identifying secret, revolutionary groups in our prisons is a time-consuming and difficult task. It is compounded by the continuous pressure brought to bear against the California Department of Corrections concerning the implementation of measures designed to protect both the inmate and the correctional officer.

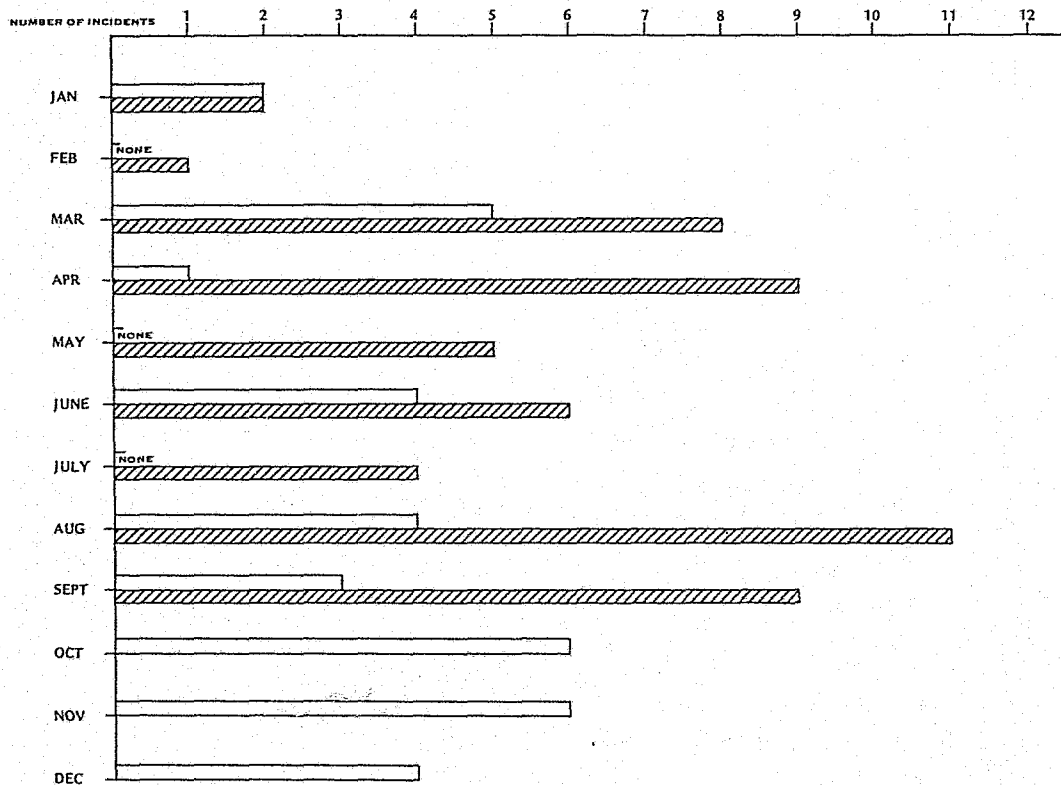
The report submitted by The Task Force to Study Violence, commissioned by the Director of Corrections and published last May, described the role of revolutionary violence in our prisons.

"Attempts have been made to turn the organized gangs into politically violent groups with employees as their targets instead of inmates. Both inmates and employees have been victims of revolutionary/retaliatory violence. Most, if not all murders of prison employees since 1970, can be attributed to this source of violence."⁶

⁶ The Task Force to Study Violence, Report and Recommendations, California Department of Corrections, May 1974, p. 14.



COMPARISON OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN CALIFORNIA 1973 - 1974



ATTACHMENT C

PROGRESS REPORTS

Progress reports helps both the individual cadre and leadership. For cadre, PR's help them to analyze their work and levels of understanding dialectically. Each person should keep a copy of their report to use in analysing what progress or setbacks are happening. Also it helps them learn to write—(which may seem minor, but are a very necessary part of a revolutionary organization.) The PR's help leadership to get a clear view of what work cadre are into and what progress and problems they're having—these things come out otherwise very unsystematically. They are written on a bi-weekly basis because if they were on a weekly basis there would be no room for any type of meaningful analysis—practice would be too short-term. On the other hand if it were on a monthly basis, many concrete incidents would be forgotten and leadership (and cadre) would not have a current "running" overview of what's going on.

There are 8 points to keep in mind when writing out PR's:

1. The national question

How has your understanding developed? What questions do you have? How are you applying this to mass work you're involved in? Do you understand the role of white cadre in Venceremos? How do you (white cadre) put this into practice?

2. Ideological remoulding

What are the specific criticisms cadre and non-cadre have had of you and what have you done about it. Under ideological remoulding you should deal with your own subjectivity towards your areas or work. Also include a criticism of how you have been acting in the 2-week period. (Example; mainly talking to others about personal things or other people (gossip) or mainly talking about political work.) Also write down what you study and who with.

3. Paper sales

Where have you been selling and how many at each place. Also suggestions for new places to sell. (Example: door to door in your neighborhood.)

4. Work areas

What has been happening over-all (facts). What have you been doing in each work area. Be sure to use concrete examples.

5. Criticisms of leadership

Criticisms of any one in our collective should of course be brought to that person first and if it can't be resolved, then taken to the collective. If you have a criticism of leadership in general a written all-sided analysis helps you and leadership to resolve the problem.

6. The woman question

How do you relate to women cadre and non-cadre? Is there a difference? If so, why? Do you actively struggle against chauvinism/submissiveness/feminism in yourself and others? Do you criticize or perpetrate submissiveness in women? Do you criticize chauvinism but not submissiveness? Do you isolate yourself from the other sex when it comes to political discussions? (Example: three people in the room and one is female—is the woman excluded (or ignored/taken lightly) in a political discussion, or the woman hangs back, doesn't put forth political views.) Do you understand how the woman question fits in to a multinational organization with third world leadership? If so, how do you put this forward? If not, what are your questions and what are you doing to better understand this principle of unity?

7. Chino defense in mass work

How do you relate the Chino case to your areas of work and when talking to people? How do you link it up to other struggles?

8. Armed struggle

Are you teaching anyone (or a group) the political and practical use of guns? If so, are you putting politics primary? If not (to both of the above) why not? How does your house relate to self defense and the question of armed struggle. Do you go to the range, try to learn more about weapons, hold house drills, etc.? Do you link armed struggle to your work areas and how?

Overall, if you are still on the same level as the last time you write a PR (in a particular area) then just state that—don't stretch the truth but remember if you just keep writing "no change" it indicates a lack of struggle . . . nobody's perfect. Also, overall, do you study the Principles of Unity and can you explain them? Finally, a good thing to remember when writing a PR is to constantly be asking yourself "why" (and write the "why" down) and is it objective or subjective.

APPENDIX III

EXCERPTS FROM SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF., GRAND JURY TESTIMONY OF RONALD WAYNE BEATY

THE FOREMAN. Would you state your name, please?

THE WITNESS. Ronald Wayne Beaty.

EXAMINATION BY MR. CANTY

Question. Mr. Beaty, would you speak right into that microphone so that you can be heard?

You have indicated that your name is Ronald Wayne Beaty, is that correct?

Answer. That is correct.

Question. And you are here today to testify, and I previously discussed with you certain rights that you have.

I would like to cover those again at this time.

I previously told you, since you are under arrest and charged with a felony crime in this county, under indictment with this Grand Jury, that you have the absolute right to remain silent. Anything you say here can and will be used against you in a court of law. You have a right to have an attorney here present with you at all times or at any stage of this proceeding and if you cannot afford a lawyer, a Court of this county will see to it that you have a lawyer appointed to represent you at no cost to you.

I previously discussed those rights with you, have I not?

Answer. Yes, you have.

Question. And do you understand those rights completely?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Do you have any questions concerning those rights?

Answer. No.

Question. All right.

Having those rights in mind, are you willing to give up those rights and give testimony here today?

Answer. Yes, I am.

Question. You have a privilege under the Constitution of the United States and under the California Constitution not to be a witness against yourself known as the Privilege Against Self-Incrimination.

Do you understand that right, sir?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. And do you fully understand that you have the right not to say anything here and to remain completely silent?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Are you willing to give up that right?

Answer. Yes, I am.

Question. Do you completely and fully understand your right to have a lawyer at this proceeding or at any other stage of this proceeding to help you at no cost to you if you cannot afford one or to have a lawyer of your own choosing if you want to retain one?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. And do you give up that right?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Am I correct, sir, that you were arrested by the San Francisco Police Department on December the 11th, 1972?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And since that time, you have had some discussions with officers of the San Bernardino County Sheriff's Office?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And also since that time, you have had some discussions with me—

Answer. Yes.

Question [continuing]. Is that correct?

Since you have been placed in custody, has any officer of any police department, the Department of Corrections or sheriff's office, the F.B.I. or any officer of any other agency or anybody involved in law enforcement, including a U.S. attorney, district attorney's office, have any of those people used force and violence upon you in order to obtain statements from you or to get you to testify here today?

Answer. No.

Question. Have any of those people I have mentioned or anyone else threatened you, anybody closely related to or associated with you in order to get you to testify here today?

Answer. No.

Question. Has anybody, the people I mentioned or anyone else, made any promise to you in order to get you to testify here today?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Now, we have had some discussions—you have had discussions with the sheriff's office of this county and with myself concerning certain things that we would attempt to do, is that correct?

Answer. That is correct.

Question. Specifically—

Answer. Specifically, I would request at this time that this not be on record, the conditions of this, for security reasons of my own personal safety. I don't think that this should be a matter of public record that will be available to various defense attorneys in the future. And I would agree—

Question. Let me ask you this, sir: has it been made clear to you and do you now understand that it is the full intention of the district attorney's office of this county and of the Federal Government to prosecute you?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Has anybody promised you a dismissal of any charge, a reduction to a lesser sentence, a reduction to a lesser charge, made any kind of promise to you with regard to prosecution?

Answer. No.

Question. Would it be fair to say that the discussions that have been had with you concerning promises have related to your safety and to the nature of the custody that would be imposed upon you at a later time?

Answer. It would be safe to say that.

Question. It has been discussed with you and you do understand, do you not, sir, that you are currently charged by indictment of this Grand Jury with the crimes of murder and escape, having occurred on October 6, 1972, and that it is the full intention of the district attorney's office of this county to prosecute you for those offenses?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you have any questions or illusions whatsoever about that?

Answer. None whatsoever.

Mr. CANTY. The witness is requesting permission of the foreman to smoke a cigarette.

Mr. DAVIS. It is all right?

Mr. CANTY. Yes.

Question. We have discussed this county's position in regard to prosecution. Any other agency who may have an interest in prosecuting, such as the F.B.I., Attorney General, have any of those people promised you anything, in terms of whether you would be charged or not be charged with any particular crimes or anything of that sort?

Answer. No.

Question. The statement you have previously made to the F.B.I., to the sheriff's office and that you are about to make here today, are they completely free and voluntary?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Am I correct, sir, that on October 6, 1972, you were an inmate of the Department of Corrections?

Answer. Yes.

Question. You still are, is that correct?

Answer. Yes.

Question. When were you first committed to the Department of Corrections?

Answer. 1964.

Question. For what offenses?

Answer. Robbery.

Question. And have you been in the State Department of Corrections or committee of that department since that time?

Answer. Yes, I have.

Question. Did there come a time when you were also committed to serve a term under a federal conviction?

Answer. Yes, sir, there was.

Question. When was that?

Answer. 19—October the 6th, 1971.

Question. And since that time you have been housed in the Department of Corrections of the State of California?

Answer. Yes, I have.

Question. And am I correct, you have been since October 6th, '71 serving a concurrent federal term?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Prior to October 6, 1972—this year—was a prosecution instituted in San Bernardino County against you charging you with certain crimes?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And what crimes were those?

Answer. Escape.

Question. In connection with that prosecution, did you make court appearances on several occasions in San Bernardino County Superior Court?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. Did there come a time in that connection that you made a motion to represent yourself and be your own attorney?

Answer. Yes, there was.

Question. And do you recall approximately when that was?

Answer. January of '72.

Question. And that motion was made in the Superior Court here in San Bernardino?

Answer. Yes.

Question. In connection with your motion, was there a hearing held in the court to determine your competency to represent yourself?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And as a result of that hearing, what determination did the judge make?

Answer. He determined that I was capable of representing myself.

Question. And did he make an order that you would be your own attorney?

Answer. Yes.

Question. From that time on, were you otherwise represented by counsel other than by yourself?

Answer. No.

Question. And at this particular time, are you represented by counsel?

Answer. No.

Question. On October 6, 1972, were you taken from the Institution for Men at the Reception Guidance Center at Chino by some officers?

Answer. Yes, I was.

Question. And where were you going at the particular time?

Answer. To San Bernardino County Superior Court.

Question. Did you have a court appearance previously scheduled for that day?

Answer. It had been previously scheduled, yes.

Question. How many times, roughly, would you estimate prior to October 6th you had been—that you had been taken to Superior Court from the institution?

Answer. Maybe a dozen.

Question. And how many of those occasions involved transportation by officers of the Department of Corrections?

Answer. All of them.

Question. Are you familiar with a correctional officer George Fitzgerald?

Answer. Yes, I am.

Question. And was he transporting you on October 6th?

Answer. Yes, he was.

Question. Had he transported you on occasions in the past?

Answer. Yes, he had.

Question. I would also like to show you a photograph which has been marked as 1B for identification, and do you recognize that individual?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. And who is that?

Answer. That was the other officer that was with Mr. Fitzgerald.

Question. On October 6th?

Answer. On October 6th.

Question. Were there any other officers involved other than Officer Fitzgerald and Sanchez?

Answer. No.

Question. Prior to October 6th, had you had any discussions or made any plans with other individuals regarding escape from custody?

Answer. Yes, I had.

Question. And when had you begun formulating those plans?

Answer. Probably the first part of '72.

Question. First part of this year?

Answer. Right.

Question. Does the name Benton Douglas Burt mean anything to you? Do you know that person?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. And where did you meet him?

Answer. In Chino State Prison.

Question. Was he an inmate at Chino with you for a time?

Answer. Yes.

Question. I would like to show you another exhibit which has been marked as exhibit 2 which is a folder with a series of five photographs.

Do you recognize Mr. Burt in that series of photographs?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Would you indicate who it is?

Answer. Number 3.

Question. Was Mr. Burt housed at, with or near you at the Chino institution?

Answer. Yes, near me.

Question. Approximately how long before October 6th did you meet Mr. Burt?

Answer. Again, about January.

Question. Did you ever talk with Mr. Burt about your plans to escape?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And about how long before October 6th did you start talking with Mr. Burt about this?

Answer. Maybe March, '72.

Question. How many times did you talk about escaping with Mr. Burt between March and October of '72?

Answer. Well, between March and June, when he left, it was kind of a continuous conversation.

Question. He was released from the Department of Corrections in June?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And when you say a continuous conversation, how frequently did you use to talk to him about escaping?

Answer. Daily.

Question. Did you discuss various opportunities or plans that might be used for escape?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Could you indicate what sort of discussion you had with him?

Answer. Well, they were just kind of hypothetical discussions of various ways that could be used to liberate me from prison, and we discussed getting me in the courthouse, this courthouse; we discussed the possibility of en route; discussed the possibilities of taking over the prison by armed force; we discussed the possibilities of sawing windows out, having someone there to pick me up. All sorts of various ways.

Question. Did you ever talk to Mr. Burt about rendering you any assistance after you got out of prison?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. And did you have any kind of arrangement with him in that regard?

Answer. Not specifically. That is a situation where when a man is in the position I was in, you talk with a number of people and you just hope that maybe one of them will do it.

Question. Had you talked to other people about it besides Mr. Burt?

Answer. Yes, I had.

Question. While you were in prison, did you become familiar with an organization known as Venceremos?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. That is spelled V-e-n-c-e-r-e-m-o-s, is that correct?

Answer. That is correct.

Question. And when did you first become familiar with that organization?

Answer. Again, about January.

Question. And how did you become acquainted with it?

Answer. Through an attorney who was assigned to represent me in Federal Court.

Question. And what was that attorney's name?

Answer. Norton Tooby.

Question. Do you know where Mr. Tooby has his office?

Answer. Menlo Park, California.

Question. Did this attorney—how did this attorney acquaint you with the organization?

Answer. Through letters, telephone conversations and on one occasion he visited me.

Question. Did he ever indicate to you whether he was a member of the organization?

Answer. No, not a direct member; I know he was affiliated as an attorney who represented these people.

Question. All right.

Answer. I don't know if he was a member, for certain.

Question. Did he solicit you to join the organization or what was the context of the discussion?

Answer. Not really a soliciting; more or less just informed me of their principles and their beliefs, and these more or less coincided with the principles and beliefs that I had at the time.

Question. What principles and beliefs were those?

Answer. They followed the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the principle of unity which at the time I followed myself.

Question. What is that?

Answer. It advocates armed struggle and violent overthrow of the United States Government, and this was one of the principles that at that time I believed in.

Question. Did there come a time when you became more involved with the Venceremos organization?

Answer. There came a time when I was accepted as a member of their organization.

Question. And how did you accomplish being accepted as a member?

Answer. This came about through many of my writings, my political writings, many letters that I wrote to the various members and expressing my beliefs. They were highly impressed with my opinions and philosophies and accepted me as a member.

Question. Was most of the contact you had with the Venceremos organization done through correspondence or did you have personal visits—

Answer. At that stage, it was through correspondence and telephone.

Question. Who were some of the people you wrote to in that connection?

Answer. Well, I wrote to Jean Hobson, a member of the Central Committee; I wrote to Katrina Del Valle who is also a member of the Central Committee; I had correspondence with a legal worker, Irwin Lavenburg—

Question. Would you spell Miss Del Valle's name?

Answer. K-a-t-r-i-n-a D-e-l V-a-l-l-e.

Question. Did you correspond with anybody else that you can recall in that regard?

Answer. Not at that stage, no.

Question. All right.

You indicated there came a time when you were accepted as a member of the organization?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Approximately when was that?

Answer. Latter part of April.

Question. And how were you informed of that?

Answer. By mail from Irwin Lavenburg.

Question. Did you ever talk to Mr. Burt about his political philosophies?

Answer. At length, yes.

Question. Could you generally characterize what his philosophies were?

Answer. Pretty much identical to the Venceremos' and mine.

Question. In what respect? Could you indicate specifically what he indicated were his beliefs?

Answer. He was a dedicated communist, he believed in armed struggle and the violent overthrow of the American Government.

Question. Okay.

When Mr. Burt was released from prison, did there come a time when you were contacted again about escape?

Answer. There came a time when I made contacts about it, yes.

Question. And who did you contact?

Answer. I eventually found—I eventually acquired Mr. Burt's address and phone number through Venceremos because I sent him to Venceremos and—

Question. When you say you sent him, what do you mean by that?

Answer. I meant that when he left, I told him how to get in touch with them, who to get in touch with. I, in turn, made a phone call to these people and told them that he would—he was coming home; that he was a comrade and he had—his beliefs were similar to ours, and I requested that they take him under their wing and try and get him interested in the organization.

Question. Do you recall specifically who you spoke to in that regard?

Answer. I talked to Jean Hobson.

Question. At that time, did you know Jean Hobson personally?

Answer. No.

Question. And how did you—how were you acquainted with her?

Answer. Through correspondence and telephone.

Question. And what did Jean Hobson say about accepting Mr. Burt into the organization?

Answer. Well, at that point, they said they would, you know, that they would meet him and contact him, just see how it worked out.

Question. These contacts that you made with Jean Hobson about Benton Burt were approximately when?

Answer. In June right after he left.

Question. Did you eventually compose some sort of a plan or scheme for escaping from state prison?

Answer. In July I formulated a plan, yes.

Question. And between June and July were you contacted by any other Venceremos members or did you contact any others?

Answer. No.

Question. Were you contacted—or were you in contact with Mr. Burt?

Answer. Yes, I was.

Question. By what means?

Answer. Telephone and letters.

Question. And during the latter part of June and July, did you talk to Mr. Burt about your plan?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What was the plan that you formulated for escaping?

Answer. Do you want it in detail?

Question. Yes.

Answer. Well, I typed up a three-page detailed plan some time in July and it called for liberating me en route between Chino Institution and the courthouse, and the plan was started with two cars being parked at the corner of Edison and Central on the west side of Central with their hoods up so that it would appear that they may have had engine trouble or something and no one would question them for sitting there. And this was a vantage point so that they could see me leaving the institution in the state car, and also 't was a corner chosen in the event that the correctional officers changed their route; maybe two ways they could go, down Edison or up Central. All prior transportations had been down Edison, but we chose this corner just in case they decided to change and go up Central.

Once my car, the institution car, passed this corner, the two cars were to follow down Edison. One car would pass the state car approximately half-way between Edison and Euclid. At the corner of Euclid and Edison there is a stop sign. The first car that passed would pull up to that stop sign. The state car would then pull up behind it. They would all be fairly normal. The second car would immediately come up close behind the state car to prevent him from backing up, in other words, pin the state car in between the two cars.

Two people would then exit from the front car with weapons and commandeer the state car. One of the two people would drive the state car. The second person would hold a weapon upon the two guards to prevent them from doing anything.

We would then—all three cars would drive across Euclid and continue down—I mean continue down Edison. Approximately a half-a-mile down Edison there is kind of an "S" curve and as you come out of the "S" curve, you go into a flood control canal. The road drives right down in the canal. They were to turn in the flood control canal, drive the state car up in the canal a reasonable distance away where it was out of sight, handcuff both guards, lock them in the trunk of the car, disable the radio and disable the car, take me and somewhere near have a safe vehicle—a legal and safe one—and the escape would have been complete.

Question. And this is what you put together in typewritten form?

Answer. And forming the last paragraph of that typewritten detail I went into possibilities of a police car accidentally coming on the scene or something or other of this nature: I explained in detail that there was to be no violence, no one was to be hurt; that—but they should also be prepared in the event something unnatural does happen, be prepared to shoot.

Question. There were circumstances where the individuals were to be prepared to shoot?

Answer. I said if a police car just accidentally came on the scene or something, you know, a roving patrol car, or if the officers for some reason at this particular time were armed themselves and tried to shoot.

And they were also briefed in there that at no time in the past had either of these men been armed, they never carry weapons and there was nothing to fear. This was the reason why I didn't want—I didn't feel any need for any violence.

Question. After you drew up this plan, did you communicate it to somebody?

Answer. Yes, I communicated it to Jean Hobson.

Question. And how did you accomplish that?

Answer. I had it smuggled out of prison by a man who was going home. He took it out in his property.

Question. That was about when you did that?

Answer. Latter part of July.

Question. Could you indicate what further steps were taken toward the consummation of this plan after the latter part of July? By that I mean did you communicate with any other individuals after that?

Answer. I was in continuous contact with Mr. Burt and Jean Hobson.

Question. By what means?

Answer. By telephone and eventually visits.

Question. Who visited you at the prison?

Answer. Andrea Holman visited me first and a few days after that Jean Hobson visited me.

Question. And approximately when was that?

Answer. It was in September.

Question. Had you ever met Andrea Holman before she visited you?

Answer. No. I knew of her; Burt had already spoken of her in our phone conversations.

Question. Burt had?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What had he told you about Andrea Holman?

Answer. That they were going to be married and they were living together and that she was a comrade and—

Question. Did he indicate that she would be visiting you?

Answer. At one point, yes, a couple of days before she came.

Question. When Andrea Holman came to visit you at the prison, what did you talk to her about?

Answer. Well, this was after the 15th of September. On the 15th of September, the escape was supposed to take place.

Question. This was before the visit?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What occurred on the 15th of September?

Answer. For some reason, one of the participants wasn't in place—this was all I know, all I was told—they were not in their proper place.

Question. Were you transported to court that particular day?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And did you go down Edison Avenue?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Was Officer Fitzgerald transporting you on that occasion?

Answer. Yes.

And anyway, one of the persons was not in place and they couldn't carry out the escape.

Question. On that particular day, did you see any indications of people who were involved in this being around the area?

Answer. Yes, I seen the Oldsmobile that was eventually used on that day.

Question. Where did you see that?

Answer. It was in position at Edison and Central and it followed us down Edison and eventually turned over and went in another direction, didn't carry out the plan.

Question. Had you previously been informed as to what kind of vehicles to look for or would be involved?

Answer. No.

Question. Then on the 15th of September, you were taken to court, made your appearance and returned to prison?

Answer. Right.

And then following that, Andrea visited me. The purpose of the visit was to ascertain if by chance the officers had become suspicious anywhere along the line or if there was any unusual activity regarding me in the institution that might point to the administration being suspicious, and there was a few other questions regarding the plan that they wanted answered, like were the doors locked in the car and was there a radio in the car, and again to affirm that I was certain that they were not armed and few little details like that.

Question. And you communicated all this material to Andrea Holman?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you have any other discussion with her on that occasion?

Answer. Not in regards to the escape, no; the rest of the visit was taken up with political discussions.

Question. Concerning communism?

Answer. Concerning revolution.

Question. Did Andrea Holman indicate to you on that occasion what her political beliefs were?

Answer. They were quite obvious to me, yes.

Question. And what were they?

Answer. Very similar to mine.

Question. Again, in what respect?

Answer. She was a dedicated communist, a dedicated revolutionary who believed in armed struggle and the overthrow of the American Government and the establishment of a socialist revolutionary society.

Question. Approximately how long did your visit take with Andrea Holman, do you recall?

Answer. About two hours.

Question. Did somebody else come to visit you at the prison in connection with this escape plan?

Answer. A few days after that Jean Hobson visited me, yes.

Question. And Jean Hobson, is that the first time you met her personally?

Answer. First personal meeting, yes.

Question. And what did you discuss with Jean Hobson?

Answer. Very similar visit as the visit with Andrea. We discussed some of the details, again, same details, and we had political discussions regards to revolution, revolutionary tactics; we had some discussion as to my function once I was liberated.

Question. What was that function to be?

Answer. The function that I was to perform once I was cool enough, I guess you could say, once the heat had died down on my case, was to set up four six-man squads—we had to recruit 24 people—and myself and one other person was—who later became known to me; it was Bob Seabock—would train these 24 people into sabotage, assassination, various revolutionary tactics, like robberies, expropriating money; they would be trained in all sorts of explosives, burglar techniques, criminal techniques, highly trained in weapons, uses of weapons, and this would be a totally underground organization.

And the basis of this was that it was my theory and writings prior to this that reflected a contradiction that I placed upon the revolutionary movements which basically was that there is two different kind of revolutionaries; there is a politi-

cal revolutionary and a militant revolutionary and in our present organizational structure, the political revolutionaries who are doing mass work in communities are also called upon to do militant and underground activities.

I believed that this took away from their effectiveness, both as a political revolutionary and as a militant—one or the other or both of these things suffered because they were actually part-time—and my theories were that we had to determine which of our cadre were more effective in a political sphere and which were more effective in a militant sphere, and these would be separated. And in essence, we would create an armed branch of our organization which was a 24-hour underground group. And these four six-man squads were to be the steel nucleus of this underground armed branch. And at one point in time when these were properly trained and proven effective, they would spread out to four various parts of the United States at which time they would start the cycle all over again: they would recruit each of these—each of these four groups would recruit 24 new people, give them the training and knowledge that they had attained, create another four-man—four six-man squads and disperse them. And this was a continuing cycle until it reached the point where we were strong enough and effective enough to actually bring about the changes we desired. That was to be my function.

Question. When you talked to Jean Hobson, did you communicate some information to her and did she accept that information from you concerning the escape plan?

Answer. Yes.

Question. About how long did you talk with her when she came?

Answer. Again, about two hours.

Question. And approximately when was that visit?

Answer. The latter part of September.

Question. After the latter part of September, did you have any more personal visits from the prison by anybody concerning the escape?

Answer. No.

Question. During September and the early part of October, were you in telephone communication with the members or the people who were involved in the plan?

Answer. Yes, I was.

Question. How frequently did you communicate with these people?

Answer. I can't recall exactly but sometimes I was in contact with them maybe twice a week. I was always in contact with them at least once a week.

Question. And specifically, who did you talk to on the phone?

Answer. Burt, Andrea and Jean.

Question. On the occasions you talked to Andrea Holman, do you remember about how many times you spoke to her on the phone?

Answer. No.

Whenever she was home—whenever I would call Burt if she was home, I would also talk to her.

Question. And when you spoke with her on the phone, did you talk with her about the escape plan?

Answer. Vaguely sometimes; you know, very vaguely though.

Question. When you spoke to Mr. Burt, did you talk with him about this?

Answer. Definitely.

Question. And when you spoke to Jean Hobson, did you discuss the escape plan?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. Were there any other people with whom you had telephone communication regarding this escape plan?

Answer. No.

Question. Prior to the escape taking place, did you know who the people would be that would be involved actually at the scene?

Answer. No one except Burt and Jean.

Question. And was it left up to them to acquire whatever other help they needed?

Answer. Yes.

Question. I show you exhibit number 4, a photograph. Do you recognize that person?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Who is that?

Answer. Andrea Holman.

Question. Is this the Andrea Holman you referred to that visited you at the prison?

Answer. Yes, it is.

Question. Showing you exhibit number 5, another photograph, do you recognize that person?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. And who is that?

Answer. That is Jean Hobson.

Question. And is she the Jean Hobson you referred to that visited you at the prison?

Answer. Yes, she is.

Question. After the visit of Jean Hobson in the last part of September, about how many other times did you have telephonic communications concerning the plan to escape.

Answer. Several; I don't know exactly how many.

Question. And when was the last time before October 6th that you talked to anybody about it?

Answer. I believe I talked to both of them on the 4th.

Question. By "both of them", you mean who?

Answer. Mr. Burt and Mrs. Hobson.

Question. On October 4th?

Answer. I believe.

Question. And what was discussed or communicated on those occasions on October 4th?

Answer. It was just merely a confirmation as to whether or not they were ready to proceed with the plan on October the 6th.

Question. And did they indicate whether they were ready?

Answer. They indicated that they were ready.

Question. By the way, in connection with these phone calls, how was it that you were able to make all of these phone calls, being an inmate of the Department of Corrections?

Answer. This was part of my pro per privileges, I believe they call it.

Question. By "pro per", you mean the right to represent yourself?

Answer. The right to represent myself.

I was entitled to two phone calls a day, yes.

Question. Had you obtained an order for that from the Superior Court?

Answer. Yes, I had.

Question. With respect to these phone calls that you made, were they made in the presence of correctional officers?

Answer. Yes, they were.

Question. And how were you able to communicate with these individuals without the officers overhearing your plan?

Answer. Well, we had prearranged a kind of a coded—various key words that we would use and an unconcerned observer wouldn't be able to understand anything except that I was talking about my case, legal matters.

Question. What kind of a code do you mean?

Answer. Well, like for example if we were talking about the escape, rather than use the word "escape", we used the word "case"; if we were talking about the officers involved transporting me, we talked about "prosecutor" which automatically means the "officer"; and talk about the people who were going to participate in the escape, we would refer to them as "possible prospective witnesses", and with these and maybe a few more that I don't recall at the moment, few key words like this, we could talk about people and the whole thing quite comfortably without anyone understanding what we were saying.

Question. Did there come a time when you received notice that your court appearance scheduled—

Did you have a court appearance scheduled for October 6th?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. And did you get notice some time that that appearance had been canceled?

Answer. The night of October 5th, yes.

Question. How did you receive that notice?

Answer. In the mail.

Question. And what did you do upon receiving that notice?

Answer. Well, I immediately got special permission to make a phone call in an attempt to try and contact Jean or Burt and prevent them from coming down here, you know, as planned, and I was unsuccessful; they were—neither were at home.

Question. So you never got hold of anybody to call anybody off?

Answer. Correct.

Question. On October 6th, apparently you were transported, anyway?

Answer. Yes, I was.

Question. Do you know why?

Answer. I am not certain.

Question. Did the officers who transported you indicate they were taking you for your court appearance?

Answer. Yes.

Question. On October 6th, '72, do you recall about what time it was that you left the institution with the officers?

Answer. Between 12:00 and 12:30 somewhere.

Question. And what route did you take?

Answer. We went down Central to Edison, turned right on Edison, went east on Edison.

Question. Did there come a time when you observed signs of individuals in the area whom you believed to be involved in this plan to help you escape?

Answer. Yes.

When we came out onto Central, I seen the two cars parked with their hoods up.

Question. Where were they located?

Answer. They were up—they were in position on the west side of Central on Edison.

Question. They were parked on Edison Street itself?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And did you see any individuals at that time that you recognized?

Answer. Not that I recognized, no.

Question. Did you see people?

Answer. I seen people, yes.

Question. As the car was proceeding down eastbound on Edison, what did you next notice occurring?

Answer. The next thing I noticed was the Oldsmobile pass us and it got in front of us, at which point the driver of the Oldsmobile turned on his left turn signal like he was going to make a left turn and he began slowing down, and then he turned his right turn signal on and he was continuing to slow down; then we went back to the left turn signal.

And the person who was doing this had on a very large wig, evidently—we thought it was a woman—and I wasn't even certain myself that it was the people who were to help me escape because this was not in the plan at that point. In fact, I ever made a comment, I said, "What is the matter with that crazy broad," I think I said. Thought it was some woman who didn't know which way she wanted to turn. Finally this person evidently turned the right turn signal on again and appeared to be turning right at which point the officer made an attempt to pass, pulled over into the left lane, started to pass this car and almost instantaneously the car swerved back to the left and ran us over into the ditch.

Question. Edison is a two-lane street, one lane in each direction?

Answer. Yes.

Question. By the way, I don't think I clarified. When I talk about October 6th, we are talking about October 6th, 1972.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Your car—the state car that you were in after the Oldsmobile turned in front of it did what?

Answer. Veered over into the ditch to keep from running into the other car.

Question. And what is the next thing you observed?

Answer. Next thing I observed was the door opened on the Oldsmobile—the driver's door was directly in front of the hood of our car—the door opened on the Oldsmobile and a person stepped out with a weapon in his hands, started issuing orders.

Question. What did he say?

Answer. I don't recall exactly what he said. "Don't move!"

Question. Where did he go, what did he do at that time?

Answer. He immediately ran right to the driver of the vehicle, the parked vehicle, the state vehicle and held him at gun point and ordered him out of the car.

Question. At this time—up to this time, had you seen any other vehicles in the area?

Answer. Almost simultaneously a Falcon station wagon stopped immediately behind the state vehicle to prevent it from backing up out of the ditch. Once they had the driver out of the car, this car pulled up a little bit farther where it had easy access to the road and—

Question. After this person got out of the Oldsmobile with the gun, who was the next person you saw?

Answer. I seen another individual come around in front of the car to assist this individual from the Oldsmobile, and almost simultaneous with that I seen Mr. Burt at my window, passenger side rear window—

Question. This is the Benton Douglas Burt previously identified here?

Answer. Yes.

He was attempting to get my door open and it was locked, and he was hollering at me, "Come on, come on, come on!"

At this point, I had to get up in the seat—I was shackled and chained down—and open the back door so he could open it, which I did and which he did. I got out of the car. They had the back door of the station wagon open waiting for me to get in it.

Question. Up to this time you referred to three individuals other than people in the state car. A man got out of the Oldsmobile with a gun; had you recognized him or had you ever seen him before up to that time?

Answer. No.

Question. And the other person you mentioned that came running around the front, had you ever seen him before?

Answer. No.

Question. After the door was opened by Mr. Burt, what did you do?

Answer. I got out of the car and ran to the station wagon and just as I was getting in the back door of the station wagon—I just bent over to duck in the door and I heard a shot. At this point I turned around—I turned around and observed this individual who got out of the Oldsmobile standing at the back door of the state car with a weapon outstretched in both—held in both hands firing it into the state car.

Question. Where were the correctional officers at that time?

Answer. Back seat of the state car.

Question. Was he firing in their direction?

Answer. Yes, he was.

Question. What did you do?

Answer. Went ahead and got in the car.

Question. And what happened next?

Answer. Burt got in the back seat with me; this other individual who had came to assist the guy in the Oldsmobile got in the front seat and we drove off.

Question. Was there anybody else in the car at that time?

Answer. Andrea Holman was driving that car, yes.

Question. This was the Andrea Holman that you previously identified from the photograph here?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What about the person who had done the shooting, where was he?

Answer. He evidently left in the Oldsmobile.

Question. You didn't see him leave?

Answer. I didn't see him leave, no.

Question. What occurred with respect to you after you got into the Falcon?

Answer. Well, immediately once I was in it Burt took some bolt cutters and cut the chains off me, cut the handcuffs loose from the chains and handed me a pistol, told me, "This is yours, brother"—

Question. What kind of a pistol was it?

Answer. Smith and Wesson .22 magnum.

Question. Did you take it from him?

Answer. Yes, I did.

And we proceeded from there to this little market down the street a little ways and when we got there, there was three more cars waiting—

Question. Where was this market located, on what street?

Answer. North on Euclid, north of Edison on Euclid.

Question. On the way to Klapp's Market, could you see the Oldsmobile?

Answer. I don't recall it, no.

Question. And what happened when you got to Klapp's Market?

Answer. We abandoned the station wagon, carried our weapons to the other cars and got in these cars and left.

Question. How many cars were waiting for you?

Answer. Three.

Question. Were there any other people there in any of those cars?

Answer. Yes, there was two women waiting there. One woman who I don't know was waiting in a green Maverick, the other woman was Jean Hobson; she was waiting in a cream-colored Pontiac, I think it was.

Question. And what was the third vehicle?

Answer. It was a '62 Chevrolet that belonged to Mr. Burt.

Question. When you got to that scene, which car did you get into?

Answer. Into the Pontiac.

Question. And did you leave the scene?

Answer. We left the scene, yes.

Question. Klapp's Market?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Who was in the vehicle with you as you left the market?

Answer. The man who did the shooting, Jean Hobson and myself.

Question. With respect to the man who did the shooting, were you introduced to that individual?

Answer. Yes, as we got up on the freeway, I was eventually introduced to him as "Bob".

Question. Were you told any other name but "Bob"?

Answer. No.

Question. With respect to the other two cars, do you know who got into them and where they went?

Answer. Yes.

This individual who was in the front seat of the station wagon who I don't know, he got into the green Maverick with this other woman.

Question. Did you ever learn his name?

Answer. "Don" I learned was his name, yes.

Question. Just "Don"?

Answer. That is all.

And Mr. Burt and Andrea Holman got in Mr. Burt's car.

Question. And what did the other two cars do?

Answer. Well, their plan was at that point between that market and until we were safe distance away, they more or less rode shotgun on the car I was in; one would ride in the front for a while and so it wouldn't be obvious, it would start lagging back and the other one would take the lead; the other one would bring up the tail. This continued like that until we reached the other side of Los Angeles.

Question. Did you get on a freeway of some sort to go to Los Angeles?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And how far was that freeway from the location where you had gotten into the vehicle?

Answer. We were almost right there; the freeway entrance wasn't very far.

Question. And were the other two cars with you all the way down the freeway to Los Angeles?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And what occurred there?

Answer. The green Maverick made a wrong turn on the north side of Los Angeles and got lost from us. We turned around, went back and attempted to find this car, couldn't, so we went ahead and proceeded north without him.

Question. By "we", you mean—

Answer. The other two cars.

Question. The car that got lost, was that the car that had this man "Don" in it that you referred to?

Answer. Yes, the green Maverick.

Question. After you got into the cream-colored Pontiac you indicated that you were in with Jean Hobson and this man "Bob", what did they do in the car?

Answer. They took off wigs and had some alcohol swabs that they wiped off this makeup off "Bob".

Question. Who wiped the makeup off "Bob"?

Answer. Jean, as he was driving.

Question. Jean Hobson?

Answer. Yes.

And he changed his shirt, I believe.

Question. You indicated "they" had on wigs. Did both Jean Hobson and "Bob" have wigs on?

Answer. Yes, both of them.

Question. I show you a photograph which is marked exhibit 8.

Do you recognize the individual in that photograph?

Answer. Yes, that is "Bob".

Question. This was the person you knew as "Bob"?

Answer. Yes, it is.

Question. And is that the individual you previously referred to that fired the shots?

Answer. Yes, it is.

Question. Could you tell what kind of makeup—could you describe what "Bob" looked like with the makeup and wig on?

Answer. Looked like a Chicano, Mexican; it was dark brown, the coloring, and as it came off he became Caucasian.

Question. The wig, could you describe that?

Answer. Not other than it was just bushy, you know, maybe like an Afro or something.

Question. That is all you remember about it?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What was done with that material, the wigs and the makeup and swabs and all of that?

Answer. Once we arrived in the Bay area later that night, it was "Bob's" duty to destroy all that paraphernalia, including my prison clothes, handcuffs and the weapon that was used, wigs; all that paraphernalia was to be destroyed that night.

Question. You indicated that after you got down to the Los Angeles area and lost the car with "Don" in it, that the other two cars then proceeded north?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And what route did you take north?

Answer. 101, Highway 101.

Question. And did you drive for a time without stopping—well, strike that. Where is the first place that you stopped?

Answer. I don't know. It was just at a gas station. We gassed up somewhere en route; I don't know where. Somewhere over on the ocean front.

Question. And did you stop again as you were approaching the Bay area?

Answer. Stopped again at maybe half-way up there and at which point Mr. Burt got into the Pontiac and "Bob" got into Mr. Burt's car. This was done so that Burt and I could have an opportunity to talk to each other for a while.

Question. When you say they got—they switched, does that mean you sat there and talked for a while or did you continue driving?

Answer. Continued driving.

Question. And where is the next place you stopped?

Answer. Gilroy, California.

Question. When Mr. Burt was riding with you up to Gilroy, was anybody else in the car?

Answer. Jean Hobson driving, yes.

Question. Jean Hobson drove the car? (Witness nodding.)

Question. Then what happened at Gilroy?

Answer. We stopped at a large empty parking lot. At this point we transferred all the weapons out of Mr. Burt's car into the Pontiac, had a final discussion amongst ourselves and at this point we wouldn't be seeing each other again for quite a while as I was going in hiding and everybody else was going to their daily routine.

Question. Did you split up then with certain people?

Answer. Yes. Mr. Burt and Andrea Holman went home, I assume.

Question. You didn't see them again after Gilroy?

Answer. No.

Question. And who remained with you?

Answer. Jean and "Bob".

Question. Jean Hobson?

Answer. And "Bob."

Question. And "Bob"?

Answer. Yes.

Question. You then—you went where from Gilroy?

Answer. Went to the Palo Alto area somewhere and drove to a house, of which I have no recall of where it is or any—it was my first time in the area and it was late at night and I was busy talking all the time and not watching where I was going.

And we drove to this house at which point Jean and I unloaded the car, our weapons and so forth, and "Bob" left to destroy all of the evidence, I guess you would say.

Question. You say "Bob" left?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Okay. And you remained at the house for a time?

Answer. I remained there a few hours, yes.

Question. Did anyone stay at the house with you?

Answer. Jean, Jean Hobson.

Question. And what did you do at the house?

Answer. Slept.

Question. Do you recall for about how long you slept?

Answer. Oh, three or four hours, I guess.

Question. After that what then occurred?

Answer. I woke up and there was another man there, and Jean was awake—they woke me up and told me, "It is time to go," we were going, you know, to a permanent place.

Question. Were you introduced to this person?

Answer. Yes, it was Bruce Hobson.

Question. This person Bruce Hobson, did you determine whether he was related to Jean Hobson?

Answer. Yes, he was her son.

Question. And what did Bruce Hobson—what occurred after Bruce Hobson arrived?

Answer. We put our things in an old Volkswagen, got in the Volkswagen to leave.

Question. Okay. By "we", you mean who?

Answer. Jean and Bruce and I. At this point—

Question. Excuse me just a minute. Where did you go?

Answer. When I got in the car at this house, at this point Bruce blindfolded me—

Question. Blindfolded you?

Answer. Blindfolded me and said, "Don't panic, brother, don't get up tight; it is not that we don't trust you, it is that we just don't want you to get cabin fever and know how to get out."

And his was the reason for the blindfold.

So we left—once I was blindfolded, we left the house and we drove in the mountains for maybe an hour to an hour-and-a-half at the most over dirt roads and mountainous—real rugged roads. I could tell because the car was being geared down all the time and I could tell it was mountainous country.

Approximately an hour-and-a-half—and hour to an hour-and-a-half later we stopped, the blindfolds were taken off me and I was in the mountains at a cabin, at a homemade mountain cabin, I guess you would call it.

Question. And did you stay at that cabin for a time?

Answer. Approximately a month.

Question. Did anybody stay with you?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Who was that?

Answer. Bruce Hobson and Jean Hobson alternated.

Question. What do you mean by that?

Answer. Bruce would stay with me a few days and Jean would leave, go on into the city, I guess, and she would return with supplies or whatever we wanted, and Bruce would leave and go back to the city and Jean would stay for a few days, and he would return again.

Question. When you got to this cabin, was it prepared for you in any way, I mean was it stocked with any supplies?

Answer. Some, yes.

Question. Were there utilities or toilet facilities there?

Answer. No.

Question. Did you have running water?

Answer. No.

Question. And how did you acquire this water and food?

Answer. There was a spring; the water and the food, like I say, was brought up each time somebody came.

Question. Did Bruce Hobson say anything to you about having prepared this cabin?

Answer. Yes, it was apparent to me that he had made arrangements several days before I arrived.

Question. And how did that become apparent to you?

Answer. Through conversations.

Question. I mean did he tell you that he had prepared it?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you have contact with any other individuals while you were at the cabin besides Jean Hobson and Bruce Hobson?

Answer. No.

Question. Did you receive any indirect communications from anybody?

Answer. I received notes.

Question. From who?

Answer. Well, I received indirect notes, I guess it would be better to say.

Bruce's fiancée he was living with, Katrina Del Valle, who was also a member of Central Committee, would write Bruce little letters and so forth, and in these little letters she always included messages to me.

And I also received during this time up there when someone would come back—when Bruce or Jean would come back from town, I would receive all the police reports, all documented information regarding this case for me to analyze and to attempt to predict the movements of the police.

And I also received verbal messages through Jean from Bruce Franklin—

Question. Who is Bruce Franklin?

Answer. He is a member of the Central Committee; he is actually the—probably the head of Venceremos organization, I guess you would say; he was the founder of it and indirectly under the surface he controls it.

Question. You have that knowledge because of your experience in being a member of the organization?

Answer. From my experience being a member, yes.

Question. Did you receive any communications either direct or indirect from Bruce Franklin while you were at the cabin?

Answer. As I say, I received many verbal communications through Jean or Bruce. Both were in direct contact with him each time they went down the mountain. We discussed—many times through these indirect communications we discussed the plans for the 24-man squad; we discussed various changes in my appearance for identification purposes; we had communications regarding identification, documentary identification, and many exchanges regarding the next place that I would move to. In addition, Mr. Franklin sent me some clothing which he had—evidently had purchased for me.

Question. You stayed at the cabin, I believe you indicated, about a month?

Answer. Approximately a month, yes.

Question. And what was the purpose of staying at that cabin?

Answer. To keep me hid.

Question. There came a time when you decided to leave?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And why was that?

Answer. Well, we had not intended to remain stationary in one place that long a time and we felt that that wasn't good practice, and we had intended to move sooner than a month but for some unknown reason the arrangements weren't

quite—never transpired or something, and finally in approximately a month everybody was up tight about it so we made a—we went ahead and made a move, anyway.

Question. By "we", you mean who?

Answer. Jean Hobson and myself.

Question. And were you then driven down from the cabin?

Answer. Yes, I was.

Question. And who drove you down?

Answer. Jean.

Question. And were you blindfolded on that occasion?

Answer. No, I wasn't.

Question. Are you able to tell us the location of the cabin now?

Answer. No, not—it was raining and it was midnight, and it was a very heavily wooded area, and large trees and nighttime—it was just pitch black—and again several reasons. I wasn't trying to remember where I was at, I was holding conversations all the time as we were driving and I just remember certain vague things about the area is all. But as to the exact location, I don't know because we wound in and out of so many dirt, rutty roads that I don't know if I would ever be able to find it again.

Question. You indicated that you do remember some vague details about the area?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Could you indicate what you do remember?

Answer. I recall a large intersection. And it really surprised me, the reason I recall it, because the intersection was so huge in area wise, and it was right in the middle of nothing—just trees and mountains all around, and all of a sudden there was this big gigantic intersection.

Question. Is that about all you remember?

Answer. About the mountains, yes. Lot of dirt roads.

Question. Where did you go when you came down from the cabin?

Answer. We went to "Bob's" house.

Question. Was this the same "Bob" as you previously identified as being the person who fired the shots at the scene?

Answer. Yes, it is.

Question. And where was his house located?

Answer. In Palo Alto.

Question. How long did you stay there?

Answer. Four days, I think.

Question. By the way, after you were arrested, were you taken to the Palo Alto area by San Bernardino sheriff's officers to point out that house?

Answer. Yes, I was.

Question. And did you, in fact, point out that house to them?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. Do you remember the name of the street it was on?

Answer. Channing Street.

Question. When you arrived at that house, who was there?

Answer. "Bob."

Question. And did Jean Hobson come inside with you?

Answer. Yes.

Question. How long did she stay?

Answer. Just briefly.

Question. During the time—I believe you indicated about four days—you were there, were you in contact with Jean Hobson?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did she come to the house?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Where did you sleep in that house?

Answer. In "Bob's" bed.

Question. Did "Bob" sleep somewhere else?

Answer. He had a bunk bed in his living room, I guess you would call it.

Question. While you were at "Bob's" house, did you observe any kind of weaponry?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What did you see?

Answer. You want them all?

Question. Yes.

Answer. Well, let's see, besides—not including the weapons that I—there was two shotguns, one 12 gauge pump, one 12 gauge automatic which had been sawed off;

There was an M1 military rifle, a fully automatic .45 caliber weapon that is similar to a Thompson submachine gun;

There was an F. N. high power rifle which is, I believe, a .3006 caliber;

There was two .45 caliber pistols, automatics;

.45 caliber Colt Commander automatic;

There was a .357 magnum Ruger revolver;

There was a .22 automatic target pistol;

There was a German-made seven millimeter automatic;

There was a box of smoke grenades, a box of C. S. gas grenades, two fragmentation grenades;

A bullet-proof vest;

Hundreds and hundreds of rounds of ammunition for these various guns.

And, as I say, then there were my weapons.

Question. What weapons did you have?

Answer. Twelve gauge shotgun, pump sawed-off;

Had an M1 carbine military carbine;

Had two .45 automatic pistols;

I had .22 Smith and Wesson magnum.

Question. You mentioned in the list of weapons that "Bob" had at his house a Ruger weapon.

Did you have any discussion with him about that weapon?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. What was that conversation?

Answer. Well, the day of October the 3th the weapon that he had used to shoot the correctional officers with were the .347 magnum Ruger revolver, and it was—the reason I know that was because while we were on the freeway, "Bob" asked me at one point to reach in a jacket pocket in the back seat of the car and hand him a box of shells and as we were driving down the freeway, he pulled this Ruger revolver out and reloaded it in the car, and I observed him reloading it, and I had seen the weapon, you know, at this time, and when I seen it at his house, it was identical weapon.

Question. Was there something about it that made you think it was the same weapon, anything unusual about it?

Answer. Well, it was identical, you know, with the same length barrel, and it looked new—both of them looked new—plus it had a special grip on it, a walnut-type grip that looked like it might have been made—custom-made grip. And it appeared to be the identical weapon that was used on October the 6th, and I commented about this and he just smiled and told me no, that that wasn't the same one; that he had destroyed the other one, and just fortunately the following day on October 7th he had been to a gun show in Los Angeles and just fortunately found an identical weapon and had purchased it.

Question. I show you an exhibit marked number 16, the photograph of a gun.

Does that all appear to be like the one you have been discussing?

Answer. That is the .357 magnum Ruger and it has the same custom-made grip on it as "Bob's" weapon has.

Question. Did "Bob" stay at the house during the four days you were there?

Answer. Yes, except he went to work during the daytime.

Question. But he stayed there at night?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Well, while you were there at that house, did you come in direct contact with any other people?

Answer. One other person, yes.

Question. Who was that?

Answer. Mort Newman.

Question. Did you know his full name at that time?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. And who introduced you to Mort Newman?

Answer. When he came in, we introduced ourselves.

Question. And did he stay at the house at all while you were there?

Answer. He stayed there every night, also.

Question. And what was his purpose in coming to the house?

Answer. We needed someone to be awake at all hours of the night so we couldn't be caught all asleep, and he came in as an extra guard and as an extra person in case of a shotout or something.

Question. Did he have weapons?

Answer. He had a—the Colt Commander was his.

Question. I show you an exhibit which has been marked number 7. Do you recognize the individual in that photograph?

Answer. That is Mort.

Question. Mort Newman?

Answer. Mort Newman, yes.

Question. While you were staying at "Bob's" house, were you furnished any supplies or money or anything of that sort?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Would you indicate what you were furnished in that regard?

Answer. Well, you want how it all transpired?

Question. Yes, describe the circumstances.

Answer. We were having conflicts at the time about a new place for me to go to and the things I would need and at this point one said that identification had been provided to me and it turned out that it wasn't satisfactory, so we were having conflicts behind this. So also Bruce Franklin had sent word through "Bob", that from this point on that "Bob" would be my contact between him and me, between Bruce Franklin and me, and that Jean Hobson would no longer be a contact; that they were afraid there was too much suspicion already on her and they did not want to take a chance of her leading the police to me, wherever I was, and they suggested that they had two places in mind for me to move to next. One was an extremely remote place in northern California, so remote that it required an airplane to fly us in, and that the drawback on this particular place was the two people who lived there would not allow any weapons to be brought onto their premises, and it was felt that due to my circumstances, the things that had happened, that I should never be without any weapons.

The second place was a place in New Mexico on an Indian reservation, and all we knew about that was that it was a house and that the people who lived there were revolutionaries. I wouldn't agree to make this move with so little information. And this is why the four days, too.

So Jean Hobson, "Bob" Seabock and myself had a conference, discussed this matter and said, "We will not make any moves, we will not make any changes until there is more detail, and it is going to require also another set of identification, one that is satisfactory, and it will require at least a thousand dollars in cash if I am going out of state to sustain myself wherever I go."

So this was relayed by "Bob" to Bruce Franklin and when "Bob" returned after that, he stated that he had a meeting set up with Bruce Franklin on the following Friday evening at 7:00 o'clock at which time all of these things should be available.

So this is why the four days.

Anyway, Friday night at 7:00 o'clock "Bob" left to meet Bruce Franklin. He was gone a couple of hours. When he returned, he had a business-size envelope which was sealed, which he wouldn't handle—he wore gloves all the time he was handling it. He gave it to me to open and examine. Inside was a thousand dollars in cash and another set of identification.

Question. When you talk about a set of identification, could you explain what you mean?

Answer. Well, there was a birth certificate, a social security card and two copies of a California driver's license with my picture on them made out in the name of Daniel J. Collins.

Question. Were these real driver's licenses you were given and by the Department of Motor Vehicles?

Answer. No, they were phony I. D. cards; they were made special.

Question. I have an exhibit here marked exhibit number 21. Do you recognize that?

Answer. That is one of the driver's licenses, yes.

Question. That is one of the driver's licenses you were furnished—

Answer. Yes.

Question [continuing]. By "Bob" at the house?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you from that time go by the name Daniel J. Collins?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. After receiving this identification and money, did you leave, Mr. Beaty?

Answer. Yes, midnight that night.

Question. Okay.

Approximately when was this, the date, do you know?

Answer. Friday, November the 10th.

Question. And where did you go from there?

Answer. We drove—"Bob" and I drove to Fort Defiance, New Mexico.

Question. Just you and "Bob"?

Answer. Just "Bob" and I, yes.

Question. And what kind of a car did you have to do that?

Answer. An old Mercury, '62 or '63, I believe.

Question. And do you know how that car was acquired?

Answer. En route "Bob" told me that Bruce had given him the money to buy it especially to transport me to New Mexico.

Question. By "Bruce", you mean Bruce Franklin?

Answer. Bruce Franklin, yes.

Question. While we are on the subject of vehicles, I will show you some photographs.

I have a series of photographs which have been marked 14A through 14E for identification. I would like you to examine those and indicate if you recognize what is depicted there?

Answer. That looks like the Mercury that I went to Arizona in, New Mexico.

Question. Two of the photographs appear to be photographs of the inside headliner of the vehicle.

Do you recognize anything there that is unusual that you observed in the vehicle?

Answer. Well, I recall a tear in the headliner and this appears to be similar to what I recall.

Question. This appears to be the vehicle in which you were taken to New Mexico by "Bob"?

Answer. Yes.

Question. When you went with the San Bernardino County deputy sheriffs a few days ago to point out "Bob's" house, did you see that car at that time?

Answer. Yes, I did; it was parked in front of his house.

Question. Parked in front of "Bob's" house?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you point that car out to them—

Answer. Yes.

Question [continuing]. The sheriffs, at that time?

Also, I have two photographs which have been marked as exhibits 12 and 13.

Do you recognize those vehicles?

Answer. They appear to be the cars that were used in the escape.

Question. All right.

The ones used on Edison Street to take you from the correctional officers?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Would you indicate how you drove to Arizona and New Mexico—and "Bob"—what route you took?

Answer. Left the Bay area, went over Highway 5; we took some roads—I don't know which highway—there to Barstow and from Barstow we took 66 all the way to Gallup, and then we turned north to go to Fort Defiance, whatever highway that is.

Question. And Fort Defiance was in what state?

Answer. New Mexico.

Question. When you arrived there, did you go to a house or what?

Answer. Yes. We had trouble finding the house at first. Eventually found this house in the town of Fort Defiance.

Question. Did you go into the house?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Was anybody there when you got there?

Answer. No. When we first got there, the doors were locked—no one was there—and "Bob" had a piece of paper with a list of instructions on it that Bruce Franklin had given him and in this instructions there was an instruction in the

event that no one was home, it told him where to go to get a key to the house. And he told me to stay in the car, he would be right back, and he went down the street a little ways, I guess. Very briefly he was gone. When he came back, he had a key so we unlocked the door and went in.

Question. And after you got in the house, did somebody else come to the house later on?

Answer. Later that evening the people who lived there came home, yes.

Question. Who were they?

Answer. Dr. Harry Bashara and his wife Lorrie.

Question. How were you introduced to them? Did they introduce themselves or—

Answer. Yes. "Bob" was asleep and I was sitting up in the living room reading and when they came in, we just introduced ourselves.

Question. Did you tell them who you were?

Answer. Not at this point, no.

Question. Did you stay there at that house that night?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did there come a time when you did tell them who you were?

Answer. The following day, yes.

Question. What did you advise them?

Answer. I didn't tell them directly who I was but I advised them I felt it was a very serious situation and I felt that they should understand the seriousness of the situation. I explained to them that I was very, very hot so far as the law was concerned and I was wanted pretty badly and that in the event that it was in any way discovered that I was there in their house, that it wouldn't be a situation where a policeman would just come, knock on the door and ask for me; that in all probability, it would turn into a situation where there would be many, many policemen surrounding the house and possibly even a shoot-out, and I felt because of that serious type of situation, that they should be fully aware of what, you know, what could happen.

Question. What did—the doctor say anything to you, Dr. Bashara, about that?

Answer. No. Lorrie, his wife, said—the only comment was, "We have had some training in house defense."

Question. Did you observe any weapons in that house?

Answer. Yes, yes, I did.

Question. What kind of weapons did you see in the house?

Answer. I seen two M1 military carbines, a small German automatic pistol, a nine millimeter Browning automatic pistol.

Question. How long did you stay there?

Answer. Until the morning of the 14th of November.

Question. And on the 14th of November, where did you go?

Answer. To Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Question. During the time that you were there at the house, were you in direct contact with anyone else besides the doctor and his wife and "Bob"?

Answer. Yes. On Monday night I met an attorney by the name of Mick Goldstein, who prior to this I had been informed by "Bob" before he left that this man would be my contact between me and the Venceremos organization while I was there. He came to the house Monday night to meet me and talk to me and also to bring some information that I had requested.

Question. What kind of information?

Answer. I had requested how—the procedures for getting a New Mexico driver's license, the legal one; I also requested the possibility of names and photographs of all F.B.I. agents on the reservation so I would be able to identify them before they identified me.

Question. What did this attorney tell you about obtaining that information on the driver's license?

Answer. Well, he had checked into the driver's license situation and he told me to call the Department of Motor Vehicles. He also looked up the penal authority—Penal Code statute, Vehicle Code statute, on it to determine what was required and it was ascertained that I didn't need a fingerprint, anything of that nature, only a picture which is what I wanted.

As far as the F.B.I. agent information, he said at that time he couldn't get it but he believed there was ten agents on the reservation.

Question. Was he informed who they were?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What was he told?

Answer. Well, we had a lengthy discussion, we had a couple-hour discussion that evening, and he hinted a couple of times that he believed—he thought he knew who I was and he was aware of the events that was taking place in the Bay area, and I eventually got a Venceremos newspaper which I had with me and in it this particular newspaper carried the story of my escape and also the story of Mr. Burt and Mrs. Holman's arrest, and I gave him the newspaper to read, and which he did. Right there in front of me he read both articles and at the conclusion of this, he knew exactly who I was then.

And we discussed that this particular house was not really a very safe house after all: that it was a known communist house, the only communist house on the reservation; that it had—there had been previous problems with raids on the house and they assumed all their phones were tapped, they assumed they were under surveillance, and it was determined that this wasn't a very safe place for me to be.

So we discussed—I told him—I asked him didn't he tell Bruce Franklin all of this information, and he told me no; and I told him—I explained to him that Bruce was supposed to have called him the following week to try and ascertain all of these details before we made this move, and he told me no. Bruce only called him one time and that was merely to determine whether or not the house was still available, and he had never called back in regards to finding out more detail about the house.

Question. This conversation is going on with this attorney Mick Goldstein?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you have any further discussion with him about your security or Bruce Franklin?

Answer. No.

Question. I have three photographs which have been marked as exhibits 9, 10 and 11.

Would you examine the persons depicted therein and tell us if you recognize them?

Answer. I recognize all three of them.

Question. And who are they?

Answer. The first one nearest me is Dr. Bashara—

Question. That is the photograph in exhibit 9.

Answer. It is Dr. Henry Bashara.

The next one is his wife, Lorrie.

Question. That is exhibit 10.

Answer. The third one is Mick Goldstein, the attorney.

Question. That is exhibit 11.

How did you come to leave Dr. Bashara's house?

Answer. Well, I had already discussed with him someone taking me into Albuquerque for the purpose of me buying a car and Lorrie had agreed to do this Tuesday morning, November 14th. So early Tuesday morning she drove me downtown to Albuquerque and rode me around town while I was looking at various cars trying to find one to buy.

Eventually that evening I did find a car that I bought.

Question. Was Mrs. Bashara with you at that time?

Answer. Yes.

And after buying the car, we started to go back to Fort Defiance and for some reason I decided I didn't want to go back, and so I was about 15 miles out of Albuquerque so I pulled over beside the road and flagged her down and told her—I lied to her and told her I had a tire that was bad and it was thumping and I could not make it all the way to Fort Defiance; I would have to turn around and go back into Albuquerque, which I did, and she went on home.

Question. And did you ever go on back to the Bashara residence?

Answer. The next evening, yes.

Question. For what purpose?

Answer. To pick up my weapons and my clothing, stuff I had up there.

Question. Did you see the Basharas on that occasion?

Answer. I seen the doctor on that occasion, yes.

Question. Did you tell him you were leaving?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. Where did you go?

Answer. I went back into either Gallup or Albuquerque, I am not certain.

Question. At this time, you were driving the vehicle you had purchased in Albuquerque the day before?

Answer. Yes.

Question. I show you a series of photographs which are marked exhibits 15A, B and C.

Would you examine those photographs and determine if you recognize that automobile?

Answer. Yes, that is the car that I purchased.

Question. Is this the car you were arrested in, by the way?

Answer. Yes, it is.

Question. What happened when you drove to Albuquerque, what did you do there?

Answer. Well, I am not certain of the date other than—as I had some work done on my car on the 15th, I believe, put some new tires on it, and I think that night I made a call to "Bob" telling him I had bought the car and the money I had spent was considerable; explained also to him the conditions that I had found at the house, about it not being a safe place and that I was no longer there and that I needed \$200.

Question. Okay.

Had "Bob" left that house, the doctor's house, at some time while you were staying there?

Answer. The same evening we got there. He slept a couple of hours and he left immediately to return back.

Question. When you called "Bob", you called him at his home?

Answer. I called him at his home, yes.

And he told me okay; he would have to get the money the following day and it would be in Western Union waiting for me the following evening.

Also, I called—made contact with Jean Hobson, explained to her the situation that I found at the house and suggested that she come to Albuquerque and we would see if we couldn't discuss the problems and see if we couldn't work out some kind of solution between us and Bruce Franklin.

Question. Did she agree to come to Albuquerque?

Answer. Yes, she did.

Question. The money order, did you ultimately pick up the money order?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. And what name was it sent to you in?

Answer. Under Daniel J. Collins.

Question. And in what amount?

Answer. Two hundred dollars.

Question. Did Jean Hobson eventually arrive in New Mexico?

Answer. Yes, she did.

Question. And did you meet her at the airport or how did you get in touch with her?

Answer. Well, she told me the time the flight was to come in, so I had—the way I met her, I located a bar about half-a-mile from the airport and I waited until her flight was in, and I called the airport, had her paged to the phone, and at which time I instructed her to get a taxicab from the airport and come to the bar. And immediately on hanging up I drove to the airport, positioned myself in a vantage point where I could observe her getting in the cab and where I could observe the cab leaving the airport terminal and driving to the bar to determine whether or not she was followed. And when I determined that she wasn't, then I pulled in to the bar and picked her up.

Question. And what did you and Jean Hobson do after she met you?

Answer. Well, we spent about a week, ten days just traveling around, you know, discussing things and traveling.

Question. Why did you travel around?

Answer. Well, I don't know; I just wanted to stay on the move, I felt I was safer moving than I would be stationary, especially with her with me.

Question. Did there come a time when you returned to California?

Answer. Yes, there did.

Question. And about when was that?

Answer. Maybe a week to ten days after I picked her up.

Question. Would that have been still in November?

Answer. Still in November, yes.

Question. And how did you come back to California, on what road?

Answer. Sixty-six all the way to L.A.

Question. Did you come down through San Bernardino County into Barstow?

Answer. Into Barstow, yes.

Question. And was Jean Hobson with you at that time?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Then how did you get to Los Angeles?

Answer. Instead of coming into San Bernardino, I went across the Angeles Crest, over through Wrightwood, down that way.

Question. And what happened when you got to Los Angeles? What did you do?

Answer. Drove from there to Santa Barbara where we stopped finally, stayed in a motel. We were both too tired to go any further.

Question. Would you then describe the events that occurred in the next few days after you arrived at Santa Barbara?

Answer. Well, we went—the following day we went on to Palo Alto and spent quite a bit of time in Palo Alto, several days—I don't recall how many days; it all ran together for me there.

Question. Where did you stay?

Answer. In various motels.

Jean went home back to her daily life for the purposes of trying to get some concrete plans laid out with people, you know, who controlled money and so forth. And this went on for a considerable length of time.

Question. While you were in Palo Alto, did you have any contact with Bruce Franklin?

Answer. I think I did, yes.

Question. And describe what you mean by that?

Answer. Well, after several days, you know, supposedly negotiating through intermediates, it was determined that I would go to a co-op market in Palo Alto—there is a bank of telephones on this one wall and at one particular number I would receive a phone call from Bruce and I would have an opportunity to discuss my problems with him.

The phone call did come through at that phone and I did discuss my problems with a male.

Question. Did this person ever identify himself?

Answer. No.

Question. What did you discuss with this person?

Answer. All the various reasons why I was upset.

Question. Could you list them quickly, what you talked about?

Answer. Beginning of the surrender of Burt and Andrea, I was vitally opposed to that.

Question. Are you referring to the point that Andrea Holman and Benton Burt had previously surrendered themselves under warrants?

Answer. Yes, and I was opposed to the methods used during that surrender, that they allowed them to turn themselves in without having any information as to what they were facing;

And during that month in the cabin, I had overstayed my time there due to the fact that Bruce Franklin hadn't arranged for the other moves promptly and on time;

The idea had been unsatisfactory, including the last set wasn't satisfactory;

The failure, his failure, to investigate the New Mexico house thoroughly before sending me over there and wasting that time and money and possibly jeopardizing me, and just in general his failure to produce as he should have in a planned manner.

Question. And what did this person respond to you about these accusations?

Answer. Really, the only response was that, "We will work it all out."

Question. Did he tell you anything specific that would be done?

Answer. No.

Question. About how long did you talk to this person?

Answer. I don't know; maybe ten minutes, five minutes.

Kind of a one-way conversation.

Question. You did most of the talking?

Answer. Mm-hm.

Question. You indicated you stayed in the Palo Alto area after getting back some number of days.

What happened after that?

Answer. Well, there wasn't any results coming—we weren't getting anywhere, money was running out—so at this point Jean came up with some jewelry—

Question. By "Jean", you mean who?

Answer. Jean Hobson.

And we thought that possibly through some of my old criminal connections we maybe could fence this jewelry and thereby, you know, get enough cash to operate on until things got worked out.

Question. When you say she came up with some jewelry, was it understood between you and her as to whether it was stolen jewelry?

Answer. It was, yes.

Question. What did you do about the jewelry?

Answer. Well, I proceeded on a very lengthy trip up and down the coast trying to find a fence for it. To Los Angeles a couple of times.

Question. Could you describe more specifically what you did in order to fence the jewelry?

Answer. I drove to Los Angeles—first I went to San Francisco and attempted to find some people that I at one time knew, and none of these people were around any more—at least I couldn't find them. Then I drove to Los Angeles and contacted an individual there whom I knew in prison—

Question. Who was that?

Answer. I prefer not to answer that question.

Question. Did you—well, how many people in the Los Angeles area did you contact about this?

Answer. This individual sent me to another individual who was an associate of his, I assume. I met with this other individual. He examined the jewelry and he took me to another place, to another man, who I don't know, and this other man only wanted brand new jewelry. He didn't want to deal in any used jewelry and this was used.

So at this point, this individual—we separated at this point. I went back to Santa Barbara and Jean went with this individual—Jean Hobson—and took the jewelry. They went to this individual's home for the purpose of having his brother look at the jewelry to determine its value, which this was done.

The following morning the three of them met me in Santa Barbara—Jean and the two brothers—and Jean, the brother and I then proceeded to San Francisco because the brother said there was someone up there he could probably fence it with.

So we went back to San Francisco. We were there two or three days contacting the various people in San Francisco attempting to fence this jewelry and I was ultimately apprehended there.

Question. When you were apprehended, were you going somewhere? Where were you going at that time?

Answer. I was on my way to a fence at that time, supposedly.

Question. I mean where? Do you know where you were going, what city?

Answer. To Fresno.

Question. When you were apprehended, where were you located?

Answer. Where was I what?

Question. Where were you when you were apprehended?

Answer. On the Oakland Bay Bridge.

Question. And you were arrested, am I correct, by officers of the San Francisco Police Department?

Answer. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Foreman, could we take about a ten-minute break and then resume?

The FOREMAN. Okay.

[Recess taken at 12:50 o'clock and hearing is resumed at 1:20 o'clock p.m.]

Ronald Wayne Beaty, having been previously sworn, resumes the stand for further examination.

Question [by Mr. Canty]. Mr. Beaty, I have a couple of other exhibits I would like to show you.

Exhibit number 6, a photograph, do you recognize the person in that photograph?

A JUROR. Louder.

Answer [by the witness]. Yes, I do.

Question [by Mr. Canty]. And who is the person in exhibit 6?

Answer. Bruce Hobson.

Question. Is this the Bruce Hobson that you previously testified to that drove you to the cabin and stayed with you there?

Answer. Yes, it is.

Question. Showing you another photograph which is marked as exhibit 8, do you recognize the person in that photograph?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Who is that?

Answer. He was introduced to me as "Charles" or "C. W."

Question. And with respect to this person "C. W.", did you encounter him or have contact with him while you were out of custody before your apprehension?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. And where did you meet him?

Answer. In Palo Alto.

Question. What were the circumstances of that?

Answer. Jean was to meet me at a card parlor, the Cameo Low Ball Club, and she arrived to meet me and this gentleman was with her.

At this time, the three of us had a drink together in the club and I was introduced to him.

We finished our drink, went to the parking lot and got Jean's luggage and Jean's weapons out of the trunk of his car and we left.

Question. You say "Jean's weapons."

You mean Jean Hobson's weapons?

Answer. Yes, Jean Hobson's personal weapons.

Question. You took these weapons out of the trunk of his car?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And is that the purpose of the meeting?

Answer. Yes, to pick Jean up and her luggage and weapons.

Question. What was your understanding of why this person "C. W." had Jean's weapons?

Answer. I just understood that she probably called him up and asked her to—or asked him to take her some place, and I assume when he picked her up, he put her things, her weapons in his car.

Question. What kind of weapons were involved that were taken out of his car?

Answer. M1 military carbine; that is all.

Question. All right.

One M1?

Answer. Yes.

Question. There has been a discussion previously during your testimony of an organization known as Venceremos. You apparently joined that organization in April?

Answer. Latter part of April, yes.

Question. Since joining—before joining the organization, have you become familiar with a number of their members and their literature and their mode of operation?

Answer. Yes.

Question. With respect to membership in the organization, is Benton Douglas Burt a member?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is Jean Stevens Hobson a member?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Does she hold any office in the organization?

Answer. Jean is a member of the Central Committee, yes.

Question. Is this person "Bob", as far as you know, a member of the organization?

Answer. He is an underground member.

Question. Is Andrea Holman a member of the organization?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is Bruce Hobson?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is "C. W."?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is Mort Newman a member of the organization?

Answer. Yes.

Question. To your knowledge, are Dr. and Mrs. Bashara members of the organization?

Answer. They are not.

Question. How about Mick Goldstein, the attorney?

Answer. He is not either.

Question. You mentioned previously a Central Committee.

Answer. Well, a Central Committee theory is derived from Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the structure of the Chinese government. It is called Democratic Centralism. It is one of our principles of unity, that our structure be set up in this manner.

Question. What is the purpose of that committee?

Answer. To coordinate political struggles within the community and secretly known to the normal membership, to coordinate the illegal activities.

Question. Have you ever held an office in that organization?

Answer. No, I haven't.

Question. Are there other offices in the organization besides the members of the Central Committee?

Answer. Yes.

They are appointed in various capacities, depending on what the need may be. It is just like any other government structure, if there is a need for a certain type committee, the Central Committee will appoint various people to handle the duties of that committee.

There is positions on the newspaper that are appointed by the Central Committee—

Question. What is the name of the newspaper?

Answer. Promoja Venceremos.

Question. Is that newspaper published under the direct control of the Central Committee?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Are there various ministries or anything like that within the organization?

Answer. Yes, the various Central Committee members usually hold these various titles, Minister of Defense, Minister of Information and so on, whenever the need arises again.

Question. What kind of arms and weapons are available to the organization and how do they acquire them?

Answer. Well, as far as type and kind of weapons, I doubt if there is any type or kind that is not available to them, including heavy machine guns and so forth, rocket launchers and all of the various firearms—they are fifteen, fully automatic weapons—they are in possession of all of those right now—ammunition—talking about thousands and thousands and thousands of rounds of ammunition that is presently available.

The methods of obtaining these things vary. Every Venceremos member is required to own, know how to handle and operate all kinds of firearms. He is specifically required to own at least one hand gun and at least one shoulder weapon, whatever his choice may be. These must be legal. So these are purchased usually through gun shows, private parties, things of that nature, and they are legal.

Then we have numerous weapons available that are illegal and these are obtained through various burglaries of homes, armories, gun shops—things of that nature—military installations throughout the country.

Question. How is the organization financed?

Answer. This is kind of a unique system. They have what they call front financing. This is done through selling posters, newspapers, having different benefits, parties, street dances, collections for various things.

Like the defense of this case here, there is a front program going on to solicit donations to support the defense of these people. These are merely what they call, like I say, a front, and this is done for income taxes and things like that. There is enough money that comes in through these that it is feasible that they could sustain their activities on this money.

But under the surface of this then you have private donations from various wealthy people throughout the country and you also have contacts through people like Bruce Franklin who have foreign contacts and if the need arises, these contacts are committed to support and aid the organization in any way necessary: arms, whatever.

Question. What do you mean by "foreign contacts"?

Answer. Through socialist countries that are sympathetic with Chairman Mao and with the north Vietnamese, and I can't give the exact knowledge on that because I haven't seen the book of the exact countries that are committed to support our operations.

Question. What kind of preaching or attitude does the organization have concerning violence and sabotage?

Answer. Repeat that, please.

Question. What is the view of the organization, or its teachings, concerning the use of violence and sabotage in various situations?

Answer. This is a correct—violence and sabotage, even assassination, is correct in their political views, providing that it is directed towards our enemy, and our enemy is anything that is the established government of this country or a capitalist country, and any person who cooperates with this type of government—and ordinary businessman, for example, in this very community here, if he became—if he came into Venceremos operations somehow, they focus there on him. Maybe he may discriminate against someone or something and call their attention to him, why he would be our enemy, and any sabotage to his business, to his home, to his family, including assassinating him, would be a correct policy.

And, as I say, this enemy extends to anyone who collaborates with a capitalist government in its attempt to oppress various minorities and the majority of the working class people, and the ultimate goal is the elimination of the bourgeois ruling class, the elimination through force, violence or whatever means necessary and the establishment of a People's government controlled by the working class and the minorities.

Question. What is the—what is the base of operation of your organization? Is it in the Bay area?

Answer. It has been, yes.

It has been in Palo Alto and it is extended throughout northern California now. They have local chapters in almost every city in the Bay area.

Just recently we have extended out into other revolutionary organizations such as the Young Lords in New York City. It is a movement for the liberation of Puerto Rican people. We have merged with them and made a pact to where we would aid each other in various operations on the different coasts and in between. In other words, if the Young Lords needs something done out here, we will do it; if we need something done in New York, they will do it. Or something that needs done that requires both of us, both organizations will work together.

This merger has been made, to my knowledge, with five other organizations. During this year, this merger came down.

Question. What organizations are those?

Answer. I don't know all five of them but I know three of them, the Young Lords, the Revolutionary Union and the Weathermen.

Question. Does the Venceremos organization have any operators in our county, San Bernardino?

Answer. Yes, they do.

Question. Could you tell us what they have in this county?

Answer. It is new. I don't know the extent of it. And it's increased considerably during this past two months, Burt and Holman trial.

We sent Central Committee members down here immediately after this incident occurred, that they were arrested, and they solicited support from local organizations, got commitments from local organizations, been recruiting in this county and Los Angeles County ever since then and how far it's gone I do not know to this date.

Question. What local organizations have they contacted for the purpose of an alliance?

Answer. This I don't know. That is probably—I know they have contacted the majority—or all of the Chicano movements in Los Angeles and San Bernardino County, and what you have in this county I am not aware of but I have been made to understand that it is considerable amount of support that we have in San Bernardino County and Los Angeles County combined.

Question. Is there any kind of headquarters here?

Answer. There might possibly be by now. If you will recall from the testimony, I was kind of out of touch for over a month and things transpired quickly—transpire quickly in situations like this. They quite obviously do have some sort of headquarters set up now.

Question. What is the—does the organization have any official position or teaching regarding how to handle police?

Answer. "Kill!"

Question. That is it, "Kill them"?

Answer. If necessary, or I should say if possible.

Question. Can you elaborate on that?

Answer. Well, a police officer, or a "Pig", as they are most commonly called, is in the organization's view nothing but an extension of the ruling class. Policemen are an ignorant, stupid fool that's been duped by the ruling class into enforcing laws that protect his interests and not the majority of the working class interest.

The court system is another extension, a tool of the ruling class.

This Grand Jury we are sitting in front of right now is a tool of the ruling class.

And the reason they say that is you don't see a rich man sitting here where I am sitting, you don't see a man making \$35,000 a year sitting where I am sitting. It is always the poor man, it is always the black, it is always the brown, always the minority.

They use the "Pig", the ruling class, to keep this system operating; they use the "Pig" to oppress, that ruling class, that he can't, the ruling class can't, oppress himself; therefore, the "Pig" voluntarily, knowingly goes out and oppresses people, oppresses other human beings, continues to subject them to a standard of living that is below the level of necessity and because he voluntarily does that, he has put himself in the class of an enemy, and because he is a tool that the ruling class uses, he has to be eliminated before we can get to the ruling class because he stands between us and the ruling class as their protector.

So he has to be eliminated first. And when the opportunity arises, it is the revolutionary's duty to kill "Pig." But there is teachings, again, and in our teachings of Chairman Mao in regards to guerrilla warfare as to when you should do that and when you should not. You should never take on—for example—you should never take on any operation when you are outnumbered. When there is more "Pigs" than there is revolutionaries, then back off; when there is an opportunity arises when there is more revolutionaries than there is "Pigs", you attack.

* * * * *

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(NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.)

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