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TESTIMONY OF THOMAS EDWARD MOSHER

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

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COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
RATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

MITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

PART 1

MARCH 19; FEBRUARY 11, 12, 1971

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JOHN R. NORPIL, *Director of Research*

ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA, *Chief Investigator*

RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the testimony of Thomas Edward Mosher taken in executive session on February 11, 12, and March 10, 11, 15, and 19, 1971 be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, *Chairman*.

Approved May 19, 1971.

(11)

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS EDWARD MOSHER

FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1971

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 call at 12:05 p.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Edward J. Gurney presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; and Samuel J. Scott, associate counsel.

Senator GURNEY. The hearing will be in order.

Mr. SOURWINE. Senator, this is Mr. Mosher.

Senator GURNEY. How do you do? Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony that you have given in these volumes and that which you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MOSHER. I do.

Senator GURNEY. Counsel may inquire.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you give the reporter your full name and address?

Mr. MOSHER. Thomas E. Mosher, Palo Alto, Calif.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have, over a period of more than a week, provided the subcommittee with oral statements and a number of documents for inclusion in the record, which are recorded in a number of transcripts, is that correct?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have with you five volumes of such transcripts of the statement that you have given us in this way?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you identify them by date, please?

Mr. MOSHER. Thursday, February 11, 1971; Friday, February 12, 1971; Wednesday, March 10, 1971; Thursday, March 11, 1971; and Monday, March 15, 1971.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you had an opportunity to review these transcripts and make corrections where you would like to do so?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I have. But there are other corrections that I assume will be completed.

Mr. SOURWINE. The fifth volume, dealing with the findings which are under investigation, you have not completed correcting, and you will finish that as soon as possible?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In giving us all this information, did you at all times attempt to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, to the best of your ability?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. May these five volumes of transcript be received and incorporated into this record, to be printed in the same type as if given orally here?

Senator GURNEY. That will be the order.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1971

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 conference met at 10:10 a.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building.

Present: John R. Norpel, Jr., research director; Samuel J. Scott, associate counsel; and Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator.

Mr. NORPEL. Please show that this is a conference with Mr. Mosher, conducted in room 2300. Present are Mr. Samuel J. Scott, associate counsel; Mr. Alfonso Tarabochia, chief investigator; and John R. Norpel, Jr., research director.

The first sessions will concentrate mainly on you, Mr. Mosher, and your activities. To begin, will you please tell me where and when you were born?

Mr. MOSHER. April 9, 1942; Chicago, Ill.

Mr. NORPEL. You are still an American citizen?

Mr. MOSHER. I am.

Mr. NORPEL. What education have you had?

Mr. MOSHER. 4 years, Stanford University.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you qualify for a degree?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, the degree will be granted in July.

Mr. NORPEL. What was your main pursuit?

Mr. MOSHER. Political Science and Economics.

Mr. NORPEL. Are you married?

Mr. MOSHER. I am divorced.

Mr. NORPEL. Have you ever had any military service?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir, I have. I have an honorable discharge from the Marine Corps.

Mr. NORPEL. What was your period of service in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Mr. MOSHER. July 7, 1961; discharged, July 7, 1967.

Mr. NORPEL. What was your rank when discharged?

Mr. MOSHER. Private.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you have any court-martials?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you have any overseas service?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. Have you ever been arrested?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I have.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you please detail those arrests for us?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; April 16, 1970, arrested in Palo Alto, Calif. There were six or seven felony charges, all of which were dropped with the exception of one, which was an assault on a police officer. I pled guilty to it and it is being reduced to a misdemeanor now.

Mr. NORPEL. What were the circumstances of that arrest?

Mr. MOSHER. Three days prior to that, the date of arrest, with the knowledge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I went with three other individuals to a rural area which is used by New Left people for military training, demolitions, that sort of thing. Coming back to an urban area, Palo Alto specifically, demolition supplies, and approximately eight weapons were left in my home.

Within 24 hours, because of a civil matter, the police came to the home where there were at the time, eight people residing—it was a boardinghouse—and proceeded to search the place. They found all of these materials. I was arrested.

It took approximately 3 weeks for the FBI to make any contact with me and eventually, they decided the way it would be handled would be through the district attorney and through the judge, and that the charges of possession would be dropped and I would plead guilty to one of them and I would receive probation. That probation would be reduced to a misdemeanor at some future date so as not to try to call attention to myself. It also served the purpose of increasing my cover, I understand.

Mr. NORPEL. You mentioned a rural area where, I assumed they had stored guns. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

In this case, it took just about 2 months to find out where people were getting plastique at the time. They had plastique; they had it up on the land. I suggested that it not be kept there, that it be brought down. On my own initiative, I used the possibility of bringing it in and storing it in my place, as a lure. It was brought down. The search of the house took place within 24 hours, and it was seized.

Mr. NORPEL. Where is this rural area?

Mr. MOSHER. The Santa Cruz Mountains.

Mr. NORPEL. Santa Cruz Mountains. Can you give us a little more specific pinpoint?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, it is in Santa Cruz County, Calif., on Summit Road, approximately 14 miles from Highway 17.

Mr. NORPEL. Was this explosive kept in a building, or was it buried?

Mr. MOSHER. No, it was kept in a mountainous area which was, let's say, a good 2 miles from the nearest road.

Mr. NORPEL. You mentioned that the police came to your residence in connection with a civil matter.

Mr. MOSHER. No; they came to my home when it was brought there. The police came to serve a court order. They came into the house and proceeded to search it. I was arrested during the process of search, and they took all of these things out. There was also an automatic weapon identified later as an AR-15, I believe.

Mr. NORPEL. What was the nature of the court order the police were serving? What caused that?

Mr. MOSHER. A custody proceeding concerning my son.

Mr. NORPEL. All right. In this house where you were arrested, was that a commune-type property?

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir. I had a year lease on the home. I was at Stanford. I was going to school and renting out rooms. There were 10 rooms in the house, I think, five of them rented out at the time. So in a strict sense, it wasn't a commune.

Mr. NORPEL. More or less a dormitory-type arrangement?

Mr. MOSHER. I referred to it as a boarding house because I charged a set amount for each room and people prepared all their meals.

Mr. NORPEL. How many children do you have?

Mr. MOSHER. One child, 4 years old.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you detail your employments for me from the time that you finished high school, including your service as an informant, I assume to be the correct word, for the FBI?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. This will be difficult.

Mr. NORPEL. To the best of your recollection. You'll have an opportunity to add to this record when you review it.

Mr. MOSHER. Sure.

I graduated from high school in June 1960. Started at Loyola University in Chicago, January 1961.

In June 1962, I began my first period of active duty with the Marine Corps, separated from active duty at the end of September, started at Stanford University in October 1962. I was at Stanford University from October 1962 until April 1965.

In April 1965, I went to Mississippi, Leake County, Miss. During the entire period of time at Stanford, there were periods of intermittent employment as a student fireman, and as what is referred to as a hasher or someone who serves meals. I worked in the student union.

The summer of 1963, to go back a little bit, I worked for the Milwaukee Road Railroad as a switchman. That was summer employment, to return to school.

I left Mississippi in September 1965, returned to Chicago, was employed as a warehouseman at Strickland Trucking Co. in Chicago. I left that position in January 1966 and worked as an organizer for JOIN Community Union, which was an SDS-ERAP project.

Mr. NORPEL. Do the letters J-O-I-N have any individual connotation?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, they did. In the beginning, JOIN stood for jobs or income now. It was an organizing project originally funded by the UAW for \$5,000. That money was given to Rennie Davis, and the purpose of it was to organize the unemployed—hence the name JOIN, jobs or income now.

Mr. NORPEL. What about the ERAP? Does that have an individual connotation?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you tell us what it is?

Mr. MOSHER. ERAP stood for economic research action project. That was the overall organizational name for approximately 12 projects similar in purpose to JOIN.

Mr. NORPEL. What other employments did you have?

Mr. MOSHER. That fall, when I married, my first employment was with Carta Blanca.

They were liquor importers in Chicago. That was for a period of several months.

My next legal employment, my full-time employment, began in November 1967. It continued through December 1968.

Mr. NORPEL. Where was that employment?

Mr. MOSHER. American Express—the credit card company. In the Chicago area. When I left—there is a discrepancy here some place. I can't place the month.

Mr. NORPEL. When you get the record, you'll be asked to add.

Mr. MOSHER. I have it on a list I made.

When I left American Express, I was in charge of their office in Milwaukee, Wis. I was in Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. NORPEL. What was your next employment, Mr. Mosher? That takes us up to December 1968.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. I returned to Stanford University.

Mr. NORPEL. All right. When did you begin your association with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. MOSHER. In, let us say, April 1969, although that may not be accurate. When you say association, you see, for some length of time, there was an association deriving from inquiries made about my trip to Cuba. I supplied them with films I had taken, which I have with me now. That period of time continued for several months.

I told them that I was not interested in receiving any money at that time.

Mr. NORPEL. Did this occur in Chicago?

Mr. MOSHER. No, in Palo Alto, Calif.

I returned to Chicago after my trip to Cuba and then went back to Stanford. After being back in Stanford for several months, the FBI contacted a member of my family, made inquiries about my whereabouts, and said they wanted to talk to me about Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. When was that?

Mr. MOSHER. I'll tell you exactly—October 1968.

Mr. NORPEL. Now, are you still associated with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. MOSHER. Not in any financial sense.

Mr. NORPEL. Do they still contact you?

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, yes. In fact, they were notified of my trip here.

Mr. NORPEL. For what period were you reimbursed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or approximate period?

Mr. MOSHER. Let's say from approximately June 1969 until May 1970. There is something beyond May, though.

After I got out of jail on this, on this charge, and while the court case was still pending, they requested that I make a trip back here to Washington, D.C. That was in August 1970. It was at the time of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. They had a big rally here, the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention rally, I guess they called it.

Mr. NORPEL. Were you paid for services in addition to expenses?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not believe so. No; not for that trip.

Mr. NORPEL. Why was your, you might call it, active association, with the Bureau terminated?

Mr. MOSHER. I felt that, given the fact that I had continued my association with individuals who are involved in illegal activities and I had incurred criminal penalties because of the fact, notwithstanding that I kept the Bureau informed as best I could, that they were not serving my interests and I was not serving their interests.

I felt that in this case I was able to provide them with leads which would later develop into criminal prosecutions.

Mr. NORPEL. But as I understand, you yourself terminated this close arrangement, or was it a mutual?

Mr. MOSHER. It was a mutual understanding.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you provide the FBI with written reports?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; I did.

Mr. NORPEL. Can you detail your residences for me for a period of time since graduating from high school?

Mr. MOSHER. It would be very difficult, but I think I can.

Mr. NORPEL. When you get the record, would you insert them at this point?

Mr. MOSHER. Sure.

(The information referred to had not been received when the transcript of this conference went to press.)

Mr. NORPEL. What foreign travel have you had?

Mr. MOSHER. To Canada in 1959.

Mr. NORPEL. What was the purpose of that trip?

Mr. MOSHER. I was in high school. I came back to Washington, D.C., because I had never been here, and went from Washington, D.C., to Gettysburg, Pa., to see the Civil War Battlefield; went on up to Detroit, crossed over at Windsor.

Mr. NORPEL. Did it have any connection with the so-called New Left?

Mr. MOSHER. None whatsoever.

Mr. NORPEL. It was just a high school vacation?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. What other foreign travel?

Mr. MOSHER. In Mexico in the spring of 1963, while I was a student at Stanford. The purpose of that was to go to the Cuban Embassy. I went with another individual who graduated from Stanford and later went to Harvard Law School. He and I were both interested in discussing the possibilities of travel into Cuba.

Mr. NORPEL. What is that other individual's name?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not know.

Mr. NORPEL. You do not know?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not know. I cannot recall it. It was 8 years ago.

Mr. NORPEL. You did know at the time?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I did.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. This was to Mexico?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. When you received probation, was the court aware of your cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir; it was. The court was made aware of it.

Mr. NORPEL. What about any other foreign travel?

Mr. MOSHER. O.K. To continue. Mexico in 1963, the spring of 1963.

Then, Mexico in—it must have been August 25, 1968.

We departed for Cuba, August 26, 1968.

Mr. NORPEL. When did you return to the United States?

Mr. MOSHER. I returned to the United States the 1st of October 1968, and came back by way of Spain and was in Spain September 30, and the 1st of October 1968.

Mr. NORPEL. Any other foreign travel?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. Will you tell me what organizations in the so-called New or Old Left you have associated with?

Mr. MOSHER. Let us begin with the spring of 1965, in Mississippi. There was an organization known as COFO, the Council of Federated Organizations, which was made up of fieldworkers for SNCC, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; CORE, Congress of Racial Equality; at one point the NAACP. I think they were the primary financial backers of what was known as the freedom election, or the mock election that was prior to the Voting Rights Act.

All of these organizations organized a mock election in Mississippi that spring.

Mr. NORPEL. Mr. Mosher, if you will just go into these generally. Then we are going to take them one at a time with all their activities and affiliates. We want to get a broad idea so we do not forget something.

Mr. MOSHER. OK. I worked in Leake County for a period of 4 months, I believe, in the Fourth Congressional District. The Fourth Congressional District was staffed by CORE fieldworkers. So I worked on a project that was ostensibly a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party project in the Fourth Congressional District. But the work was all done by people who represented CORE; in other words, I was working for CORE at the time.

I came to Washington that fall.

Mr. NORPEL. This is 1965?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, 1965, for what was known as the Mississippi Challenge. They challenged the seating of the Congressmen from Mississippi. The organization responsible for that was the MFDP, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Thereafter, I returned to Chicago and began an association with JOIN. Out of that association grew an on-going relationship with SDS. The SDS national office at that time was moved to Chicago and JOIN was an SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) project.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you consider ERAP as part of that, too, in that area?

Mr. MOSHER. Off the record for just a second?

Mr. NORPEL. Yes.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NORPEL. I think that ought to be on the record.

Mr. MOSHER. SDS was originally connected with the League for Industrial Democracy in New York. When it split with the League for Industrial Democracy and moved its headquarters to Chicago, it had a project known as economic research action project. ERAP was an umbrella organization linking together a number of community organizing efforts from Newark. The project in Newark was known as NCUP, Newark community union project. It was headed by Tom Hayden.

There were projects in Baltimore, in Pennsylvania, in Carbondale, Ill., in Chicago. The project in Chicago was the one I worked for, JOIN. The one in Baltimore was known as U-JOIN. It was union for jobs or income now.

But once again, to get back to the point, my primary association was with JOIN in Chicago. ERAP was the umbrella organization which coordinated all of the projects. JOIN was effectively headed by Rennie Davis at that time.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you know Rennie Davis personally?

Mr. MOSHER. Very well. The person who directed me to the project was Casey Hayden, Thomas Hayden's ex-wife. I was told about the project while I was in Mississippi, made aware of the fact that it was in my neighborhood, where I grew up. I thought I would be valuable if I went back there where I grew up and did some organizing. The neighborhood is predominantly poor white.

Mr. NORPEL. And from Mississippi you went to JOIN?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; one thing which should be made clear is New Left organizations define membership by participation, not by membership cards.

I did have an SDS card for a long period of time. I never paid dues. It was given to me. Most people paid dues, but it was given to me so I could speak at speakers conventions and things of that sort.

That association with SDS continued through the trip to Cuba. I might explain the circumstances of the trip to Cuba.

There was one prior group that went to Cuba from SDS. That was a group of approximately 30. Mark Rudd was in that group. Other fairly prominent SDS leaders, too.

The second group which was invited to go to Cuba was set up by Bernardine Dohrn.

The purpose of that trip was to establish a relationship between SDS and OSPAAAL.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Is that the Tricontinental?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, that is correct. At some later point, I would like to address myself to the significance of this particular trip and the significance of having gone on it.

Mr. NORPEL. Have no fear, sir. We just hope you are patient with us.

Mr. MOSHER. Having organized with JOIN for a fairly lengthy period of time, and having carried on an on-going relationship with the SDS national office, I and a number of other people from JOIN were invited to meet with Gus Hall from the CPUSA. Present at this meeting were a number of organizers from JOIN, myself included. The other names, if they are important, I attempt to recall them.

Mr. SCOTT. Was Mike Sharon there?

Mr. MOSHER. I think he was. That's very important, because he was key to a number of things that were happening in JOIN at that time. He came out from California from the Movement Press, from the Movement newspaper, which was a SNCC-SDS newspaper.

At that meeting with Gus Hall, Lou Diskin was present. Another member of their national political affairs—no, of the central committee—I cannot remember what they call it in Illinois. Anyway, there were several high Communist Party officials there. They were interested in JOIN because it was one of the few viable working class white projects going on in the country at the time.

At that meeting, I and a number of other people were invited to go on a trip to the Soviet Union. I accepted. When the people from SDS found out about that, they said, don't go to the Soviet Union. Go to Cuba. As a consequence, I took Bernardine Dohrn's place on the trip to Cuba.

The purpose of my presence on the trip was to begin initial conversations with OSPAAAL, or Tricontinental. Those conversations took place, and I'll get into them later on.

After returning from Cuba, as I explained, I came out to California to Stanford, established my relationship with the FBI sometime thereafter, and insinuated myself into a relationship with the national office of the Black Panther Party. I say that with no qualifications, that I insinuated myself into it.

I worked on the UFAF—that is the United Front Against Fascism. In the process of working on the conference, United Conference

Against Fascism, I set up an initial meeting between the SDS and NIC, National Interim Committee, and the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Mr. NORPEL. What did you call that again, please?

Mr. MOSHER. The NIC of the SDS. That is the National Interim Committee. It served the same function as the central committee. By that time, SDS had begun practicing democratic centralism as they defined it.

Mr. NORPEL. All right, sir

Mr. MOSHER. Present at that meeting were Bobby Seale, and if you can supply me with the date of the initial meeting of UFAF, I can tell you what the date of this meeting was.

Mr. NORPEL. It is my recollection it was in September of 1969.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, that's correct, but I don't know the date.

Mr. NORPEL. The 25th, if I'm not mistaken.

Mr. MOSHER. Then this must have been the 24th.

Present were Bobby Seale, David Hilliard; an individual who was known as Big Man—his real name is Elroe Howard; June Hilliard; Masai. All of whom were on the central committee of the BPP. And the eight members of the NIC of the SDS. Those individuals, to the best of my recollection, were Bernardine Dohrn, Michael Klonsky, Mark Rudd, Robert Avakian; William Ayres was there.

Mr. NORPEL. Why don't we do it this way. As you go over the record, your memory will be refreshed. Other questions may lead you to a better recollection.

A little aside: When you serviced the Bureau, did you provide them with written reports?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I did.

Mr. NORPEL. All right. Do you have copies of those reports?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I do not. They didn't allow me to retain them.

Mr. NORPEL. Thank you. Would you continue now? You were speaking of the NIC and the United Front Against Fascism Conference.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; I was responsible for preparing what is known as the Students Against Fascism section of UFAF. In this period of time, I developed on going relationships with staff members of the BPP and members of the central committee of the BPP. I attended numerous meetings, some of which were in David Hilliard's home. One took place in my home, with Bobby Seale present, David Hilliard present, Big Man present, June Hilliard present, and three unidentified Negro females, all representing the BPP. Representing other organizations at this meeting at my home were Bruce Franklin of what was then known as the Revolutionary Union.

Mr. NORPEL. Let us go on with this and in the course of the conference, I am sure the other names will come back to you.

Are you finished with the organizations now?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, more or less.

Mr. NORPEL. Well, yes or no?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; There are things I have left out, but I guess I can go back over them.

Mr. NORPEL. Well, if you have them, we would like to get them now. Just basically the organizations, but not a great deal of detail about them.

Mr. MOSHER. I have had a relationship with an organization that grew out of JOIN, the Young Patriots; another interim organization which existed for a period of about six months, known as NOC, National Organizing Committee.

Mr. NORPEL. That's about it?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I think so.

Mr. NORPEL. We'll go on to another point.

Did you make speeches on behalf of any of these organizations?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I did.

Mr. NORPEL. Are they recorded speeches? Do you have copies of them?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I'm afraid I do not. Some of them were in the paper. I spoke at one time prior to Dr. King at a meeting known as the Chicago Gangland Conference, which was sponsored by SCLC and the Social Action Department of the Unitarian Church.

Shall I go into the concept of any of these things?

Mr. NORPEL. Not at this time.

Mr. MOSHER. I spoke at a conference set up by the National Organizing Committee at the University of Iowa. That conference involved several hundred people, for which I received a check for the sum of \$660, I believe, from the University of Iowa.

I spoke on various college campuses for the SDS. I spoke at Northwestern University, the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee campus; the University of Iowa; Iowa State.

Mr. NORPEL. What about writings? Have you had any writings published in any of the organs of the so-called New Left or Old Left?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; none under my name, though. I never did that.

Mr. NORPEL. What names did you use, if they were any?

Mr. MOSHER. No title.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you ever attend anything that you would consider a revolutionary, anarchy-type training school, classes, or seminars?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Where were they?

Mr. MOSHER. On the land to which I referred. I consider all of the SDS conferences in that nature. Although I think perhaps training school is just a little too classical. It smacks of the activities of the CP, that are much more structured than anything SDS ever did.

Mr. NORPEL. What term would you use? Would it be gripe sessions or rap sessions, as they're called?

Mr. MOSHER. No; I would say you could describe them by any term from—how do I say this—political indoctrination meetings to propaganda meetings.

Mr. NORPEL. Would it encompass something that could be considered social affairs, even?

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, sure. All of the SDS conferences had large numbers of individuals who were, how do I say, socializing a great deal of the time. There was always a great deal of marihuana, liquor, that sort of thing.

Mr. NORPEL. Were you responsible for any SDS organization directives, like Black Panther directives, instructions emanating from headquarters, or things that were to be followed by the membership—policy? Did you write any policy papers?

Mr. MOSHER. As I said, I did prepare the section on "Students Against Fascism and Imperialism" for UFAF. Policy is not disseminated that way. Directives, I think, is a misleading term. There is usually—how do I say this—a tone and a direction set in articles that are ostensibly political opinion. I would even include, let's say, the campaign of the Panthers over the last year under the line, "Counter Attack, Shoot To Kill"; all of the rhetorical devices which they use to serve the function of directives. But they are not directives as such; they are much more in the area of creating a mental set for people.

Mr. NORPEL. I grasp what you mean. It is a suggestive-type thing with the hope that the majority will take action on the suggestion.

Mr. MOSHER. That is right; that is exactly what it is.

I have, I think, a fairly in-depth experience with exactly this sort of activity. Because of my association with Bobby Seale and David Hilliard and the United Front Against Fascism, I developed an on-going relationship with Randy Williams. He has been mentioned in previous testimony before a Senate subcommittee. It referred to him as an expert in urban guerrilla warfare.

Randy Williams and the people in what was known as his action team never received directives from the Central Committee of the BPP. All actions which were taken by them were taken on the basis of interface between party leaders and cell groups. Action teams are allowed to choose their own targets and carry them out without the knowledge of anyone else. That is, for the most part, how sabotage, sniping, all that sort of thing takes place.

Mr. NORPEL. It reduces greatly the possibility of exposure?

Mr. MOSHER. Absolutely.

Mr. NORPEL. Have you ever used any name other than your own?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I have.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you please tell us about them, the places you used them, the approximate dates, and why?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, I have used the name William Z. Foster during the preparatory meetings, and that sort of thing, for UFAF. Why? Because I did not care to use my own name and, of course, it was a play upon William Z. Foster of the Communist Party hierarchy.

I have used the name Eugene Dennis. This name was the pseudonym for my relationship with the FBI.

Mr. NORPEL. Any other names?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I have, and I could not tell you offhand. Usually when we had SDS conferences, I always signed lists with another name, purely arbitrarily chosen.

Mr. NORPEL. This was then just spur-of-the-moment as you describe it. You did not secure identification backup, such as driver's license—

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir.

Mr. NORPEL (continuing). Social Security cards, that sort of thing.

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir.

Mr. NORPEL. Have you ever had a fraudulent passport?

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir, I have not.

Mr. NORPEL. Your passport is in your true name?

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. NORPEL. I think that is about all concerning you. If you do not mind, Mr. Tarabochia would like to go into depth on your trip into Cuba. Are you ready Mr. Tarabochia?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes.

You left Mexico City on the 26th or 27th of August?

Mr. MOSHER. The 26th.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Then you departed on a Cubana Airlines flight from Mexico City; right?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was the plane just made up—I mean the group that you were part of filled the plane?

Mr. MOSHER. No; there were other passengers.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was, to your knowledge, the daughter of Barbara Dane aboard?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, she was.

She was also aboard.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Barbara Dane and her daughter?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. Can you tell me the name of her husband? Is it Irwin Silber?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Irwin Silber?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No; he is not her husband. But Irwin Silber is very closely connected with Barbara Dane. I may be able to show you some photographs afterwards.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. She and her daughter were both aboard. They were met in Cuba by her son, who is in residence in Cuba, who is married to a Cuban girl.

Actually, her maiden name is a Cuban name, which I do not have here at the moment, but I can give it to you.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. You mentioned a trip to Cuba in March of 1968, on which Mark Rudd had gone?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. And did you have anything to do with that particular trip?

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you know any of those who went on the trip?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Let me see—Barbara Dane. Her name is Barbara Jean Menendez, born Spellman.

Irwin Silber is the editor of the magazine, "Sing Out."

Mr. MOSHER. Is all this for the record?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes; they have a very fast connection with the Cubans.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Now, I mentioned Mike Sharon of Chicago, Ill.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, he was on the prior trip.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He was on the trip with Mark Rudd?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Anybody else whom you remember?

Mr. MOSHER. Not that I remember.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was Karen Ashley there?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. She was from Chicago?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; I couldn't testify whether she went or didn't go. There were a number of people whose names I cannot recall with whom I had lengthy conversations after they returned.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I'll read the names and you can tell me whether you remember them or not.

Mr. MOSHER. Michael Sharon, by the way, upon his return, brought a large amount of literature, books, of which a large portion passed into my hands directly from him.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What type of books?

Mr. MOSHER. Marxist-Leninist literature, all of which had been published in Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. English or Spanish?

Mr. MOSHER. Mostly English, but all the things published in English were also available in Spanish.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you remember the titles?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, "Economic History of Cuba," by Riverand.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He is a member of the National Academy of Science of Cuba. That is his last name. Actually, it is le Riverand. I forget his first name.

Mr. MOSHER. Julio.

Also, in pursuing the literature, many works by Che Guevara; speeches by Fidel Castro; publications of Tricontinental; many works of Jose Marti; and a great quantity of literature dealing with Vietnam.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was that literature published by the NFL Embassy in Cuba and distributed by the Cubans?

Mr. MOSHER. It was not an Embassy at that time.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mission, or whatever they called it.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; some of it was. In fact, some of it purported to have been published in "Liberated Areas" of South Vietnam. I have movies, by the way, with me here, approximately 12 or 13 reels in super 8mm. of the trip. They were the only movies taken of that group.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. We will get to that in a little while. Let me proceed with the names.

Mike Goldfield?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Ed Jennings?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did you know him?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I knew him. Ed Jennings lived for some period of time with, in the same house as a girl whom I knew who was a member, later a member of PL, Progressive Labor. He purported to be something of an expert on Latin American affairs.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you recall the girl's name?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I do not.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did you know Holly Hart?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not believe so.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Joe Horton?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. He is another individual with whom I had numerous conversations prior to my trip to Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mack Hardesty?

Mr. MOSHER. Just as a passing face.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Marc Steiner?

Mr. MOSHER. Another individual whom I probably couldn't identify, but whom I met and talked to about the trip, I believe.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Sheila Ryan?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Alan Levin?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He is from Florida.

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Dena Clamage?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. but I couldn't say anything about her. She's from Detroit; right?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes.

Paul Shinoff?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Bob Timposky?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Jane Rockwell?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Alice Embree?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Phil Russell?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mark Rudd?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. And Jean Weissman?

Mr. MOSHER. Jean Weissman?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. J-e-a-n Weissman.

Mr. MOSHER. It is an individual with whom I have had some association, but I can't recall the context.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you care to elaborate on the individuals whom you happen to know?

Mr. NORPEL. If I may interject, so the record is clear, the list you just read to the witness are those people who you know to have been in Cuba?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. They left from Chicago on February 6, 1968.

Mr. MOSHER. They were the first SDS group to go to Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. As I said before, would you care to elaborate on the individuals whom you said you knew, like Mike Sharon, for instance?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; Michael Sharon came and associated himself with JOIN at the invitation of Michael James, with whom I resided for a period of approximately 6 months. Mike James invited him to come to Chicago as a representative of the Movement newspaper, published in San Francisco. The movement newspaper at various times has been an official organ of SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and SDS. Mike Sharon was involved in organizing a police brutality project with myself and a number of other individuals. He was involved in writing a number of articles for the movement newspaper about our organizing efforts in Chicago.

He later married a girl from Detroit with whom I traveled at one time across the country to speak at San Francisco State. Her name is, or was—her maiden name—was Tanya—the last name is a Russian name. Her parents are old CP's, very well to do. I have stayed at her home in Detroit.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. If you remember, let us know.

Mr. NORPEL. To whom is she married now?

Mr. MOSHER. Michael Sharon. Well, at least she was. They married after his return from Cuba.

Mark Rudd—of course, he later became national secretary of SDS. I first met him after his return from Cuba and prior to the student rebellion at Columbia.

One thing of significance that should be noted is that he had not been elected national secretary of SDS at the time that I went to Cuba, but the Cubans continually brought up in conversation the significance of Columbia and the importance of having someone like Mark Rudd as leader of SDS, which he later became.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you remember the name of the Cuban who was expounding this theory?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I have a fairly lengthy, I think, explanation of my trip to Cuba, and I can give you that.

Mr. NORPEL. OK, we'll get into that.

Mr. MOSHER. Some of the individuals are fairly important. One of them, Raul Roa, Jr.—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Are you through with Mike Sharon?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Anybody else that—

Mr. MOSHER. The individual Joel—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Horton?

Mr. MOSHER. Joel Horton. He worked at the SDS national office for a period of a year or more, was involved in organizing efforts on the near North Side of Chicago; continually pushed a very pro-Cuban Guevaraist line within SDS; worked on the SDS newspaper, which was known at that time as New Left Notes. He gave some of us who were going to Chicago to the point from which we departed to Mexico—that was Dallas—Dallas? Yes.

He gave us fairly lengthy instructions concerning obtaining our passports without drawing attention, that sort of thing.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did he mention anything about his trip to Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. To the same degree that other people did, that, you know, they had met for the first time "real" revolutionaries, and that that had influenced their outlook, their politics. That is the most I can say about it.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. How about Mark Rudd? You mentioned you had conversations with him prior to the Columbia riots, but after his return from Cuba.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Now, if I am not mistaken, he returned to Cuba on March 7, 1968. Does that—

Mr. MOSHER. Returned to Cuba? You mean he went for the first time?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I mean he returned to the United States.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. Well, he came through Chicago and I met him briefly there.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What did he have to say about Cuba at the time?

Mr. MOSHER. That they, they and the Vietnamese clearly marked the way that the American movement would have to take, that we would have to become more militant, widen our struggle against imperialism.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. And planning about demonstrations for the famous 10 days to shake the empire?

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, no. That wasn't until quite some time after. That wasn't until my trip to Cuba and thereafter.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did he mention anything about training in Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. No, that is misleading. I would rather place this in the context of my experiences in Cuba, because I can tell you what "training in Cuba" means.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. All right. We'll leave it for your trip.

Mr. MOSHER. I don't mean to be cutting you short, but it would be a whole lot more accurate if I referred to my specific experiences. Everything else would be hearsay.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I understand that Joe Horton and Mike Sharon were on the editorial staff of the Movement?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. They were?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, that is in the record already.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Now, let us go to your trip to—

Mr. NORPEL. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NORPEL. Back on the record.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. When was the idea of the August 1968 trip to Cuba conceived, and by whom?

Mr. MOSHER. It was conceived some number of months prior to the trip. It grew out of the first trip in conversations SDS leaders had with Cuban representatives about the possibility of sending more people. Arrangements were not actually firmed up completely until a very short period of time prior to our departure.

My inclusion on the trip took place after my conversations with Gus Hall at this meeting to which I referred with Hall, Diskin, and other people from JOIN, during which I was invited to the Soviet Union. When Mike James found out about that, he suggested that we go on the trip to Cuba instead of the Soviet Union.

I had a subsequent conversation with Bernardine Dohrn. She at that time was planning to go to Cuba but did not go on that trip.

As a matter of fact, I literally took her place.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What was the reason for Bernardine's not going there?

Mr. MOSHER. It was the Democratic Convention. They were in the midst of planning the SDS participation in the events in Chicago, and because she was interorganizational secretary of SDS, she felt that she shouldn't leave.

Does that make sense in this?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, it makes sense, but I don't know whether she was on that trip to Eastern Europe at the time.

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, yes; she had gone to Bratislava, was it? She had gone to Bratislava and returned by the time—I hope I am not making a mistake—by the time we were preparing to leave.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who were the leaders or the organizers of the trip?

Mr. MOSHER. The national leadership of SDS.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Any names in particular?

Mr. MOSHER. Bernardine; Mike Klonsky, I guess. See, there were a lot of people coming and going. Jeff Jones was always in the national office and out.

That is another name that should be included in that meeting with the Black Panthers on the United Front Against Facism. Jeff Jones was there. We were instructed—oh, another individual who was very, very involved in the planning of the trip was Todd Gitlin.

Todd Gitlin, I believe, made the arrangements with the Cuban mission in New York. He later met us in Texas, held briefing sessions with us. He also worked on JOIN.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Going back to Todd Gitlin, did you know whether he had made any previous trips to Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, he was there for the cultural congress.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. With——

Mr. MOSHER. Carl Davidson, I believe.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Right.

Mr. MOSHER. He was the one that conducted all of our briefings prior to our departure from Texas to Mexico City.

Mr. NORPEL. Is this Gitlin or Davidson?

Mr. MOSHER. Gitlin. He had perhaps the best relationship with the man—I believe he was the man who was head of the mission in New York; Jimenez.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Todd Gitlin is listed on the list of U.S. participants to the Cultural Congress of Havana, which took place in January 1968.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you establish the authenticity of that list, Mr. Tarabochia, for the record?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The list was prepared by the Organization of American States Committee on Security. I'll give you the full name afterward.

Mr. NORPEL. Thank you.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. And you said Carl Davidson was over there; right?

Mr. MOSHER. Right. He accompanied Todd.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. You also said that he was instrumental in briefing and arranging the trip?

Mr. MOSHER. That is correct.

Mr. NORPEL. This is Gitlin?

Mr. MOSHER. Gitlin.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did he give you a briefing before you left to go to Mexico?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, he did. He was primarily responsible for the briefing.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What did that briefing consist of?

Mr. MOSHER. A historical background on Cuba, a revolutionary analysis of the struggle in the "Third World." A discussion of security measures on the way to Mexico, our conduct in Mexico.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you care to elaborate on these security measures?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. A very interesting thing took place during our briefing sessions.

There was one individual whose name I can supply if you have the list of people on our trip, who, in the process of discussing why he wanted to go to Cuba, brought up the question of sabotage and bombing. Every individual in the group except this individual who mentioned it immediately became very quiet and Todd's response—he was the leader of the discussion—said, we are now going to have to discuss whether this man even goes with us, because he had brought up an unmentionable subject. We do not talk about those things in large groups.

This individual was consequently disciplined and told that he was probably going to be excluded from the trip for his indiscretion. We had a long discussion about whether or not we should include him. It was more or less the sort of thing that is classically defined by Maoists as criticism, self-criticism. He had to get up and more or less describe his error and, during the whole trip, this fellow presented problems in Cuba.

As a consequence, three or four of us were literally detailed to discipline him.

At one point, it reached a point at which we took him outside of a building in Cuba and told him if he continued his conduct—totally indiscreet conduct from a leftwing point of view—always talking about bombing and that sort of thing, that we would have to physically harm him. He consequently ceased and was very closely watched by the Cubans.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Could you identify him?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, if you will give me the names of the people on the trip with me, I can. He is from Baltimore.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Well, then, at this juncture, we might as well list the names of the people who were on that trip.

Robert Enriquez—

Mr. NORPEL. Show that the witness shook his head in the negative.

Mr. MOSHER. I am sorry; no.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The second one on the list?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Consuelo Lanham?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Hilda Ignatin?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Friedlander, Danny Friedlander?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mark Shapiro?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. James Murray?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Suzanne Loring?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Helen Schiller?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. George Guintel?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mark Henschel?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Nick Freudenberg?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Nancy Biberman?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. James Mitchell?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Bill Yates?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Joseph Webb?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was that Joseph Webb?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Joseph Webb is the individual who you were forced to discipline and kept making the comments about sabotage, bombing, et cetera?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, that was the nature of his response to Todd Gitlin's inquiry at the briefing about why we were going to Cuba. Everyone there was very upset that he said that.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. For the record, his name is James Michael Webb.

Was he black or white?

Mr. MOSHER. White.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In other words, the subject of sabotage and bombing was taboo?

Mr. MOSHER. Taboo in large groups.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In large groups?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, absolutely. That brought more of an emotional response than anything else.

Mr. NORPEL. How large a group was this?

Mr. MOSHER. Thirty—over thirty.

Mr. NORPEL. What would have been considered not too large a group?

Mr. MOSHER. Interface between, let's say, two or three people who know one another well and trust one another.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I'll continue with the list.

Frederick Cowper?

Mr. MOSHER. Do you want some response to these?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Right, whether you knew——

Mr. MOSHER. I was going to say yes or not——

Mr. TARABOCHIA. About the individual?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. All right.

Mr. MOSHER. I know all of them.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Oh, you know all of them?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, I was with them for——

Mr. TARABOCHIA. All right, we'll check with the names afterwards. Proceed with the trip, then.

Mr. NORPEL. You were at the point where you were receiving this briefing from Todd Gitlin.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Two individuals from the group proceeded to Mexico City ahead of the rest of the group, where they had meetings with the Cuban Embassy.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you identify those individuals, please?

Mr. MOSHER. One of them was Stephen Smith from Stanford University.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Russell Victor Smith, we have here.

Mr. MOSHER. No, there were two Smiths. That is a different one.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you recall the name of the other individual?

Mr. MOSHER. Stephen Smith. Yes, I know him very well.

Mr. NORPEL. He was one of the two?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Who is the second?

Mr. MOSHER. I could not say. He's not listed as being on the trip?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Stephen Smith was not.

Mr. MOSHER. He was there. I spent a great deal of time with him. He went to Mexico City ahead of us. He did not fly out ahead of us; he flew on our plane. I'm positive.

Mr. NORPEL. Mr. Tarabochia, maybe if the witness examines the list, he can recall the identification of the second individual.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. There you are.

Mr. MOSHER. There should be a correction on this. The name of the national director of SDS was not Gronski, it's Klonsky.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I know, it is a typographical error. I think they got it phonetically.

Mr. MOSHER. No, his name is missing from this list, and it is not Russell Victor Smith. Russell Victor Smith is another individual.

Mr. NORPEL. Was Russell Victor Smith on that trip?

Mr. MOSHER. He was on that trip. He's not the individual who went to the Cuban Embassy prior to our departure.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you see the other individual who went to the Embassy?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I did.

Mr. NORPEL. Could you describe him for us, please?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I could not. My memory is not that good.

Mr. NORPEL. Was he white or black?

Mr. MOSHER. He was white. They went—they kept in telephone contact prior to our departure.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Stephen Smith was a member of the SDS at Stanford University?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He is on the alternate list.

Mr. MOSHER. But he went on that trip.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. But he's on the alternate list.

Mr. MOSHER. He was one of the individuals who made the arrangements with the Cuban Embassy. We proceeded to Mexico City, and it should be noted that there were civil disturbances in Mexico at that time.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Right.

Mr. MOSHER. As a consequence, we did not leave the international section of the airport. The Ambassador met us in the international section with our visas.

Mr. NORPEL. This is the Cuban Ambassador?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, the Cuban Ambassador. He stayed with us so we would not be seized by the Mexican police without creating some sort of international incident. He gave us our visas at that point. I think they stapled them in.

Yes, we handed in our passports, they stapled them in and gave them back to us.

We boarded the plane and in the process of boarding the plane, of course, we all had our pictures taken by individuals who were clearly Americans. The assumption at that time was that they worked for the FBI or the CIA.

We departed on schedule and after we were in the air on Cubana Airlines, we were served rum and Cuban cigars and began being treated as, you know, international guests.

There were numerous other individuals on the plane—diplomatic officials, some of whom I recall offhand. There was a diplomatic official from the State of India, I believe. There was a Canadian businessman

who was ostensibly going to Cuba for the purpose of purchasing antiques.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you know his name?

Mr. MOSHER. No. Barbara Dane and/or her daughter.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Irwin Silber was aboard, too?

Mr. MOSHER. No, he was not.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you say Barbara Dane?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Incidentally, that list is not—there are three different lists with names of the individuals who went to Cuba. Some of them were on an alternate list who made late applications and were included in the group at a later date. That is why they do not appear in the original.

Mr. MOSHER. Well, see, in my case, for instance, I said I took Bernardine Dohrn's place. I never made application and I was not chosen as an alternate or anything, I was just placed on the trip at the last moment.

Mr. NORPEL. This second individual that we can't identify that went to Mexico City with Smith, did you ever know his name?

Mr. MOSHER. I did during the trip, yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Perhaps you should look at the complete three lists. One may refresh your memory.

Mr. MOSHER. I wasn't thinking about that subject matter when I looked over the list.

I will say this: whoever the individual was, he was fluent in Spanish and that reduces the number of people. The other Smith, by the way, was fluent in Spanish—Russell Victor Smith. I cannot say with certitude that he was the individual, though.

Mr. SCOTT. Let me ask you, Mr. Mosher, when this trip originated, is this true, like you came from Chicago, they all converged in Texas?

Mr. MOSHER. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. What city?

Mr. MOSHER. In Dallas—yes, sir, it was in Dallas.

Mr. SCOTT. It was there you had your conference briefing?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir. We spent 2 days there, I believe.

Mr. SCOTT. Did you pay your own way from Chicago to Dallas?

Mr. MOSHER. Did I personally?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, who financed your trip or, got your ticket?

Mr. MOSHER. I think I got some of the money from the SDS national office. I don't mean to be difficult, but its really—some of the money from someone else connected with SDS.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you purchase your ticket? Did you purchase the ticket from Chicago to Dallas yourself, or was it provided, handed to you?

Mr. MOSHER. I believe—let us see—well. The money was not used for the ticket from Chicago to Dallas. The money was used in Cuba.

Mr. SCOTT. When the group was assembled in Dallas, were they briefed on travel instructions?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCOTT. Did you fly a chartered plane or a scheduled flight?

Mr. MOSHER. A scheduled plane.

Mr. SCOTT. What airline was this?

Mr. MOSHER. I couldn't say. I don't recall. I did use some of the money for that ticket, though.

Mr. SCOTT. From Dallas to Mexico City?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCOTT. Were the tickets handed out to the group, or were they purchased individually?

Mr. MOSHER. No, we did not purchase them individually. They were purchased for us as a group. We were ostensibly a large group vacationing, or something like that.

Mr. SCOTT. Do you know who purchased the tickets?

Mr. MOSHER. I believe the same people who made the arrangements with the Mexican Embassy in the company of Todd Gitlin.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Steve Smith?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did the other individual have a Spanish name, or was it an American name?

Mr. MOSHER. I could not honestly say.

Mr. SCOTT. Did you board the plane as a group or as individual passengers, each one having his own ticket, or somebody had all of the tickets?

Mr. MOSHER. No, all of the tickets had been purchased together and we were supposed to be a student group going for some cultural event in Mexico, or something.

Mr. SCOTT. Was there some individual acting as the manager or the leader, who had the tickets and handed them to the—

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, that's the way it was done.

Mr. SCOTT. Then in Mexico City, who made the arrangements for your tickets?

Mr. MOSHER. The individuals who preceded us.

Mr. SCOTT. They purchased the tickets?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, they met us—well, in Mexico City, they didn't have to purchase tickets. They were provided by the Cuban Government.

Mr. SCOTT. Provided by the Cuban Government?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCOTT. Was this a Cuban Government plane, a scheduled flight, or a chartered plane?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, all Cuban planes are Cuban Government planes, because it is a Communist country. It was a Cubana Airlines scheduled flight. It included people not from our group, though.

Mr. NORPEL. We're still trying to identify that unknown subject.

Have you examined all three lists?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I did not see the other ones. I doubt very much that I shall be able to recall it.

Here are two other individuals who were on the trip—Fred Halper and Louise Halper.

Mr. SCOTT. To your knowledge, Mr. Mosher, the individuals that made this trip, the individuals themselves, seemed to have an adequate amount of money?

Mr. MOSHER. Some did and some did not.

Mr. SCOTT. Did you have any indication as to any third party or some organization providing this money?

Mr. MOSHER. For some of them, yes. I can say without a shadow of a doubt, for instance, that on this alternate list, Dan Friedlander, for example, who is member of the Communist Party USA, had his money provided for him by someone else.

Mr. NORPEL. Did Dan Friedlander himself admit his membership to you in the Communist Party USA?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, he did. It was a subject unknown for a long time, because most of the people on the trip were contemptuous of members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NORPEL. Thank you.

Mr. MOSHER. Other individuals on the alternate list who were on the trip were Marilyn Webb; another associate of hers by the name of Margie Stamberg; and Stephen Smith.

Mr. NORPEL. And Stephen Smith?

Mr. MOSHER. It's just Steve Smith; I don't know.

Other ones who are listed on this, on the third document, who were on the trip were Reese Ehrlich; Sue Orrin; Michele Clark; Jeff Swanson; Doug Bernhardt.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was he the one who preceded you down there, by any chance? Because his middle name is Spanish.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you know Doug Bernhardt?

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, yes; I knew him. I mean I got to know him very well during the trip. He had just separated from his wife, whom I believe was Spanish. There is a good probability, but I cannot say with certainty.

Sue Jankowsky; Connie Lanham. Some of these are already on that—once again, Russell Smith; Nick Freudenberg; Nancy Biberman; Morris Grossner; Hilda Ignatin.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Is she the wife of—

Mr. MOSHER. Noel Ignatin; yes, she is.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Is she a member of the party?

Mr. MOSHER. The CP?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes.

Mr. MOSHER. No, definitely not. She and her husband both had extraordinary ideological differences with the CP.

Mark Shapiro, Stephen and Molly Moore, Cliff Taylor—this individual I would like to make a comment on.

Taylor, prior to our departure for Cuba, revealed to me the fact that he had just returned from Guatemala and he said that he had left Guatemala at the instruction of the Guatemalan police. He had been there to make contact with the FAR in Guatemala and, according to his conversation with me, had been unsuccessful in making that contact.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The FAR, for the record, is the revolutionary army in Guatemala.

Mr. MOSHER. FAR stands for Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias. They are now a double association.

Joseph Webb, whom I previously identified, and Helen Shiller. Those are individuals who are listed on this third document, some of whom overlap with the other list, and some of whom are not included.

Mr. NORPEL. These people you have been naming are ones who were on the trip with you?

Mr. MOSHER. Definitely on the trip; yes.

Mr. NORPEL. It would perhaps be a good idea to put all three documents in the record at this point.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. May I identify the last two lists?

Mr. NORPEL. Would you mark the next one No. 2?

Mr. MOSHER. May I comment before it slips my mind on one of the individuals who is on that list?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes.

Mr. MOSHER. One of the individuals, Jeff Swanson, listed as being from Baltimore, Md., was a student at the University of Maryland and a former Green Beret captain in Vietnam—Green Beret? Yes he was in the Special Forces. He was one of the individuals with whom I became fairly close in Cuba after an incident took place in Cuba that struck both of us in much the same way.

We were being shown movies of American combat in Vietnam, and upon the occasion of North Vietnamese artillerymen shooting down an American plane, the entire group, with the exception of Mr. Swanson and myself, cheered. It struck us both that it was an extraordinary act of masochism to cheer anyone's death in combat. The Cubans agreed with us. They were very, very struck by the fact that these American youths would sit there and cheer the fact that their own countrymen were being killed, whether you had political differences with them or not. The Cubans still understood that we were Americans.

At a later point, when we had a state dinner in honor of the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, large banquet tables were set. Of course, they were set with national flags, Cuban, Bulgarian, and American. Some of the Americans on the trip tore up the American flags. The Cubans were very upset at that. They did not understand that. They said, your flag represents your people, even though you may not like the Government. Even the Cubans could make that distinction as Communists, whereas these American students could not.

I thought at the time it gave me a great insight into the motivation of most of the people on the New Left. They are essentially people who dislike themselves. Jeff Swanson felt more or less the same way because of his combat experiences in Vietnam. He became involved with the New Left because he disagreed with the war after his experiences in Vietnam. But he did not go so far as to welcome the victory of the Vietcong or the death of Americans.

I say that only to offer some insight into some of the things which occurred on the trip.

Mr. NORPEL. I think we are going eventually to get you to Cuba. But you have gone over the lists, and you cannot identify that second individual who went to the Embassy in Mexico City?

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir, I cannot.

Mr. NORPEL. There is one probability?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, but I will say this for the record: to the best of my recollection, the individual was chosen only because he spoke Spanish. He was a relatively innocuous person. He was not delegated to this because he was in any way more politically experienced than us, the rest of the group.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Now, with regard to the list of names, the second and third lists were found in the Chicago apartment used by Bernardine Dohrn in 1969 by the Illinois Crime Commission. So these two last lists have been compiled by the SDS National Committee.

(The lists above-referred to, follow:)

CUBA TRIP: AUGUST 1968

Los Angeles:

Don Newton and Lucy Linderman, 8028 Blackburn, Los Angeles, Calif. 90048.
 Jim Kulk and Paul Henriques, 1111 Dartmouth Avenue, #125 Claremont, Calif. 91711, (714)626-3403.

San Francisco:

Bruce Hartford and Alex Forman, 271 Fredrick, San Francisco, Calif. 94117.
 Reese Ehrlich, 4802½ Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609.
 Tom Good (Thos. Daniel), 22 S. 11th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112.

D.C.:

Sue Orrin, 1854 Wyoming NW., Washington, D.C. 20009.
 Michele Clark, LNS, 3 Thomas Circle NW., Washington, D.C. 20005.
 Jim Mitchell, 1779 Lanier Pl. NW., Washington, D.C., 332-1387.
 Rosalyn White, 3216 Coquelin Terrace, Chevy Chase, Md. 20015.
 Jeff Swanson, apt #303, 6112 Breezewood Dr., Greenbelt, Md. 20770.
 Norman Solomon (Abba), 404 East Andian Spring Dr., Silver Spring, Md. 20901.

Texas:

Doug Bernhardt, 5666 South Park Blvd., apt #71, Houston, Texas 77033.
 Mike Murphy, 208 Davis, Bryan, Texas 77801.
 Sue Jankowsky, 1907 Red River, Austin, Texas.
 Carlos Azocar, c/o Reavis, 613 West 8th, Austin, Texas.
 Connie Lanham, LNS, 160 Claremont, New York, NY. 10027.

Mass:

S. David Finkelhor, 7 Traymore St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.
 Susan Schwartz Jhirad, #1602, 11 Peabody Terrace, Cambridge, Mass.

Niagara:

Russall Smith and Bruce Beyer, 154 Huntington Ave., Buffalo, N.Y.
 Joe Kelley and Jim Murray, 308 Stewart Ave., Ithaca, N.Y., 273-0535.

New York City:

Nick Freudenberg, 203 W. 107th St., Apt. 9C, New York, N.Y. 10025.
 Peter Clapp, Robert Roth, Stewart Gedal, Joe Tashiro, Deonne Donghi, and Mark Grower, c/o Columbia Liberation School, 536 W. 114th St., New York, N.Y.
 Nancy Biberman, 255 W. 108th St., New York, N.Y.
 Morris Grossner, 780 West End Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10025.

Chicago:

Amy Kessleman, 7056 N. Paulina, Chicago.
 Marilyn Katz, 1930 Spaulding, Chicago.
 Hilda Ignatin, 2921 West Division, Chicago.

Miscellaneous:

Eduardo Aguilar, 3429 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.
 Mike Price, MSU-SDS, P.O. Box 382, East Lansing, Michigan 48823.
 Mark Shapiro, 2282 Webb, Detroit, Michigan 48206.
 Steve Moore and Molly Moore, 303 Deley Avenue, DeKalb, Illinois.
 Ross Danielson, 1141 N. Highland Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206.
 Mark Henshaw, 391 Bluff, Dubuque, Iowa 52001.
 Clifton R. Taylor and Susan L. MacDonald, Dept. Modern Languages, Memphis State Univ., Memphis, Tenn. 38111.
 Joseph M. Webb, 3838 Troost, Kansas City, Mo. 64109.
 Peter Kaminsky, 195 Pennington Rd., Hopewell, N.J. 08525.

Wisconsin:

Sue Sowerwine, WDRU, 217 S. Hamilton, Madison, Wis.
 Helen Shiller, 525 W. Washington, Madison, Wis.

SDS CUBA TRIP: AUGUST 1968

ALTERNATE LIST:

John Johnson, L.S. S.D.S., 510½ N. Hoover St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90004.
 Steve Smith, Political Science Dept., Stanford Univ., Stanford, Calif 94305.
 854-0380
 Margie Stamberg, 1854 Wyoming St. N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Marilyn Webb, 1945 Calvert St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.
 Abba Solomon, 404 East Andian Spring Dr., Silver Spring, Md. 20901.
 Eli Zaretsky, c/o Stan Markowitz, 4510 Hartwick Rd., College Park, Md.
 Paul Pipkin, 2528 N. Edgewood, Ft. Worth, Texas 76103.

Ted Kaptechuk, 419 W. 115th St., New York, N.Y. 10025.
 Fernando Guijano, 3808 Junction Blvd., Corona, N.Y. 11368.
 Fred Halper and Louise Halper, 30-C Prattle Court, Highland Park, N.J. 08904.
 Steve Godfield, 203 W. 107, apt. 9A, New York, N.Y. 10025.
 James R. Newton, 70 W. 107th St., apt. 3A, New York, N.Y. 10025.
 Sue Simensky, 1192 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Dan Friedlander, 5742 S. Kenwood, Chicago, Ill. 60637.
 Karen Kay, c/o WDRU, 217 S. Hamilton, Madison, Wis.
 Bill Winfield and Richard Smith, 933 Spaight Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.
 Peter Bill, 523 Doty, Madison, Wis.
 Donna M. Miller 2513-C San Gabriel, Austin, Texas 78705.
 Susan Torian, 1800 Rio Grande, Austin, Texas 78705.
 Carl Lichtenstein, Dept. of Physics, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.

(LATE APPLICATIONS)

Joe Pizzarevsky and Janice Morea, New York S.D.S., 131 Prince St., New York, N.Y.
 Leonard A. Joyce, 7056 N. Paulina, Chicago, Ill. 60626.
 Molly Malcolm, 1558½ Juneway Terrace, Chicago 60626.
 Joel Leibowitz, 1535 Walton Avenue, Bronx, N.Y. 10452.
 Lawrence Kramer, 118 Ferris Place, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.

PERSONS WHO TRAVELED TO CUBA IN AUGUST 1968 BUT NOT INCLUDED ON SDS LIST

Thomas Edward Mosher	Susan M. Fox
George Franklin Gruenthal (also Gruenthal)	Danielson Roswell (also Roswell S. Danielson)
Mark Warren Henschel	Morris Alan Older (also Orderl)
William John Yates	Irmgard Isabel Iglesias
Mary Malcolm	Marilyn Linda Saltzman

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Proceed with the trip.

Mr. MOSHER. After returning from the plane flight, we landed in Havana Airport. Our passports were confiscated. They were held during the entire period of our stay in Cuba. We were given identification cards which identified us as guests of ICAP. That stands for Instituto Cubano Amestad Con los Pueblos. This is the official Cuban organization responsible for hosting visiting revolutionaries, nongovernmental representatives, journalists, and so on.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Any particular official of that organization that met you over there?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you remember the name?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; a large number of them. One of the individuals, I have her name and home address in Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. A red-headed girl?

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, no, not her. I remember her very well.

Are we getting off the track? Should I go ahead and give this?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes; go ahead and give that.

Mr. MOSHER. One of the individuals assigned to our group by ICAP is named Milagros, and I'll have to spell this—A-r-o-z-a-r-e-n-a.

She wrote this. That is her home address in Cuba. She wanted me to send her a dress, size 38, shoes, size 8, a handbag, camera, transistor radio.

Mr. SCOTT. Did she tell you how to send it to her?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; as a matter of fact, I have it written down here—United States to Canada to Cuba.

Mr. NORPEL. To whom would you send it in Canada?

Mr. MOSHER. Any individual who could repack it and send it. The individual who was going to take responsibility for that was named Stephen Moore, who was on the trip.

Mr. SCOTT. Is he from Canada?

Mr. MOSHER. No, he is not. He is from the University of DeKalb—is that it?

Mr. NORPEL. The University of Illinois at DeKalb?

Mr. MOSHER. I don't know the name of it. Its the State school.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He and his wife live at 303 Delcy Avenue, DeKalb, Ill.

Mr. SCOTT. That is Northern Illinois University.

Mr. MOSHER. The individuals met us at the Cuban Airport. We were served cocktails, given Cuban cigars, given small presents, given a short political lecture, and taken in buses to a reception area known as Jibacoa.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The beach?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; ostensibly, it was a worker's resort, but I never saw any workers there.

Mr. NORPEL. When you said political lecture, what do you mean? What was generally said?

Mr. MOSHER. Something on the order of, "we welcome young Americans, who are involved in the struggle against imperialism."

Mr. NORPEL. A welcoming address, then.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was that Jibacoa Beach forbidden to the majority of the Cubans?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, it is difficult for me to answer that. We were told that it was a resort area for workers and for young people. The fact notwithstanding that we never saw any workers or young people there except when the young people were bused in, and the young people were all members of the Young Communist League.

There were Cuban workers there, of course, in the cafeteria where we ate.

I have movies of all of this here with me which have been returned to me from the FBI. If we have an opportunity to use a Super 8 editor, I can show you these specific places.

We were allowed to photograph there but not allowed to photograph the beach area. As a matter of fact, I took movies of the beach area at one point and they told me not to point my camera over in a direction which supposedly had military significance.

At Jibacoa, we were introduced to an individual who later became known to me as a political representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. I can identify him only as a Cuban Chinese known as Chino, which is a very common nickname in Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did he speak English?

Mr. MOSHER. He spoke English very well. And he made some extraordinary arrangements for me personally. I'll get into those.

While at Jibacoa, we were entertained, given meals which were denied, I later found out, to all the Cubans. We were not on ration.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Lobster, ham, and stuff like that?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, a great deal of that. Some of us were a little vocal in our inquiries about why that was allowed. They said, "you are our guests, and as a consequence, we must provide the best for you. We

know that you are Americans, you come from a high consumption country, and we do not want to deny you."

While at Jibacoa, we intermingled with large groups of young Cubans who were brought in from the Young Communist League. We had some dances, political meetings. We began to break down into smaller groups of our own, each one of whom had more or less a political commissar, or political representative detailed to it.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Cuban?

Mr. MOSHER. Cuban, yes.

We stayed in tents. As I said, we ate in a cafeteria sort of area. All of our meals were provided for us, with the exception of, like, snacks during the day when we could go and purchase a soft drink, ice cream, all the sort of things that Cubans wait in line for for a long time.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. At the cantinas, they call them?

Mr. MOSHER. Cantinas, si.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Let's go back to the Cuban officials. Could you name any more Cuban officials with whom you had constant contact?

Mr. MOSHER. Later on, I had a fairly lengthy contact with Raul Roa, Jr. But this did not occur at Jibacoa.

The political representative who, through my own experience, I found out had the most authority was this Cuban Chinese fellow whom I described. He had a great deal of authority. In Cuba—well, you know. You all function in a political environment here. You know what you sometimes have to go through to get things done. In Cuba, you have to go through hell to get the smallest things done.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was his name Carlos, by any chance?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Carlos Chain?

Mr. MOSHER. Maybe. They called him Chino. That is very common in Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was his name Carlos by any chance?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, it was. His name was Carlos. But they called him Chino. I remember that.

The individual whose identity at this point was not established, for me at least, oversaw many of our small meetings and slowly but surely engaged some of us in political conversations, myself included. The next day, another American was brought to the camp, a Roman Catholic priest by the name of Rev. Blaise Bonpane. I was well aware of Father—yes, he is still a priest—Father Bonpane's political activities.

I knew of his association with the priests who had been expelled from Guatemala and as a consequence, wanted to talk to him privately. I asked the individual whose identity is still not established, the Cuban Chinese, if it would be possible to see him, since he had already left. He said, I'll take care of that.

Mr. NORPEL. By "him," you mean Bonpane?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. I wanted to see Bonpane. This representative from the Cuban Central Committee whose identity is still unestablished for me said, I'll take care of that.

Now, let me, by way of explanation, put this in context. One could not obtain a soft drink, except at certain hours, and that sort of thing. So it is a measure—for me it was a measure of his political power when

later that evening, he showed up, took me out of the entire group privately, without anyone knowing it, took me outside to a private car with an armed guard, a case of rum, mixer, and Father Bonpane in the back of the car and took us to a very luxurious home where Father Bonpane was being kept, some place behind Jibacoa.

We spent approximately 4 or 5 hours together with an armed guard detailed out in front and a representative, another representative from the Cuban Central Committee—these people were only introduced as representatives, and they were introduced by names, but I did not take note of those names. I do not know whether they were accurate.

As I said, this fellow was known only as Chino. We had a very long conversation, more or less led along by the representative from the Central Committee. The subject of the discussion was the necessity of the American clergy beginning to engage in acts of violence against property—not against people—so as to legitimate revolutionary violence in the United States. I think that is of great importance, given the significance of the Berrigan case.

That conversation, as I said, took hours. We drank, we talked about the necessity of developing an ongoing relationship between SDS and the Black Panthers.

This representative also emphasized the availability of Cuba for those conversations.

Father Bonpane spoke about the struggle in Guatemala, spoke about the necessity of beginning to attack draft boards in the United States, that sort of thing.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you consider this in the sense of a rhetorical discussion or more or less an instruction to begin this, or was it a wish that this would begin? How did it register in your mind? Were you to be an instrument of this or—

Mr. MOSHER. By way of analogy, let me say that just as we are sitting here talking and our conversation is going in a certain direction, so also did our conversation in Cuba go in a certain direction when persons of authority, by the recognized authority or implicit authority, brought up certain questions. The representatives from the Central Committee brought up questions, talked about the participation of Cuban priests in the Cuban Revolution, and Father Bonpane's response was more or less the role of the American clergy in the ongoing struggle against imperialism.

The tenor of the conversation with Father Bonpane was more or less that priests and clergymen had to begin engaging in violence against property as distinguished from violence against persons, because as a propaganda technique that would legitimate violence.

The American people identify with clergy. If they can make a moral issue out of war and revolution, many young people would begin to accept the legitimacy of revolution and violence.

I would not say it was instruction; it was very well planned discussion.

Mr. NORPEL. I believe you said before you were a Catholic?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NORPEL. Were you allowed or permitted this exchange with Father Bonpane because you were a Catholic? Was that known to the Cuban authorities?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not believe so.

Mr. NORPEL. You do not believe they knew you were a Catholic?

Mr. MOSHER. You know, now that you bring up the question, I do recall that I think that was perhaps the reason that I gave them that I wanted to talk to him. I cannot overemphasize enough the significance of the power of this individual, whom we were talking about, in being able to provide a private car, just like that, and take me out of the group. Nothing had been done of that sort up to that point.

Mr. NORPEL. You also said he removed you from the group without anyone knowing it? How was that possible?

Mr. MOSHER. He just came up and said, I want to talk to you for a second. We walked around the side of the building where people got soft drinks and coffee. We continued to walk around and he said, I have taken care of that matter you asked me about before. It did not occur to me immediately. All I had said was I would welcome an opportunity to talk to Father Bonpane.

He had been there in a larger group that morning and I did not have a chance to talk to him. So, you know, he took me around and there the car was waiting, out of sight of everyone else.

Mr. NORPEL. This man Chino that you spoke about, earlier you said he would go among the Americans there and have political discussions with them. What do you mean by that type of political discussions as opposed to the political speech you received when you arrived?

Mr. MOSHER. Once again, subjects of pertinence to the North American situation, the antiwar movement, the Black Panthers. The Black Panthers were a constant subject of discussion. That is very important to remember, because the Panthers were not that large in the United States at that time, nor were they that important. That is very important.

And as I say, the other representative of the Central Committee during this meeting with Bonpane continually emphasized the necessity of SDS and the Panthers working in the same direction. And he emphasized the availability of Cuba for secret discussions.

Mr. NORPEL. Was any mention ever made of Robert F. Williams?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, it was. Not during that particular discussion. His name was brought up in the context of talking about black leaders in the United States and that sort of thing. I was told that he conducted himself very poorly in Cuba—I believe by Chino. They referred to the fact that he had incensed the Cubans by some of his activities—to wit, getting drunk at the Tanzanian Embassy at one time, and I think he caused a fight there or something else. I do not remember. It was something of that nature.

Mr. NORPEL. In other words, you gathered the impression—if I am wrong, correct me—that the Cuban authorities looked down on Robert Williams, didn't like him, and didn't consider him a capable leader or trustworthy?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, he had not conducted himself according to the expectations of the Cubans while he was in Cuba. He was gone from Cuba at this time. He was in the People's Republic of China. And I do very definitely remember mention of the fact that he had done something at a party at the Tanzanian Embassy.

Mr. NORPEL. How did this discussion arise and who was present?

Mr. MOSHER. I couldn't say with any degree of accuracy.

Mr. NORPEL. You mean as to who was present or how the discussion arose?

Mr. MOSHER. How it arose. I'm almost certain that Chino, the individual whom I knew as Chino, was present, and it undoubtedly involved a discussion of the leadership of the black movement in the United States. But more than that, I could not say.

Mr. NORPEL. When you spoke of the leadership of the black movement in the United States, where, if it was done, did they place Williams in this, say, overall category?

Mr. MOSHER. I think similar to the position taken by many people on the New Left at that time. Robert Williams had had a historical importance, because he was the first one to raise "the necessity" of armed struggle. That was how they saw his significance.

Mr. NORPEL. Definitely armed struggle?

Mr. MOSHER. Oh, sure.

Mr. SCOTT. Was there any black or other than white members in your group that went to Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. No, they were not. No, this was an SDS group.

Well, I take that back. There was a girl there who was Puerto Rican who had some black background, but none of them identified themselves as Negroes. None of them thought of themselves as Negroes.

Mr. SCOTT. The term or expression "Chino" there, is that a nickname that you say is very common?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, it is a nickname usually for—you see, there is a fairly significant population of Cuban Chinese who have been there for a long period of time. It is common for an individual who has, let us say, a Cubo-Asian background to be referred to as Chino.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Slanted eyes and Cuban features.

Mr. SCOTT. If he had been a Cuban Italian, they might have called him Dago?

Mr. MOSHER. That analogy could be made, but something like that, yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Or as in this country, Chinks?

Mr. MOSHER. No, "Chink" is derogatory in the United States. This is a term of endearment.

Mr. SCOTT. It is not derogatory?

Mr. MOSHER. It is not derogatory at all.

For the record, to repeat myself, I take issue when I say, "let's not call it instruction," only for the purpose of clarification, that I would like to make clear that the Cubans were very sophisticated in their treatment of the American group and were exceedingly skillful in bringing about the sort of discussion they wanted, giving it direction, more or less giving people the impression that they reached their own conclusions.

I'll go into one specific example. This is out of time context, but we'll get back to it.

At one point when we were in Havana, a couple of individuals came up to me in the presence of Chino, with Chino. I did not know who they were. The first individual spoke flawlessly American English; not British English, but American English, and asked me whether or not anyone in the group was from Columbia, because of the Columbia student riots or rebellion that had already taken place.

I said yes, and I gave him the names of them and said, this girl over here. He said, why don't you come around and sit over here and we'll have a drink, and so forth. He turned out to be Raul Roa, Jr.

Mr. NORPEL. This Columbia was Columbia University?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. He wanted to know if anyone was from Columbia University. We sat down and had conversation. Then I became aware of this man's significance.

The whole time I was not aware of Chino's significance except that he had great political authority; he could get things done, and that sort of thing.

Raul Roa, Jr., began to strike a fairly close relationship with myself, Danny Friedlander, Marilyn Webb, and Michele Clark—none of whom, by the way, was from Columbia. The people from Columbia receded in importance for some reason, and I frankly think it was the *bon vivant* thing, because he was very attracted to Marilyn Webb.

We were consequently invited to make a meeting with him at some later date, which we did. And we had more discussions, the subjects of which were general politics. I can't say more than that.

We were then invited to the home of one of the individuals who was accompanying him. This individual was a captain in the Cuban Army as well as being an artist and the son of a former member of the Cuban ruling class. His parents had been very wealthy.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. His name, do you remember?

Mr. MOSHER. I cannot for the life of me remember. I would like to, because he asked me to send him Marine Corps Gazettes and things like that from the United States.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Marine Corps Gazettes?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, the officers' magazine, when he found out I had been in the Marine Corps.

We were at his home at one point—one of his homes. You see, he had been a student in Florida during the beginning of the Castro revolution. This is the military officer to whom I am referring now. After the revolution, the Cuban Government had nationalized six of his parents' homes. But he stayed loyal to the revolution and had been close friends with Raul and with Chino, and so he kept the downstairs section of one of his parents' homes. It was on the bay in Havana. The upstairs was occupied by another family, but the downstairs was more than sufficient for 10 people, let alone just one.

I brought this question up with him, about how he felt about living like that, given the fact that he was a good Communist. Good Communists, you know, divide everything equally. He explained that he had already given up six homes to the revolution. And the point was well taken. He had, in effect.

Well, in his home he had, I observed—and all these things were laid out on the side so as not to be completely obvious, but obvious enough that it would attract someone's attention. He had American hand grenades, Marine Corps boots, things that I would recognize. And the day before, he had ascertained that I had been in the Marine Corps.

Now, I am not totally naive. I knew the direction the whole thing was taking. So eventually, I asked him some questions about them, and he handed them to me. He said, go ahead, take a look.

I said, yes; they are all American equipment. Where did you get that?

He proceeded to tell me that he had been in command of one of what they called—was it bandit brigade?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The antibandit brigades.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; he had been in command of one of those. He said he had personally been in charge of civil patrols that have engaged in combat, picked up, killed, captured, whatever—saboteurs who had been let on the Cuban coast by the CIA. And I indicated that I accepted that as a fairly interesting story.

I was kind of drawn out about military stuff—not to a great degree. He asked me when I got back to the United States to send him Marine Corps Gazettes.

Now, present at that gathering at his house was Raul Roa, Jr. He told us in great detail many stories, some of which I related to the Bureau and some of this information, I guess, they turned over to the CIA, because it involved international affairs. He told me a story that when he was in charge of a mission at the United Nations during Fidel's trip to New York, he was the one who personally suggested the move to the Hotel Teresa in Harlem. He was the one who personally arranged the meeting with Malcolm X. This is Raul Roa, Jr.

He also told me that while he was in charge of the mission at the United Nations—and I think he was leading me on because he suspected me of being more sophisticated than the other people. He told me a story about having dated a Latin American girl in New York for about 6 months, and one day, someone from the United Nations Russian delegation came to him and ostensibly, this person at the United Nations is in the Secretariat or something like that, but he is a high Russian intelligence officer.

He said at that time Cuba did not have its own intelligence service, or not a very good one. So this officer came to him and pulled out a portfolio, opened it up, and had pictures of this girl he had been dating, and said, do you know her?

He said, yes; I have been going out with her for 6 months.

The Russian identified her as a member of the Office of Naval Intelligence of the United States. He began telling me stories like that. So he didn't see the girl any more.

He also alluded to having participated in some act against a radio station in Boston about that time. He merely suggested—he did not get into the story, but he merely suggested that he had gone with some individual up to some radio station in Boston. It is my suspicion it was probably owned by a Cuban expatriate, or something like that, and had done something to it. He had a lot of other stories.

I later visited him at his home and met his wife. His wife, I think, went to Radcliffe.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. His wife is Italian?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; but she went to Radcliffe or some very prestigious American school; I can't recall which one. She had gone to school in the United States, in the east.

Mr. NORPEL. Can we break this here? When we come back, we want to get back to the point of these incidents as they tie into the subtle suggestive approach.

We'll recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the conference recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. NORPEL. We will at this time resume our conference.

When we stopped this morning you were going to go into the significance of the contacts you described to us with relation to the impression of owing a debt or following instructions, the impression that you got?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. To begin where I left off, I would like to make really clear the skill of the Cubans in creating a situation for people in which they more or less lay the outlines of what they want people to do and never have the people be aware of it.

I used as an example where they had these hand grenades and that sort of thing lying around. But it is even more subtle than that—first of all, it is my thesis that the purpose of the Tricontinental is to establish a fighting front every place that it can. And the United States has a high priority.

And so they have carefully developed a group of individuals or key actors within the social movement in the United States who “understand the revolutionary importance of violence.”

Mr. NORPEL. You say they have developed this cadre in the United States?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. You mean directly in that statement through association with American citizens?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Through indoctrination of American citizens?

Mr. MOSHER. I prefer to use a different set of phrases. Indoctrination gives the impression of the sort of thing that took place, let us say, in Korea with the Chinese. They do not have to be coercive in political orientation.

Mr. NORPEL. That was a brainwashing thing?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. I would not use indoctrination in that sense. Pick your own words, please.

Mr. MOSHER. What I am suggesting is this. I am just going to speculate on a moment, because I was not on the Venceremos Brigade. But I would like to just speculate a little bit. People were out in the fields working, doing sugar cutting, getting fairly fatigued, being constantly exposed to revolutionary rhetoric, and brought back into a situation where someone is presented to them as a hero of the revolution, having participated in actions, let us say, in downtown Havana in 1958 and 1959. And the conversation would lead around to the fact that, well, when he was only 27 years old he was taking bombs into the Bell Telephone Co. in downtown Havana. No one has to tell anyone there, go get yourself a manual, this is how you do it. They have already said, you know, this is how you begin to build a revolution. People pick that up.

It has already happened in the United States. The Panthers have had a very, very hard line on violence against the police for a number of years. They have set the tone for most of the white radicals. The white radicals are beginning to move more in identification with the Vietnamese, with the FAR in Guatemala, with the Cubans—even

like the FLQ in Canada. All these organizations, by the way, have an ongoing representative relation with the Tricontinental, every one of them, the FAR, the FLQ in Canada and the MLN in Mexico. I was one of the principal participants in the second group that went to Cuba to more or less establish face-to-face relationships with the Tricontinental. Subsequent to my visit to Cuba, Bernardine Dohrn went, other individuals went, Karen Wald went and worked for the Tricontinental for 7 months.

They did not actually have to put these people through military training—well, Karen Wald and Eldridge Cleaver I know as a fact, I saw the picture. Karen Wald was so naive that she brought back a picture of herself with Eldridge Cleaver in Cuban army fatigues with a submachine gun. And Marty Price, who is on the national committee of the Venceremos Brigade, told her when he saw it on the desk, you had better tear that blank thing up before I do such and such to you.

Mr. NORPEL. I ask you this. Could this have been just a sort of a publicity pose or a lark? Did Cleaver or Wald themselves admit to you that they received guerrilla training?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I was not suggesting that. Let us describe it within the framework of a lark. But that begins to give you a feeling for how far the Cubans will go—reinforcing the motivations of people who are in Cuba. They would not have done it with anyone else except for the fact that Wald did work with the Tricontinental for 7 months, and Eldridge Cleaver was supposedly a primary spokesman for the Black Panthers, and he was an expatriate from the United States. So I guess they were given the privilege of going out with the local militia or something like that.

Mr. NORPEL. Let me turn my thoughts in another way. Were you ever given the opportunity of posing in such garb and in such a way?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. Was anyone else you know ever given such an opportunity?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you then feel in your own mind that this actually happened, that they did receive some type of military training, weapons?

Mr. MOSHER. No, that is not what I am suggesting. I am suggesting this; that what they do in Cuba is reinforce what is called revolutionary motivation. They say insistently, look—I was getting into the story—someone working on the Venceremos Brigade will come in from the field and in their fatigues, and someone is presented to them as a hero of the revolution. And this person proceeds to relate experiences of his own, he did such and such. When people get together in small groups after that sort of thing to have a discussion, they begin to talk about the mechanics of sabotage, the mechanics of terror, and they do not need textbooks from the Cubans to do it, they can come right back here to the United States and learn more than the Cubans could ever teach them.

Mr. NORPEL. Did you personally participate in such a group discussion?

Mr. MOSHER. Many, many times.

Mr. NORPEL. And it dealt with sabotage?

Mr. MOSHER. I have been present in groups with upward of 80 pounds of plastique and dynamite, with detonators, with automatic weapons——

Mr. NORPEL. Did it deal with guerrilla warfare?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, I do not mean to be facetious, but it sure was not a cocktail party. That is what they were talking about.

Mr. NORPEL. Your answer would be "Yes." But as I told you this morning, the record must speak for itself. Did you participate in groups where targets were picked to use explosives?

Mr. MOSHER. Let me go back to an experience with Marty Price, another individual who went on the Venceremos Brigade—I, by the way, did not go on the Venceremos Brigade, I was prior to that—discussed taxing the dope trade. They were involved in shaking down dope dealers. I was involved in several episodes of doing that sort of thing. That involved having weapons.

Now, that is an example of one sort of thing. That, according to Panthers and fairly left-wing groups within SDS and other groups, is an entirely legitimate revolutionary action. They consider the dope trade to be, in the words of—like the Panther pamphlet by Michael Tabor, in which it says, "Dope plus racism equals genocide." So they considered that an entirely legitimate target.

By getting people involved in relatively nonviolent actions of this sort—when I say nonviolent, I mean involving nothing more than threats against the people involved in this dope trade, they slowly but surely develop a conspiratorial attitude among the people, they develop a face-to-face confidence of two or three or four people working together, and build them up to the point of sniping at police, and placing bombs, and that sort of thing. In other words, I am placing it within a paradigm, or a model of development, not a one-to-one instruction. In other words, these things do not take place by my sitting down and saying, we do one, two, three; they develop through a natural social process—I seem to be going over the same thing.

So within Cuba a process takes place which is kind of like the development of the preliminary stages of creating a terrorist or revolutionary. The actual skills that it takes to carry off an action are acquired by these people in the United States.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you feel that this would be analogous to a farmer planting wheat seed? He plants the seed, and maybe he plants, say, just for simple purposes, 100 seeds, and he knows that 60 of those should grow to what we know as wheat today, and that is the crop harvested. You may lose 40 percent by this technique. But by this sophisticated example, the Cubans are planting seeds. Some seeds take root; some do not. Those which do, they grow, and as they grow, the techniques of anarchy, the thoughts of anarchy, the thoughts of revolution, grow—would that be a fair analogy?

Mr. MOSHER. It is a charitable metaphor. I do not mean to be critical of the analogy, but I would say the return on the investment is much better than that.

Mr. NORPEL. Than 60 percent?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Maybe 60 percent of the people are not going to be involved in sabotage, but 75 or 80 percent of them are going to be involved in

organizing other people into activities that lead to a natural process of reinforcement to revolutionary activity.

Mr. NORPEL. This brings us to another point. Do you feel that this high production rate which you say the Cubans achieve comes about through a cleansing? There are security measures, which are used, number one, to screen people who go to Cuba; and secondly, to re-evaluate them once they are there; and thirdly, to select those whom they feel will bear the strongest seed, and they can discard the others?

Mr. MOSHER. I have the feeling that what they do is not—they do not even discard the others, if the others do not move to the point where they will engage in revolutionary sabotage, they will certainly come back and write articles justifying it.

Mr. NORPEL. Moral persuasion—a pacifist rather than an activist in that sense?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; they legitimize it; they propagandize it. I think that not one person—maybe one other person in the group that I was in of 42 people, maybe one other person had a grasp of the kind of skill, the sophistication of the intelligence people who were around us—you see, I had my finger on what was going on, I think, a good part of the time. And when I describe this incident with Raul Roa and the military officer, I knew what it was leading up to. But I thought, to go further than that, I thought they would draw some people out and say, let us talk about this in specifics. They did not. What they did was, they gave us more and more opportunities to talk to people who had engaged in sabotage during the Cuban revolution, specifically. I was introduced to one individual who supposedly was one of the first three people to engage in urban guerrilla warfare in Havana.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you recall his name?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I do not.

Mr. NORPEL. All right, go ahead.

Mr. MOSHER. He told us, a small group, four or five, the same group of people, approximately, who were at Raul Roa's house, stories. To wit, one time he and two other individuals took an old automobile and went by one of the Batista police barracks very early in the morning when the police lined up outside in the military formation, and all that sort of thing. They had three hand grenades which were supplied to them by an old member of the PCC, the Communist Party of Cuba, at that time. And he drove by at a high speed, pulled the pins and threw them out of the window of the automobile into the group of police, and kept on going. The story did not culminate in the police officers being killed, but rather they looked out the window and saw the three hand grenades bouncing alongside their car.

The point of the story is that they did not know what they were doing, and they were trying to tell us, you may not know what you are doing, but do it, you will learn by doing. None of the hand grenades went off, they were all duds. I don't know if that really occurred. It may have been a very clever way to plant seeds.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you know of any similar instance in this country where the same technique may have been used against police?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. With hand grenades?

Mr. MOSHER. Sure.

Mr. NORPEL. Where?

Mr. MOSHER. Oakland, Randy Williams with the police in hot pursuit. They threw fragmentation hand grenades at the police.

Mr. NORPEL. Was Randy Williams present at this particular incident in Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. No; Randy Williams was not in Cuba. Randy Williams learned how to use hand grenades in Vietnam.

Mr. NORPEL. But to continue with the specific example of this incident, which you say has repeated itself in this country, we have this one incident in Cuba that has been talked about, and it has been done in this country. Do you know of any information which led you to believe that Randy Williams heard of this from anyone who had been to Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. No. The salient point is that you prepare mind sets for people in indoctrinating them. Some of them are subliminal. During our entire travel in Cuba we were exposed to the glory of dying as a revolutionary, with statues and pictures of Che Guevara, and portraits of Camillo Torres.

Let us make it native American. Let us say it is similar to, prior to legislation, watching television and seeing a Kool scene in some rural area, and there are trees, and water, and a good-looking girl comes out and a good-looking guy comes out and they light up a Kool. You know, no one is coercing anyone to buy Kools. But they are planting the seeds. But the Cubans do it much more professionally than even American advertising. They put you in a setting for a month and a half, 2 months, 3 months, where you do nothing but live, talk, sleep, work revolution.

Mr. NORPEL. Did I understand you to say that immediately or as hindsight you recognized the fact that these Marine combat boots and Marine grenades, in this army officer's house were sort of a covert thought stimulator for you?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not know that was the specific purpose. There were a number of us there.

Mr. NORPEL. Did it identify a common interest?

Mr. MOSHER. It sure did.

Mr. NORPEL. Was even greater than that? It could have been any pair of combat boots—it could have been an army uniform—but it went even further than that. It was a pair of Marine Corps boots and hand grenade?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, hand grenades are ordnance common to all services.

Mr. NORPEL. Was there any other symbolism of the Marine Corps there?

Mr. MOSHER. Not that I can recall offhand.

To get back into, like I say, intelligence method, I related the story of Raul Roa talking about Cuban intelligence telling him that the girl whom he dated for 6 months was a member of the Office of Naval Intelligence of the United States. That story may have been entirely a plant to see my reaction, to make me aware of the fact that Cuban intelligence might have access to people who were in Naval Intelligence.

You see, the Cubans are sophisticated enough to realize that someone going there would not choose a branch of service that he did not have experience with as cover. So they may have been playing with me.

The same with a lot of stories that were told.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. May I add something to this particular incident? Raul Roa, Jr., was married at the time he was in the United Nations in New York. So the story of the girlfriend sounds a little bit farfetched. So it might have been a setup, they were setting you up—you had told them the previous day that you had served in the Marine Corps, right?

Mr. MOSHER. I think they knew that from the beginning. In fact, something like that may even have been on the forms we filled out.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. So if they catered to the Marine Corps and the Navy specifically in dealing with you—

Mr. MOSHER. I think it is a low-level probability but it is very definitely a probability. It holds water.

Mr. NORPEL. Let us return to the meeting between yourself and Father Blase Bonpane. As you implied this was one of the first incidents which happened after you got to Cuba. What else happened? What other type of training—you do not like that word, I apologize—indoctrination, education, or political discussions did you have? What transpired? You had mentioned that eventually you formed into small groups, cells, so to speak. Is this another technique?

Mr. MOSHER. Let us call these groups affinity groups, because they allowed them to develop naturally. They did not take people and say, you go in this group, and you go in this group, and you go in this group. They developed naturally. And then they began allowing people to make requests, to wit, Reese Ehrlich. Reese Ehrlich was on the trip at the same time he was an editor of Ramparts magazine. Reese began asking whether or not he could collect samples of Cuban poster art. They naturally accommodated him and made appointments for him with COR, Committee of Revolutionary Orientation.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. It is a branch of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Mr. MOSHER. So they made appointments for him with COR. And he picked up large numbers of hand silk screen poster art. This was not poster art of Marilyn Monroe or anything like that, that was all poster art of Vietnamese shooting down American planes, poster art of Che Guevara, revolutionary poster art.

Mr. NORPEL. Have you seen a recent copy of Ramparts magazine?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; I have.

Mr. NORPEL. Have you seen the posters that have been advertised for sale through various companies in there?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not recall them recently. I was going to get on to this subject of these specific posters. These posters were later published in Ramparts magazine as a collection or representative sample of Cuban revolutionary art.

Mr. NORPEL. They were not advertisements or an offer to sell, as I understand you?

Mr. MOSHER. That is correct.

Mr. NORPEL. But they were published as sort of an editorial story or an article?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Continue, sir, with your affinity groups.

Mr. MOSHER. So people who were drawn to the sort of things Reese Ehrlich was interested in went with him to COR. People who were interested in seeing representatives of the NFL were given the responsibility of setting up those appointments. I was one of those

people. We went before the whole group, went to the NFL mission, and met with someone, who was a very intelligent, sophisticated individual. And the individual I have in mind later became the ambassador from the so-called provisional revolutionary government of South Vietnam to Cuba, but he was not at that time. And he had extensive conversations with us, and made arrangements for the entire group to come later.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you remember his name?

Mr. MOSHER. I cannot spell it.

Mr. NORPEL. Let me ask you before you continue with the full details of this. Who else was in this affinity group of yours, the other individuals?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, affinity groups came together and split apart. The people with whom I was most closely associated on the trip at various times were Russell Smith, Reese Ehrlich—

Mr. NORPEL. In what manner were you most closely associated with Russell Smith? Was this a continuing thing throughout the trip, was it sporadic, or in connection with certain projects or interests?

Mr. MOSHER. Emphasis placed upon interest.

Mr. NORPEL. What interest do you have in common with Russell Smith?

Mr. MOSHER. I think perhaps he was one of the people with whom—like I had an initial meeting with Tricontinental, but I am not clear on that. There were other people involved. He was not the only one.

Mr. NORPEL. Who was the next one—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Is this the name of Van Ba?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; I think it is, but not the spelling I have.

Mr. NORPEL. Let the record show that exhibit No. 4 is a copy of what purports to be a calling card of Huynh Van Ba, Chargé d'Affaires of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Mr. MOSHER. I will say yes.

Mr. NORPEL. The witness believes that this is identical with the card he received from the individual about whom he is talking, and who subsequently became the ambassador to Cuba from the Republic of South Vietnam.

Mr. MOSHER. May I continue with the visit to this mission?

Mr. NORPEL. Yes; please continue.

Mr. MOSHER. While at the mission we had discussions about American academics, professors. And one of the individuals who was there knew in great detail the names of professors from universities all over the United States, and things they had published, where they had been, and what their interests were. This individual purported to be an academic from South Vietnam.

I thought at the time he was very young to know so much. And it turned out that not only was he not young, but he had a son who was a professor in Moscow.

Let me continue with the point of what I was saying about this visit to the mission. We established an appointment date for the whole group later. And we came back, the entire group, that is, came to the mission. And we were shown movies glorifying the Vietnamese people and their combat role against the United States, the American forces. We were given gifts from Vietnam, to wit, postcards, publications. We had candy and tea. And we were treated with deference. And many of the people were impressed by that. And they were told that they had

nothing against us as Americans, they realized that we were all American revolutionaries, and that our struggle was the same as theirs, that is, to defeat the imperialistic aggressor, the United States.

Subsequent to that large meeting a number of us were invited back to make tape recordings to be broadcast to American troops.

Mr. NORPEL. Who selected these people? Were they selected by the group itself, the Americans who were there, or were they selected by the North Vietnamese or the Cubans, if you know?

Mr. MOSHER. I think anyone who had some relevant message could do it. In other words, they talked to us about what they wanted to say. I had been in the Marine Corps, and another fellow had been in the Army as a captain.

Mr. NORPEL. Is that the same person you described previously as being in the Green Berets, a Jeff Swanson?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. I could not say with absolute certainty that he was there making a recording at the same time I was.

Mr. NORPEL. You did make a recording?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. We talked. And I could not think of a whole lot to say.

Mr. NORPEL. When you say you made a recording, was this in the sense that this was an interview or, say, extemporaneous speech by yourself?

Mr. MOSHER. It was supposed to be an extemporaneous rap to American soldiers. But when they gave us the opportunity to talk into the tape recorder, my response was such that I did not really feel that I had a whole lot to say. If I had been completely sympathetic I do not think I could have said a whole lot. Some of the people said some things before me that sounded so ridiculous that I was embarrassed, frankly. I mean that seriously.

Mr. NORPEL. Will you tell us who they were and what they said, for example?

Mr. MOSHER. For instance, one of the recordings was made by this fellow from Texas whose middle name you say was Spanish. It was Doug Bernhardt. And the tenor of his remarks, to my mind, was so maudlin, so falsely sympathetic, that I was embarrassed that the Vietnamese and the people there would realize what a sham this whole thing was. Because people were there trying to do something that they had no business doing, and none of them really had anything to say to American troops. I can understand perhaps that a convinced American ex-GI who was a Communist, he might be able to say something that would make sense to someone like that. But like Bernhardt's little speech trying to establish connections with the fact that all GI's came from poor neighborhoods—and he tried to talk to black GI's specifically, and he is not black. So I did not have any enthusiasm for it. And I do not know that they were ever used or anything like that. I do not think any of them were any good.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you call it an act of servility?

Mr. MOSHER. I would say it was an act of masochism.

Servility also is a good term.

Mr. NORPEL. The South Vietnamese, when you visited them in your discussions, or in your contacts, recognized you as a revolutionist. What connotation did that term at that time have in your mind, and what connotation does it now have since that experience?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, at the time it seemed stilted to me, because it was not true that any of us were revolutionaries. And I saw the manifest purpose of them telling us that we were revolutionaries.

Mr. NORPEL. May I get to this point, then. Would you define revolutionaries for me as you understood it at that time?

Mr. MOSHER. People who were actively engaged in trying to overthrow governments, and that sort of thing.

Mr. NORPEL. Does this automatically encompass force and violence in your mind?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. And did it at that time in your mind?

Mr. MOSHER. As I understood it, yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Is that what you understood that they understood to mean when they spoke it?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, with qualification. They understood that none of us were at that point then. That was precisely the point I was trying to make before. The whole purpose of these trips is to draw people to that point.

Mr. NORPEL. In other words, they had passed the point at which you were, because they had actively engaged in a combat, in a physical struggle, a violent struggle?

Mr. MOSHER. Right.

Mr. NORPEL. And you had not reached that point?

Mr. MOSHER. That is right.

Mr. NORPEL. And your group had not reached that point?

Mr. MOSHER. That is right.

Mr. NORPEL. The United States had not reached that point internally to the greater degree that it subsequently reached it, is that correct?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Is that what you understand that they meant? And this was once again a type of sublimation or a sophisticated hypnotic suggestion?

Mr. MOSHER. I would say it was a sophisticated suggestion. As a matter of fact, a great deal of emphasis was placed upon the significance of the Columbia student riot.

Mr. NORPEL. That is Columbia University?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. At that point that was the only major university that had had a large-scale shutdown, police were attacked, and that sort of thing.

Mr. NORPEL. Was anything said with reference to Mark Rudd in connection with this?

Mr. MOSHER. Slightly. They continued to ask us why Mark Rudd was not the national leader of SDS, which he subsequently became.

Mr. NORPEL. Did they indicate that Mark Rudd had received his ideas or training through these men?

Mr. MOSHER. We were reminded of the fact that he had been on the previous trip.

Mr. NORPEL. You were reminded that he had been in Cuba, and then the action which he implemented could have been attributed to that trip in Cuba, is that what they are telling you?

Mr. MOSHER. I think they left us to draw our own conclusions.

Mr. NORPEL. What conclusions, then, did you draw, sir?

Mr. MOSHER. That the revolutionary thing to do was to shut down universities and battle the police.

Mr. NORPEL. That, I believe, is one affinity group.

Mr. MOSHER. I was talking about almost the entire group.

Mr. NORPEL. I agree with that. But we started talking on this subject earlier, about the groups and how they were chosen, and who gathered together, and we are probing your groups now, what you know personally, what you witnessed. I feel you have heard and seen a lot more. We will get into that in connection with other groups and other individuals.

I was talking specifically about a visit to the Vietnamese legation.

Mr. MOSHER. That, yes.

Mr. NORPEL. That was one project, so to speak, by one affinity group?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, one affinity group set it up for the whole group, and then the whole group subsequently experienced the propaganda, and so on. I was involved in the initial discussions with the Tricontinental. I was involved because——

Mr. NORPEL. Who else was involved with you in that, sir?

Mr. MOSHER. At a later date after the first meeting, Marilyn Webb——

Mr. NORPEL. Were you alone at the first meeting?

Mr. MOSHER. No, Reese Ehrlich and I went.

Mr. NORPEL. Reese Ehrlich. Thank you. And subsequently Marilyn Webb joined your so-called affinity group?

Mr. MOSHER. But we did not call it an affinity group.

Mr. NORPEL. I understand that. That is just a term that we are using for clarification here.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. And she became interested in your project, and there was some affinity between the three of you?

Mr. MOSHER. Let me put it this way. It was understood that I was the one that was chosen by the SDS national office to make the contact with the Tricontinental. The SDS national office had received a letter from the Tricontinental saying, we invite you, or something to that effect, to become associated with us as a membership organization, or something implying that. Now, that did not mean full status such as the NFL has, or such as the FAR, or such as Al Fatah has or other groups have. But this did mean that they wanted to create on-going relationship with SDS.

Mr. NORPEL. You said it was understood that you were to be that person?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Who issued that instruction? There must have been some comment that said Mr. Mosher will handle this phase or he will be our representative?

Mr. MOSHER. I claimed the right to do that because Bernardine Dohrn would normally have done that, because she was interorganizational secretary, and she more or less said before I left, make sure that happens. And I insinuated myself into the position—and I think that is candid to say I insinuated myself, I pushed myself.

Mr. NORPEL. And would it be fair to say that not only did you take Bernardine Dohrn's place as a messenger or a body, but you

also assumed the duties or the functions she would have performed had she gone to Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. Just one of them.

Mr. NOSPEL. Just one of them?

Mr. MOSHER. This one that I am referring to, this was a later one before we came back in which we tried to obtain a manuscript entitled "Ten Years of Revolution" which was to be issued January 1, 1969, which would make it 3 months after we had departed. And the purpose of obtaining that manuscript, which was subsequently published in Milan by Fertinelli and also published by Maspero in Paris, was to be released to SDS for publication in order to raise funds. It was to be published in the United States by an American publishing house whom the Cubans told us would be so glad to get it and we would receive a sizable sum for it.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you know the identify of that publishing house?

Mr. MOSHER. No specific publishing house. After I got back I called Carl Oglesby. I subsequently contacted Carl Oglesby and tried to contact Jose Yglesias. The reason I contacted both of these people was that they had been to Cuba and had published books after they got back. They were both at the Cultural Congress. Jose Yglesias published a book entitled "In the Fist of the Revolution."

Mr. NORPEL. I think that it would be proper here to put this in the record:

From a report of the Special Consultative Committee on Security Against the Subversive Action of International Communism, a study prepared by the committee at its tenth regular meeting in 1968 concerning the Cultural Congress of Havana.

At page 47 it shows an attendant of the conference as one Jose Andres Yglesias, describes him as the author of the book, describes his name as sometimes spelled Iglesias, a writer, author of the book "In the Fist of the Revolution, Life in a Cuban Country Town."

Visited Cuba in 1967. In 1948-50 was employed by the Communist Party newspaper The Daily Worker of New York City.

You contacted Yglesias?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. First of all, what did Oglesby advise you to do?

Mr. MOSHER. He suggested a number of reputable publishers who would be interested in the manuscript.

We did not receive the manuscript, or to my knowledge SDS did not receive the manuscript, for reasons unknown.

Mr. NORPEL. What did Yglesias tell you?

Mr. MOSHER. I did not speak with him personally.

Mr. NORPEL. You did not speak with him. Did you speak with anybody in his home or his office?

Mr. MOSHER. A contact was established with his daughter, I believe, or somebody who was a student at Columbia. He has a daughter or son who is a student and who is active in SDS at Columbia. You see, I did this while I was in New York. And I was only in New York a very short period of time.

Mr. NORPEL. What transpired at that meeting with his son or daughter?

Mr. MOSHER. I have no idea. Someone else was given the responsibility.

Mr. NORPEL. And you had no personal contacts with him, and you never heard from him or anyone else?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. All right, you may continue.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did you say that the money was to be in the hundreds of thousands of dollars?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I do not think we were going to get that much for it. They said something like—it was in the tens of thousands of dollars. The thing that we had something on was the fact that when Ramparts, through the person of Bob Scheer, went to Havana, he was personally given a copy of Che Guevara's diary. He brought it back to the United States, it was published, and a great deal of money was made on it.

Mr. NORPEL. How do you know this, sir?

Mr. MOSHER. I believe I know that from Tom Hayden and from Marilyn Webb. Marilyn Webb was the wife of Lee Webb, who was the Washington editor of Ramparts magazine. That was why she was so involved in going to the Tricontinental with me. In fact, it was very much like—I do not mean to be petty, but it was very much like capitalist competition, because she kept trying to make long-distance telephone calls back to Ramparts. And Reese Ehrlich was trying to do the same thing. Everyone wanted to get that manuscript. And as it turned out, no one got it. But most of it was predicated upon the fact that Scheer had been successful in obtaining the diary, and apparently Ramparts had made quite a bit of money from that.

Mr. NORPEL. Now, the second so-called affinity group that you were connected with dealt with the Tricontinental. Was there another?

Mr. MOSHER. I and a small number of other individuals went to the Chinese Embassy. I cannot recall who all those people were. The people of course who went to the Chinese Embassy were people who had somewhat Maoist sympathies as differentiated from Guevara's sympathies. And there was a tendency in both directions. People kind of gathered in polar groups.

Mr. NORPEL. What is the philosophical difference between Guevara's philosophy, attitude, and the Maoist?

Mr. MOSHER. I prefer to not discourse on the philosophical differences. I would rather comment on the organizational differences. People like Hilda Ignatin—there is one fellow I have in mind whose name is Gruenthal, George Franklin Gruenthal, both were fairly critical of political conditions in Cuba. They thought Cuba had not gone as far as China had in establishing true communism. As a consequence, they were among the first people to go to the Chinese Embassy.

Mr. NORPEL. Would that be an organizational difference, or would that be a mental image, a mental difference?

Mr. MOSHER. You see, mental differences are manifested in the choice of organizations one makes. And Gruenthal was much more sympathetic to PL, Progressive Labor, than anyone else on the trip.

Mr. NORPEL. And Progressive Labor's interest was what?

Mr. MOSHER. Pro-Maoist. Their periodicals reflect a criticism of Cuba. Their periodicals, and for instance, the comments of Gruenthal were critical of the continuation of what they described as bourgeois art in Cuba. Cuba has a kind of poster art and which is abstract, it is not strong in socialist realism, it does not show a lot of Cuban

peasants with big muscles and that sort of thing, it is abstract. Socialist realism as it is practiced in China and in Stalinist Russia put a great deal of emphasis on doing away with abstract art, because supposedly the proletariat cannot understand it.

Mr. NORPEL. And would you say also most of the images that are presented show the strength of the state sometimes through the individual and sometimes not?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; so these people, I would say, are more pro-Maoist. So they were naturally the ones that made the first appointment at the Chinese Embassy. Some of us went to the Chinese Embassy subsequently. And in front of the Chinese Embassy were large bulletin posters with photographs of mass demonstrations in China in support of the Negro people in the United States, of mass demonstrations in China against the Soviet Union, and so on. And in our conversations, inside of the Embassy, whenever we asked a question, they would always refer to—our questions were always answered with reference to the writings of Chairman Mao. And some of us found that extremely disconcerting. It smacked of the twelfth century christian scholarship in which everything was justified in terms of what someone wrote four centuries before. We had the feeling that ideology had obscured the Chinese understanding of reality. Now, I am not suggesting that it has one way or another. That is another subject altogether. But many of these people, you have to remember, come from upper middleclass American background, families, and so on, and they had a very difficult time relating to this kind of mentality. There are many more—there are much more people who have become involved in the New Left because they are oedipal revolutionaries, and can identify with striking out against authority, they can identify with, act now and worry about the consequences later. For the most part, from my personal observations, they are people who have been raised with no experience of deferred gratification. They are people who were, in the commonplace criticism of Dr. Spock, people who were always given-in to. And their politics reflected that.

In fact, I would go so far as to try to create a metaphor that would describe Columbia as a big temper tantrum. And these people always took a Guevaraist line, because Guevara said, don't examine the consequences, get out and act. And the Cubans pushed that line, they said, go ahead and act, don't spend all day worrying about your ideology, go out and create a revolution. And that is based directly upon, you know, like Guevara's maxim. The duty of every revolutionary is to make a revolution. So rather than say that this affinity group was pro-Chinese, or this one was pro-Cuban I would like to confine my comments—

Mr. NORPEL. Was it more of a common interest, curiosity, perhaps, even?

Mr. MOSHER. Curiosity, perhaps, attitude, and so on. Other groups—let's say another group of individuals with whom I mingled and engaged in activities fairly regularly were individuals who were interested in economics. My academic interest was economics. And so while we were there in Cuba we met with Edward Boorstein, who worked in the national bank with Che Guevara, worked within the Ministry of Economics, and has a book published called "The Eco-

conomic Transformation of Cuba." We met and spoke with him about economic development.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He is American, isn't he?

Mr. MOSHER. He is American, yes.

Mr. NORPEL. When you say "we," that includes who else in this special field beside yourself?

Mr. MOSHER. Daniel Friedlander.

I just realize, you have a person missing—or maybe not. The other individual I think of immediately is missing from here. He was an economics graduate student at Berkeley, had attended, Columbia before that, and had graduated from Harvard as an undergraduate. He was one of the people indicted in the Moses Hall sit-in at Berkeley after he came out from Cuba. And I cannot remember his last name even though I have received letters from him.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you recall his first name?

Mr. MOSHER. David.

(Mr. Mosher subsequently identified this person as David Katz.)

Anyway, both of these fellows, Friedlander and this unknown individual who was an economics major—I was at that time planning to come back to Stanford to do economics. And so we sought out as many people as we could, some government officials from the Ministry of Foreign Exports. I subsequently made an appointment with the head of what they call the Instituto de Computacion.

Mr. NORPEL. Or the Computer Institute?

Mr. MOSHER. I made an appointment with the Computer Institute and looked at that facility, and talked to them about the utilization of computers in economic planning.

Mr. NORPEL. Now, relating back to these discussions which you had from time to time in which it was said before that the seeds were planted, what was the context of your discussions with Boorstein? Was there any significance in your mind?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; he provided real insights into the difficulties presented by Czech, East-European technical advisers. He said, when they came they tried to draw up economic plans based upon their experiences. And the Cubans in the beginning were so enthusiastic about socialist planning that they thought all the answers to ending underdevelopment would be in planning. And he said it did not work like that. The Czechs brought in their plans for, let us say, establishing warehouses for foreign export, not ever thinking of the fact that Cuba did not need warehouses in the interior, but needed warehouses at the ports. And Czechoslovakia of course did not have ports. And so by using their plans they pretty severely screwed up the economy. And he was pretty open about that. He was involved in some of the struggles with Russian and Eastern European economic technicians. And of course Che had his difficulties with them too.

Other activities—I hope we have a chance to look at those films. I have not seen them for 2 years. And the bureau has had them for the last 8 or 9 months. And if I look at those I will of course remember——

Mr. NORPEL. May I ask you about the films. Are they roll films or slide?

Mr. MOSHER. These are roll films.

Mr. NORPEL. Motion picture films?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. How many rolls?

Mr. MOSHER. Approximately 12.

Mr. NORPEL. Of what millimeter?

Mr. MOSHER. Super 8.

Mr. NORPEL. If that is the case, I want to ask you to recall, if you can, was there any particular group which formed there, stayed together there, and after returning to the United States, maintained the same relationship?

Mr. MOSHER. No, people went back to their respective constituencies, which is kind of an all-encompassing term for any group of people whom you may be interested in propagandizing. And they did that. Danny Friedlander went back to the University of Chicago and was subsequently involved in the sit-in there. And I think Jerry Kirk presented testimony about his activities with Danny Friedlander. Steve Smith went back to Stanford and was subsequently involved in the occupation of buildings there, and was in the Revolutionary Union. After being dismissed or thrown out of Stanford he became a factory organizer and was one of the leaders of the strike committee during the strike at PDM, Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel.

Marilyn Webb returned to Washington, D.C., and helped establish—in fact, she asked me at that time if I wanted to come with her—she helped to establish a GI coffee house.

I am picking these at random.

Mr. NORPEL. That is all right.

Would you say that these subsequent actions of these people which you have just mentioned—we will get into them in greater detail later—were a direct result of that experience or those experiences in Cuba? In other words, would Friedlander have participated in the Chicago sit-in whether he had been to Cuba or not?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not mean to be intellectually arrogant, but I require just a little more definition. So I will set up my definition and try to explain what I mean. It is very difficult to speculate about chains of causality and the probability that someone would have done something had they not been some place else in the past. But I will say that every one of these people came back to the United States reflecting the politics they learned in Cuba.

Mr. NORPEL. Didn't you mention elsewhere that this also included the plans for the take-over of Columbia University?

Mr. MOSHER. Very definitely.

Mr. NORPEL. And that the mark was to sit-in, to take over?

Mr. MOSHER. That is right.

May I make one other comment.

Mr. NORPEL. Go right ahead.

Mr. MOSHER. Unless I am mistaken—and perhaps someone here can supply me with the answer—the individual whom we had to discipline, Joseph Michael Webb, returned to Baltimore and was subsequently involved in the destruction of the draft records. I believe that he is serving penitentiary time for it now. I may be inaccurate on that.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The one that you mentioned was from Kansas.

Mr. MOSHER. Maybe he was from Kansas, but he had something to do with Baltimore, because I know he knew—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. That can be checked later.

Mr. NORPEL. If there is a discrepancy in the record we can get it. We can probably get it tomorrow morning.

Mr. MOSHER. This does say Kansas.

Well, my recollection is that he came from Baltimore—I mean all of these people are people whom I had intensive contact with over a month's period of time. For instance, some of these names I have not seen in 2 years, and as soon as I see the names I begin recalling in depth, experiences I had with them.

Mr. NORPEL. One more thing, if I may, before we stop for today. Are you employed now.

Mr. MOSHER. No, I am not.

Mr. NORPEL. Was your last employment as stated this morning, with the FBI?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, in fact.

Mr. NORPEL. Are you now still assisting any law enforcement agency?

Mr. MOSHER. I just spoke with Mr. Foster—may this be off the record—

Mr. NORPEL. It will not be if the subcommittee does not wish it to be in a published record.

Mr. MOSHER. I just spoke with Mr. Foster on the phone of C.I. & I. And they have come up with, I guess, a medical report on the remains of this individual who was murdered.

And I have been in constant contact with and will call after I leave today, the Oakland Police Department concerning a bomb that was set in Oakland in an Oakland intelligence officer's home. And I am not receiving compensation for it.

Mr. NORPEL. You are not?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. How are you supporting yourself?

Mr. MOSHER. Up until 3 or 4 weeks ago when I became aware of this homicide, and when the raid took place on the land, I had to go up to this land, and bring out plastique, literally to convince the FBI and the C.I. & I. they had to go up there. Subsequent to the discovery of this cache of plastique and explosives, I left the place of employment that I had. I was teaching at OICW in Menlo Park—that is Opportunities Industrialization Center West—I was teaching prevocational mathematics.

Mr. NORPEL. Menlo Park, Calif.?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. And was that subsequent to your association, formal association with the FBI?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Was there anything else between that and the date you terminated with the FBI?

Mr. MOSHER. The C.I. & I. reimbursed me for gas expenses and travel and food expenses to the sum of \$50, I think.

Mr. NORPEL. And they were purely expenses which you incurred, and there was no payment for your actual personal services?

Mr. MOSHER. Prior to my going to court for sentencing, C.I. & I. reimbursed me for expenses incurred, and in addition to that gave me \$200, supposedly, to travel. They wanted me to be hanging around this place in San Jose, and all that. And I informed them that I was unwilling to do that until such time as I went to court, because I knew that I would be in a position where I could be arrested at any time. And I did not do it. And they put no pressure upon me.

Mr. NORPEL. Since the interview this morning have you been able to recall or further identify the individual to whom you referred by the name of Chino?

Mr. MOSHER. I think it is a good probability that it is the individual we have been talking about. But I cannot say that definitely without a photograph. And if it is not he, I would say it is definitely the second individual who was referred to as "Chino," who was presented to us as being much more important than the fellow who got me the meeting with Bonpane and all that, even though it was evident that this fellow had a lot of political authority. The second individual always wore a suit and tie, and he was much more middle class. He was heavier. And they claimed that he was much more important. I don't know if that is so. He struck me as being a person who had done a lot of office work, that is all I can say.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. You also told me that you are almost sure that his first name was Carlos?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. I say that with a great degree of certitude.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was he a close friend of Raul Roa, or did he defer to Raul Roa?

Mr. MOSHER. He seemed to be a social equal of Raul Roa. He did not bother to call ahead of time when he took us over to Raul Roa's house. He came up in his own private car, and we hopped in it. We were supposed to meet at such and such a time, Marilyn Webb and, I think, perhaps, Danny Friedlander, and one other person—I do not know who that was. And we went over there. And it was—it was all on a first-name, back-slapping basis, that sort of thing. He was very, very cordial—both of them were cordial to one another.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Of course Raul Roa's father is the Minister of Foreign Affairs. And if this is Carlos Chain that I mentioned, then there is a close connection between the two.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Let the record show that we will recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning and come to room 3226.

(Whereupon, at 4 p.m., the conference recessed, to reconvene the following morning at 9:30 a.m., Friday, February 12, 1971.)

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1971

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 conference met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building.

Present: John R. Norpel, Jr., research director; Samuel J. Scott, associate counsel; and Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator.

Mr. NORPEL. Mr. Mosher, continuing with our discussion from yesterday, since that time, a photograph of Carlos Chain Solar, which will be marked as an exhibit in the hearing, has been exhibited to you. Can you tell us if that photograph is identical with the individual whom you referred to yesterday as Chino?

Mr. MOSHER. Given the fact that the photograph is a side view, I cannot say with certitude that it is the same individual.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Could you supply us with the names of the Cubans involved in the orientation program of the group that was with you at the time of your visit?

Mr. MOSHER. I gave one of them yesterday, the black female who was responsible for part of the tour. She was a representative from ICAP. It is available from this, here.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. That is the one who wanted the dress, right?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, she wanted a dress, transistor radio, and a number of other things.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did she indicate the reason why she wanted them?

Mr. MOSHER. Because they were unable to obtain them in Cuba, possibly. I think it was probably closer to the truth, as you suggested, that they wanted to see if they could open up routes to obtain information from the United States, and so on.

Mr. NORPEL. Is it not a fact that one route was already suggested, whereby you could transmit the Marine Corps magazines?

Mr. MOSHER. That's correct. It was through Canada.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Any other personnel from ICAP that was involved in the orientation?

Mr. MOSHER. It is my understanding that you have available a list of names of ICAP personnel. I did not view that. If I am able to view it, I might be able to recall more names. It has been over 2 years.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Let me ask you this: did the Cubans involved identify themselves with first and last names, or just first names?

Mr. MOSHER. In the beginning, with first names only, but with personal interaction, some individuals learned last names.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In your opinion, was the use of first names only a measure of security on their part?

Mr. MOSHER. In the beginning, yes. They gave us very carefully the impression that relationships of trust were developing when they began revealing last names.

Mr. NORPEL. Once again, it is a psychological suggestion of an affinity group, is it not?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No names recognizable?

Mr. NORPEL. The witness states that he is unable to find any name identifiable to him from the list shown to him.

Do you have anything else you want to add, sir?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. This list is incomplete. It does not list a representative for the Isle of Pines, now known as the Isle of Youth. I did meet that individual. It was a woman Cuban between 30 and 35, originally from Havana.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you know her first or last name?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. It might be noted that the list is as of June 1970. So it may not contain names of individuals in the organization at the time of the witness' visit.

Mr. MOSHER. Pursuing the question about individuals whom I met while I was in Cuba, I met the woman who was the head of the department of mathematics at the University of Havana and also the head of the Institute of Computers.

Mr. NORPEL. What were the circumstances of that meeting?

Mr. MOSHER. An interview to discuss the availability of printed materials from the United States.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The name of the ICAP leader in the Isle of Pines was identified by the witness as Magaly Reyes, who is now listed as the president of the Isle of Pines Regional Committee for Solidarity With Vietnam.

You mentioned yesterday that you had also met another member of the Committee for Solidarity With Vietnam whom you identified as Olga Chamera, the red-headed woman.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What were the circumstances?

Mr. MOSHER. She was presented to us as a representative from ICAP responsible for tours of visiting revolutionaries, journalists, et cetera.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Our information indicates that Olga Chamera is a member of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Cuban Women's Federation with the Committee for Solidarity With South Vietnam.

In passing, it might be significant to note that the same individual was involved in orientation with the first Venceremos Brigade while disguised as a canecutter.

Anyone else you remember?

Mr. MOSHER. To continue with the director of the Institute of Computers, the purpose of the meeting was to compile a list of materials available only in the United States which I was to supply to them by mail after my return to the United States. The list was approximately eight items, most of which were technical materials printed by the universities in the United States; one of which was a technical document printed by a private company in the United States. I was given

instructions on how to obtain it. I was to make an inquiry of said company and ask for a manual, identified only by number.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Were you instructed how to mail this material?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. Once again, by a second party residing in Canada.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they give you a name?

Mr. MOSHER. No, they did not. I was to make that arrangement myself.

Mr. SCOTT. How would you make that arrangement if you didn't know?

Mr. MOSHER. Anyone in the movement against imperialism in the United States has available to him or her the names of numerous individuals who reside in Canada. Any one of those individuals of dubious loyalty to the United States would be more than willing to repackage materials mailed to Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Were you by any chance instructed to mail any of this material to the Cuban Embassy or Consulate in Canada?

Mr. MOSHER. No, I was not. I was made aware of the fact that the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York was always available for assistance.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they identify any particular individual by name?

Mr. MOSHER. In the Cuban Consulate in New York?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In the Cuban Mission to the U.N.

Mr. MOSHER. I'm sorry, in the Cuban United Nations Mission? Yes, Senor Jimenez was an individual who was always available to any American who left.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Is this Jimenez the same Jesus Jimenez Escobar who was expelled from the United Nations?

Mr. MOSHER. I would say yes to that question, because subsequent to my trip to Cuba, I was made aware of the fact that the individual in the Mission was expelled from the United States. While I was in Cuba, I met another individual, an Army officer, who claimed to have been a close friend of Senor Jimenez, identifying said individual as at the time working in the United Nations, and he told an anecdote about Senor Jimenez being in command of a Cuban naval vessel during the invasion of the Bay of Pigs.

Of course, he glorified Senor Jimenez's bravery and said that he wanted to take his vessel and sail it into New York Harbor.

Mr. NORPEL. Is this the same Army officer you mentioned yesterday in your presentation?

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir, it is not. I met this individual in circumstances that were carefully contrived to seem to be a chance meeting. I just ran into this individual in a motel some place. He asked whether or not I was a Norteamericano? I said yes. He said, oh, do you know Senor Jimenez? I said, I know him, and the conversation took place.

Mr. NORPEL. Did I understand you to imply that this meeting was a contrived meeting?

Mr. MOSHER. In my opinion of this date, it is yes, that I think it was a contrived meeting.

Mr. NORPEL. All right.

Mr. MOSHER. I had numerous experiences in Cuba during which I had the impression that I was entirely on my own. As I look back over those experiences, it seems evident to me that the Cubans would

have been extremely foolish to allow me to do some of the things that I did alone. Some of the meetings I had with people that were supposedly by chance all had, in retrospect, significance in creating a specific impression upon me. I'll relate some of those experiences if you want me to.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Please do.

Mr. MOSHER. Most of these experiences are anecdotal in nature and should be treated as such. I'll relate them much the same as I would relate a story about something occurring to me in the United States a couple of years ago.

In one instance, I was in the town of Holguin, Oriente Province, and I was given an opportunity to walk around the town square and other parts of the town, ostensibly by myself. I entered a store which had at one time been American owned and was a department store, or a store in which general merchandise was sold. Many women were shopping in the store.

One woman came up to me and asked me whether or not I was a Russian. I said, "No."

She said, "Are you a German?" I said, "No."

She went through a list of Eastern European countries. I answered "No" to each one. Then, finally, she said, you are a North American. And I said, "Yes."

She proceeded to point out the fact that many of the shelves in the store were empty. I said, "Yes, that is true. I understand that is because this is not the harvest season and goods are being shipped to other provinces where a large mobile force was stationed."

She said, "Yes, but it is still terrible. I cannot get the things that I need from this store."

I responded to her that I saw on the shelves work clothes, underwear, soap, all of the sort of things that would generally be made available in the United States in a prison commissary; in other words, merely the necessities which one needs to stay alive. And I said, "What more do you need?"

At that time, another woman came up and in a rather loud voice began saying, "You were bourgeois before the Revolution and you can criticize because we do not have things on the shelves of this store which you had before the Revolution. For instance, there are not imported French perfumes here now; for instance, there are not silk pajamas."

Slowly but surely, a crowd of Cuban women gathered around and berated this woman for having been bourgeois and having subsequently been—how do I say this—critical of the Revolution. It is now my impression that that entire incident was contrived.

One more short incident. I attended a celebration in Havana and was more or less allowed to walk around by myself in a crowd. An individual, once again, came up to me and identified me as a North American and began to tell me how upset he was with the fact that he could no longer work as a telegrapher. He had worked for Western Union before the Revolution, an American-owned company.

He asked me whether or not I thought it was reprehensible that he has been displaced from his work, and he proceeded to tell me a story about how he was in ill health and he wished he could go to the United States.

I, of course, could not at the time indicate any sympathy for him and I did not.

In the middle of the conversation, a representative from the party came up to us and said, "Ah, I see you have met a gusano"—gusano being the Cuban word that refers to counterrevolutionaries, or people who would like to leave Cuba, or have left Cuba. Literally, it means worm.

I said, "Yes, we have been talking."

He proceeded to berate this fellow and turned to another fellow and said, "Now I would like you to meet a real Cuban, a member of the party."

I have now the feeling that that incident was contrived to see my reaction.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. How did the party leader come up to you while you were conversing with the so-called counterrevolutionary?

Mr. MOSHER. He just wandered up to me through the crowd with the second individual, who was supposedly a revolutionary and a member of the party.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In other words, it was plainly visible that the individual came up to you because he had a reason to come up to you. He did not come up by chance?

Mr. MOSHER. I would suggest that it was very carefully contrived to make it look as if it were chance. All of this was done, in my opinion, to give me the impression that there was a degree of political and social freedom in Cuba and to give me the impression that I had more or less by chance discovered this degree of social and political freedom; to wit, that people were able to come up to me and complain about the government.

The purpose of that might also include an opportunity to judge my reaction.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you remember any other names of Cubans?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I do. The first name, male Cuban, who was with our group the entire trip. He was presented to us as being in charge of all the representatives from ICAP accompanying us. His first name was Jorge, J-o-r-g-e.

Mr. NORPEL. Might I suggest that rather than trying to tax his memory at this point, if he can recall any more individuals or instances, he can indicate that when he corrects it.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Right.

I do not see any Jorge here.

All right, let us proceed to the other part of your Cuban trip. What was the effect of the orientation received in Cuba during the sessions that you had with the so-called affinity groups, both on you and the members of the group who traveled with you?

Mr. MOSHER. To the point of the effect of orientation, I would like to say that we were consistently programed with experiences which were designed to confirm a class perspective, an international perspective that pointed out the criminality of American imperialism, the nature of American exploitation in the "Third World," and always, the necessity of struggling against that in a Marxist-Leninist fashion.

What I am suggesting is that all these experiences were designed to confirm a developing Marxist-Leninist "welt an schaung" world view.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you please place in the record the intended meaning of that word, or the literal meaning of it?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, "welt an schaung," for my purposes, means world view. It encompasses philosophical views and personal interpretation of exterior reality.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was this view accepted by the rest of the group?

Mr. MOSHER. I would say that the experiential knowledge derived from the trip confirmed the developing Marxist-Leninist ideology of all of the people on the trip.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you extend that to the SDS as a whole?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, at this period of time in SDS history, I would say that there are numerous influences on the development of ideology.

Mr. NORPEL. Marxist-Leninist ideology?

Mr. MOSHER. Marxist-Leninist ideology. Among those I would include the constant presence of old CP's acting as advisers, as trusted comrades, and so on. I would include among these experiences confrontations with the police, whose purpose was to convince people that the American system was or is oppressive.

I would include among these experiences communications with South Vietnamese, the trips to Bratislava, to Cuba, to Hanoi.

I would include among these experiences a constant barrage of propaganda.

I would include among these experiences communications, poster art from the Tricontinental in Havana, and numerous other psychological input.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you include the genesis of the Venceremos Brigade in that experience?

Mr. MOSHER. Let's place SDS within the framework of an analysis of the operational mode of the international Communist movement. SDS developed as a group of relatively naive, nonideological students who were critical of the United States. The initial analysis was a criticism of corporate capitalism. I would say that over a period of time, ideology developed to the point that people were willing to call themselves Communists.

As a matter of fact, Bernardine Dohrn made the distinction between being a revolutionary Communist and being an old-line Communist.

The Venceremos Brigade was part and parcel of the operational mode of international communism and directed by the Tricontinental in Havana to develop this "welt an schaung," or world outlook, within the student movement in the United States.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you know of any individual or individuals who transformed themselves from a member of the Student League for Industrial Democracy into the SDS at the time of the SDS inception?

Mr. MOSHER. Most certainly.

Mr. NORPEL. Would you name those individuals for us?

Mr. MOSHER. Todd Gitlin, Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, Nancy Gitlin, Clark Kissinger, and numerous other individuals whose ideological development can be seen subsequently in the sort of things they wrote.

Mr. NORPEL. To make certain that we are talking about the same thing, these people that you just named were formerly in the Student League for Industrial Democracy, or associated with the League for Industrial Democracy, then split from there, so to speak, and formed Students for a Democratic Society?

Mr. MOSHER. In the history of the SDS, all individuals whom I named are recognized as founders of the SDS.

Mr. NORPEL. Yes, but did they have an association with SLID or LID?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, they did.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. And the majority of them, from what you said and lists that we have, had traveled to Cuba previously?

Mr. MOSHER. No, they did not. The trips to Cuba were subsequent to the foundation of SDS.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. With reference to Cuba, do you have any additional remarks that you wish to make?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I do. I would like to make it clear that my considered opinion is that OSPAAAL, also known as the Tricontinental, is the foremost arm of international Communist movement in existence now; that its stated purpose is to develop a fighting front every place that it can, including the United States, and that in keeping with this stated purpose, the Tricontinental has supported in every way that it possibly can insurgent movements in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in North America, and in Western Europe.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Are you familiar with a publication by the Tricontinental magazine which was issued in January and February of 1970 and deals with a mini-manual of urban guerrillas by Carlos Marighella?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I am.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you consider that a text to further the revolution that you just mentioned?

Mr. MOSHER. In reference specifically to this manual and the Venceremos Brigade, I would like to point out that every individual who went on the brigade and returned to the United States was given a copy of the mini-manual.

Mr. NORPEL. How do you know this, sir?

Mr. MOSHER. I have seen the copy.

Mr. NORPEL. We have seen a copy, too. But we were not in Cuba. How do you know that every person who went on the Venceremos Brigade received a copy of this manual?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, I was told by Marty Price in casual conversation; by Karen Wald and other individuals whom I cannot recall.

Mr. NORPEL. Now, you mentioned a few minutes ago about the stated purpose of the Tricontinental. Where is this purpose stated, or how was it stated? How did you become aware of it?

Mr. MOSHER. From the Tricontinental's inception after the initial meeting of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, all of the publications of the Tricontinental, all of the propaganda, posters, et cetera, have been directed toward that end.

Mr. NORPEL. Can you supply us for the record certain examples in support of your knowledge?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I can.

Mr. NORPEL. Thank you very much.

Mr. Mosher, would you continue with your views of the Tricontinental Congress and the imminent situation in the United States today?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. I think the proof of the success of the Tricontinental conference in developing a fighting front, even within the

United States, is found in a perusal of the literature, the early literature of the Tricontinental, in which OSPAAAL made a great deal of the Black Panthers. At the time of my trip to Cuba, the Black Panthers were being outlined in the Cuban press, major stories were written about them, the fact notwithstanding that the Black Panthers had gotten very little press in the United States and had a very small membership.

Subsequent to the initial journalistic coverage of the Panthers in Cuba and coverage by the Tricontinental publications, the Panthers have grown, have adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology, and have declared themselves a revolutionary organization dedicated to the overthrow of the American Government.

The list of Panthers who have been involved in sabotage and terror against the police is so long that I could not possibly begin to outline it. But in my mind, that is concrete evidence of the success of the Tricontinental, with one small organization.

I could make the same argument about their relationship with SDS or their relationship with the FLQ in Canada, for instance. They have been successful in giving these people sustenance, giving these people motivation, giving these people revolutionary direction.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. While in Cuba during your visit with the Tricontinental leader, were you shown any propaganda which depicted or had to do with the Black Panther Party? A postcard in which Huey Newton was seated in a peacock chair and bore the seal of OSPAAAL?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I did. I had several——

Mr. TARABOCHIA. With the legend, "Free Huey Newton"?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I had copies of that. It should be pointed out that that was prior to Huey Newton becoming a cause celebre for American revolutionaries.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. To your knowledge, has the OSPAAAL issued any communiques of support of the struggle of the Black Panthers in the United States and other organizations of the kind?

Mr. MOSHER. Numerous, yes. The answer is yes. Articles by George Mason Murray and Joudan Ford in the Tricontinental magazine would be one example. Full-color pictures of Huey Newton, reproductions of propaganda released by the Panthers in Tricontinental magazine, are all examples of this sort of thing.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Thank you.

While in Havana, you mentioned earlier that you had visited with members of the OSPAAAL. What was the purpose of the visit, and how did it come about?

Mr. MOSHER. The stated purpose of the visit was to develop a relationship between Students for a Democratic Society and OSPAAAL. It came about through a communication to the SDS national office inviting them to delegate someone to establish those on-going relationships, or that on-going relationship. The initial request was posted to Bernardine Dohrn. Because of the upcoming Democratic Convention and SDS participation in the planned demonstrations, Bernardine was unable to go with the group which I subsequently joined.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Were you designated as the individual to fill the slot?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I was. There were other individuals, of course, who wanted to be present, and we more or less agreed collectively that they could be. Among those individuals were Reese Ehrlich and Marilyn Webb of Ramparts magazine.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. How was this communicated to the Cubans?

Mr. MOSHER. Simple interface. Upon our arrival, we were asked whether or not we had any specific people we wanted to see, and so on. I, of course, made clear that the conversations dealing with Tricontinental were of paramount importance to SDS, and that we were doing this in response to an invitation to us by Cubans.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did you get to meet any of the leaders of Tricontinental?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I did. My initial meeting was with a subordinate of Osmani Cienfuegos, with whom I had a fairly lengthy conversation in the presence of other staff members of OSPAAL.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What was the position of Osmani Cienfuegos at the time?

Mr. MOSHER. Osmani Cienfuegos was, if I am not mistaken, the executive director or general secretary of OSPAAL. The exact title escapes me.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. You do not remember the names of the individuals with whom you talked?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What was the tenor of the conversation you had with these individuals?

Mr. MOSHER. The initial discussion dealt with the ideological differences of the Guevaraist Cuban position on revolution and the Soviet Union and China, the point being argued by representatives of Tricontinental that the primary duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution and not ideologies; more simply, that the Tricontinental was concerned with organizations who were going to engage in active struggle against the forces of international imperialism, and primarily the United States.

It was pointed out to me at the time that Tricontinental had organizations which the Comintern would never have admitted 20 years ago, or 30 years ago, that they had organizations, for instance, in Colombia which were made up entirely of professed Roman Catholics; that they had organizations in the Middle East made up of practicing Moslems; that—how do I say this—adherence to an ideological position was not the criterion of membership, but rather, adherence to a position of revolutionary violence, revolutionary terrorism, open-armed struggle against those countries which represented the interests of the United States.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they give you any guidelines on how to implement these goals in the United States?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, they did. That was the purpose of the propaganda which was provided us, including printed material which glorified the Panthers. That was the purpose of the conversations. The conversations more or less suggested to us that the activities of Mark Rudd and SDS, the SDS chapter at Columbia University the prior spring, the activities were an example of the sort of direction the student movement should take in the United States, which it subsequently did.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they place emphasis on more violent tactics, like terrorism and armed propaganda, as they refer to it?

Mr. MOSHER. That was implicit in the conversations. The analysis projected a coming stage in the struggle in which people would have to engage in armed activities, in sabotage, and so on.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they do this in their usual indirect manner, giving you the example of actions which have taken place in another country?

Mr. MOSHER. Most certainly. Not only did they give us examples, they provided us the opportunity to meet with revolutionaries from other countries. We met with revolutionaries from Venezuela who represented the FALN in Venezuela. One of these revolutionaries had just returned within a period of weeks from Venezuela. He had been severely injured in combat, was still under medication and had bandages on, and so on.

We met with Cubans who had fought in the revolution at the age of 16, 17, 18. They told us many stories of how they carried weapons into the hills, of how they smuggled dynamite into the corporate offices of American companies located in Havana. They told us stories of attacks upon the police.

Of course, we were at some later place taken to Moncada Barracks in Oriente Province where Fidel and a number of students initiated the attack upon the Batista regime on July 26, 1953. All of these were directed toward the end of creating a cadre of dedicated revolutionaries in the United States.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did the Latin American revolutionaries relate their experiences to you in any detail?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, they did. We met with revolutionaries from the organization of Cesar Montez and Yon Sosa in Guatemala. That organization was known as FAR-MR 13.

We were told extensive experiences of armed combat against Guatemala troops who were supposedly led by Green Berets. We were told stories of their having been napalmed by American planes called in from Pensacola, Fla., and given the clear impression that we all were in an international struggle in which the principal enemy was the United States.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was the slogan, "Two, three, many Vietnams" used?

Mr. MOSHER. That slogan, which finds its origin in the writings and experiences of Che Guevara in Bolivia, became commonplace. It became commonplace and was transformed into a slogan, "Two, three, many Colombias" in the United States.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The stories related by the Latin American guerrillas involved not urban guerrilla, but country guerrilla?

Mr. MOSHER. No, sir; they involved experiences both in the city and on the countryside.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did the Cubans seem to dwell more on the city variety of guerrilla warfare than on the country variety of it?

Mr. MOSHER. In their analysis of what was going on in the United States, they thought that urban guerrilla warfare was in its incipient stages in the United States in what they referred to as the Black Colony.

Mr. NORPEL. This would conclude the visit to the Tricontinental headquarters. Do you have any other experiences?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, Tricontinental was responsible for setting up meetings not just with people from Venezuela and Guatemala but also from, also representatives from Cheddi Jagan's party—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. From Guiana?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; these individuals were of East Indian background and represented Mr. Jagan's party in Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you remember any names of these individuals?

Mr. MOSHER. If you can refresh my memory by mentioning some.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Lall Bahadur?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, absolutely. That rings a bell immediately.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Let me show you a photograph of this individual. Is this the man?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. The name, when I knew it before, was spelled—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He looks different. I think I have a different picture.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, he looks like a military officer.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. His full name is Lall Bachan Lallbahadur.

The witness was shown a photograph of the subject appearing on page 16 of the First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization, a staff study of the subcommittee.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, that is the individual.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Any other foreign delegations with whom you had contact?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, sir. I met with representatives from the Albanian Embassy, the Chinese Embassy, the German Democratic Republic—that is East Germany—and other individuals or representatives of Socialist or Communist countries whom I cannot recall at the time.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. If I am not mistaken, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union took place while you were in Cuba.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What was the reaction of the Cubans in their conversations with you about the event?

Mr. MOSHER. I think I have some significant insights into that event, because I was with Raul Roa at the time. Raul Roa had been Ambassador to Czechoslovakia at some earlier date. His father is foreign minister of Cuba. I also met the editor of Juventud Rebelde.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you remember his name?

Mr. MOSHER. I do not.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you recognize the name if I showed it to you?

Mr. MOSHER. Perhaps.

To continue. I shall confirm that in a moment.

Juventud Rebelde had published a journalistic account of the invasion of Czechoslovakia prior to the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. It had taken an equivocal position upon the invasion. Upon the meeting of the Central Committee, Raul Roa, Jr., was called into the Central Committee meeting, which he subsequently described to me personally, and asked to respond to positions taken by various members of the Central Committee. There was some disagreement within the Central Committee itself about the Cuban reaction to the invasion. The debate within the Central Committee, according to Raul Roa, Jr., took a period of some 10 to 16 hours, with individuals discussing the effect upon relations with the Soviet Union, the effects of the kind of position taken by the Government of Cuba upon relations with the Soviet Union.

It was felt that the Cuban Government—this is all according to Raul Roa, Jr.—it was felt that the Cuban Government wanted to be—we were always introduced by Rodriguez. I shall identify the individual. It was felt the Cuban Government wanted to be critical

of the invasion, but judicious in its criticism. Raul said that the 10 to 16 hours of debate was finally resolved by Fidel himself, who stood up and said that it was clear to him that the invasion was justified because of bourgeois elements in Czechoslovakia, but it was disappointing to him that the Soviet Union would not act militarily in Vietnam.

His subsequent speech to the Cuban people upon the Czechoslovakian incident maintained that position. He raised the question of why the Soviet Union would not send troops and tanks to Vietnam, but nonetheless adhered to a line that the invasion was necessary.

The editor of *Juventud Rebelde* indicated to me and other individuals present that he had not been criticized by the central committee for publishing a headline that labeled the invasion aggressive, but as soon as the central committee made its position clear, he changed his position and no longer described the invasion as being unnecessary, but rather necessary to deal with bourgeois elements within Czechoslovakia.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you recall the name of this director?

Mr. MOSHER. Now, that I have seen it in the list of names, I would say that Rodriguez rings a bell.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The name Roberto Rodriguez Arufe appears as assistant director of the periodical mentioned by the witness, which is the official organ of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba, according to the information we have.

Mr. MOSHER. It might be noted for the record that specific information about this meeting can be obtained from a subsequent issue of *Juventud Rebelde*. Our interview was published. *Juventud Rebelde* is available in the United States in the archives of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.

Mr. NORPEL. The witness is about to view film, motion picture film, which he took while in Cuba.

Would you please identify the number of the first roll you were showing us?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. Correction: I and other individuals shot this. I did not shoot all of it. The roll which is going to be shown is No. 98515. I shall attempt to describe some of the scenes where the movies were shot and what was going on.

Mr. NORPEL. May I also ask the witness that if these refresh his memory as to anything which had pertinent significance, just to stop there and go ahead with an oral description of it.

Mr. MOSHER. OK.

The first film begins with shots of Havana and a visit to what is known as the Cordon de la Havana, which is a microplan of agricultural development in the Havana area.

This is a large statue of Che Guevara in front of the microplan. These are pictures of the group, all holding up their fists in front of the statue. It goes back to the statue of Guevara.

The next shots are indistinguishable because they were shot inside of the office of the microplan and we had no lighting.

Once again, these are Cubans at a resort where we were taken, very much like a country club. Here is the swimming pool. It looks something like an American country club. That is all I can say.

Mr. NORPEL. This is not the beach area you described yesterday?

Mr. MOSHER. No, this is not a beach area. This was a private country club before the revolution, where we were taken. It is no

longer referred to as a country club. It is called a workers' resort, although I did not meet any workers there.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was this consistent with the plan to orient your thoughts?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, I think this was one afternoon, after we had been traveling for a long period of time, and they took us there for dinner and to swim in the pool, and so on.

These shots, once again, are indistinguishable, so I shall not identify them.

These are shots of a housing project known as Valle Grande. We were taken to see those because this was an example, supposedly, of how well the Cubans provided new housing for their people. The fact of the matter is that none of the houses were constructed in a fashion even comparable to American public housing projects.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was the name, Valle Grande, of any significance?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, of course. Valle Grande was where Che was captured and killed in Bolivia.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. That was the reason for this statue being there?

Mr. MOSHER. Well, his statue and pictures are all over Cuba.

We were taken to Playa Giron and told this was the battlefield of the first defeat of American imperialism.

This next roll of film is identified as No. B080.

This is very important. This is a film of Siboney Farm, from which Fidel Castro and 80-some Cuban students launched the initial attack on the Batista regime. The scene that we are viewing now is the outdoor well in which the arms were hidden. This was shown to us with great pride and, of course, we drew the implicit instruction. We were told that they had practically no money and so they had to use, you know, anything that they could get their hands on.

We later viewed some of the weapons, and I can testify that they did use anything they could get their hands on. They had .22 rifles, mostly nonmilitary equipment, very poor equipment.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. You were talking about the assault on the Moncada Barracks?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. This is the farm from which it was launched, known as Siboney Farm.

This is a closeup of the well. This is the interior, or the exterior of the building. You can barely see it. That is myself and a Cuban standing in front of the bullet-pocked wall.

That is Jim Mitchell.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Go back.

Mr. MOSHER. This individual is Jim Mitchell; that individual is Mark Henschel. It is very difficult to discern on this editor, but this scene was actually shot at Moncada Barracks.

We shall proceed to a frontal of the Moncada Barracks, where the attack took place. Moncada Barracks, a front view. It is now a school. They brought out the students who wished to talk with us, and they proceeded to ask many questions about the Black Panthers in the United States.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did those students seem to be coached in the questions they asked?

Mr. MOSHER. No, they did not, frankly. Everyone in Cuba is coached all the time about political questions. The papers are filled with discussions of the antiwar movement in the United States, with

the Black Panthers, and so on. Or at least, this is what I would say on the basis of my experience 2 years ago.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Proceed.

Mr. MOSHER. That sign identifies the barracks.

In line with what I said previously, these films back up the point that the Cubans did not have to give us instruction as such, but they gave us orientation. They showed us how their students some 15 years ago grabbed arms and attacked the police and attacked the military, and overthrew the government.

That individual is myself.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who is this one?

Mr. MOSHER. That is Russell Smith standing next to a truck in front of Moncada Barracks, a truck of Russian make, I believe.

Mr. NORPEL. What color is the truck?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Gray—it appears gray.

Mr. MOSHER. Mark Henschel again. Nick Freudenberg from Columbia University; a young woman from Washington, D.C., who is very close to Marilyn Webb.

This is the father of one of the students who died in the attack on Moncada. He was responsible for guiding tours around Siboney Farms and explaining what occurred at Moncada.

This is Mark Shapiro.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Let it be shown that the witness identified Mark Shapiro as one of the members of the group raising his fist in salute in front of the Moncada Barracks.

Mr. MOSHER. This is a shot of the entire group being taken inside of the barracks. The only individual I could identify definitely is myself.

I was engaged in an animated conversation with this individual, who is Jim Mitchell.

Mr. NORPEL. What is the background?

Mr. MOSHER. The front of Moncada Barracks. These are all shots of Moncada Barracks, showing the bullet marks on the wall.

That individual is to be identified as Nancy Biberman of Columbia University, now married to a former law student at Columbia.

She and I were very close. She was one of the people who were more or less in affinity groups with me.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who is that against the wall?

Mr. MOSHER. May I have your list? I am sorry. His, the individual whose picture follows that of Nancy Biberman, is William Yates. He was one of the oldest people on the trip. He is in his middle thirties and is married to a black woman in Rochester or Syracuse, N.Y.

There is Nancy Biberman again.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who is that?

Mr. MOSHER. If I may have the list, I shall identify that individual from the list.

The person following William Yates is Sue Jankowsky, who worked in the SDS national office and who was originally from Texas, the University of Texas.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who is that?

Mr. MOSHER. That individual is from Cornell University. If I may have the list, I shall identify him.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I do not think I have them broken down by universities.

Mr. MOSHER. No, no. I know his name. He was later a bodyguard of the leaders of Weatherman at the SDS National Conference which created Weatherman.

Mr. NORPEL. That would be the 1969 conference in Chicago?

Mr. MOSHER. That is correct. I was present. His name is Jim Murray. He is to be identified on the film as the person following Sue Jankowsky. He is standing next to an individual in a red baseball cap.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. He is wearing a red T-shirt.

Mr. MOSHER. These are all Cubans.

This is a shot coming out of the barracks, where we were given a historical description of how the attack took place and what occurred during the attack.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they mention to you that Castro got conveniently lost during the attack?

Mr. MOSHER. No, they did not. They said that he escaped to the hillside.

This is a shot coming out of the barracks, where they told us that the attack failed because their cars stalled.

That is a shot of Nancy Biberman and Nick Freudenberg.

This was a shot of a banquet subsequent to our visit to Moncada Barracks.

That individual——

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In the yellow shirt. Why is the American flag there?

Mr. MOSHER. Many of these individuals were party officials in Oriente Province, and these shots are shots of ourselves being seated at a banquet table with these party officials.

This is a shot of myself on the far left-hand side. Morris Alan Older, and on the far right-hand side, Jim Moore.

The purpose of this visit was to show us the scenario from which the Cuban Revolution developed, to wit, a group of students, armed, beginning by attacking a military barracks, and the conclusions we were left to draw ourselves were, namely, that the Cuban Revolution was made by individuals no more competent than we, and that we also can make a revolution.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I think that is very pertinent.

Mr. MOSHER. The next roll is identified as B045.

These are shots of a construction project, and you can observe the designation, "MICONS" on the side of the project. We were taken to many projects of this sort, none of them completed, but all supposedly examples of how Cuba was overcoming underdevelopment with the help of the Soviet Union and other countries.

As you can see, there is a large propaganda bulletin board in front of this project that says something about Camilo Cienfuegos.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was this in Oriente Province, by any chance?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Here is one of the guides from ICAP with Helen Russell from the University of Wisconsin. As you can see, they are making the Communist clenched fist salute.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. This says "ahead in the marathon of voluntary work as a salute to the 26th of July."

Mr. MOSHER. These are shots of apartment buildings of cement construction, modular form, put together by the Cubans for the workers at this project.

This is a shot of a large propaganda billboard stating "1868-1968, 100 years of struggle." Although you cannot see the "Lucha" there.

These are shots of ourselves—that is, the people on the trip—meeting with workers from the centenary column.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The Union of Young Communist?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Most of them found it convenient to break from work and come over to talk with us, so convenient that their superiors came and told them to go back to work.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In other words, it was a chance to loaf.

Mr. MOSHER. This is a shot of Mark Shapiro at this construction project, which I believe was the Neuvitas cement plant.

Here is another shot of a banquet.

This is the individual from ICAP standing, or sitting at the banquet table with his hands clasped together.

These are further shots of Nancy Biberman, Nick Freudenberg, and Larry Kramer from Cornell University.

Now, you can see the sort of food which we were served, something very luxurious, the sort of meal that would be very expensive.

That is the same representative from ICAP.

That is Russell Smith.

Nancy Biberman.

This is Milagros Arozarena.

This is another representative from ICAP known to me only as Deborah.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. A heavy-set woman with glasses?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. And that is the end of it.

Mr. MOSHER. The next reel is to be identified as 98516. The reel begins with a shot of the Cuban guide previously identified as Deborah at, once again, a banquet, and it proceeds to shots of the other guides, people from Prensa Latina filming the entire banquet.

It proceeds to a shot of a birthday cake, with myself in the background. The birthday cake was presented to Fred and Louise Halper, I believe, and Jim and Molly Moore in celebration of their wedding anniversary, or something of that sort.

This is a shot of one of the women from Washington, D.C., who had her baby with her on the trip. The baby's name is Che.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. It looks like a black baby.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, the father was black.

These are shots of Cuban cattle.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Whoever took that was interested in calves.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes.

This is a shot of an entranceway to a Cuban sugar mill. One had to go through turnstiles to get in.

That is the mill in the background, and it can be identified for the record as San German.

As to the turnstiles, you can observe the extraordinary security they have at places like this. One has to check in and out. I think that is significant, because we were told that the fences around the place were left over from prerevolutionary days, when the Americans oppressed the workers and they kept non-Americans out of the residential sections surrounding the sugar mills, that they had nonetheless not torn them down.

Mr. NORPEL. Why would there be such tight security in connection with the turnstiles?

Mr. MOSHER. Because the Cuban economy depends primarily on the production of sugar. Almost all foreign exchange is derived from—well, from sugar production, and they consider it very important to protect those facilities.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Have there been instances of sabotage of sugar mills lately?

Mr. MOSHER. At the time of my trip there, I was made aware of the fact that sabotage had taken place—sabotage in industrial facilities and warehouses, and even in a public department store.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was this mentioned by the Cubans themselves?

Mr. MOSHER. It was mentioned by the Cubans themselves as the reason for people having to observe extraordinary security precautions.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. To whom did they attribute the sabotage?

Mr. MOSHER. The CIA.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they make it a point of showing to you materiel allegedly captured from the so-called agents?

Mr. MOSHER. As I mentioned in previous testimony, I was shown military supplies supposedly taken from CIA operators, dropped on the coast of Cuba.

Mr. NORPEL. Why don't we break now and come back at 2?

Mr. MOSHER. If I get back before 2, may I use this editor?

Mr. NORPEL. Sure.

Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the conference recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Mosher, while in Cuba, did you have any contacts with Puerto Ricans, either in your group or residing in Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, I did. Of course, at that time the OSPAAAL was concerned with establishing contacts with Puerto Rican nationalists and Puerto Rican revolutionaries. They had already published articles about the MRI movement—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. MRI?

Mr. MOSHER. I am sorry, correction for the record: MPI.

So we did touch on that subject several times. As a matter of fact, Tricontinental at that time had just published a work on the election in Puerto Rico, labeling it a fraud. It was a paperback book.

In my group, there were two—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Excuse me. Was this the plebiscite that took place in Puerto Rico the year before, 1967?

Mr. MOSHER. That is correct. They went to great length to publish a work labeling that plebiscite a fraud for the Commonwealth.

In my group in Cuba, there were two individuals who were concerned with Puerto Rican affairs. One individual was Irmgard Iglesias.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Where was she from?

Mr. MOSHER. She was from the University of Wisconsin at Madison. The other individual was a friend of Mexican-American extraction, I believe, by the name of Hilda Ignatin, who was subsequently involved in the organization of the Young Lords Organization, a Puerto Rican Nationalist group within the United States.

The first chapter of the Young Lords was organized with the help of Mrs. Ignatin in Chicago. Other individuals connected with that organization whom I recall offhand, were her husband, Noel Ignatin, and another individual of Mexican extraction by the name of Obed Lopez.

To turn to the question of the concern of the Cubans with Puerto Rican affairs, it was indicated to me at the time that the Cubans——

Mr. TARABOCHIA. By whom?

Mr. MOSHER. It was indicated to me at the time by representatives of the Tricontinental that they were concerned with establishing contacts with Puerto Rican Nationalist groups, both within the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and in the continental United States. The concern later manifested itself in organizational contacts with the MPI and the Young Lords. They also indicated a concern with other Spanish-speaking groups within the United States, Latin Americans primarily of Mexican-American extraction.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did that involve Reies Tijerina?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, it did. The activities of Reies Tijerina in New Mexico attracted a great deal of attention in Cuba because he was successful in bringing out the National Guard of the State of New Mexico with only 12 men in his command. If I recall the incident correctly, he and these 12 men, or some like small number, kidnapped the sheriff and several deputy sheriffs in a town called Tierra Amarilla, and took them into the countryside outside of Tierra Amarilla.

The Governor of New Mexico was forced to call out the National Guard with troops numbering something over 1,000. Which shows the effectiveness of a small group of people in the countryside.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did the Cubans dwell on the incident? Did they use it as an example or did they just mention it in passing?

Mr. MOSHER. It would be most accurate to say it came up in conversation several times. The implications were drawn and the subject dropped.

They did indicate that they were very interested in establishing their contact with groups of this sort. Subsequent groups which have gone to Cuba have included numbers of Mexican-Americans, whose political affiliations range from the Alianza in New Mexico, to Corky Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice in Colorado.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. With regard to the question about the manual of urban guerrilla, if I may return to the subject, you answered the question by Mr. Norpel that the Tricontinental issue was given to every member of the brigade, and you had been told that by Marty Price.

Mr. MOSHER. Marty Price and Karen Wald, and it was mentioned in casual conversation by other unknown subjects.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. By that, they meant that the manual had been distributed to all Venceremos Brigade members in Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. That is correct.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Earlier in your testimony, you mentioned that you had knowledge about the formation and activities of the Venceremos Brigade. Could you elaborate on this subject?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. Of course, the organization of the Venceremos Brigade was subsequent to the SDS trips to Cuba.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you say that the origin of the Brigade was the result of the SDS trips to Cuba?

Mr. MOSHER. Very definitely.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was anything about the organization of this brigade discussed or was there any discussion about the brigades, the formation of international brigades to help—and I use the word “help” in quote marks—the Cuban sugar harvest?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, with qualification. I do not recall specific conversation about the pretext under which Americans would be brought to Cuba. I do remember lengthy discussions about the essential nature of widening the racial composition of groups coming to Cuba. The SDS groups prior to the Venceremos Brigade were lily-white, middle-class students from prestigious universities for the most part.

They, the Cubans, felt that it was important, as I indicated, to recruit Mexican Americans and black citizens of the United States to expose them to the same sort of thing SDS people were exposed to in Cuba.

Subsequent to my return to the United States, Karen Wald was employed for a period of 7 months by the Tricontinental in Havana, was with Eldridge Cleaver for a period of several months, and later accompanied or met Eldridge after his departure from Cuba to Algiers.

Karen, of course, was instrumental in establishing the brigades. As a matter of fact, I would say categorically that she was the primary person responsible for the arrangements with the Cuban Government and OSPAAAL in bringing the brigades to Cuba. She has had a primary, on-going relationship with the leadership of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, Calif., since its inception as a local community organization.

She has had a close relationship with Huey Newton, with Eldridge Cleaver, with David Hilliard, and Bobby Seale. They felt that the work that she was doing in bringing more Americans to Cuba was very important, and they helped in the recruitment of—well, of minority groups in the brigade.

And I say that they helped in the recruitment because they took an organizational position that Panthers as members of the party were doing work that was too valuable in the United States, actually, to send members. Rather, they established contacts with other people to put them in the brigade.

An example of the sort of contact is represented by Miss Wald's association with Marty and Phil Price, both of whom have been active for a number of years in Oakland with a predominantly black community organization, arising out of the activities of Mark Comfort.

Marty Price was subsequently chosen as a member of the National Committee of the Venceremos Brigade. In his face-to-face recounting of how that occurred, he revealed to me that he had to take on verbally many of the so-called white radicals in establishing a priority for recruiting black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano members of the brigade. He related to me that racism was manifested even by so-called white revolutionaries in their reluctance to give him the power that he needed to run the affairs of the brigade.

Some of the individuals close to the Prices, such as Don Juan Warren, also known as Grafenreid, Darryl Groat, and others, were recruited for the brigade.

Grafenreid, after his return to the United States, related to me and others that he had suffered something of a nervous breakdown while

in Cuba, ceased cutting cane and was flown some place else and later brought back.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did he specify the place and the time of his absence from the rest of the group?

Mr. MOSHER. No, he did not.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was the fact confirmed by other members of the group?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; it was confirmed by other members of the group. As a matter of fact, it was further proof of his emotional instability and it was indicated to me by Phil Price that Don could not be relied on to the degree that they thought prior to his trip to Cuba.

That fact notwithstanding, Mr. Grafenreid has subsequently been involved in several acts of sabotage against the Oakland Police Department. He is a highly unstable individual, has articulated to me the personal difficulties he has in relating to Caucasians, and has told me stories of the kind of difficulties he had with Caucasian members of the brigade.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was he more explicit or just related in general terms these incidents?

Mr. MOSHER. No, no; he was more explicit. And I think I fully understand what he was saying. You have to remember that many of the Caucasian members of the brigade were upper middle-class students who claimed to be radicals and revolutionaries, and contradicted their own professed political beliefs by treating minority members of the brigade in a fashion differently than the white members of the brigade.

He told me one incident in which white students established a priority on obtaining ice cream which was being distributed by the Cubans and how he had to organize some of the brothers, that is the black comrades, in dealing physically with the students.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you ascribe the acts of sabotage perpetrated by Grafenreid to his experience in Cuba, or to prior disposition for such acts?

Mr. MOSHER. I would ascribe that to prior disposition. As a matter of fact, I observed interface between Grafenreid and other members of the Twenty-Third Avenue Community Group, in which instruction in the use of demolitions and explosives took place. Grafenreid is a highly bitter individual and capable of extraordinarily vicious acts. I personally observed him make a verbal threat to kill a child, something close to a year old, to intimidate the child's mother.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. For what purpose?

Mr. MOSHER. That was in connection with what was known as taxing the dope trade. The child's mother was the lover of a very large narcotics dealer in California. Their home was entered and they were told that they would have to divert some of the profits of their trade to support political activities.

I am going to proceed with a running commentary on a film shot in Cuba 2 years ago. This reel is to be identified as reel B.

The film opens with a shot of the front of the University of Havana, with members of the SDS group coming up the steps to the university.

The individual in the foreground is to be identified as Mark Henschel.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The one with the glasses?

Mr. MOSHER. That is correct. The individual behind him is to be identified as Mark Shapiro.

As you can see, the front of the University of Havana was decorated with large posters dealing with revolutionary scenes.

The front of the university was decorated with a large billboard, entitled, in English, "More Revolution."

The next scene is a shot of a chicken farm, which was staffed by inmates of a mental hospital near Havana.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The name of the hospital is?

Mr. MOSHER. Mazorra. We met the military officer in charge of this hospital, who is of the rank of commandante, or major—the highest rank in the Cuban military.

The next shots are shots of the front of the hospital and the interior of the hospital. They are followed by shots of patients in the hospital doing labor, or work, which the Cubans explained to us was constructive therapy. They were putting together boxes for holding pharmaceuticals.

The next shot is a shot of two Cuban militiamen, one male, one female, with their weapons, being talked to by Marilyn Webb.

The next shot is a shot of a thermoelectric plant and construction going on around that plant. These are workers who worked on the plant. This is equipment labeled "MICONS" or equipment from the Ministry of Construction.

The next scenes are scenes of members of the brigade exchanging peace signs—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Of the group, not the brigade?

Mr. MOSHER. I am sorry. Of the group, correction. Not brigade. Exchanging peace signs and clenched fist with workers on the construction project.

Mr. NORPEL. This is reel 98514.

Mr. MOSHER. This reel begins with shots of the SDS group beginning to go out to do manual labor.

As an aside from the reel, this manual labor was, I believe, the first work of the sort that was later done on the Venceremos Brigades, although we were treated with great deference. We worked for about an hour and then they brought out ice cream and watermelons and drinks, and so on. We were told that we were working with average Cuban workers. Now, I think you can judge by the film that the fellow with whom I was working was not a field worker. He was much too heavy to be a field worker. And after engaging him in conversation, I found out that he had attended a workers' political school, was a member of the party, and was highly sophisticated about political conditions in the United States.

He made inquiries about the Panthers, about SDS, about the feelings of American GI's about fighting in Vietnam, and so on.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Would you qualify this work as perfunctory?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, without a doubt. It wasn't even—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Politically motivated, in other words?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, absolutely.

The first individual shown is William Yates, while we were getting water from the bucket. The individual in the white T-shirt and blue levis is Morris Older.

Then the entire group is shown walking out to the field with Cuban workers.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who is the fat man?

Mr. MOSHER. That was the worker assigned to me.

The female with the red bandana on her hair and white T-shirt is Marilyn Webb, the wife of Lee Webb, the Washington correspondent from "Ramparts Magazine."

Those shots are shots of the group working and then returning from the field. This individual whom I will identify as carrying two hoes on his shoulders is an individual to whom I referred earlier. In the pictures he is wearing a white T-shirt and gray trousers. He is the fellow from Berkeley, identified as David Katz, and not turning up on the list for the trip. He is followed by Sue Jankowsky.

The next individual shown in the film is Hilda Ignatin.

The group was followed by a truck which has been responsible for distributing watermelon, ice cream, and so on.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Where was the location of this farm? Was this in the Greenbelt of Havana, as they call it?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, it was.

I take that back. It was not. It was the Isle of Youth.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Isle of Pines.

Mr. MOSHER. They have changed the name since the revolution.

We were then taken to a child day care center, which was utilized by members of the party and the military to leave their children for periods of a week or more. The facility was very well kept. The women shown cleaning it were regularly assigned to clean it.

The next scene is the scene of one of the rooms with children's cribs, and you will see some of the pictures on the wall, pictures of Jose Marti, and Lenin, and Fidel Castro.

The next shots are shots of female workers on the Isle of Pines, and the tents in which they lived. This tent here had a television in it. That was one of the higher ranking members.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. While on the Isle of Pines, did they take you to the former penitentiary Castro served a brief term in after the abortive attack on the Moncada Barracks?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, they did. And we were told it was being converted into a dormitory facility for young men.

This reel will be identified by the designation of letter A. It opens with a shot of the entire group at a construction site and proceeds to shots of cement foundations at the construction site and heavy steel structures.

The first identifiable individual with a camera in his hand, with a steel structure in the background, is named Georg Gruenthal.

We continue with further shots of construction and industrial activity. The next individual of prominence in the film is a Cuban female with a red scarf tied to her hair. She is leading a group of Americans. An American in the foreground with sunglasses on, who briefly turns to his left, that is, his left side is to the camera, is a former American Air Force noncom, or officer, I cannot recall which, who was fluent in Japanese. His name, to the best of my recollection, was Paul Henriquez.

The reason I know he is fluent in Japanese is that in the course of a visit to Havana, he met several members of a Japanese technical mission in Cuba for consultation on the development of the fishing industry, and he carried on lengthy conversations in fluent Japanese. Upon my inquiring about the source of his facility in Japanese, he said that he had attended school in Japan when he was in the Air Force.

The next person of prominence, who waves to the camera, is a black female, approximately 27 years old, who has been identified in previous testimony. Her name was Milagros Arozarena.

She was typical of the competence of the representatives from ICAP. She had worked on the literacy brigade in Cuba in the early sixties and then had gone to school to learn Polish and had been stationed in the Peoples Republic of Poland, working for a trade mission, had returned to Cuba, has received instruction in English and some other Western European language, in which she was fluent.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. She is the individual whom you mentioned before in an earlier part of the film. She appears to be more American than Cuban.

Mr. MOSHER. She is a Cuban. The first name was, to my memory, Scandinavian origin, and she was extremely competent and fluent in English, in addition to being very attractive.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What was the purpose of her presence, acting as guide?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, she was with the group the entire time.

The next shots of significance are shots of workers on this project.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Is this a sugar mill?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes; the shots were taken at a sugar central, or a sugar mill, named Central Urbano, Norris or Morris.

The shots after the pictures of the turnstiles and entrance to the Norris Sugar Mill are pictures of Americans in the group being led by the individual previously identified as Henriquez, and the Cuban guide identified as Deborah, followed by Americans with shots of Milagros and two other unidentified individuals in front of what was identified to the group as a former American Executives' Club, which is now ostensibly used as a workers' club.

The next shot that I can note an individual as recognizable is a shot of a Cuban male, black, with a straw hat on, with an upraised right arm, standing in the foreground in front of William Yates.

The camera then moves to the left and in the group is a female with her back turned to the camera, and has a straw hat on. That individual is Irmgard Iglesias. The female immediately to her left is Helen Russell. The male directly to her right is Morris Older. And the male directly to the left of Helen Russell is James Clinton Murray. An individual to the left of the individual whom I identified as Morris Older is a Cuban militiaman of unidentifiable rank.

This shot is a shot of the most important individual from ICAP, the individual identified as being the most important individual from ICAP. He is wearing dark sunglasses—what kind of shirt do you call that—with a golfing T-shirt on, flanked on the right by an American male with dark hair, long sideburns and a blue T-shirt, who was Fred Halper.

The Cuban male with the sunglasses was the individual identified to me as Jorge.

The camera switches to a shot of a Polyclinco. That is a neighborhood health clinic attached to the North Sugar Central. A Cuban female is shown carrying her daughter up to the front of the clinic. Another Cuban female is shown bringing her daughter from the clinic.

The rest of the shots are shots of the front of the clinic and Cuban citizens standing in the doorway.

The following shots are indistinguishable because they were shot inside the clinic.

The next shot is a shot of a cross, along a roadway, which was supposedly the site of one of the martyrs of Moncada, the site of his having been captured and killed by the forces of Batista.

The next roll is identified as 98488.

This reel opens with shots of Mark Shapiro and other unidentifiable individuals in front of a large sign honoring the foundation of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria, flanked by portraits of Fidel Castro and the Prime Minister of Bulgaria. This was all staged, by the way.

The opening shots are followed by shots of Thomas Mosher and Mark Shapiro, giving speeches from the podium.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who are these individuals?

Mr. MOSHER. All of the individuals I have previously described. It begins with James Murray on the left and proceeds through two unidentified females and a couple of unidentified males.

The shots of the Bulgarian banquet, or what it is called, followed by shots of the Lenin Hospital, which the entire group was taken to and given extensive lectures on the superiority of socialized medicine.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Are these tanks?

Mr. MOSHER. Those shots are followed by shots of Playa Girón. The opening shot is a shot of myself and several other individuals on an American tank, which was captured at Playa Girón. They are then followed by shots of the propeller of a plane which was shot down and other military equipment kept in a museum at the battlefield.

What does this say?

Mr. TARABOCHIA (translating). "It is more than white, more than mulatto, and more than black." Jose Marti.

Mr. MOSHER. Myself and Marilyn Webb on the right-hand side of a placard. In my left hand is a copy of a piece of literature which was distributed to everyone in the group, entitled, "Playa Girón, the First Defeat of American Imperialism." You probably have a copy of that some place.

Marilyn Webb, by the way, told me while we were in Cuba the fact that upon Tom Hayden's return from Hanoi, he stayed with her and her husband in Washington, D.C., and had visited with Averill Harriman immediately upon his return. Apparently he participated in a briefing of Ambassador Harriman about his conversations with the North Vietnamese. She said that in an aside to myself because most people on the left were not aware of that fact, that they would have looked with condescension upon the fact that he had met with Harriman.

This is followed by a picture of myself in front of a sign that says—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. "Glories of the people are the glories of everyone."

Mr. MOSHER. In reference to the defeat of the invasion of Playa Girón.

The next reel is identified by the numbers 98487.

This reel begins with a shot of a Texas Ranger in the airport in Dallas, prior to the departure for Mexico City. It is barely distinguishable because it was shot indoors.

The shots begin with departure from Dallas, pick up again in Mexico City at the airport and take up again upon arrival in Havana, with the opening shot being a portrait of Che Guevara at the airport.

We then shift to Jibacoa, the camp where the group was hosted for a period of days.

This is a shot of the cafeteria, outdoor cafeteria, where people were fed and so on. This was the facility to which I referred when I said the representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba made arrangements to remove me from the group to meet with Father Blaise Bonpane.

The next shot is a shot from a tower, which I shot in contradiction to the instructions of the Cuban guides. They did not want pictures taken of this coast. I wasn't aware of its significance or anything. They just asked me to stop shooting.

You can see pictures of the beach and the quality of the facility.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was the facility fenced?

Mr. MOSHER. Was it fenced in?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes.

Mr. MOSHER. Not as I remember it, but I never got to the edge of it because it was so large.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. But it was not accessible to the general public?

Mr. MOSHER. It was not accessible to the general public.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. From the appearance of the facilities, there is no doubt that the Playa Girón village was a showplace for the purpose of impressing foreigners; is that correct?

Mr. MOSHER. I would say that that is correct. It was something on the quality of a country club or resort area, not accessible to Cubans and they treated us with great deference. We were not on ration as the Cubans were. Even the Cuban guides were on a ration.

In addition to that, because of some of the criticism raised of the quality of the camp, it is my understanding that future groups were housed in tents as has been mentioned before. It is my response to that, that the Cubans were fairly sophisticated in, let us say, psychological warfare, in realizing that they had to take into consideration the response of the people whom they were trying to affect.

I have mentioned earlier that it is my understanding that a person is much more susceptible to suggestion when he is fatigued and as a consequence, the Cubans made a decision to allow people to do a great deal in the way of manual labor than they had with the earlier groups.

The next reel is identified by number B016. On the other side of the reel, it is labeled "C."

The next films are further shots of the village of Valle Grande. As you can see, the village is flying a South Vietnamese flag. As you can see, there is a flag over the door saying—the 26th of July. There is a South Vietnamese flag flying over the village.

The significance of the presence of flags is indicated when we proceeded a little bit farther here, and you see a very large North Korean flag flying. That, I believe, was the week of solidarity with North Korea.

The next shots are shot inside of what they call a coffee bar, where they open the bar especially for us and also let local people in.

Then there is a shot of a large Cuban flag, a shot of Che Guevara's picture and shots of the Americans drinking soft drinks and so on.

It continues with further shots of the village, which was shown to us as a prize accomplishment of the Cuban Government, because this place was built in a period of, like, 2 months and was housing what they called heroic workers.

Here is a shot of a fairly late model Pontiac with a horse in the background.

Now begins shots of the boat that goes to the Isle of Pines, or the Isle of Youth.

Then back to a rock-crushing plant, which was used to provide input for a cement plant.

As you can see, they were very proud of the fact it was highly automated. It is controlled by these electric devices and the individual in the foreground was an East German technician.

Then there are shots of the machinery and so on. We then proceed to an artificial insemination plant, by the—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. This appears to be one of the favorite showplaces that the Cubans usually show to visitors.

Mr. MOSHER. It was. They made a great deal of this artificial insemination plant and told us that they were going to quadruple the size of their national cattle production within a period of a year.

Continued shots of cattle, Cuban workers separating out a cow for insemination.

The next reel is to be identified by the numbers 98482. This opens with a shot of the entire group with one individual who has not been identified up to this point. He is the individual on the far left with a blue work shirt on. He was the individual to whom I referred when I said that one person in the group had just returned from Guatemala before his departure for Cuba.

These are shots of hydroelectric plants and the bay. As you can see, they place great emphasis on showing their industrial accomplishments.

These are shots of some kind of militia training facility.

This is a shot of a fertilizer production center which was being built at the time by a brigade of young Communists.

That was a Russian truck and East German bus that passed by. The billboard shows the production plant. This entire project was being overseen by East German technicians.

This reel is to be identified by the designation B058.

It opens with shots of the group at a mountainside area, where we made a long hike into the mountains. As you can see, we were pretty well wrapped up with towels over our heads so as not to get sunstroke. We climbed the entire mountain.

Mr. NORPEL. Did the climbing of that mountain have any significance?

Mr. MOSHER. Yes, it did. The conversation that preceded the mountain climb dealt with Che's martyrdom in Bolivia and so on. It was more or less like a manifestation of our own commitment.

This next shot is a shot of an individual on a horse. That individual is Marilyn Webb. There were horses there. We were able to ride them.

The rest of the shots are shots of the mountainside and the group engaging in physical exercise.

The movies of the climbing of the mountain were followed by a visit to the former headquarters of Raul Castro, from which Raul and Che launched the rural guerrilla campaign. The building shown in the film was filled with maps and photographs of the rural guerrilla war in Cuba.

The next reel is to be identified as 98518.

It opens with shots of the artificial insemination center once again, which is a source of great pride to the Cubans. It shows the Americans on the trip gathering to see an artificial insemination.

Here is a very clear shot of the individual I referred to as Chino.

Mr. NORPEL. Describe his dress, would you, please.

Mr. MOSHER. This is the one who is on equal social terms with Raul. This is the individual who arranged the private meeting with Father Bonpane. He is sitting on the fence, has a gray work shirt on, and a pair of Levis on, and is conversing with the Americans in the group.

Now we proceed to a shot of the actual process of artificial insemination, with an American whom I cannot identify, holding up a large rubber receptacle.

A cow is separated out. The Cubans chase the cow around. Finally, capture her, and this individual with the gray work shirt on preceding the scene of chasing the cow is a Cuban with blond hair, fair skin, who was in charge of the artificial insemination center. The Cubans attempt to get the bull to mount the cow. You can see that the Americans considered all of this very humorous.

Here is the technician in a white lab coat, the leader of the project, again; a small Cuban child, and then our bus with one individual with a clenched fist sticking out of the window. And then a bus ride past—what would be described as modular housing.

Mr. NORPEL. Now the purpose of showing us these films, the whole series, including the signs, the plants you were taken to, the things you were allowed to visit, formed some thoughts in your mind as to the purpose, as to the significance. Would you please synopsise your impressions of your visit to Cuba as seen through that camera's eyes.

Mr. MOSHER. Yes. We were encapsulated as a group and shown the supposed achievements of a Communist revolution, shown the scenario from which that revolution developed, individuals who participated in that revolution and sites where individuals planned and carried off the revolution.

We were taken to industrial construction sites, hospitals, other institutions which formed an infrastructure necessary to the development of an underdeveloped country, and led to believe that Cuba was extremely successful in overcoming economic underdevelopment, which was a result of American imperialism.

The entire trip was focused upon the necessity of revolutionaries making a revolution, and achieving a society in which underdevelopment, oppression, racial discrimination, and all of those things did not exist.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you have anything else you wish to add, sir?

Mr. MOSHER. I would like to reserve some comment—

Mr. NORPEL. While off the record, you had a discussion as to the proposed further extent of the interview when this occurs. In that context, a number of organizations were mentioned and you may have received the impression that we were associating all of these with the so-called New Left. That is not true. We have no intention to make such a determination or inference.

The purpose of the discussion was to point out the names of organizations which you had mentioned and to further probe your views and

your reasons and your association with these groups, their ideologies, their philosophies.

But we do not have time to do that today. And I feel that will have to be arranged after a consultation with Mr. Tarabochia, as to what future plans should be made, when the next conference will take place, because as you are aware, I will not be present here next week.

Does that satisfy you?

Mr. MOSHER. I am more than satisfied, yes.

Mr. NORPEL. Do you have anything else you want to add?

Mr. MOSHER. No.

Mr. NORPEL. All right. Then let's close the record for the day at this time and the next session will be subject to information you receive from Mr. Tarabochia or Mr. Scott.

Mr. MOSHER. Fine.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p.m., the conference was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

INDEX

(NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or organization in this index.)

A		Page
Africa	-----	59
Aguilar, Eduardo	-----	26
Air Force, U.S.	-----	74
Albanian Embassy	-----	63
Al Fatah	-----	44
Algiers	-----	71
Aliazana (organization, New Mexico)	-----	70
American clergy	-----	30
American Express	-----	5
Archives of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University	-----	64
Arozarena, Milagros	-----	27, 68, 75
Ashley, Karin	-----	13
Asia	-----	59
Avakian, Robert	-----	10
Ayres, William	-----	10
Azocar, Carlos	-----	26

B		Page
Bahadur, Lall	-----	63
Baltimore, Md.	-----	8, 19, 25, 49, 50
Batista (Fulgencio)	-----	38, 75
Batista Regime	-----	62
Bay of Pigs	-----	55
Bell Telephone Co., Havana	-----	35
Berkeley, Calif.	-----	48, 74
Bernhardt, Doug	-----	24, 26, 42
Berrigan case	-----	30
Beyer, Bruce	-----	26
Biberman, Nancy	-----	19, 24, 26, 66, 67, 68
Bill, Peter	-----	27
Black Colony	-----	62
Black Panther	-----	11
Black Panther Party (BPP)	-----	9, 10, 60, 71
Central Committee	-----	10, 12
Black Panthers	-----	17, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 60, 65, 66
Bolivia	-----	62, 65, 78, 79
Bonpane, Father Blase (Roman Catholic Priest)	-----	29-31, 40, 51, 77
Boorstein, Edward	-----	47, 48
Boston, Mass.	-----	34
Bratislava	-----	17, 58
Bulgaria, People's Republic of	-----	25, 76
Bulgaria, Prime Minister of	-----	76

C		Page
California, State of	-----	9, 72
Canada	-----	7, 27, 28, 53, 55
Carbondale, Ill.	-----	8
Carta Blanca (importers)	-----	5
Castro, Fidel	-----	14, 34, 62, 65, 74, 76
Castro, Raul	-----	78
Castro revolution	-----	33
Central Urbano	-----	75

II

	Page
Chain, Carlos (Chino).....	28, 51
Chamera, Olga.....	54
Chicago Gangland Conference.....	11
Chicago, Ill.....	3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 22, 25, 49, 67, 71
China, People's Republic of.....	31, 46, 47, 61
Chinese Embassy.....	46, 47, 63
Chino (Carlos Chain Solar).....	29, 31, 32, 33, 51, 53, 79
CIA (Central Intelligence Agency).....	21, 34, 69
Cienfuegos, Camilo.....	67
Cienfuegos, Osmani.....	61
C.I. & I. (Criminal Investigation and Identification Division, California Department of Justice).....	50
Clamage, Dena.....	15
Clapp, Peter.....	26
Clark, Michele.....	24, 26, 33
Cleaver, Eldridge.....	36, 71
COFO (Council of Federated Organizations).....	7
Colombia.....	61
Columbia University.....	16, 32, 33, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 61, 66
Comfort, Mark.....	71
Comintern.....	61
Committee for Solidarity With South Vietnam.....	54
Communist.....	23, 33, 42, 67
Communist Party (CP).....	9, 11, 12
Communist Party of Cuba.....	28
Central Committee.....	28, 29, 30, 31, 40, 63, 77
Computer Institute.....	48
COR (Committee of Revolutionary Orientation).....	40
Cordon de la Havana.....	64
CORE (Congress of Racial Equality).....	7, 8
Cornell University.....	66, 68
"Counter Attack, Shoot to Kill" (Black Panther slogan).....	12
Cowper, Frederick.....	20
CP (Communist Party).....	24
CPUSA (Communist Party of the United States).....	9, 23, 24
Crusade for Justice (Colorado).....	70
Cuba.....	6,
7, 9, 12-19, 22, 24, 27-29, 31, 32, 34, 36-38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 49, 53, 57-60, 62-65, 69-72, 74, 76, 78, 79	
Cuba, trip to, August 1968.....	26
Cubana Airlines.....	13, 21, 23
Cuban Army.....	33
Cuban Ambassador.....	21
Cuban Consulate, Canada.....	55
Cuban Embassy.....	7
Cuban Embassy, Canada.....	55
Cuban Embassy (Mexico City).....	20, 21
Cuban Government.....	23, 33, 63, 71
Cuban Revolution.....	30, 67
Cuban Womens Federation, Foreign Relations Commission.....	54
Cultural Congress.....	18, 45
Czechoslovakia.....	48, 63, 64
Czechoslovakia, Ambassador to.....	63

D

Daily Worker, The (newspaper).....	45
Dallas, Tex.....	16, 22, 23, 76
Dane, Barbara.....	13, 22
Danielson, Ross.....	26
Davidson, Carl.....	18
Davis, Rennie.....	5, 8, 58
Deborah (representative of ICAP).....	68, 75
Democratic Convention.....	17, 60
Dennis, Eugene (pseudonym).....	12
Detroit, Mich.....	7, 15
Diskin, Lou.....	9, 17
Dohrn, Bernardine.....	9, 10, 17, 22, 25, 36, 44, 58, 60
Donghi, Deonne.....	62

III

E

	Page
East German technicians	78
East Germany, Democratic Republic of	63
"Economic History of Cuba" (book)	14
"Economic Transformation of Cuba, The" (book)	48
Ehrlich, Reese	24, 26, 40, 41, 44, 46, 60
Embree, Alice	15
Enriquez, Robert	18
ERAP (Economic Research Action Project)	5, 8

F

FALN (National Front of Liberation)	62
FAR (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Guatemala)	35, 36, 44
FAR-MR 13 (organization in Guatemala)	62
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)	4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 21, 28, 50
Fertinelli (publisher, Milan, Italy)	45
Finkelhor, S. David	26
Florida, State of	15, 33
FLQ (Libertion Front of Quebec, Canada)	36, 60
Ford, Joudan	60
Forman, Alex	26
Foster, William Z.	12, 50
Fourth Congressional District (Mississippi)	8
Fox, Susan M.	27
Franklin, Bruce	10
Freudenberg, Nick	19, 24, 26, 66-68
Friedlander, Danny (Dan)	19, 23, 24, 27, 33, 48, 49, 51
"From a Report of the Special Consultative Committee Against the Subversive Action of International Communism" (study)	45
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionaria (FAR)	24

G

Gedal, Stewart	26
Gettysburg, Pa.	7
Gitlin, Nancy	58
Gitlin, Todd	17, 18, 20, 23, 58
Goldfield, Mike	14
Goldfield, Steve	27
Gonzales, Corky	70
Good, Tom (Thomas Daniel)	26
Grafenreid (Don Juan Warren)	72
Green Berets	62
Green Beret (U.S. Army Special Forces)	25, 42
Groat, Darryl	71
Grossner, Morris	24, 26
Grower, Mark	26
Gruenthal, George Franklin (also Guenthal)	27, 46, 74
Guatemala	24, 29, 30, 35, 62
Guevara, Che	14, 39, 40, 46-48, 62, 64, 65, 76-78
Guiana	62
Guiljano, Fernando	27
Guintel, George	19
Gurney, Senator Edward J.	1, 2

H

Hall, Gus	9, 17
Halper, Louise	23, 27, 68
Halper, Fred	23, 27, 68, 75
Hanoi	58, 76
Hardesty, Mack	14
Harriman, Ambassador Averell	76
Hart, Holly	14
Hartford, Bruce	26
Harvard Law School	7
Harvard University	48
Havana Airport	27
Havana, Cuba	32, 33, 35, 46, 54, 56, 58, 62, 64, 71, 73, 76

IV

	Page
Hayden, Casey	8
Hayden, Thomas (Tom)	8, 46, 58, 76
Henriques, Paul	26, 74, 75
Henschel, Mark	19, 65, 72
Henschel, Mark Warren	27
Henshaw, Mark	26
Hilliard, David	10, 12, 71
Hilliard, June	10
Holguin, Oriente Province	56
Horton, Joel (Joe)	14, 16, 17
Hotel Teresa, Harlem	34
Howard, Elroe (Big Man)	10

I

ICAP (Instituto Cubano Amestad Con los Pueblos)	27, 53, 54, 57, 67, 68, 75
Inglesias, Irmgard Isabel	27, 69, 75
Ignatin, Hilda	19, 24, 26, 46, 69, 70, 74
Ignatin, Noel	24, 70
Illinois Crime Commission	25
Illinois, State of	9
"In the First of the Revolution" (book)	45
"In the First of the Revolution, Life in a Cuban Country Town" (book)	45
India, State of	21
Institute of Computers	54
International Communist Movement	58
Iowa State College	11
Isle of Pines	54, 74, 78
Isle of Youth	54, 74, 78

J

Jagan, Cheddi	62
James, Michael	15, 17
Jankowsky, Sue	24, 26, 66, 67, 74
Japan	74
Jennings, Ed	14
Jhirad, Susan Schwartz	26
Jibacoa Beach	28, 29, 30, 76
Jimenez, Jesus Escobar	18, 55
Johnson, John	26
JOIN (Jobs or Income Now)	5, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 18
Jones, Jeff	17
Jorge (representative of ICAP)	57
Joyce, Leonard A.	27
Juventud Rebelde (publication)	63, 64

K

Kaminsky, Peter	26
Kansas, State of	49, 50
Kapchuk, Ted	27
Katz, David	48, 74
Katz, Marilyn	26
Kay, Karen	27
Kelley, Joe	26
Kessleman, Amy	26
King, Dr. (Martin Luther)	11
Kirk, Jerry	49
Kissinger, Clark	58
Klonsky, Michael	10, 17, 21
Korea	35
Kramer, Larry	68
Kramer, Lawrence	27
Kulk, Jim	26

L

Lallbahadur, Lall Bachan	63
Lanham, Consuelo (Connie)	19, 24, 26
Latin America	59
Latin American Solidarity Organization, First Conference	63

League for Industrial Democracy	8, 58, 59
Leake County, Miss	5, 8
Leibowitz, Joel	27
Lenin	74
Lenin Hospital	76
Levin, Alan	15
Lichtenstein, Carl	27
Linderman, Lucy	26
Lopez, Obed	70
Loring, Suzanne	19
Loyola University	5

M

MacDonald, Susan L	26
Malcolm, Mary	27
Malcolm, Molly	27
Malcolm X	34
Mao, Chairman	47
Maoist	19, 46
Marighella, Carlos	59
Marine Corps Gazette	33, 34
Marine Corps, United States	33, 39, 40, 42, 53
Markowitz, Stan	26
Marti, Jose	14, 74, 76
Marxist-Leninist	14, 57, 58, 60
Masai (no other name)	10
Maspero (publisher, Paris, France)	45
Mazorra (mental hospital)	73
Menendez, Barbara Jean, born Spellman (Barbara Dane)	13
Menlo Park, Calif	50
Mexican Embassy	23
Mexico	7, 18, 23
Mexico City, Mexico	13, 18, 20, 41, 22, 23, 25, 76
MICONS (Ministry of Construction)	67, 73
Middle East	61
Miller, Donna M	27
Milwaukee Road Railroad	5
Milwaukee, Wis	5
Ministry of Economics (Cuban)	47
Ministry of Foreign Exports (Cuban)	48
Mini-Manual of Urban Guerrilla Warfare	59
Mississippi Challenge	8
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party	8
Mississippi, State of	7, 8
Mitchell, James (Jim)	19, 26, 65, 66
MLN (National Liberation Movement, Mexico)	36
Moncada	76
Moncada Barracks	62, 65-67, 74
Montez, Cesar	62
Moore, Jim	68
Moore, Molly	24, 26, 68
Moore, Stephen (Steve)	24, 26, 28
Morea, Janice	27
Mosher, Thomas E	1-80
Murphy, Mike	26
Murray, George Mason	60
Murray, James Clinton (Jim)	19, 26, 67, 75, 76
Movement Press	9
Movement, The (newspaper)	15, 16, 17
MPI	69, 70

N

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)	7
National Academy of Science of Cuba	14
National Guard, State of New Mexico	70
National Interim Committee (NIC)	10
National Organizing Committee (NOC)	11
NCUP (Newark Community Union Project)	8

VI

	Page
Neuvas cement plant	68
Newark, N.J.	8
New Left	4, 7, 9, 11, 25, 32, 47, 79
New Left Notes (newspaper)	16
Newton, Don	26
Newton, Huey	60, 71
Newton, James R.	27
New Mexico	70
New Mexico, Governor of	70
New York	8, 18, 34, 45
New York Harbor	55
NFL (National Front of Liberation) Embassy, Cuba	14, 40, 41, 44
Norpel, John R.	3-80
Norris Sugar Mill	75
North America	59
Northern Illinois University	28
North Korea	77
North Sugar Central	75
North Vietnamese	25, 42
Northwestern University	11

O

Oakland, Calif.	39, 71
Oakland (Calif.) Police Department	50, 72
Office of Naval Intelligence, U.S.	34, 39
Oglesby, Carl	45
Older, Morris Alan (also Orderl)	27, 67, 73, 75
Old Left	7, 11
Opportunities Industrialization Center West	50
Oriente Province	62, 67
Orrin, Sue	24, 26
Organization of American States Committee on Security	18
OSPAAAL (Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America)	9, 59, 60, 61, 69, 71

P

Palo Alto, Calif.	1, 3, 4, 6
Panthers	61, 73
PCC (Communist Party of Cuba)	38
Pensacola, Fla.	62
Pennsylvania, State of	8
Pikpin, Paul	26
Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel	49
Pizzarevsky, Joe	27
Playa Girón	65, 76, 77
"Playa Girón, the First Defeat of American Imperialism" (paper)	76
Poland, People's Republic of	75
Polyclenco	75
Prensa Latina	68
Price, Marty	36, 37, 59, 70, 71
Price, Mike	26
Price, Phil	71, 72
Progressive Labor (PL)	14, 46
Puerto Rico	69, 70

R

Radcliffe (College)	34
Ramparts magazine	40, 46, 60, 74
Regional Committee for Solidarity With Vietnam, Isle of Pines	54
Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention	6
Revolutionary Union (RU)	10, 49
Reyes, Magaly	54
Riverand, Julio	14
Roa, Raul, Jr.	16, 29, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 51, 63, 64, 79
Rochester, N.Y.	66
Rockwell, Jane	15
Rodriguez, Roberto Arufe	63, 64
Roswell, Danielson (also Roswell S. Danielson)	27

VII

	Page
Roth, Robert	26
Rudd, Mark	9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 43, 61
Russell, Helen	67, 75
Russell, Phil	15
Russian intelligence officer	34
Ryan, Sheila	14

S

Saltzman, Marilyn Linda	27
San Francisco, Calif	15
San Francisco State College	15
San German (sugar mill)	68
San Jose, Calif	50
Santa Cruz County, Calif	4
Santa Cruz Mountains	4
Scheer, Bob	46
Schiller, Helen	19
SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)	11
Scott, Samuel J	1-80
SDS (Students for a Democratic Society)	5, 8-12, 15-17, 21, 22, 30-32, 37, 43-45, 58-61, 66, 70-73
National Committee	25
National Conference	66
Weatherman	67
Seale, Bobby	10, 12, 71
Shapiro, Mark	19, 24, 26, 66, 68, 72, 76
Sharon, Michael (Mike)	9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
Shiller, Helen	24, 26
Shinoff, Paul	15
Siboney Farm	65, 66
Silber, Irwin	13, 22
Simensky, Sue	27
"Sing Out" (magazine)	13
Smith, Richard	27
Smith, Russell Victor	20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 41, 66, 68
Smith, Stephen (Steve)	20, 23, 24, 26, 39, 49
SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee)	7, 9, 15
Solar, Carlos Chain (Chino)	53
Solomon, Norman (Abba)	26
Sosa, Yon	62
Sourwine, J. G	1, 2
South Vietnam	41
South Vietnamese	42, 58
Soviet Union	9, 17, 47, 61, 63, 64, 67
Sowerwine, Sue	26
Spain	7
Special Forces (U.S. Army)	25
Spock, Dr. Benjamin	47
Stamberg, Margie	24, 26
Stanford University	3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 20, 21, 48, 49
Steiner, Marc	14
Strickland Trucking Co	5
Students Against Fascism	10
"Students Against Fascism and Imperialism" (article)	12
Student League for Industrial Democracy	58, 59
Swanson, Jeff	24-26, 42
Syracuse, N.Y	66

T

Tabor, Michael	37
Tanya (no other name given)	15
Tanzanian Embassy	31
Tarabochia, Alfonso L	3-80
Tashiro, Joe	26
Taylor, Clifton R, (Cliff)	24, 26
"Ten Years of Revolution" (manuscript)	45
Texas, State of	18
Third World	18, 57

VIII

	Page
Tierra Amarilla.....	70
Tijerina, Reies.....	70
Timposky, Bob.....	15
Torian, Susan.....	27
Torres, Camillo.....	39
Tricontinental.....	9, 14, 35, 36, 41, 44, 46, 58-62, 69-71
Magazine.....	59, 60
Twenty-Third Avenue Community Group.....	72

U

U-JOIN (Union for Jobs or Income Now).....	8
UMW (United Mine Workers).....	5
Union of Young Communists of Cuba.....	64, 68
Unitarian Church, Social Action Department.....	11
United Conference Against Fascism.....	10
United Front Against Fascism (UFAF).....	9, 10, 12, 17
United Nations.....	34, 40
Cuban Mission to.....	55
Russian Delegation.....	34
United States.....	16, 18, 31-37, 39, 41, 45, 49, 53-56, 58-62, 64, 65, 69-71
United States Army.....	42
United States Marine Corps.....	3, 5
University of Chicago.....	49
University of Havana.....	54, 72, 73
University of Illinois at DeKalb.....	78
University of Iowa.....	11
University of Maryland.....	25
University of Texas.....	66
University of Wisconsin.....	11, 67, 69

V

Valle Grande.....	65, 77
Van Ba, Huynh, Charge d' Affaires of the Republic of South Vietnam.....	41
Venceremos Brigade.....	35, 36, 37, 54, 58, 59, 70, 71, 73
National Committee.....	71
Venezuela.....	62
Vietcong.....	25
Vietnam.....	14, 25, 39, 73
Vietnamese.....	16, 35, 44
Voting Rights Act.....	7

W

Wald, Karen.....	36, 59, 70, 71
Warren, Don Juan (also known as Grafenreid).....	71, 72
Washington, D.C.....	6, 7, 8, 46, 49, 66, 68, 74, 76
Webb, James Michael.....	20
Webb, Joseph Michael.....	19, 24, 26, 49
Webb, Lee.....	46, 74
Webb, Marilyn.....	24, 26, 33, 44, 49, 51, 60, 66, 73, 74, 76, 78
Weissman, Jean.....	15
Western Europe.....	59
Western Union.....	56
White, Rosalyn.....	26
Williams, Randy.....	12, 39
Williams, Robert F.....	31, 32
Windsor, Ontario, Canada.....	7
Winfield, Bill.....	27

Y

Yates, William John (Bill).....	19, 27, 66, 73, 75
Yglesias, Jose Andres (Iglesias).....	45
Young Communist League.....	28, 29
Young Lords (organization).....	69, 70
Young Patriots.....	11

Z

Zaretsky, Eli.....	26
--------------------	----











