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TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY

Inside the Weatherman Movement

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THE
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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ACTIVATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

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J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel*
ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA, *Chief Investigator*
MARY DOOLEY, *Acting Director of Research*

RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the testimony of Larry Grathwohl, taken in executive session on October 18, 1974, be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman.

Approved January 23, 1975.

¹ Resigned from U.S. Senate as of December 31, 1974.

² Resigned from U.S. Senate as of December 27, 1974.

TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY—INSIDE THE WEATHERMAN MOVEMENT

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1974

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

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:45 a.m., in room 2300, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alfonso Tarabochia, chief investigator, and Robert Short, senior investigator.

Senator THURMOND. The committee will come to order.

The evidence you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I do.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF LARRY GRATHWOHL

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you give the reporter your full name, please?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Larry Grathwohl.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your present address?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. 2212 Old Creek Place, Hayward, Calif.

Mr. SOURWINE. And when and where were you born?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Cincinnati, Ohio, October 13, 1947.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you married?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any children?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Two by a previous marriage.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your education?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. One year of college.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think at the outset, Mr. Chairman, we should let the record speak clearly with respect to this witness's participation in activities of the so-called New Left, and especially of the Weatherman organization.

You were a member of this organization, were you not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to join it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, in August and September 1969, the Weatherman collective in Cincinnati was active in recruiting members for the National Action in Chicago which was to take place October 8 through October 11, 1969. I met two individuals who were recruiting for that national action. At first I took them to be a little crazy, and didn't really take them that serious, but they had given me the newspaper.

I believe at the time it was New Left Notes, in which they called for this national action and told specifically what they intended to do in Chicago. So, I, anyway, I contacted the Cincinnati Police Department and told them what had happened and I gave them the newspaper, and they asked me to attend a meeting that was taking place on Sunday night at St. John's Unitarian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio.

And from there, I went on until April 15, 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, first, who were the people, if you remember, who contacted you seeking to recruit you, as you say?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. One fellow, well, the fellow's name was Outlaw.

Mr. SOURWINE. O-u-t-l-a-w?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. That's all I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. No first name?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. He was purged out of the Collective, the Cincinnati Collective, shortly after I met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the other person?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Joyce Greenways.

Mr. SOURWINE. G-r-e-e-n-w-a-y-s?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you said they told you exactly what they planned to do in Chicago. What was it they told you they planned to do?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Basically, they were going to Chicago to cause extreme property damage, to have it out with the pigs, as they put it, a direct confrontation with the Chicago police department. They intended to do as much damage to property and to people as they possibly could.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they tell you anything in connection with the recruiting efforts, about equipment or supplies, that they were gathering, or would take to Chicago?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, at the time, I mean, you know, this is where I make my first contact with them, so I am on the extreme periphery.

Mr. SOURWINE. We understand. That is why it is of some importance as to how far they went at that time with an outsider.

Let me make this clear by asking a question. Had you, prior to this time, been a member of any New Left organization?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. So-called?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I had not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you been a member of any organization that had any connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you been a member of any other subversive organization?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you done anything to indicate that you believed in Marxism or communism or the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, so they were hitting you cold?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. If they knew anything about you, they had no reason to know or suspect that you were leftist or even liberal in thought?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They didn't know me from Adam.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I had never met them and they had never met me.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Now, what did they tell you about anything they planned to use in Chicago, any equipment or supplies they planned to take with them or to have in Chicago?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. To follow it from the point where the Cincinnati Police Department asked me to go to that meeting, I went to that meeting on Sunday night, and there I met Jerry Long and Karen Ashley, Rebel Flannigan and a couple of other people, Barry Stein and Bill Safier.

At that meeting, the meeting started off with that movie, *Battle of Algiers*, and then Karen Ashley gave a speech and called for the group of people there to go to the National Action in Chicago.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many were at the meeting?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would estimate about 25.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Some of the people there obviously were there only to observe, to see what kind of nuts these people really were.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the date of this meeting?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I couldn't tell you. It was in September, the early part of September, 1969.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Then, Rebel Flannigan got up in front of the group and he was going to give his talk, and he started off by saying "We are going to let the cat out of the bag." He said "a lot of you people have come here to find out what we are all about, and we are going to tell you."

"We are Communists and we dig it." And that is a quote.

At that meeting I met Jerry Long. I talked to him about Weatherman beginnings, their history, where they came from and what their ideology was. They made arrangements to have another meeting in Eden Park in Cincinnati, that following Saturday. This would be almost a week later.

So, I went to that meeting. Now, this was the training meeting that they had for the National Action in Chicago.

At this time, they did calisthenics, for what reason I don't know. You know, you can't really get in physical shape in a week to go to Chicago and fight policemen. But, they went through regular calisthenics just like in the Army. They ran around the reservoir. It's Eden Park, which is where the water supply is kept in Cincinnati, so they ran around that.

Then we had a meeting with a lawyer, and the lawyer told us what—

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the lawyer's name?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I couldn't tell you. I don't know his name.

Mr. SOURWINE. He told you what?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He never identified himself. He told us what our rights were, what we should do if we were arrested and gave us a telephone number contact in Chicago if we were arrested.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you describe the lawyer?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not now. It's been too long ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say anything about his connections?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, he did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did anyone in the group indicate to you anything about his connections?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It was my understanding at the time that he was—he may not have been a full-fledged lawyer. I took it, or I understood him to be a law student at the University of Cincinnati.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. He was a young man?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, yeah, about my age.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did he tell you about what you should do?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. If we were arrested, we would basically give name, rank and serial number. That's it. Don't say anything to the police about what you are doing or who you are. You are entitled to one phone call, you call this number. He gave us the number that was supposed to be the People's Law Office in Chicago, at which time a lawyer would be dispatched to the jail.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what is the People's Law Office in Chicago, do you know?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I don't, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if it is an office that was financed in whole or in part with Federal funds?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I do know that the Weathermen used the People's Law Office, but this is from knowledge I gained long after this, you know, specific.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Chicago, you mean?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yeah. Oh, yeah, they used the People's Law Office quite a bit. As a matter of fact, the People's Law Office provided all the legal defense for the Weathermen after the National Action.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you personally ever in the People's Law Office?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any of the lawyers in that office?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the names of any such lawyers?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Cunningham is the only one I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. First name?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I just know him by Cunningham.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you describe Mr. Cunningham?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I never met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead from where I interrupted you.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. After the lawyer, we had a—I believe—he was a premed student or a medstudent at the University of Cincinnati, and he gave us a crash course in first aid, how to stop the bleeding, what to do in case of tear gas, and he gave us some advice as far as bringing gas masks, helmets, what kind of clothes to wear. You know, heavy shoes, boots, heavy clothing, denim jackets, Levis, things like that to minimize the potential for injury.

Then, when he finished, Jerry Long gave us a talk on what we were to bring and what we were not to bring. We were not to bring narcotics or firearms or any kind of weapon that you could be arrested for, you know, assault with a deadly weapon or concealing a weapon, although clubs were recommended, and gas masks of the military type, the present military type, were recommended.

Helmets, preferably motorcycle helmets that had cushioning which would keep you from having any kind of concussion if you were hit in the head with a nightstick. Money for bail. That was at the top of the list.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was anything said about pot, marihuana?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No drugs, no dope at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. I mean was marihuana specifically mentioned, or is it just you in your mind include it within the phrase, narcotics?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It's been so long, I am sure that it was mentioned by name.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. If I ask you a question that you don't know, do not hesitate to say that you don't know or don't remember.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. At this point, I have to say I am sure it was said specifically not to bring.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not trying to get you to testify in a certain way. I just want to make a record of what you know.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I am certain he said it. Of course, you know, understanding marihuana and/or grass is the most commonly used narcotic in the Weathermen, it might be something to make a point, to make the point now while the subject is up that the Weathermen are not extreme users of narcotics. You will not find any member of the Weathermen organization addicted to heroin or smack. Well, smack and heroin are the same thing. Or speed, amphetamines. Acid is used sparingly. Only as politically—when it is politically expedient. In other words, it is something to expand your mind, to make you more politically aware of the situation.

Marihuana is used in the same way.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Where was I?

Mr. SOURWINE. You were discussing what the young medical student had told you.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. And then Jerry Long, and the type of clothing, et cetera. I think that just about covers it.

And of course, after that, after Jerry Long gave his little speech, then we got up and we went through a series of karate lessons which were designed to make us experts in the art of Kung Fu in a day, I suppose. It was ridiculous.

We sat out there and kicked and screamed and hollered and then we did some more calisthenics, and ran around the water again, and that was the end of it. We all went home.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. When did you become an informant for the FBI?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right after this meeting, understanding that the Cincinnati Police Department was not equipped to handle a group like the Weathermen, I mean, they could take care of the local situation, the Cincinnati Collective.

But, when it came to understanding and preparing for the national repercussions of this group, they were limited to the Cincinnati area and they could, of course, work with various police departments, but it was stifled after that. It couldn't go on, and consequently they didn't know exactly how to handle me. You must admit it is unusual for somebody to come walking into the office and say, I am going to help you.

At the time, right after this meeting and the National Action took place, I read in the newspaper where the Senate, this committee or some other committee was having an investigation of the Weathermen. I called the Justice Department and I told them that I didn't know much, but what I did know I would tell somebody if they wanted to hear it. They said call the FBI. I called the FBI and Special Agent Clark Murrish talked to me and asked me to come in.

And so I went in and talked to him. And he said, well, why don't you go to some more meetings, and that was how that started.

Now, Clark never wanted me to go as far as I did. He wanted me to hold back more. He wanted me to be an informant from the periphery, as opposed to actually penetrating the inner Collective. But, being the kind of person I am, I couldn't, I couldn't accept that. It was like going half way and knowing that the potential existed for me to continue the penetration. I chose to do so.

And at times, Clark vehemently opposed what I was doing. I quit my job and moved into the Collective and, of course, he wanted me to go back to work.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, that was in what, late September or October of—

Mr. GRATHWOHL. This was December of 1969.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was after Chicago?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It took me that long.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, two points. We will digress for a moment.

One, you spoke about the kind of person you are. Tell us what kind of a person you are. What have you done, what have you worked at?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, up until this time, I had been in the Army for 3 years and 9 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. Serving where?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I was in Vietnam for a year; I was with the 101st Airborne Division. And then I was a drill instructor at Fort Knox when I got back from Vietnam.

Mr. SOURWINE. Rank and serial number.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Sergeant. RA15720660.

Mr. SOURWINE. Good memory, Sergeant. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. So then in 1969, I was honorably discharged from the Army and went to school for a year. I would consider myself politically a liberal, moderate and conservative in other areas—law enforcement being one of my conservative areas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you engaged in any political activities?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Prior to joining the Weathermen?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. Politically I am independent. I belong to neither party.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was it you had in mind when you said being the kind of person you were?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I don't like to start something and not finish it, and if you—in a case like this, you know, my opinion of the Weathermen are that they are a serious threat, they were then and they still are, and you can't approach a group like that with the idea of doing it halfway.

If you are going to get involved at all, you should go the whole route or not bother.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you recognize the Weatherman organization in 1969 as a serious threat to the United States?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why? How did you come to that conclusion?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I can't remember the chronology of the way things happened. But having read the newspapers and known how things developed in the New Left from the time it became noticeable, in other words, articles were being printed in the newspapers about their actions up until the Democratic Convention of 1968, at which time, they—the hippies—ran the streets and wreaked havoc on Chicago for the first time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you been a student of the New Left prior to that time?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not any more than anyone else.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you read any New Left newspapers?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. Just the newspapers like the Cincinnati Enquirer or the Cincinnati Post.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not read the underground newspapers?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. At the time that the national convention took place in 1968—the Democratic National Convention—I was still in the Army.

But my point is this: They were the only group that I had read anything about. Well, I should say I had not read anything about the Weathermen, but the other groups that I had read about were talking about radical changes within the system.

The Weathermen approached the subject completely different. It was no longer a question of changing the system from within. It was to destroy the system, completely destroy it, and that is what they said the first time I met them, and that is what they said the last time I was with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did not have the attitude that this was kind of silly for a handful of people in Cincinnati to be thinking about destroying the Government of the United States? You took them as a serious threat from the beginning?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, like I said, the very first time I saw them on the street corner I was thrown between believing they were crazy or taking them seriously.

My feelings are these: If one person, if one person on the street is killed or maimed because of these people, then they are a serious prob-

lem. Whether they would ever accomplish their goal of overthrowing the Constitution is another story.

But again, it was not many people that were involved in the American Revolution that created this country. As a matter of fact, if my memory serves me correctly, historically, the majority of the people in the United States were at that time opposed to the Revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who were the early leaders of the Revolution of the United States in the 1700's?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, Patrick Henry was one of them. I remember him. Benjamin Franklin.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you call them the early revolutionaries?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The way I remember history, and I am sure that there were others that I have read about, and that the names are obscure, that do not stand in the forefront of history that actually began the Revolution. I know that there are a lot of people that our history books do not tell us about that were early leaders of the Revolution.

For instance, I am sure that the person who led the Boston Tea Party is unknown. I cannot remember it. But, he undoubtedly was one of the originators of the American Revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. I did not mean to test your historical memory. I was more interested in your viewpoint.

Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I just know that in 1969 I viewed them as a threat.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Did anything that you learned subsequently change your mind about that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. If anything, my opinion of the Weathermen and my belief in their potential threat to our country and our people has been reaffirmed and strengthened.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you find them to be dedicated to their destructive purposes?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Very dedicated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you find them to be, in the main, capable people?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Very.

Mr. SOURWINE. Hard workers?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Very.

Mr. SOURWINE. Self-sacrificing?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Extremely.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you mentioned your military service. A further digression.

How did you get into the service? Were you a volunteer or were you drafted?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Volunteer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, we come back to the matter of your position as an informant for the Bureau. Did the time ever come when you were paid by the Bureau?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. From August 1969 until December 1969 the FBI did not pay me anything. And at the end of December I went to the National Council meeting in Flint, and when I returned the FBI paid me what I lost in wages from having been off, having been unable to work, plus I think it was \$50 in expenses.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have an understanding with the Bureau before you went to Flint that you would be paid?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was just by volunteer payment by the Bureau after you got back?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. I never asked them for any money.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have an agreement with them that they would pay you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. Anytime they gave me any money, it was their idea. I didn't want them to get the idea that I was in this for the money.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never took an oath or were employed then? I mean you never took an oath as a Government employee?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never went on the FBI payroll?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never received a check from the Bureau?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What you got was in cash?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct. I signed vouchers for it, of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long did you have a paid relationship with the Bureau?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, they paid me approximately \$200 in the middle of January. That was to cover wages lost and expenses for the trip to Flint.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is 1970?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. At the National Council meeting, which took place at the end of December and the beginning of 1970. And then in February 1970, the Weathermen went underground.

OK, so we have got the period of January until about the middle of February, I quit my job and they still paid me nothing.

In February, when the Weathermen went underground, the FBI said OK you are going to have to leave Cincinnati and go to various other cities, wherever they want to you to go, we will pay you and it was either \$100 or \$150 a week while you are gone. So that held up until the middle of March.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you did have an understanding with them about payment from February 1970?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, from mid-February on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Until when?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Until April 1970 when it all came to a blunt halt.

Mr. SOURWINE. So, it was only a space of about 90 days or a little less that you were paid \$150 a week by the Bureau?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would the amount ever change?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I was going to say about the middle of March they understood that it was still \$150, but I also was getting somewhere in the vicinity of \$300 or \$500 a month in expenses. But, of course, that was just—

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this actual expenses? Did you turn in an expense account or was it a payment in lieu of reimbursement or for expenses?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I am sorry. I don't understand.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you turn in an itemized expense account and be repaid for what you spent, or did you get a lump sum instead of an itemized account?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Kind of a combination of both. What I would do is say I spent \$150 for my plane and I need \$50 to have in my pockets and they would give me \$200. But they did not give me the whole \$500 and then forget about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. It was an unregular, a nonregular advance payment for or reimbursement of expenses?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct. That is a good description.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, after you were blown, after your connection with the Bureau became known to the Weatherman organization, did you continue to receive any sums of money from the Bureau?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Sporadically.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not regularly?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. It depended.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you get expenses for, payment for services?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I think for about 1 month after April 15—no, it was longer than that, about 2 months. You see, after April 15 I stayed in New York and worked at the Bureau's discretion. They sent me to New Haven, Conn., during the Panther trial. They sent me down here for the demonstration in May 1970 here in Washington.

Then I went back to Cincinnati and the Bureau sent me to Michigan to a White Panther rally, and then they sent me back to Detroit again to testify before the Detroit grand jury, and then, of course, they sent me to Fort Dodge, Iowa, to try to reestablish my credibility with Linda Evans, and during that trip they indicted the 13 Weathermen, of which I was one of them. I knew they were going to do that, and the idea there again was to try to reestablish my credibility with the Weathermen, and they saw through that one.

They sent me, the FBI sent me to San Francisco right after that, 2 or 3 days later. They didn't want me in Cincinnati for fear that some policeman might see me and blow me away, and I was in San Francisco from July until about mid-September or the end of September, at which time I got a job with Pacific Gas and Electric Co. under an assumed name. And that was the end of any financial arrangements with the FBI.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Bureau paid you up until July 1970?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, it would have been sporadic payments up until September 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And after that, in 1971—

Mr. SOURWINE. In September, the payments stopped?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The payments stopped in September 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you go any further, how much did you receive in that period in payments, from May to September? Do you know?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would say approximately \$500 a month.

Mr. SOURWINE. A month?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your sporadic payments were what, every week or so?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Week or 2 weeks.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see someone in the Bureau or representing the Bureau every week?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Almost every day.

Mr. SOURWINE. Nearly every day?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And I recall Special Agent Ed O'Flynn in San Francisco.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, during that time did you understand you were receiving this money as payment for services, or was it for anything, for expenses?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. A combination of both. See, they put me in San Francisco because of the indictment and my ability to move around and do anything was extremely limited because of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it your understanding that you were being paid, or were to be paid for testifying, for being a witness at the grand jury proceedings or in court?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. They asked me if I wanted to do that. I didn't have to. They asked me if I wanted to testify before the grand jury and I said yes.

I suppose they could have subpoenaed me if they wanted to. But they never got that far. I was more than happy to do it.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, did the payments ever resume after they were stopped in the fall of 1970?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. In January or February of 1971, the FBI asked me to identify a photograph at which time they asked me to quit my job with Pacific Gas and Electric Co. and come back to work for them.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were then, from that time forward, regularly employed by the Bureau?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. \$150 a week.

Mr. SOURWINE. Plus expenses?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No expenses.

Mr. SOURWINE. No expenses? You got less money after you were employed than you had before you were employed, is that right?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Who was the person whose photograph you were asked to identify?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Jeff Jones.

Mr. SOURWINE. Jeff Jones? Is he a Weatherman?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember if he was a member of the Weathermen underground?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, a member of the top national leadership.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, what were your duties under this employment by the Bureau at the beginning of 1971?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Primarily to visually identify, so consequently I was required to work on a lot of stakeouts. For instance, there is an attorney in San Francisco named Kennedy who had various contacts with the Weathermen. He was very prominent in the New Left defense and we had a stakeout on his house believing that Bernardine Dohrn was going to show up there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did she?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge. I stayed there for 1 week.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know his first name.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he the same Kennedy who is or was an attorney for Tim Leary?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I believe so. He also defended the "La Raza."

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he connected in any way with the National Lawyer's Guild, to your knowledge?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he connected with the People's Law Office, to your knowledge?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead. You simply cite him as an example.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. There was this stakeout of Mr. Kennedy's home and you were present?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you identify anybody for the Bureau on that occasion?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where else were you used for stakeouts?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, in the spring of 1971, they sent me to Seattle, Wash., at which time they had found Melody Ayers. Now, Melody Ayers is Bill Ayers sister-in-law.

Mr. SOURWINE. What's her husband's name?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I know it's—she's married to Bill's brother.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And they had a fellow up there they thought might be Bill Ayers, so they flew me to Seattle, and, of course, as luck would have it, the day I got there the people left. So I—

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean they went?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, they departed the area.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. So, I stayed there for a week and a half waiting for them to come back and when they came back it wasn't Bill Ayers.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Any other instances in which you were used in stakeouts?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Specifically, no, none that I can remember, although there were many other little things.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you identify anybody of importance?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long did this employment continue?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I left San Francisco in July 1971 and returned to Cincinnati, and that is when it was terminated.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's 1971, July?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Early part of the month?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, latter part of the month.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your last payment from the Bureau was when?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It would have been July.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of 1971?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, during the period of that regular employment from January or February to July 1971, was there any discussion with the Bureau about your forthcoming testimony or the prospect of your testimony?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not with the Bureau, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. During that time, did you testify before any grand jury?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Which period of time are we talking about?

Mr. SOURWINE. January to July 1971.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. From January 1971 to July 1971?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is the period of your employment at \$150 a week.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. I did not testify, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not testify anywhere?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Nowhere. I testified before two grand juries. One I testified in front of in July 1970 and the other one I testified in San Francisco in October of I guess it was 1972, October 1972.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your testimony in October 1973, was more than 2 years after you had stopped receiving payments from the FBI?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. [Nodded in the affirmative.]

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that correct?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. About, yeah. Two years or approximately 2 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you had stopped receiving payments from the FBI in July 1971, I believe you said.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. So it was a little over 2 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you testified in October 1973.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It was a little over 2 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Two years and 2 or 3 months.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, after you stopped receiving payments from the Bureau in July 1971, receive any payments from anyone else in the Department of Justice?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I received money from the Department of Justice in November 1972 to relocate me to San Francisco.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that after you had testified before the grand jury?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And was that in any sense, in your understanding, a payment for your testimony?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the time of your testimony and up until the time you completed your testimony in October 1972, had there been any discussion at the Department of Justice of providing you with funds to relocate you in San Francisco, or for any other purpose?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. You see, what happened was that, after I testified before that grand jury, I started feeling insecure. Larry Grathwohl is the name I used with the Weathermen. Since then I have changed my identity only once. This took place in San Francisco while I was working for Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

And after the grand jury testimony people started asking me at work about articles that had been in the newspaper when I was indicted back in 1970, and one individual in particular remembered and finally put it together.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you working then?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Pease's Home Improvement Center in Fairfield, Ohio. So, I called up Guy Goodwin, and I said, look, you know, I just don't feel that good about being in this area and having so many people know me, especially since at the time of the indictments that were brought back in Detroit, my name had not been taken off of them yet, so technically, I was still a Federal fugitive.

So, anyway, I told Guy that I felt it would be to my benefit to get out of Cincinnati and go back—

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Mr. Goodwin?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He is the Justice Department attorney that was—he was the attorney when I testified before both grand juries, and the man that I dealt with, I guess you could say, from the Justice Department in regard to testimony before grand juries.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you ever asked Mr. Goodwin for any money or other benefit prior to the occasion when you talked to him about relocating in San Francisco?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, now, tell us about the relocation.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, they paid the expenses.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of what, your transportation?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Movement of your household goods?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I didn't have any. I didn't take anything.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you married at the time?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Separated, in the process of getting a divorce.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they pay your wife's expenses?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. She stayed behind?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. She stayed in Cincinnati.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they give you money for expenses for living for any period of time after relocating?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I think they gave me \$800 or \$900 for 1 month.

Mr. SOURWINE. During that time, you found yourself a job?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you never received anything further from the Department?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there any understanding that this was payment for services?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. This was payment to relocate, pure and simple, just that.

Mr. SOURWINE. To give you a chance to rehabilitate your position, so to speak?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You continued to work under your own name?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct. But not as many people know me in San Francisco. It is a lot bigger town and, of course, I didn't grow up there, so it is a little different.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, if this testimony that you are giving now should be made public by the committee, do you anticipate you will be embarrassed in your employment or otherwise in San Francisco?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. At this stage of the game, I don't feel like—my feelings and attitudes have changed since the grand jury testimony and the relocation in 1973. The situation then was one of not only grand jury testimony, but an upcoming—impending trial in Detroit, which eventually the charges were dropped, and I expect that a lot of people would resent me and what I was doing, especially in Cincinnati, so I wanted to be someplace else.

Now, I don't know, I don't feel as threatened in the San Francisco area as I did in Cincinnati, which sounds unusual, Cincinnati being my hometown. But, I just did not feel as secure then as I do now.

Mr. SOURWINE. You understand that there has been no commitment about whether this testimony may be made public or will be made public?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. None that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. You understand that the committee, this committee, could not give such a commitment, because the committee is a continuing body and it will be composed someday of different Senators than there are now, and the committee at any given time can always act, so the committee could not even commit itself by majority vote as to what would be done in the future?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I guess.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you understand this?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. [Witness nodded in the affirmative.]

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, I want to show you the pictures of 36 individuals. They are in alphabetical order and the names are listed. I want to know with respect to each individual if you know the person. If you do, mention the name and tell us what you know about that person.

The ones that you do not know, simply lay aside without mention.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. We have Karen Ashley. Karen was primary leadership in the Cincinnati Collective.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of the Weatherman organization?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. When I refer to the Cincinnati Collective, I am referring to the Weathermen.

Karen actually was primary leadership in the Cincinnati Collective in September 1969. I only met her twice, once at the meeting at the St. John's Unitarian Church and the other time at the Eden Park meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not urging you to say anything except what you know about it.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, Bill Ayers. OK, I met him the first time in the National Council meeting in Flint, Mich., December 1969.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the meeting of the Weathermen organization?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct. They called it the National War Council. He returned to Cincinnati with us in January 1970. This is after we departed Flint, at which time I understood that he was one of the prime movers. There was a purging of Corky Benedict and John Botney from primary leadership in the Weathermen Collective and the Weathermen organization altogether.

I met Bill again in February 1970, at which time he came to Cincinnati to reorganize the Collective. At this time he sent Naomi Jaffe and Mike Spiegel to Detroit and Karen Danzer to Seattle. Those three people were primary leadership in the Cincinnati Collective.

The new primary leadership was Dionne Donghi, herself, and at that time Bill and I discussed strategy in regards to Cincinnati.

I met Bill again in Detroit in February 1970. At this time, the Weathermen had gone underground. This is the, during this period of time, that I was in Detroit, was when the plan for the bombing of the Detroit Police Officers Association Building took place, and Bill was the person who directed the "fole" that I was part of to place the bomb at the DPOA Building. He designed the bomb and told me that he would get the necessary materials, the dynamite, et cetera, and about 4 days later Bill broke that fole that I was part of up, and he sent Mark Lencl, Windy Pankin and Linda Josephwich, and of those and myself. This is a four-man "fole" and we were directed to go to Madison, Wis.

I was in Madison, Wis., approximately two weeks, returned to Cincinnati, and then Naomi Jaffe directed me to go to Buffalo, New York, to be part of a new four-man "fole" which would include Naomi Jaffe, Robert Ward, Dionne Donghi and myself.

Mr. SOURWINE Now, you used the phrase "fole." Does that mean the same as task force?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct. Bill Ayers showed up there, at which time we had a discussion regarding Weathermen policy changes. He had been in a meeting on the West Coast, which included the higher echelon of the Weatherman leadership. Such changes were made as consolidating Weathermen forces on the east and west coast, primarily in the New York and San Francisco areas.

The hard line that the Weathermen had taken in regards to monogamy was diluted to some degree. After this meeting took place, Bill and Naomi Jaffe went to Canada to meet with people from the Quebec Liberation Front and other people that they did not tell me about.

When he returned, we had another meeting at which time—and this is the only time that any Weathermen told me about something that someone else had done—and Bill started off telling us about the need to raise the level of the struggle and for stronger leadership inside the Weatherman "foles" and inside the Weatherman organization as a whole. And he cited as one of the real problems was that someone like Bernardine Dohrn had to plan, develop and carry out the bombing of the police station in San Francisco, and he specifically named her as the person that committed that act.

At that time Bill Ayers, or shortly after that, Bill Ayers left and went to New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he indicate how he knew of Bernardine Dohrn's participation in that San Francisco bombing?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I cannot say that he did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get the impression that he was there?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I can't say that I did. It was more of a criticism of us.

Mr. SOURWINE. He didn't give any description of what took place that would indicate that he saw it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. Well, he said that the bomb was placed on the window ledge and he described the kind of bomb that was used to the extent of saying what kind of shrapnel was used in it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say who placed the bomb on the window ledge?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Bernardine Dohrn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say it in a way that would indicate that he was there and saw it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, if he wasn't there to see it, somebody who was there told him about it, because he stated it very emphatically.

Mr. SOURWINE. He did not tell you who told him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; he did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I met Bill again in New York City. The Buffalo collective was reassigned to New York City and upon arriving in New York City, that very night I had another meeting with Bill Ayers. I should say that the foles had a meeting, all three of us were there, and we were told then that someone on the national leadership would be in contact with us, that our purpose in New York was strategic sabotage and to try to organize other foles on the pyramid theory, and that he would be in contact with us later.

That is the last time that I saw Bill Ayers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, the name of the next individual whose picture you recognize.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I am sorry, but I do not recognize him.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you do not recognize, you do not need to say so, simply lay it aside. I want you to give us the names of those you do recognize and tell us what you know about them in each case.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. John Fuerst. I met John the first time at the national council meeting in Flint in December 1969. Conversations with him were extremely limited at that time.

I met Fuerst again in February 1970 at a meeting that took place in Cleveland, Ohio, at which time I learned Fuerst was the primary leadership of the Cleveland collective. During this meeting that took place in Cleveland—let me see, Mark Rudd and Linda Evans were there and Leonard Handlesman, Celeste McCullough, Bobby Joe Smith, Mark Real, and that's about all of the names that I can remember right off the top of my head, besides members from the Cincinnati collective.

I should identify them too. Dionne Donghi, and these are members of the Cincinnati Weathermen Collective that were at this meeting, Dionne Donghi, Robert Skardis, Robert Ward, Courtney Esposito, Carol Hoppi, and Arlow Jacobs, whose real name is Robert Burlingham. And that's the Cincinnati people at this meeting that took place in Cleveland, and it is the one where the Weathermen had decided to go underground.

And Linda Evans and Mark Rudd had two meetings during that period of time, at which we were instructed that the Weathermen were going underground with the idea of setting up underground foles with strategic sabotage against the symbols of authority within the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. At this meeting, Linda Evans instructed me to go back to Cincinnati to help disband the collective. Certain people were purged, of course, and the rest of us were reassigned to other places. I was sent to Detroit, Mich.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Linda Evans well?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I had seen Linda at the national council meeting, but I had not talked to her. I knew of her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss with her any of her own activities?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead. Next name.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Kathy Boudin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us what you mean by strategic sabotage.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, all symbols of authority, police departments, the military, and any of the institutions that govern the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you are not talking about a target list, are you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. You see, that is something I did not say about Ayers. I can give you names of places that were discussed with some people.

Wright Patterson Air Force Base was Naomi Jaffe, Diane Oughton, and Bill Ayers.

Mr. SOURWINE. And as it was discussed as a target for sabotage?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any specific kind of sabotage?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Attempt to destroy one or more, hopefully more, of the B-52 bombers that were stationed there.

Mr. SOURWINE. How were they going to accomplish that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Try to infiltrate the military installation, you know, get through the security system. If that could not be done, then it was discussed having an out and out military assault on it. Of course, that was—

Mr. SOURWINE. On Wright Patterson field?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many people did they think that would require?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They figured, I think it was 25 or 30 people to go in there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they have 25 or 30 trained guerrillas?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I think that was why it was—

Mr. SOURWINE. Trained commando-type fighters who could hope to accomplish that sort of an assault?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, no; they didn't, and this is, I think, one of the reasons why they decided against it. There were people in the Weathermen who told me that they had been trained in various kinds of guerrilla-type activities in other countries, but none to the extent—well, I will put it this way, as far as military knowledge and ability, I had more than any one of them, any 10 of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, who told you of having been trained in guerrilla or commando-type activity and where?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Corky Benedict had told me he had received some training in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say when?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, his—whenever he had been in Cuba. We never got down to specific times and places.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say what kind of training?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Propaganda and the use of firearms and bombs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a veteran?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I don't know; I couldn't tell you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who else?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The person that got most specific was Naomi Jaffe, and she said she had received training not only in Cuba but in North Vietnam as well. She had received training in the use of firearms and explosives, but that the Cubans and the North Vietnamese emphasized more than anything else the necessity for using propaganda.

And as the Weathermen evolved into the underground units, and up until the present day, you will find that their targets always have something that a lot of propaganda can be built around. Well, they blew up the Gulf Oil Corp. building in Pittsburgh a few months ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say "they." Do you know who?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The Weatherman underground. They took credit for it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any individuals?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All you know is there was a manifesto, or a letter or public pronouncement purporting to come from the Weathermen which claimed responsibility, is that right?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It follows their M.O.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. You are competent to testify with regard to that. You know it and recognize it. I am not trying to put you down. I am just trying to let the record speak clearly what you know and how you know it.

You had no word from any person known to you to be a member of the Weatherman organization that he or she participated, did you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The bombing of the California Attorney General's office is another one.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know about that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The newspaper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, we started talking about people with whom you had discussed or who had discussed with you, or at least who you had heard discuss plans for strategic sabotage as you defined it. Were there any more such people?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Bill Ayers. I was describing the propaganda emphasis that the North Vietnamese and the Cubans placed on their training. And the object of the Gulf Oil Corp. and the Attorney General's Office is to show how they—

Mr. SOURWINE. You were offering them as examples of the kind of propaganda?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. Their targets always have to have propaganda benefit. It is not like they can go out and blow up a police car. There has to be impact.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see a target list of the organization, the Weatherman?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. And I would venture to say that nobody else has ever seen one either. They didn't keep them.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you correct this testimony, will you take care to list any targets that you can think of that you may not have told us about here that were discussed with you, or in your presence, and tell us what you know about what was done?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Definitely.

Mr. SOURWINE. You can do that as an addition to the record when you correct it, if you can think of any more.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Fine.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead. Have you covered now the explanation of the phrase, strategic sabotage?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The only thing I would like to add there is that in 1970 Bill Ayers and myself and Naomi Jaffe discussed the potential of placing a bomb in the Pentagon, which they, which the Weathermen underground eventually did and took credit for.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who placed that bomb in the Pentagon?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not. Once again, I rely on newspaper reports. This is after April 1970. We also discussed placing a bomb in the Capitol.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who's we?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Naomi Jaffe, Bill Ayers, Diane Oughton and myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who did place the bomb in the Capitol?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I have no idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. You don't even know whether it was done by the Weathermen, although you do know that they claimed credit, right?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I will have to say that the plan that we discussed was followed almost to the T.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discuss where the bomb would be placed?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it was placed there?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It sure was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who knew enough about the Capitol to make the selection of the place?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I couldn't say.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your discussions, who described the place?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Bill Ayers.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did he describe it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, he described—OK, the bomb was placed in a women's john and he described the area surrounding, specific rest rooms that he had thought would be a good place to put the bomb.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did he say that would be a good place for the bomb?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Women are not searched as thoroughly as men are.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, the place was chosen as something easy to get into other than because of the effect it would have if exploded there?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And it was—and when those bombings took place, they followed the very sketchy plan that we discussed at the time. It followed it almost to a T.

Mr. SOURWINE. The bomb then was not, so far as the preliminary discussions you participated in were concerned, aimed at the barber-shop? It was not intended to extend its effects to the Old Senate Chamber, the Old Supreme Court Chamber?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They discussed—

Mr. SOURWINE. It was not intended to catch people in a public place who would be slaughtered thereby?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. The only time that I was ever instructed or we ever were instructed to place a bomb in a building at a time when there would be people in it was during the planning of the bombing of the Detroit Police Officers' Association building and the 13th Precinct in Detroit, Mich., at which time Bill said that we should plan our bombing to coincide with the time when there would be the most people in those buildings.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, there have been reports that the Weatherman organization always, by plan, did its bombings where nobody would be hurt. You can testify that is not so, I take it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would agree with you, except in those two.

Mr. SOURWINE. All I said is there have been reports. I do not attempt to say that they are true. I want you to tell me if those reports are true.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would go along with that, yes. I think that that is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think it was part of their planning not to injure people?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Their M.O., yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Except in the case of the Detroit bombing you referred to?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. In that case, they wanted to, they wanted to kill some policemen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The bombing never took place with me involved in it. The bombing did take place one day, after the day I informed the Detroit police or the FBI, who informed the Detroit police that it would take place. The bomb didn't explode because the fusing device and delay mechanism were too antiquated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who placed that bomb?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who participated in planning it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Bill Ayers, Naomi Jaffe, Linda Josephwich, Windy Pankin, Marjorie Hail, Mark Lencl, Marsha Steinberg.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were they when this planning was done?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Where were who? Excuse me.

Mr. SOURWINE. These people who planned this bombing whose names you just gave us?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Where were we? We were in Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were with the group?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, that was the fogle that was assigned that task.

Mr. SOURWINE. You all got together and discussed it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. One morning these people came in and said come on, we are going over to Wayne State University, and I go over to Wayne State University, and we are in the Student Union Building, and they had got a room similar to this one here, and we sat down, with classroom-type desks, except it had a table, you know, a little smaller than this in the front, and Bill Ayers and Naomi Jaffe sat at that table and they began discussing the fact that this was a "fogle" and that we would be involved in strategic sabotage in the Detroit area, and that we should pick a target.

A lot of people volunteered targets, but Bill Ayers obviously already made up his mind what he wanted us to do. But, he didn't come out and say you will do this. He led us through a discussion, right, and directed and manipulated it until somebody said—as a matter of fact, he was even the first person to mention the Detroit Police Officers' Association Building, and then, of course, everybody said, yeah, that's a good idea.

Politically, this was centered around the trial of the three policemen that were involved in the Algiers Hotel incident that happened during the riots in Detroit a couple of years before that. That is, the Detroit Police Officers' Association provided the funds for the legal defense of these officers, and that's why Bill wanted us to blow it up. Bill was even specific enough to describe what kind of bomb he wanted used, where he wanted the bomb placed, remembering now, you know, nobody in the room except Bill Ayers and possibly Naomi Jaffe had been to the Detroit Police Officers' Association Building.

But, he knew where the bomb should be placed, what kind of bomb should be used, what would be good times, the fact that he wanted the bombing of the Police Officers' Association to coincide with the bombing of the 13th precinct, which is the precinct these three policemen worked out of. There is only one thing, he didn't know how to make a shape charge.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Is that all you know about that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, you know, after the fogle was disbanded, Bill Ayers debriefed me. He had assigned me the task of casing it, laying it out, making a physical working plan. Of course, he had already done it, so, you know, I don't know why he wanted me to continue the charade.

But, he had determined that a shape charge was needed, and for an idea of how far they had progressed as far as the knowledge of explosives are concerned, at the time he wanted me to cut the sticks of dynamite open and take the powder out and shape them. That is how he interpreted a shape charge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, of course, this is entirely unfeasible, is it not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I told him that I wasn't going to do it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, there isn't any powder in a stick of dynamite, is there?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. There is a white kind of yellow looking powder in there, but he wanted to take that out.

Mr. SOURWINE. He wanted to take the dynamite out of its casing?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right, and wrap it into a round ball that's shaped. You start cutting a stick of dynamite like that, and you get blown to Hell. The detonator would be M-80 firecracker and the delay device would be a cigarette placed on the end of the fuse, a lit cigarette which, of course, would burn down and light the fuse of the firecracker, which would detonate the dynamite.

The only thing Bill didn't take into consideration in making his bomb was the fact that these wicks, those fuses on those firecrackers are waterproof with heavy paraffin, and a cigarette burning by itself does not always have enough heat to melt that paraffin and light the powder. And I didn't volunteer any information to the contrary.

And when the bomb was placed, the Detroit police had a stakeout on the building, and they did not see who placed the bomb. It was windy that night, and they were sitting in a room across the street when they noticed that a brown paper bag was not moving along with the rest of the rubbish and when they went across the street, they found 13 sticks of dynamite and an M-80 firecracker detonator with a cigarette on it that burned down to the wick and did not light the fuse.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where the dynamite came from?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not. Bill Ayers said that he would procure it for us. He did not indicate where it came from.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see the dynamite?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You cannot tell us where it might have come from?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I cannot.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what happens to dynamite if it's taken out of the casing and lit?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. You mean the powder?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, it will flash.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the dynamite, is it not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, dynamite today is, to my knowledge, and I am not an expert in demolitions, but what I know about it is that the powder is soaked in nitroglycerin so when you start, the odds of you cutting a stick of dynamite—

Mr. SOURWINE. Dynamite is essentially a cellulose, which has been saturated with nitroglycerin.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it thereby loses the danger or substantially all of the danger of going off if dropped or struck, does it not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That depends on how stable it is. Old dynamite—

Mr. SOURWINE. The older the dynamite gets, the more chance that it has sweated, and there is some liquid in there which might go off at a tap?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. When these sticks of dynamite perspire, the perspiration on the outside of them, you could take it off with your finger and flick it and it will pop. That's the nitroglycerin sweating out.

What I am trying to say is the odds of you cutting a stick of dynamite open and getting the powder out are pretty slim.

Mr. SOURWINE. It depends on whether the dynamite is old or new, does it not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I wouldn't want to take a chance. I mean, as you get farther into the casing—

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not arguing with you. You are the demolition man here.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I don't know if I am. I know enough about it to know that you don't mess with it, you know, you just don't mess with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see dynamite out of a casing ignited?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, when I was younger I have; yes. I used to— if you worked for the railroad you know what the railroad torpedoes are that they put on the tracks. The train then runs over them and they explode. They are filled with essentially the same material. And as a kid, I cut them open and lit that powder, which flashes.

But you see, the casing around one of the railroad torpedoes is not as thick as it is on dynamite.

Mr. SOURWINE. But, you have answered yourself, haven't you? If the stuff is exposed it flashes, it doesn't detonate?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, it doesn't explode.

Mr. SOURWINE. So, if you took the dynamite out of the casing, and you were able to mold it into a ball, which I doubt could be done, you would not have an explosion if you did not confine it, you would just have a flash, would you not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, Ayers' idea was to put it, the powder, into a plastic baggie, and to start wrapping that with an M-80 firecracker right there by the powder, you know. In other words, inside the baggie or alongside the baggie, to start wrapping that with adhesive tape and just keep building it in compression until it was about this big and then start wrapping it with wire.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you showed us a width about the size of a softball or a little bigger than a softball?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are showing now a sphere of about 8 inches in diameter?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. If that's what it is. I cannot estimate that well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead. And Ayers told you to do this?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That was his instructions and then wrap it with wire. The idea, he went to the extent to describe what he considered the three principles in any kind of a sabotage explosion.

One is the explosion or the concussion, two was the antipersonnel effect, and the shrapnel, by which wrapping this wire around it he hoped to include, and the other was fire, which he says any bomb should always have, you know, some material around it that can be used as fire, which this bomb did have, and he had cans of sterno, which is, you know, liquid gas or jellied gas, for the fire effect. So the three principles: concussion, the antipersonnel effect, and the fire.

And after this bomb was made, of course, he wanted me to tape these cans of sterno on there too, and I would have only got blown to Hell and back if I had done it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't do it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. You're damn right I didn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who prepared the bomb?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Evidentially nobody did, because when the Detroit police found it, there was 13 sticks of dynamite.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, it had a fuse on it, didn't it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yeah; it had a detonator, and M-80 firecracker was what they were going to use at that time. Since then, of course, they have developed a lot more expertise.

Mr. SOURWINE. They didn't use caps?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; they had an M-80 firecracker as a detonator.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was it placed with respect to the dynamite or any stick of the dynamite?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I couldn't tell you. I never saw the bomb.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. I am asking you to describe something you have not seen and you cannot possibly do it.

Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The one he wanted me to make would have had the M-80 firecracker right down by the powder and then the wick extending around it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand that you don't know whether this firecracker had been taped to or otherwise attached to one of the sticks of dynamite or simply laid in the bundle or what?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I can't say.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Is there anything you want to add to that subject?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I think that covers the DPOA.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. Let's come back in 45 minutes if the Chair pleases.

Senator THURMOND. That will be the order.

[Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 1:25 p.m. this same day.]

AFTERNOON SESSION—1:25 P.M.

Senator THURMOND. We will resume the recessed session. Go ahead, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you take up the next picture and continue where you recognize an individual and give us the name and what you know.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. We have Kathie Boudin. I met her for the first time at the National Council meeting in Flint in December 1969. I talked to her at the National Council meeting very briefly and she attended one of the, or she was a participant in one of the group sessions at the National Council meeting where we discussed the detection of informants and infiltrators. That is the extent of my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what position she held or holds in the Weatherman organization?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would consider her secondary leadership on a national level. She had a lot to do with national policy, but obviously she did not have as much to do with it as Jones, Ayers and Dohrn. Those three people were the prime movers in the Weathermen.

One of the things from earlier today—off the record.

[Off the record discussion.]

Mr. SOURWINE. On the record.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. Then we have Bernardine Dohrn. And I met Dohrn for the first time at the National Council meeting in Flint, December of 1969. Bernardine gave the opening address or the opening speech at which time she called for the Weathermen faction to raise the level of the struggle, and to live their lives more like Charles Manson. She thought that Charles Manson, that his actions in regard to the Tate murders were good.

She was involved in one other meeting that I attended at Flint and at that time we discussed—well, it was the beginnings of the strategic sabotage thing, but it had not gone as far as it did in Cleveland in February. It was more the beginning of the ideas of strategic sabotage. In other words, what kind of buildings and symbols of authority should be attacked.

But, they were hypothetical, they were not bringing it down to specific targets and saying that we were going underground to commit these acts of sabotage.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the weatherman organization have an individual or individuals as a target or targets?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. We discussed Agnew, Kissinger, MacNamara—no, it wasn't MacNamara. Who was the Secretary of Defense at that time?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Laird, Melvin Laird.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Laird, right. It was the Secretary of Defense. And we discussed one of Nixon's press aides. And the reason—the reason he was one that we thought was the best idea was because there would be less security surrounding him. I think it was Ziegler. I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was the we you refer to?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Ayers, Jaffe, Diane Oughton, Marjorie Hail, Mark Lencl. Gee, that's the only ones I can remember being there. There was a few more at that particular meeting. Kissinger was considered a prime target, too, because they didn't think that he would have an extreme amount of security around him. At that time he was not Secretary of State, of course, he was just—what, a member of the National Security Council.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of an instance in which the Weatherman organization or a segment of it actually made an attack on an individual intentionally?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. The SLA, you know, had a hit list of individuals.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the Weathermen have anything of that nature?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, the Weathermen—first of all, they did not keep any lists at all. The SLA wrote things down, the Weathermen didn't. It was all in your head, even our codes were in our heads.

If we, you know, we couldn't memorize them, we didn't write them down. We would write things down in the code, but I mean the actual deciphering of the code had to be in your head. You didn't have a master sheet.

Mr. SOURWINE. What kind of a code did you use?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, it was mostly substituting letters and numbers, for instance, and especially of telephone numbers. This was used quite a bit, and that is to say that if I took my last name and wrote Grathwohl and wrote it out G-r-a-t-h-w-o-h-l, OK, that would be the basis for the code and the numbers on the dial that corresponded with the numbers, the letters in my name.

For instance, A for apple is the No. 2 on the dial, right. So underneath A for apple would be the No. 2, so that—

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, so is B for boy and C for Charlie.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, that's true, too. But, what we do is we take the telephone number and we give it a—OK, we've got the—I am afraid it is going to be confusing on there. The name is written out and the number of letters in the right, and each letter is numbered in a chronological sequence. Underneath the name we put the number that corresponds to the letter on the telephone dial. OK?

What I do, if I want to give you the number, I will give you the number of a letter in chronological order, right, so the number could come out 2679. Then when you decipher it, you write the name out, do the name thing, set up the base, and then the number underneath the letter and in chronological order at the top, and you can get the numbers in the proper sequence.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK, but you see the base had to be known, right, with a name or word which was being used as the base for the code.

Senator THURMOND. Do you have a question?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes. Who was the person who thought that this code should be used? Was it a single person, or was it a collective endeavor?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Collective. As far as I know, no individual ever sat down and said we should use a code. It was understood that we used a code and a code was given to me by Naomi Jaffe.

The Weathermen are extremely paranoid. Even when we were in the above-ground stages, they believed that the telephones were tapped 24 hours a day, that there was a phenomenal amount of bugs in the house, listening devices, and consequently they would not talk about anything of what they considered importance inside a collective house. They would always go to a university, or to a restaurant, or to somebody else's house.

They believed that they were being followed 24 hours a day. Just extremely paranoid.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Did they use the code in any other communication except the telephone?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, yes. That same code was used in messages through the mails, and they, once again, you would have to establish a base and as long as you got enough words in sequence that contained all 26 letters of the alphabet—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. This seems to contrast a little with their habit of leaving a lot of documents behind, as they did in Chicago, and up in the cabin they had after the Chicago riots where they met to plan strategy.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Remember, this was before they went underground. When we went underground is when we started to employ the systems of codes and message drops. That's when we used them.

Otherwise, there was no great need for it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is your code something that has to be agreed upon in advance, or is it understood that each person will use his own name as a base for the letter substitution?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It has to be understood in advance.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, do you have a general understanding of any nature, or do you have to have a particular understanding with a particular individual before you can send him or her a coded message?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. A particular understanding with a particular individual, except that in the cases where there was no understanding in existence, the name Delgado was used.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any more than Delgado?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It does not even have nine letters in it.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I know it doesn't. Well, Marian Delgado is the full name that was used.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I wondered.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And this name, the last name, Delgado, was even used to the extent of paging someone at the airport.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that is an inside joke, is it not? The Marian Delgado?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Explain it for the record.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. According to Weatherman folklore, the kid, Marian Delgado, was 3 years old, at which time he placed a brick on a railroad track and derailed the train. Then, of course, this young individual was a hero of the revolutionary left. I believe that that story started some years before the Weatherman during the 1930's when the Communist Party was trying to take control of various business and labor fronts here in this country. I don't know for sure—I am assuming.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it your observation that most, if not all, of the Weather people knew that Marian Delgado was a code name?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. All of them did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Or a nonexistent person, or at least a legendary person?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. To my knowledge, they all did. I knew it.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Do you gentlemen have any more questions?

Mr. SHORT. On the code, if you got a letter or correspondence from some individual, how did you know what the base was, because if you did not know who was going to write you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, you would have to know the base. It would have to be understood beforehand, and what they would do is, for instance, let us say, Bill Ayers was flying to San Francisco. Obviously, he would be flying incognito. Right? He is not going to fly any airline under his real name. He would deliver to me maybe a series of words. They would be gibberish, just words typed in sequence, right, that would be the base, and those words would be numbered maybe 1 through 10. So, all I would need to know was which base was being used in any given message.

Mr. SHORT. But you knew that in this case it came from Ayers. What if correspondence came through the mail?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. But, you see, it would be a base throughout the entire Weathermen underground. What I am saying, what he would do is to deliver to you what was going to be the base for all of the Weathermen for the month of March, and then maybe somebody else would come to you in April and give you a new base.

Mr. SHORT. That's fine. All right, you have the base then for the month of March. You get a letter and it's in code.

How do you know what the base is?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. I've got 10 pieces of paper here with 10 different bases on them, right, and let's say on the message they've got just the number 3. That means base 3, and that's what I decode it with.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then when you told me you had to have an ad hoc understanding with a particular person about the code, that was not right, was it? Everybody knew what the code was for a particular month?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, you see, it's an understanding between, yes, basically it's true. You didn't need to have an absolute understanding with another individual, although you would have to have the code delivered to you. And if you didn't have the code, if you didn't have the base, and I wanted to call you, I would have to have the understanding with you, or else if we both know that there is not an agreement between us, then Marian Delgado is the base, and the numbers are used more often than not, the telephone numbers.

First of all, the Weathermen didn't like to write anything down, so what would be done is, I would give you a telephone number in San Francisco and you would call me from Washington, D.C., to this number at a predesignated time. I would give you, in code, another number.

And when you had that other number, well, we would both leave the phones that we were at, which would be pay phones, and go to another phone, and you would call me at the number that I had given you on a phony credit card number, to top it off, and if we had a base established, in other words, we were going to use this word or this name, fine. If not, we would use the name Marian Delgado.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Would you go ahead and go back to your names?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. We have John Fuerst, which we have already done.

Leonard Handlesman I met. I also knew this guy as John Handlesman. I knew John or met him for the first time at the National Council meeting in Flint. I had nothing to do with him there.

I met him again at the meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, which I have already related the happenings there. I have not seen him since that meeting.

John Jacobs, he is also known as J. J. I met him for the first time at the National Council meeting in Flint—December 1969. At the time, he was national leadership. He was involved in the discussion, the same discussion that Bernardine Dohrn was involved in in regards to hypothetical targets, strategic sabotage. That is the only time I ever saw J. J.

Naomi Jaffe, how much detail do we go in about Naomi? That could get pretty involved.

Naomi is involved with Weathermen and my happenings from November 1969 all the way to the end.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, hit the high spots.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. I met Naomi for the first time in November 1969, at the Cincinnati Collective. She was sent there from Chicago, after having been released from the Cook County Jail where she was serving time for her actions and participation in the National Action in Chicago. She became national leadership. Excuse me, not national leadership, but primary leadership in Cincinnati in January 1970, after Corky Benedict and John Bottney were purged.

In February 1970, the beginning of February, she was sent to Detroit. In the middle of February 1970, I went to Detroit. She was at the meeting at Wayne State University where the plan for the bombing of the DPOA Building took place.

She showed up in Madison, Wis., after Linda Josephwich and Windy Pankin were arrested. She disbanded that force and sent me to Cincinnati, and in approximately a week or a week and a half later, she called me in Cincinnati and directed me to go to Buffalo, N.Y., where she was a member of that force, and about 3 weeks later, she instructed me to go to New York City as a member of a 3-man force that consisted of Robert Ward, and Dionne Donghi.

Mr. SOURWINE. The word you are using is force, with an f, not local with an l, right?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right, force.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a phrase used by the Weathermen to mean a task force, an ad hoc group, formed for a particular purpose?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. I think the definition of it is a group of people which can consist of two or many.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you spell the word?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I spell it f-o-c-l-e, with the accent on the last syllable—no; on the first syllable.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does it mean?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The Weathermen definition of it, as I say, was a group of two or more people.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could not be f-o-c-a-l, derived from the word focus, could it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It could very possibly be. You know, my spelling of it has been what I developed on my own.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. From the time I became a member of one of them.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Excuse me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The word foco, f-o-c-o is the word used in the Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla by Carlos Marighella, meaning a revolutionary cell.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that a Spanish word?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. It is a Spanish term, and it is also used in medicine, as the foci of infection.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's the meaning of it. I am sure they were very familiar. You are talking about the Marighella Tupamaros?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No; the Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, he was a part of the Tupamaros, was he not?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No; the Tupamaros adopted his strategy.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, I thought he was one of them. I stand corrected.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No; he was a Brazilian and the Tupamaros are Uruguayans.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, I stand corrected. Its main purpose is obviously to heighten the political contradiction, and in strategic sabotage that was the purpose of the cell. It was also understood, of course, that the pyramid effect of the Algerian revolutionaries was to be used, which, you know, basically is any cell below another cell only knows the cell above it and beneath it, and not any further up the line. That way, if one cell was eliminated, the pyramid still stands intact.

Mr. SOURWINE. The parameter? Are you using the word parameter?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I am sorry. I don't even know what that means.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the word you used?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I said the pyramid.

Mr. SOURWINE. Pyramid?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They used it very successfully in Algiers.

Mr. SOURWINE. But, it did not work in your case, did it, because you knew about it above and below?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. For some reason they trusted me, although, as I have said before, I didn't know everything that happened. They didn't tell me all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, sir.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's the last time I saw her in New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go to the next picture.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Jeff Jones, he is probably one of the most likeable Weathermen, I will start off with that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are talking about Jeffrey Carl Jones?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. A very likeable fellow, you know, you just would not expect him to be running around doing the stuff that he's doing. He believed in the extreme violence stance that the Weathermen finally took after they went underground, long before they did go underground.

At the national council meeting in Flint, he pushed for much stronger line in regards to upfront violence, and believed very deeply in the need for the Weathermen to create underground cells. And I am sure that he was one of the prime movers when the Weathermen eventually did go underground.

I met him for the first time in Cincinnati, Ohio in November 1969. He was there for some kind of meetings at which time I wasn't privy to them. They didn't tell me what was going on.

I met him again at the National Council meeting. He took part in many of the smaller discussions there. He was the national leadership in charge of the Ohio and Michigan area, so consequently he had direct authority over the Cincinnati Collective.

Shortly after the National Council meeting in Flint, I was told that Jeff and Bernardine had been sent to the San Francisco Bay area because of Jeff's knowledge of the Bay area and its surroundings. He went to San Francisco State.

Of course, then I had seen, I had identified a picture of him in San Francisco in December 1970 or January 1971, and that's the end of my knowledge of Mr. Jones.

Howie Machtinger.

Mr. SOURWINE. Howard Norton Machtinger? Is that the man?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I met Howard for the first time at the National Council meeting in Flint. It is the only time I ever met Howie. He gave a talk at the National Council meeting in which he made comparisons between the revolution in the United States and how it compared to Superman and Lex Luther, and how his message was simply that just as Superman defeated Lex Luther every time, Lex Luther always came back to fight him again, so consequently Superman never really won.

And, of course, the revolution was going to be the same way, because even though the Weathermen would be defeated many times, they would constantly and continuously come back until they finally beat the United States, U.S. imperialism. He gave the little speech quite well, and it seemed to get an effective response out of people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this an attitude generally among the Weatherpeople, that they were at war with the United States of America?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Definitely.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. One of the things that they used at the National Council meeting was "the United States Government was tried for crimes against the people in the 1960's and was sentenced to death in the streets in the 1970's. That's all I have got to say.

Mr. SOURWINE. That "they" is a collective pronoun. Who said they, you used that homily?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, Machtinger is the one that started that, but, you know, it didn't take very long for it to catch on.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Celeste McCullough.

Mr. SOURWINE. Celeste Maurine McCullough?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I met Celeste for the first time at the national council meeting in Flint, December 1969. I don't believe that I talked to her. If I did, I don't remember.

I met her again in Cleveland at the Cleveland meeting that took place in February 1970. That's the last time I have seen Celeste.

Mark Rudd, I met Mark for the first time at the national council meeting in Flint, December 1969. Mark's speech came after several people had complained about the legal harassment that the Weathermen were undergoing. For example, the fact that so many of them were under indictment and so many of them were in jail, so many funds were needed and being used in legal defense, and to get people out of jail and to pay fines.

So, Rudd got up and made a speech about basically saying you haven't seen anything yet, and he ended the speech, and I thought it

was very well done and it impressed me, and his last words were "I am monomaniacal." And, of course, everybody sat there wondering what that word meant. And finally, somebody said, hey, you know, what does it mean? And Rudd said the last person that I knew of that was monomaniacal was Captain Ahab, and he was obsessed with one thought, and that was the destruction of the great white whale.

And, of course, the reference there is to white, the white imperialist monster, the United States, which turned the whole hall into a frenzy. Everybody thought that was great.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is Mark Rudd colored?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. What?

Mr. SOURWINE. Is Mark Rudd colored?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why your reference to the white imperialist monster?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, the Weathermen, the Weathermen believe that the imperialist system that exists in the United States is controlled by the white, affluent, elite, the very wealthy, and consequently, there will be many times in Weathermen literature where they will refer to some white-skin privilege, and the great white octopus of American imperialism, and there will be a lot of references to color.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you understand this to mean that they, the Weathermen as an organization, the Weather people as individuals, identify with minority races?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's—it's a complicated question to answer. No; they didn't. They believe that—you are getting into political philosophies.

They believe that the American imperialist system used the people of the Third World who were nonwhite people, including the black population of this country, which they considered a colony within the mother country, the Weathermen believed that the revolution, that people's war was being fought by the people of the Third World, and that all they could do was help that peoples' war, that they could never be part.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then, the revolution was, in their opinion, that is in the opinion of the Weathermen, under their political philosophy, a matter involving a color line, the Third-World people being black, yellow, and brown? They did not include any whites in the Third World?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; they did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they did not consider themselves a part of the third world?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; they did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. They were simply non-imperialist whites who were helping the third world, is that correct, in their own view?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Helping the Third World make a revolution, I think. I think—

Mr. SOURWINE. Against strictly United States imperialism or against all imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. According to Weathermen philosophy, there is only one imperialism, and that is the United States imperialism. All other imperialism is controlled by the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is no such thing as a yellow imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. No Russian imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. No U.S.S.R. imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this a matter of credo with them?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. It is a matter of philosophy.

Mr. SOURWINE. It's a matter of their creed?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes; and the Weathermen phrase that you didn't need a Weatherman to know which way the wind blows very specifically outlines their political philosophies with regard to the Third World and what the Weathermen's objective, and how they could act on behalf of—

Mr. SOURWINE. I am trying to bring this out in your testimony about your understanding. It is much more focused than if we put a paper into the record.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Sure. I understand.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then we have to discuss what the paper means, but you are telling us not only what the paper means to you as a Weatherman, but what you understand the Weathermen to mean by it, if I understand?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. It's kind of complicated, because it contradicts itself. It's a question that automatically pops into your mind, why the hell make a revolution if you are making it for somebody else.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did anybody ever raise a question whether there was or was not Japanese imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge. It was just understood that the only imperialist force in the country, or in the world was the United States imperialism. And they believed that—

Mr. SOURWINE. There was no Philippine imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. None.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course, there were parties in the Philippines who claim to be part of the Third World, who claim there is imperialism in the Philippines, and you make a common cause with those parties, don't you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, but you see, the point is that all of those imperialists in foreign countries are being controlled and manipulated by the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are puppets of the United States imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the view of the Weather people?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Affirmative.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they carry that through to the point where they considered U.S.S.R. imperialism to be a puppet of the United States, or do they ideologically deny there is any U.S.S.R. imperialism?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; they believe that there is Russian imperialism, and according to the Weathermen, Russia will have to undergo another revolution, because they are not purged of a classless society.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. Go ahead with your names. Were you through on Mark Rudd?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes; that's who I am on.

OK, Mark Rudd, I met Rudd again at the Cleveland meeting, at which time he and Linda Evans represented the national leadership and, of course, at this time, we were told about the underground collectives, and so on and so forth. The end of Mark Rudd.

John Skardis. John was sent to the Cincinnati Collective in January 1970. He had come from the Cleveland Collective where he had been involved in an action that resulted in him being shot in the rear end. It says something about which direction he was going.

He was made secondary leadership in the Cincinnati Collective. He attended the meeting in Cleveland, after which the national leadership, meaning Linda Evans and Mark Rudd, decided along with Dionne Donghi, that John Skardis was not of the type of individual that they needed in the underground collective, consequently they purged him right there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that as of now, he is not a member of the Weather underground?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I am not. I am saying what happened at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was he purged?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. February 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. From what organization?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The Weathermen. That does not mean that they did not take him back.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether they did take him back?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I cannot say that they did or they didn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what happened to him after he was purged?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They left him in Cleveland, and I understand that they offered to let him join an above-ground Weathermen Collective in Cleveland. Dionne Donghi told me that.

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. February 1970, right after we left Cleveland.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no later information about him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. None at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Is there any more you can tell us about him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I guess maybe you don't know any more. Go ahead. Go to the next one.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Roberta Smith.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's Roberta Brent Smith, sir? Is that Roberta Brent Smith?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, yes; I am sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I met her for the first time at the meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, and that's the first and the only time.

Oh, wait a minute. No; she was in Detroit too, and where they sent her, I have no idea. She was there for about 3 days while I was in Detroit, and she took part in those discussions of strategic sabotage where we named specific targets and individuals.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that all?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go to the next picture.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Mike Spiegel.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's Michael Lewis Spiegel?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. After the national action in Chicago, and the Weathermen returned to Cincinnati, Mike Spiegel was primary leadership, along with Corky Benedict, John Bottney, and Karen Danzer. Mike was sent to Detroit in, I think, either the end of January or the beginning of February 1970, the same time Naomi Jaffe was sent to Detroit.

When I went to Detroit in February 1970, he was there. I only talked to him about two or three times while I was in Detroit. He did not take an active part in any of the discussions that I have previously mentioned in regard to Detroit.

Mike is a very dedicated individual and firmly, very firmly believes in this revolution.

Barry Stein.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's Barry Phillip Stein?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. I am sorry, I could have been giving these full names.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; it's all right. You give the names as you know them. I am simply trying to make the record speak clearly.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I met Barry at the very first meeting I went to at St. John's Unitarian Church in October 1969. Barry was a member of the Cincinnati Collective up until February 1970, at which time he was purged.

He rose to the rank of secondary leadership in Cincinnati, but he was purged fundamentally on the grounds of being an obstructionist.

Mr. SOURWINE. By whom was he purged and from what?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He was purged by Dionne Donghi from the Weathermen. And, to my knowledge—

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. This is February 1970. And I saw Barry again when he was in Madison, Wis., and he was on his own.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. In March 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. Anything further?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I cannot think of anything else to say about him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have given us the names of two persons so far whom you say were purged. That's John Skardis and Barry Stein?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. One other thing I should add about Barry Stein is after he was purged in February 1970, he asked me to come with him to Pennsylvania, where he said he was going to establish a school to train people in the tactics of guerrilla warfare. And of course, I declined, because my objective was to stay with the Weathermen and not get off on some other tangent. But, he very much wanted me to go there because of, you know, my military background. And I am sure that he would have made good use of it, if I had went. That's all about him.

I met Cathlyn Platt Wilkerson—

Mr. SOURWINE. That's C-a-t-h-l-y-n, known as Cathy, C-a-t-h-y, right?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. I met her at the national council meeting in Flint, and she took part in a discussion of how to discover and what to do with informers and infiltrators. That is just about the end of my knowledge of her.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Have you looked at all of these pictures now, and told us about the ones you remember?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And recognized?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Affirmative.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, would you please, in a narrative form, and as you remember it, not in too great detail, and we can ask for more detail if we need it, outline your experience with the Weather people, the Weatherman organization from the beginning?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. In September of 1969, I made the first contact, my first contact with the Weathermen, at which time they were organizing for the national action in Chicago.

After the national action in Chicago, I had taken the information that I had to the FBI. I had previously taken that information to the Cincinnati Police Department. I was asked by the FBI to attend Weatherman meetings at my own discretion and, you know, when it was convenient for me, which I did.

And in December 1969, this is the early part of December, I became a full-fledged member of the Weatherman collective.

At the end of December 1969—

Mr. SOURWINE. Pardon me, you say you became a member. Was there any ceremony of induction?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. None. They just told me—

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't have—

Mr. GRATHWOHL [continuing]. Move in.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't have to take an oath of allegiance or any pledge?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, none.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't sign anything?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. There were no formalities of any sort involved?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And were you issued any kind of a membership card or a certificate?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. None.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. In December of 1969, I attended the national council meeting in Flint, and upon returning to Cincinnati, I quit my job. And in February 1970, the Weathermen went underground and I went with them.

And at the end of February or the beginning of March 1970, I was assigned to a collective, or not a collective but a focola in Madison, Wis. And at the end of March, or the beginning of April, I was assigned to a focola in Buffalo, N.Y. And on April 15, 1970, Dionne

Donghi and Linda Evans were apprehended by the FBI, along with one Larry Grathwohl, a.k.a. Tommy Neimann, and that was the end.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, tell us about what you knew from personal observation in connection with the "Days of Rage" demonstration in Chicago?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, the Weathermen planned the national action to be exactly what it was. They went there with intent and purpose to cause as much property damage and if possible, physical damage to individuals, and they did exactly that. They were not trying to hide behind the guise of a peaceful demonstration, or an antiwar demonstration. They told anybody that would listen to them beforehand that they were going to Chicago to have a direct and violent confrontation with the state.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you participate in that demonstration?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you in Chicago at the time?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. What you know about it then is obtained from hearsay and from reading in the newspapers?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. That hearsay, does it include what the members of the Weathermen organization said to you or in your hearing before you went to Chicago.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Before I went to Chicago?

Mr. SOURWINE. Before they went to Chicago, before the Chicago demonstration?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. As far as preparations were concerned, correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. After the demonstration, when they returned to Cincinnati, I received first-hand accounts from individuals who had participated in regard to what they did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you recall the names of specific individuals who made such reports to you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, they didn't actually make reports. They were telling me things in regard to how committed and dedicated to this revolution they were and specifically one instance that I recall is the one where they discovered the police, the policeman attempting to infiltrate the movement center in a church there in Chicago, where they beat him half to death. Of course, I took special note of that.

And Barry Stein is the one that related that incident to me, and how they discovered him and what they did to him upon that discovery and how it was eventually stopped.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, who else made similar disclosures to you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Mike Spiegel made reference to the fact that the Weathermen were an up-front organization, and that they even stated publicly what they were going to do in Chicago, and did exactly that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, anybody else?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Jaffe the same.

Mr. SOURWINE. The same as Spiegel?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Danzer the same as Spiegel.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you spell that name?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's a she, Karen Danzer, D-a-n-z-e-r.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Robert Burlingham the same as Spiegel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any others?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's about all I can think of. I think here I would emphasize the fact that they were, the Weathermen, after the national action, were very impressed with what they had done. I don't think that upon preparing to leave for Chicago, and in the preparations that they made. I don't think that they really believed that they could bring it off, that they could do it. And, you know, they were really proud of themselves and very impressed with the fact that they had met the pigs head on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, there were a lot of people who were recruited for the Chicago activity who were not Weathermen, weren't there?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Quite honestly, I can't answer that question. I mean, they wanted me, and I wasn't a Weatherman.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many Weathermen were in Chicago, do you know, for that demonstration?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I can't say that either. I wasn't there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how many participated in the "Days of Rage" demonstration all together?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, after Chicago, have you told us about any important activities of the Weather people in which you participated? I will rephrase that question.

Have you told us now about all of the important activities of the Weather people in which you participated?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I should think so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you mentioned Flint. Could you tell us in a little more detail than you already have about what took place in Flint? What was done, who did it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, between the time of the national action and Flint, the Weathermen were an organization of organizers, campus organizers, hippy organizers. They even wanted to organize the greasers, the bikers, the Hell's Angels, and people like that, into politically minded anti-United States type people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, at that point, you used the word greaser. How do you spell it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. G-r-e-a-s-e-r.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does it mean?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I would define it as a hoodlum element of society, the Hell's Angels, the Young Lords, I think it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you are not using it as a reference to a Mexican, in a derogatory sense, by whites?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, not racial.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is pronounced differently but spelled the same way? It is pronounced as if the s were a z?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, it's a greaser, but in Weatherman terminology it meant simply the—what would normally be considered the rightwing element of society, the Fascist, you know the guys that try to look like the Nazis and people like that. You know, the guys with the greased-back hair, and the switchblade and the chain.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. I just wanted to establish what it meant.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's what it refers to. There is no racial intent there.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. So, anyway, at this time, you know, between the national action and the national council meeting organizing, that's their main objective, is to organize people into groups that will be against the state, that they can depend upon in any kind of a confrontation with law enforcement or whatever, and at the national council meeting things started to take a change.

Jeff Jones, who has been preaching for this more upfront violent position is starting to be heard just a little bit more than he had been in the past. Another thing that's having a great effect on the Weathermen is the fact that so many of them have been indicted because of the "Days of Rage" and consequently, you know, they are facing long legal battles and possibly jail sentences.

And so at Flint you start to pick out more of the underground strategic sabotage kind of thought that had not been extremely prevalent up until this time. It exists, but not to the level that it started to surface in Flint.

So, the significance of Flint, Mich. is that all of the people got together and pushed this violent position to the point where a month and one half later the Weathermen went underground to start their strategic sabotage.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, who, so far as you know, participated in the meeting?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I will say this, without being specific, which I can be about the people I know and remember, anybody that you can identify as a member of the Weathermen collective at the time of the national council meeting was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you go so far as to say that anyone who was not there in Flint for that council was not a Weatherman?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would be tempted to say that, but there may have been cases where the national leadership instructed individuals to perform other duties.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you there throughout the meeting in Flint?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I was from the first day til the last.

Mr. SOURWINE. You participated in it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I don't know what you mean by participated?

Mr. SOURWINE. You took part in it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I was there. I didn't—you know, to participate would have meant to have gotten up and given a speech or tried to give directions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I didn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were simply there?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. [Nodded in the affirmative.]

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. But see, from the Weathermen position, that was enough. I was a participant because I was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you present at any meetings of cadres, or smaller groups than the whole group while you were in Flint?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were these leadership groups of meetings?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Some were. Some were leadership meetings. I wasn't involved in any meetings where specific instances of violence were discussed.

We, in the groups that I was part of, spoke of things in very general terms, although the generalities moved from being very nonspecific to being extremely close to specific.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was decided at the Flint council meeting?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would say that the overall objectives of the Weathermen were changed.

Mr. SOURWINE. From what to what?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The emphasis was taken off of organizing and was placed on direct confrontation with symbols of authority. Now, I use the term symbols of authority because it tends to be a catchall.

You know, of course, on a university campus, the dean is a symbol of authority, so he would be one, you know, he would qualify under that definition. A police chief, a policeman, mom and dad.

Bernardine Dohrn made a statement at the national council meeting that I think is important and at the same time she made the statement about Charles Manson and always trying to be more like him, and that was "bring the war home, off your parents."

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, is that all that was decided at the meeting?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, to my knowledge, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was the decision to go underground made at Flint?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I can't say that it was, although I would tend to believe that it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't hear it discussed at Flint?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you first hear about the decision to go underground?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The first time I discussed underground collectives or foles with anybody was at the national council meeting with Jeff Jones. But, once again, we spoke in nonspecifics.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, when did you get the word that you were to go underground?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. February of 1970 at a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, seven people from Cincinnati attended.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have given us their names?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. There were several more people from the Cleveland Collective of which I can remember Leonard Handlesman, John Fuerst, Celest McCullough, and Bobby Jo Smith, and there was I believe Mark Real there, and there was one other unidentified white male.

The national leadership was Linda Evans and Mark Rudd. Two of their meetings were conducted, one the second night we were there and one the third day. The FBI knows the locations of the houses in which these meetings took place. I have identified them. I don't know, you know, how to tell you where they are, other than that I am sure they can give you the information.

I do know that the second place we had the meeting, the fellow was a professor at some university in the Cleveland area.

During the two meetings, Linda Evans and Mark Rudd criticized us and the national leadership for being passive and specifically they were saying that because we had been passive the black struggle, the struggle in Vietnam, the struggle in Korea and China, all over the world, had been hampered because we had not shown the members of these various revolutionary groups that we were committed to our revolution, and that criticism, line of criticism went on for the entire first meeting, which lasted about 6 hours.

And I would say the first 2 hours of the second meeting, which lasted about 12 hours. Finally, Mark informed us that the so-called national organization of Weathermen was to be disbanded and that we would be divided into cells which would set as our goal strategic sabotage against all symbols of authority. This way we would be able to push the black militants, the Vietnamese, the Koreans, the Chinese, the Al Fatah, and so on and so on.

The more we do the more they do, the more they do, the more we do, that there would always be attempts on the part of national leadership to make contact with these Third World organizations. The Quebec Liberation Front, the IRA, Al Fatah, et cetera, et cetera.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did they propose to go about making such contacts?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I suppose they were going to go through the channels they already established.

Mr. SOURWINE. They already had established channels of contact with these outside organizations?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, if they already had channels, I do not understand what you mean by they were going to make contact?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, OK. They had been to Cuba, right?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. So they knew—

Mr. SOURWINE. Some of your leaders had.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They knew a lot of Cuban revolutionaries, but that might not put them in contact with the proper people to look for support from.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did you get the impression that the Weather people were going to seek separately and on their own initiative contacts or new contacts or better focused contacts?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Better focused.

Mr. SOURWINE. With all of these Third World organizations, one by one?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Better focused and as many as possible. What they wanted was outside aid.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any indication that they were going to work through any organization such as the CPUSA, or some other international Communist group?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. There was no indication they were going to go through the Tricontinental organization in Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge. As I understand it, most of these contacts were made by the Weathermen, remembering that the Weathermen are very distrustful even of other New Left people. They, for instance, I mentioned earlier, you know, from Buffalo, New York, Bill Ayers and Naomi Jaffe went to Canada and Naomi told me specifically to meet with members of the Quebec Liberation Front.

Mr. SOURWINE. That they were going to meet with them?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That they did.

Mr. SOURWINE. They did?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. This was after they returned that Naomi told me that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did anybody tell you anything about specific contacts with the other so-called Third World groups?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. None that had not been made prior to this. For instance—

Mr. SOURWINE. Which ones did they tell you about that had been made prior to this?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. Naomi told me quite a bit about her activities, and she had been to Cuba, and she had been to North Vietnam.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did she say who she contacted in Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; she was never specific.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did she say who she contacted in North Vietnam?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. But, she told me that in Cuba she had received training, or indoctrination, whichever you choose to call it, on how to be a better subversive or better revolutionary, which included training in firearms and explosives.

But, as I said earlier, the primary emphasis was placed on propaganda.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, where else had she been besides Cuba and Quebec and did she consider Quebec a part of the Third World?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Quebec Liberation Front, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, even though they were not a minority group in the sense of being racially different?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They were—that's a good one. I never fully understood that because they are not—I mean, they are Caucasians, at least I understand they are, the majority of them. But, the way I understand that particular circumstance is that the Quebec Liberation Front existed because of exploitation by the Canadians and that, you know, the area, the geographical area that this Quebec Liberation Front was trying to liberate was primarily inhabited by French Canadians.

Mr. SOURWINE. Almost exclusively so, was it not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And consequently, they should have their own, you know, their own separate government type of thing, and consequently they were a colony.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall any instances where anyone in the Weathermen organization took a similar attitude with respect to Spanish-speaking minorities or such minorities in any part of this country?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, of course, I mean the brown, yellow, the black population in the United States are considered a colony.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, did they specifically consider La Raza and the Puerto Ricans and Chavez people as all part of one minority, or were they considered as several separate minorities, different organizations with each of whom they dealt or had a liaison?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They considered them one, yet considered them separate. The explanation to that is that as a political philosophy goes, ultimately the minorities or as they chose to call them the black colony, which included all of the minorities, was exploited by the white imperialist elite.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did they think that the French-speaking Canadians in Quebec were being exploited by the United States imperialistic elite?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, the French Canadians did not seem to think so. They thought they were fighting against the Canadian imperialistic elite, did they not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. But, you see, the U.S. imperialism controls the Government of Canada.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, that will be of interest to the Government of Canada, I am sure.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I am sure it would be.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. I am not trying to pin you in any corner. I am just trying to get this picture as clear as possible. There must have been some matters of faith, so to speak, in the philosophy of the Weather-people in order to arrive at this distinction. It does not seem to have been realistic.

How did they regard Taiwan, the Chiang Kai-Shek Nationalist Chinese?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. A puppet of the United States. The primary thing to remember in regards to Weatherman political philosophy is that the United States imperialism is the root of all evil, and I mean everything.

Mr. SOURWINE. But they did not consider themselves rebels against the Government of the United States, you have told us.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Who?

Mr. SOURWINE. The Weather people.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. They consider themselves not as a revolution, but only as helping the Third World in its fight against the United States. At least, I believe you made that point. Perhaps I misunderstood it.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, that's the point I tried to make, but obviously I didn't make it clear.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please try again.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The third—the only people that can form a National Liberation Front, a Peoples' Army, are the exploited colonies. The people of the United States who benefit from that exploitation cannot fight a peoples' war, and consequently all we can do is help the Third World people defeat the monster from within.

But, OK, that is, you know, that is a broad political philosophy. But, when you bring it down to the Weathermen and their actions and what they are doing, the primary enemy is the mother country and their total objective is the destruction of the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And the Weathermen feel that when they have succeeded, they will establish a controlling body over the United States in what will be called a Democratic Centralist Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they recognize Democratic Centralism as a Communist device?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do most of the Weather people consider themselves Communists?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes; they not only consider—

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it a requirement that they be a Communist to be a member of the Weathermen?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes; you could not be a Weatherman and not be a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they have to be members of the CPUSA?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; they do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Weatherman organization, you are saying, is the Communist Party?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, if they have to have persons who are Communists, and will not take members who are members of any Communist other than CPUSA—

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They won't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, how can you say they are not CPUSA?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They are not. They are not.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are nonaffiliated Communists, then?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, they are affiliated with the Weathermen.

Mr. SOURWINE. With who?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The Weathermen.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Weatherman organization, you are saying, is the Communist Party?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I am not. I am saying that the Weathermen are a Communist revolutionary group that exists within the United States, whose total objective is the destruction of the Constitution of this country. And in order to form a Democratic Centralist Government, which will include all members of a socialistic stance, representing Third World people, colonized within the United States, that is, the black community, the brown community, the yellow community, the red community, and anyone else who is not a member of an extreme, radical white group, is out of it.

The Communist Party is considered running dogs.

Mr. SOURWINE. How about the Communist Party USA, which is not the same as the Communist Party of America?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Running dogs. The White Panther Party is running dogs.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Weathermen, you are saying, do not permit members of the CPUSA to be Weathermen?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. If you change your political philosophy to coincide with the Weathermen philosophy.

Mr. SOURWINE. And do not happen to get bounced out of the CPUSA, you can still be with them, if you change your philosophy? If the CPUSA does not eject you for it, you can still be in the CPUSA and a Weatherman?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would imagine the Weathermen would insist upon you disassociating yourself with the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you ever know of this issue having arisen?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge. But I know this, and that is that the Weathermen consider all white revolutionary groups running dogs, other than themselves, and that included the White Panther Party, the Revolutionary Youth Movement Two, and just the whole bunch of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yet some of the Weather people came right out of the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's OK, as long as you have made that step from running dog to right on Weathermen politics, then you are OK. But, if you are not totally and completely committed to Weatherman philosophy and ideology, you are no good.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, after Cleveland, is there any event that you consider of significance in connection with your experience with the Weather-people?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, the next step is, of course, is the disbanding of the collective in Cincinnati. At this time we were also in the process of sending a group of people on a Venceremos Brigade to Cuba, which included a young kid named Tom Emory, a girl who was a member of the Cincinnati Weatherman Collective named Annie Gordon and another girl who we were going to purge, but then decided to send her to Cuba instead, and her first name was Lynn. I do not know her last name. She had been a dancer in Las Vegas, though, and she worked for the defense of the White Panther Party in Chicago during the Chicago Eight trial.

Ray Moser went to Cuba, also.

Mr. SOURWINE. Ray who?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Moser. M-o-s-e-r. He was originally a member—well, he was a member of the Weatherman faction and he was involved in the summer program in Columbus.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could it have been M-o-s-h-e-r?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was Moser, no H?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I could be wrong. He is from Cleveland originally. Well, that's all the people I can remember that were on the Venceremos.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a man named Mosher, M-o-s-h-e-r?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. May I inquire?

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. With regard to the Venceremos Brigade, who were the people, to your knowledge, involved in the formulating of the directives for the recruiting of the brigade? That's one point.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, to my knowledge, it was national leadership that directed what kind of people we, as Weathermen, were to pick to go on the Venceremos Brigade. Now, remembering that the Venceremos Brigade was a separate entity and was controlled by people other

than Weathermen, but Weathermen being part of the inflow as far as people that went to Cuba, we picked our own, and we were very selective about who we picked.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. You mentioned national leadership. What do you mean by that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. What was then known as the Weather Bureau.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. You mean the commune in Chicago?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right, the commune that was in Chicago. We called them the Weather Bureau.

The people that I knew that sat on the Weather Bureau at the time of the National Council meeting in Flint, OK, this is who was still sitting on that bureau. Now, after that—

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Do you remember the names?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I am going to give you the names I knew. Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, Jeff Jones, Bill Ayers, John Jacobs, Howie Machtinger, Linda Evans, Jerry Long, and I think that's it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mentioned Karen Ashley earlier as going to Cuba.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did she go as a member on the Venceremos Brigade?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, not to my knowledge. I do not remember Karen Ashley being on the national leadership of the Weather Bureau.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Now, I may have missed a name here and there, but at the time of the National Council meeting—now, you know, that goes from actually the National Action to the National Council meeting as being the national leadership of the Weathermen that I knew.

Now, after the Council meeting in Flint, things start to rock.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was Diane Oughton?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. She was primary leadership in a collective somewhere. She was not on the national leadership.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Now, what were these directives you received to be selective about the people you were going to send to Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. We were to find people—now, this, you know, inside the collective we wanted people that were politically strong and could benefit from a trip to Cuba. Obviously, one of the reasons they told me they didn't send me to Cuba was because I didn't need any training.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What kind of training did they mean?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. They were referring to insurgency type training, guerrilla type training, and this is point blank exactly what was said to me.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who specifically said that to you?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Dionne Donghi. She told me that the reason that I was not picked to go on the Venceremos Brigade was because she felt, and she was referring to the national leadership of the Weather Bureau at that time, that I did not need any further training in guerrilla tactics. That's a quote.

At the same time, as far as peripheral contacts, people other than Weathermen were concerned, we tried to find people that we thought would be more easily susceptible to political indoctrination. I understand that Cuba was designed for two things, or actually three things.

No. 1, to harvest the sugar. No. 2, for the Weathermen was to get certain select individuals training in specific areas that they wanted them trained in. And No. 3, was to politically indoctrinate other people that may have been borderline cases. In other words, they kind of teetered between being the extreme radical left and just the radical left.

Well, if you get them to Cuba and you turn the Cubans loose on them, hopefully, you know, they will turn them into full-fledged Weathermen by the time they get back.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Now, again, you said you were very strict in selecting these individuals. What were the criteria you used to select them?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, they had to be people that we knew to start off with. You couldn't walk in off the streets and, say, hey, I want to go to Cuba. You just wouldn't make it. You had to have been a contact for at least some length of time. And more than likely you had been involved or would have been involved in some various illegal activities with the Collective.

For instance, you know, running out at night and painting slogans on buildings at the college or throwing rocks through the windows, various types of assinine activities.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were there questionnaires sent by the national leadership to fill specific questions asked about the individuals?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I understand that there were. I didn't see them. The individual in the Collective that was assigned the primary task of coordinating, collecting the funds and generally overseeing the Venceremos Brigade project in the Southern Ohio area was Robert Burlingham.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that all, sir?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. One more thing.

Did you have an opportunity to meet the people after they returned from Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes; I met two people that had been to Cuba in February 1970. I can't tell you their names because I don't remember them.

He was in—the one that I specifically talked to was in the Collective house on Forrest Avenue in Detroit, Mich., for one night, and then they sent him someplace else.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was he from Detroit?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No. I am trying to think of his name, and for the life of me, I cannot remember. I keep wanting to say Ralph, but I don't think that's right. He was a big kid, and I took him to be probably a little younger than I was, which would have made him I guess, 21 or 22.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What part of February was that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. This would have been at least mid-February at least mid-February. He had just gotten there.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. From Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I guess he got off of the boat in Canada—no, they didn't come in by Canada, did they?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. They did.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, he had just gotten off wherever he got off and came to Detroit. He had not been back long.

Well, anyway, he told me about, you know, about cutting the sugar cane, and, you know, all of that stuff. And then he told me of the meetings that they had with the Cubans, and what the Cubans had emphasized for them to do.

And the Cubans, at least at this time, were more concerned with the radical activities in the United States being—well, they didn't want for the Weathermen to go underground. They wanted the Weathermen to stay up front as a vocal, springboard for various political philosophies coming out of Vietnam and Cuba, and China, and so on and so on. They had said that, you know, that it would not be a bad thing if there were certain selected individuals who went underground, but as a whole they did not feel that the Weathermen should disband and go underground.

Of course, at that time, it was too late. It had already been done, and he was upset about it. He felt like he had returned too late to save the revolution.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. What else did he have to say?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. In regards to what? What kind of training they had?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. If they had any. Once again he alluded to the fact—well, he didn't allude to it, he specifically stated that the emphasis was placed on propaganda. At the time, the Cubans were more concerned with the ability of the New Left groups in the United States to espouse the political philosophies of Cuba and Vietnam and so on. He told me that he had also met with North Vietnamese who were in Cuba, that they had received training.

Now, to be specific, in the use of firearms, specifically the AK-47.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Who? Who had received training?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He had.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not established yet who he is.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I cannot remember the fellow's name. I can give you a good description of him. I have identified him. The FBI has his name some place. I can find out who he is.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you can supply that name for the record when you correct your testimony?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Sure.

Senator THURMOND. And you will do so?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, please.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He did not receive any training in explosives, but he had used grenades and things like that, but not dynamite. He had not received any training in dynamite, and I specifically asked him about that.

He had also received—oh, it was infra-red. They had shown him how to use infrared scopes, which I found surprising. Well, first of all infrared is obsolete as far as the military is concerned. The starlight is better, but he had received training in, you know, how to use the infrared scopes, and what to do with them.

And this was in conjunction with weapons. He never specifically stated why they had given him that training. Of course, I was never

in a position where I could push somebody right into the corner to tell me exactly why things had happened. If they were willing to answer the question, and I could ask them, I asked them.

But, as soon as they started to hedge I had to back off, and he did not go into a lot of detail about that. But, I found it surprising.

I know when I was in Vietnam the starlight scope was still classified. Maybe the Cubans don't have it yet, but I should imagine they would, or something similar. I am sure the Russians have it.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know the Russians have it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. How do I know that?

Mr. SOURWINE. That's right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I am assuming. We used them in Vietnam.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said, "I am sure."

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I am assuming from a position of knowing that the scope was used in Vietnam and was lost to the North Vietnamese, to PAVN units and I am sure the PAVN units carried it back to North Vietnam, and from there it eventually made its way to Russia. But of course I am assuming.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was this individual the only one who mentioned receiving training of that kind in Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. This kid that I talked to, I talked to him for about 45 minutes about Cuba and the other guy that was there that had been with him, and I never have identified him, he was talking with us for about 10 minutes, and he more or less, he reiterated or affirmed everything that this guy was saying up until the time that he left.

It was really—what I did and what worked out great for me I would get them to discuss what they had experienced, and it was kind of like well, was it raining that day, no, but do you remember what we did, well, you remember on that day we did this because it wasn't raining that day, but it rained the next day, so that got the conversation started, of course, then when the other guy started to leave, the second guy was into that routine. And it was like the second party hadn't left.

And then finally, toward the end, I think he felt like he had said too much, and he decided to be quiet.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you correct this testimony, I hope you will do the best you can to sort out the pronouns you are using. I am afraid that the record is going to be a little confusing about who you are talking about. If you can identify one or the other of these people, substitute the name for the pronoun where you can.

Will you do that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Excuse me.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I think that is about all I have to ask about the Venceremos Brigade.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any other part of the examination that you want to conduct? If there is, go ahead now.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes. I have some questions that have to do with the two groups that went to Cuba prior to the Cleveland meeting. By

that I refer to the group that went in July and the group that went in September.

What do you know about——

Mr. SOURWINE. Of what year?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Of 1969.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, this individual that I was just discussing with you, the one that told me about the Venceremos Brigade, was on the September Brigade, or not in September, it was in November that they left, right?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. The next Venceremos Brigade left in February of 1970.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No. I am not talking about the Venceremos Brigade any more. I am talking about the national leadership of the Weathermen, the groups that went to Cuba in July of 1969 and September of 1969.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, I've got you now. Now, here I can't tell you specifically who went when. I can tell you what people that had been there told me.

Corky Benedict told me about his trip, and he had received instruction in propaganda, and what they emphasized to him was how to procure funds, you know, without having to get a job and work. In other words, how you can rip things off and survive, stolen credit cards, things of that nature.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Cubans did that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right. Now, Naomi Jaffe, besides the propaganda thing, she had received instruction on how to use firearms and she said that she had received those instructions in Cuba and in North Vietnam, and in North Vietnam she had also been trained, or been given instructions on how to use an anti-aircraft gun.

She was told how to make an explosive device out, you know, out of various common materials, not to include, you know, the dynamite or the C-4 or whatever. She knew more about Composition 4 than any of the rest of the Weathermen, or at least the ones that I discussed it with.

She knew, for example, that it took an intense amount of heat to cause it to detonate, that you could burn it, you could light it with a match and cook with it and it wouldn't explode, but yet at the same time, if you put, you know, an M-80 firecracker or detonator in there and popped that off, that the Composition 4 would explode. She also knew that a plastic explosive the size of a pack of cigarettes could well, could blow this room to smithereens and kill every body in it.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. And she asserted that she had gotten these instructions in Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; in——

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In North Vietnam?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. This is in North Vietnam, and she talked about detonating devices. For instance, the kind that if you open a door and you trip the lever, the copper wire breaks and the acid eats the triggering mechanism until it detonates and completes the circuit.

She knew about these things, which, you know, some of it I did not even know about.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Was she the type that would brag about these things?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. She was discussing it with me like I was an expert. The Weathermen believed that I was a demolitions expert. Like I said, to the extent that Bill Ayers, after he had designed his little bomb, he came to me for approval and told me, you know, this is what we are going to do, right? At which time I told him there was no way. So Naomi was doing the same thing.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Were there any other individuals that you remember who had been to Cuba with these two groups, that when they returned gave you directions or instructions, and then asserted that they had got these orders from the Cubans?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I was never given instructions or directives that I was told that they had been given by the Cubans. Somebody would say the Cubans don't believe that we should do this, or the Cubans believe that we should do this another way.

But, it was never like, you know, Fidel Castro says that we should go put a bomb in the Capitol, or something like that.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I have no more questions along those lines.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any further questions along any lines at all?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. How about you, Mr. Short, any questions you want to ask?

Mr. SHORT. I just want to clarify a couple of points, if I might, from the previous testimony, but now may not be the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. SHORT. Your first contact with the FBI was first with Mr. Clark Murrish?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Murrish. M-u-r-r-i-s-h.

Mr. SHORT. When you were able to penetrate the Weathermen organization, he wanted you to stay on the periphery, I believe you stated. Why was this? Why did he feel that way?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's a good question. I should assume, or would assume that the FBI did not want to establish the relationship with me whereby they were giving me directives.

I think they preferred for it to be a situation where I acted of my own volition, but at the same time I don't think that they cared for me to be deeply involved in an extensive penetration.

Mr. SOURWINE. May we go off the record.

[Off the record discussion.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. SHORT. You mentioned that Naomi Jaffe had directed you on several trips, I believe to New York, Ohio, and so forth. Who paid for those trips that you took? Who paid for these trips?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. The Weathermen.

Mr. SHORT. Where did the money come from that the Weathermen obtained?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. When we left Cincinnati, we had \$1,600, I believe it was, or \$2,600. I don't remember which it was, but Robert Burlingham had collected it for the Venceremos Brigade, so that was part of our funds.

At the same time we stole things. For example, in Madison, Wis., Linda Josephwich and Windy Pankin stole a girl's purse at the University of Wisconsin. They took her credit card and check book and went to a local department store and commenced to charge things, which they later would return for a cash refund.

Unfortunately for them, I had informed the FBI of their intent and they were arrested in the process. But, that's one of the ways they procured funds.

They also had a thing going where various members of the Weathermen collectives would marry one another with the intent and purpose of ripping their parents off, you know, getting the wedding presents and the money, et cetera, and then selling or hocking the rings and the gifts and keeping the money.

And when Bill Ayers and Naomi Jaffe went to Canada and they returned after having seen these people from the Quebec Liberation Front, they had in excess of \$2,000 that they said they got in Canada.

Mr. SHORT. Do you know of any Communist front organization that supplied money for the Weathermen?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I do not.

Mr. SHORT. All right. One other point.

You mentioned earlier a target list in which you mentioned Kissinger, Ziegler, Laird, and others, as I recall. They were to be targets. Was the purpose of that kidnaping or murder?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Primarily kidnaping, although murder would, or assassination was considered, especially for Laird and Agnew, although those two were obviously the primary subjects for kidnaping and ransom at the same time. So, then the other two, Ziegler and Kissinger, were primarily kidnaping. That was the extent of the discussion.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, then they were all four primarily for kidnaping; is that right?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, like I said, Agnew and Laird was kind of a tossup, you know, you might knock them off and you might kidnap them. It depended on how you felt that day.

But, the other two were primarily to hold for ransom.

Mr. SHORT. That's all the questions I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, is there any further activity of the Weather people in which you participated that you have not told us about? I mean activities that you consider of importance?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I should think that is just about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Now, I want to ask you about some individuals whom you may or may not have known. You have mentioned that you knew John Bottnev. Have you told us all of the important things you knew about John Bottnev?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, he was purged in January 1970 due to the fact that the national leadership collective felt he, along with Corky Benedict, were dragging their heels in regard to political upfront

confrontations with the university administration at Cincinnati University, and so on and so forth. And also the fact that John was married, and he had a wife and I believe a child whom he refused to completely disassociate himself with or to bring into the collective.

You see, the Weathermen believed that his monogamous relationship was bad for him, and he should either bring his wife into the collective so she could be a Weatherman or else completely disassociate himself with her completely, which he would not do.

Mr. SOURWINE. They did not want him keeping his own woman to himself?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's right. Share and share alike.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mentioned Robert Burlingham, also known as Arlow Jacobs.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you told us all you know of importance about him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Arlow advocated the bombing of the computer center at the University at Dayton, which I objected to, and I eventually was able to stop.

Arlow is probably, out of the entire Weathermen organization, the most likable and consequently they used him as a front man. He procured a lot of money from the Quakers by presenting himself as a person against the war.

He is the P.R. man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you say he got a lot of money from Quakers. By a lot of money, what do you mean? Thousands of dollars?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would say \$4,000 or \$5,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by the Quakers? Did he get it from some particular organization or from some particular Quaker meeting or what?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. There was a group of Quakers in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean a church group or simply individual persons of the Quaker faith, do you know?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I don't know. I know that they were Quakers. He told me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how the Quakers are organized?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Do I know?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I don't know anything about them.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you say Quakers, I am not fighting you—

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I know that that's what Arlow referred to them as, the Quakers.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is no organization such as the Quakers. There are Quakers. It is a Society of Friends. There are many churches, congregations of the Society of Friends.

There is a loose national organization. There is an organization called the American Friends Service Committee, which is not controlled by Quakers or by any Quaker organization.

Now, I am just, among the possibilities, I am trying to find out if you knew where this money came from?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I just know that Burlingham referred to this group of people as the Quakers.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. And well, I will tell you what happened the first time I found out about it. He asked me to drop him off there one night, and I—

Mr. SOURWINE. Drop him off where?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. At this house. It was in Cincinnati, and I dropped him off and I came back about 2 hours later to pick him up. Well, he was not outside, so I had to go up to the door.

And when I got there and I asked for Arlow Jacobs, well, he did not present himself to them as Arlow. He was just using his real name, and I had no idea who he was, really.

At that time, I only knew him as Arlow.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were there any bad consequences because of your faux pas?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, he was a little upset about it, but evidently they didn't take much note of it, and after that he showed me his passport that had his real name on it, and he told me that he had been sticking it to these people and that he had got them for about \$4,000 or \$5,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. The house bore no indication as to who lived in it?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; just like anybody else's house.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the address of that house?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where it is?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I am sure that it was identified in reports to the FBI.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember now?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Do you know where Burlingham was from originally?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I do not. I know that he went to Princeton and that he was a Fulbright scholar and that he is now presently editor of Ramparts Magazine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where Peter Wales Clapp is now?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Weatherman?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I saw his picture there. I met him one time, and my conversation with him I cannot even remember now, so I didn't say anything about him. I would be best just to put him down as someone I did not know, but I did meet him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that Peter Wales Clapp and Mark Rudd have been arrested in Niagara Falls in May 1969 on marijuana possession charges when they were reentering from Canada?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No; I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never saw him in Flint in the company of Mark Rudd?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. At the national council meeting, that is the only time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I said the Flint meeting.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's the only one, yes, the Flint meeting. That's the only time I saw him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have mentioned Dionne Maureen Donghi. Have you told us all you know about her?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, you know, she was primary leadership in Cincinnati after Corky—no, no, Corky and John were purged long ago. After Ayers came back to Cincinnati the second time and sent Spiegel and Jaffe to Detroit and Danzer to Seattle, Dionne became the only primary leadership person in Cincinnati.

When the collective was disbanded, she had me send her a revolver to Chicago which the FBI turned over to the IRS, and she was arrested on that charge, but the charges were dropped because the FBI would not let me testify. She also carried a 12-gauge shotgun on the airplane with her in a guitar suitcase the same time that she went to Chicago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Full length shotgun or sawed-off?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Full length. Well, a riot gun. It is cut off a little shorter than a regular 12-gauge, but it is not, you know, a sawed-off shotgun.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was she headed in the airplane?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Chicago.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I saw her the next time in Buffalo, N.Y., where she and Robert Ward had been testing explosive devices. Now, this is what she told me, explosive devices in the surrounding countryside, and I guess trying to perfect detonating devices.

I didn't go into a lot of detail about it. I didn't think it was relevant. They had explosives and powder there, and pipes so they could make pipe bombs and wind up an alarm clock and wires and detonators. Of course the collective, or that fogle was reassigned to New York, and Donghi flew to New York, and Ward and I drove a tan, 1964 Chevrolet with a Michigan license plate, to Naomi Jaffe's dad's farm in upstate New York. I think the name of the town is Burlingame, I am not sure, something like that.

We left the car there, and to my knowledge it's still there, and all of that stuff was in the trunk of the car. We, Ward and I, then caught a bus and went on into New York, where we met Donghi at the port authority bus station and she took us to an apartment in upper Manhattan that was owned or was lived in by a friend of hers named Clinton Gene, who was a black fellow from Jamaica, who espoused Communist and Socialist philosophies.

And of course, in the end, Dionne and Linda Evans were arrested April 15, 1970 and that was the last time I saw her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where she is now?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you mention Miss Courtney Esposito. Have you told us all of the information of importance you know about her?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge about Dionne Donghi's visit to Cuba in 1969?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. She talked to me about her trip to Cuba, and she said that she had received training in firearms, but she never mentioned explosives. And, you know, that's interesting because she was very specific about what she had been shown how to use, and they never showed her how to use a AK-47.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did she mention political indoctrination while she was in Cuba?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, political indoctrination and the use of political propaganda, which is, you know, that's the standard. You don't go to Cuba and receive any other kind of training unless you get that too.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Pamela Sue Fadem?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Jerry Ganley?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gerald Ganley?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know John Jacobs? You have testified about him, have you not?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. J. J.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what his relationship was with Bernardine Dohrn?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I understand that at the time of the National Council meeting that Bernardine and J. J. were real tight. Shortly thereafter I heard rumors that a big criticism had taken place in their monogamous relationship, at which time she and Jeff Jones left and went to San Francisco.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you describe him as a former boyfriend at least of Bernardine Dohrn?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I would, yes. I guess.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think that there is any special relationship between them now?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. You know, I would really hate to say. I should imagine that due to the political change in regard to monogamy, and that Bill Ayers told us about in March or in April 1970, I should imagine that it's very possible. As a matter of fact, very likely that they are together.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear any discussion among Weathermen or any statement from a member of the Weathermen groups about John Jacobs participation in the Boulder, Colo. meeting in October 1968?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have told us about knowing Jeffrey Jones. Did you ever hear any discussion about Jones' visit to Cambodia and Hanoi in November 1967?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I heard people refer to things that had supposedly come out of that visit. That was probably the very first time that I had ever heard any reference to someone having been trained or given training or given instructions in anything, and Jeff was purportedly the one. Nobody ever went into details about what that included.

My relationship with Jeff Jones never progressed to the point where I could ask him.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Did you know Joseph H. Kelly?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. You don't have a picture of him?

Mr. SOURWINE. No.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I knew a Kelly, but he was from Dayton, Ohio, went to school at the University of Dayton.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's all you know about him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I mean, this Kelly that I knew went to—pardon me, when I made my first trip to Washington for the demonstration in November 1969, I traveled here with Kelly, and later after the arrest in April 1970, I met him in New Jersey.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he in Chicago?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I don't know. I can't say.

Mr. SOURWINE. Wasn't he one of those indicted by the Grand Jury on October 31, 1969?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Did you know David B. Clafter?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I knew Clafter.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you know about him.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not too much, really. I talked to him at the National Council meeting in Flint.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Weatherman?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, yes, sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He was a member of one of the Collectives, I believe the Detroit Collective, I think. I don't know for sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Sharon Krebs?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know anyone who was involved in the conspiracy to set fire to six buildings in New York City?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew Gerald Long. Have you told us all you knew about him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. As far as I know at this point Jerry is not a member of the Weathermen Underground. The last time I seen Long was in the summer of 1971 in Berkeley and he seen me on the street and I saw him and the next time that the Berkeley tribe came out with a newspaper, they ran another article about this very dangerous pig.

I really don't know any more to say about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Gerald Long went to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade in November 1969. Did you know about that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I knew he went.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was one of the four people in the United States who was named by Havana Radio as individuals in this country to whom persons wanting to come to Cuba in the Venceremos Brigade could write.

Did you know about that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. The four names Gerald Long, Curley Bergman, Michael Klonsky and Diane Oughton.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Diane Oughton, yes. Right after they came back from Cuba, there was Weathermen leadership there to talk to them because remember, in the time that they went to Cuba and the time that they came back, the Weathermen had gone underground.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did you know Gerald Long as a member of Weatherman?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you think he's out now?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I can't say. I know him. In the summer of 1971, he was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he Bernardine Dohrn's husband?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's news to me. I didn't know they were married.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I didn't know Jerry Long and Bernardine Dohrn were married.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he had leased an apartment in Chicago in October 1969?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he was married at all?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never read the report of the Illinois Crime Commission?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about a meeting held in White Pines State Park in October 1969?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the National Collective Committee of the SDS?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. If that's the Weather Bureau, I knew that. I knew him as a member of the Weather Bureau.

Mr. SOURWINE. No, that's not the Weather Bureau.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I knew him as a member of the national leadership of the Weathermen.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Did you know that he was a member of the first Venceremos Brigade contingent?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I knew that he went to Cuba in November 1969, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that he was one of the authors of the paper "You Don't Need a Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows"?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know that papers left behind in the quarters previously rented by Long and occupied by him and Dohrn and others were printed as evidence of the subversive and violent nature of the Weathermen organization?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, I don't know that for a fact, but I am not surprised.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Have you told us all you know about Howard Machtinger?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. What's the last you know of him, the last time he surfaced?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Sometime earlier this year, I believe in February or March, two FBI agents spotted Machtinger on a street corner on Manhattan Island upon which they proceeded to arrest him and he was released on \$2,500 bail, which he immediately jumped. He failed to appear in court 2 days later.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Machtinger was arrested September 1973 in New York City and jumped \$2,500 bail in October. Is that the incident you refer to.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That's the one. I am only about 4 months off.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's all right. Have you told us all you know about Celeste McCullough?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Celeste a.k.a. was Jamie.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Jamie.

Mr. SOURWINE. J-a-m-i-e?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I guess.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I knew I'd remember that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know she was from Cleveland?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes. What do you mean, that's her home originally?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I didn't know that.

I met her, of course, in the meeting in Cleveland.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't mean to state that is her home. It's generally reputed, and I am asking you if you knew whether it was true?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no personal knowledge. I wouldn't want the record to indicate I did.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. OK. Well, I don't either.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about her participation, if she did participate, in the placing of bombs in the mails or the placing of bombs in safety deposit boxes in banks?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that bombs have been found in safety deposit boxes in banks in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco, and that McCullough is being sought for questioning in connection with those bombs?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I did not. I know about the bombs, but I didn't know Celeste's participation.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am referring now to bombs that were put in the fall of 1971, so far as anybody knows. You said you knew about it.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I mean I knew about it, you know, the various law enforcement agencies finding the bombs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, you didn't know about it as happening.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Oh, no. See, I was finished in April of 1970.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just wanted the record to be clear.

Now, you indicated you knew Eric Mann. What did you know about him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, he was one of the primary leadership people in the Boston collective. At the time of the national action when I met him, he had been convicted of some felony in the courts in Boston.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the invasion of the Harvard Center for International Studies?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I can't say for sure. I don't know. I just know that he had been convicted of some felony and was waiting—he had already been sentenced. He was, I guess he had a stay bond until he turned himself in over to the local authorities, and that was during the national council meeting in Flint, and he was very uptight about it. I guess anybody would be.

And, you know, people were doing a lot of criticizing of Eric in regard to him being only concerned with his personal situation as opposed to the furthering of the revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that after Mann had been sentenced to a year in jail and a fine of \$50 for his participation in the invasion of the Harvard Center for International Studies, he had appealed the sentence and the superior court doubled it on the grounds that the assaults were vicious and premeditated?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Good. That sounds like—

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know that?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I didn't know it, but it makes me happy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Richard Ochs. Richard J. Ochs?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. I think I told you before that the name was familiar.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told me in a discussion which does not appear in the record. That's why I am asking you now for the record.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. There was a member of the Cincinnati collective, and I think he arrived in Cincinnati in January 1970. He was sent to New York in February 1970 to become part of or a member of an aboveground collective that the Weathermen intended to keep in existence. I couldn't tell you much more about him.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK. You mentioned Mark Real. Have you told us all you know about him?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He was at the meeting in Cleveland, the one when the national leadership told us of the Weathermen's intent to go underground.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Marsha Rhoda Steinberg?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Marsha Steinberg? Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us what you know about her.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Marsha Steinberg was a member of the foce in Detroit, Mich., that was assigned the task of blowing up the DPOA Building. She and I cased the DPOA Building together. When that mission was taken away from us and the foce was disbanded, she was sent with another four-man foce someplace else. My four-man foce consisted of Mark Lencl, Linda Josephwich, Windy Pankin and myself, and the other one was Robert Burlingham. Marjorie Hail, David Clafter and Marsha Steinberg, and that's how they split the original foce that had the objective of bombing the DPOA Building.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Robert Stern or Susan Stern?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Marshall Tack?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about Mr. Tack?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. He was a member of the Cincinnati Weathermen Collective. When I made my first contact with him, he was present at the meeting at the St. John's Unitarian Church.

He was also present at the meeting in Eden Park. I did not see him again until after—no, I saw him in March 1970, at which time he was publishing an underground newspaper in Cincinnati. And I believe that the name of that newspaper was The Independent Eye.

Mr. SOURWINE. E-y-e?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, e-y-e. And he was living with a girl named Joyce—oh, I can't think of it. Richmann, I think it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Richmann?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. She was a Weatherman contact before I was a Weatherman contact.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by Weatherman contact?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Well, you know, like when I made my first contact with the Weathermen, or they contacted me and I started coming to the meetings, I become a Weatherman contact.

Mr. SOURWINE. She was already in that status?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Right, before I even knew the Weathermen. She eventually became what is commonly referred to as a Jesus freak, which is going from one extreme to the other, from a devout Communist revolutionary to an extreme Christian.

Mr. SOURWINE. With regard to Marshall Tack, did you know he had been a member of the Venceremos Brigade and returned to the United States from Cuba on the Cuban freighter *Luis Marcos Bergnes* in February of 1970?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know William F. Willett?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. That name is awful familiar, but I can't give you a specific. I can't conjure him up in my mind.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well now, the William F. Willett I am inquiring about was one of two men who were indicted by a Cook County Grand Jury in November of 1969 for trying to disrupt a rally of the SDS held at the University of Illinois Circle Campus by members of the SDS who were not affiliated with the Weathermen.

Do you recall anything about that incident?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I don't. And I must not know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I inquired of you as to whether you knew a Joanna Zinsel. Did you know a Joanna Zinsel, Z-i-l-s-e-l, a Cleveland Heights girl?

Mr. GRATHWOHL. No, I am sure I didn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. She got into the movement quite young. She was born in 1953 and was one of those arrested in connection with disruptions of the Davis Cup tennis match in Cleveland Heights in September 1969, joined the Weatherman commune in Cleveland in 1970 and was supposed to have participated in a park bombing and a fire bombing in Cleveland.

All right. I have no more questions about individuals.

Now, let me ask if there is any information you have which you consider might be of value to the committee which you have not yet had a chance to disclose? If there is, I would like to have you tell us about it now.

Mr. GRATHWOHL. None that I can think of.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Now, you understand that you will have an opportunity to correct this record. At that time, if you detect in the record which is transmitted to you anything that is inaccurate, correct it. If you have any addi-

tional information, which will add to or make more understandable the record that is sent to you, please make the corrections or the additions that are indicated.

Do you have anything?

Mr. SHORT. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman. I would ask that the hearings be recessed subject to the call of the Chair.

Senator THURMOND. It is so ordered.

[Whereupon, at 4:04 p.m., the hearing was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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