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REPORT

OF THE

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

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING FEB. 29, 1972



MARCH 1972

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1972

73-496

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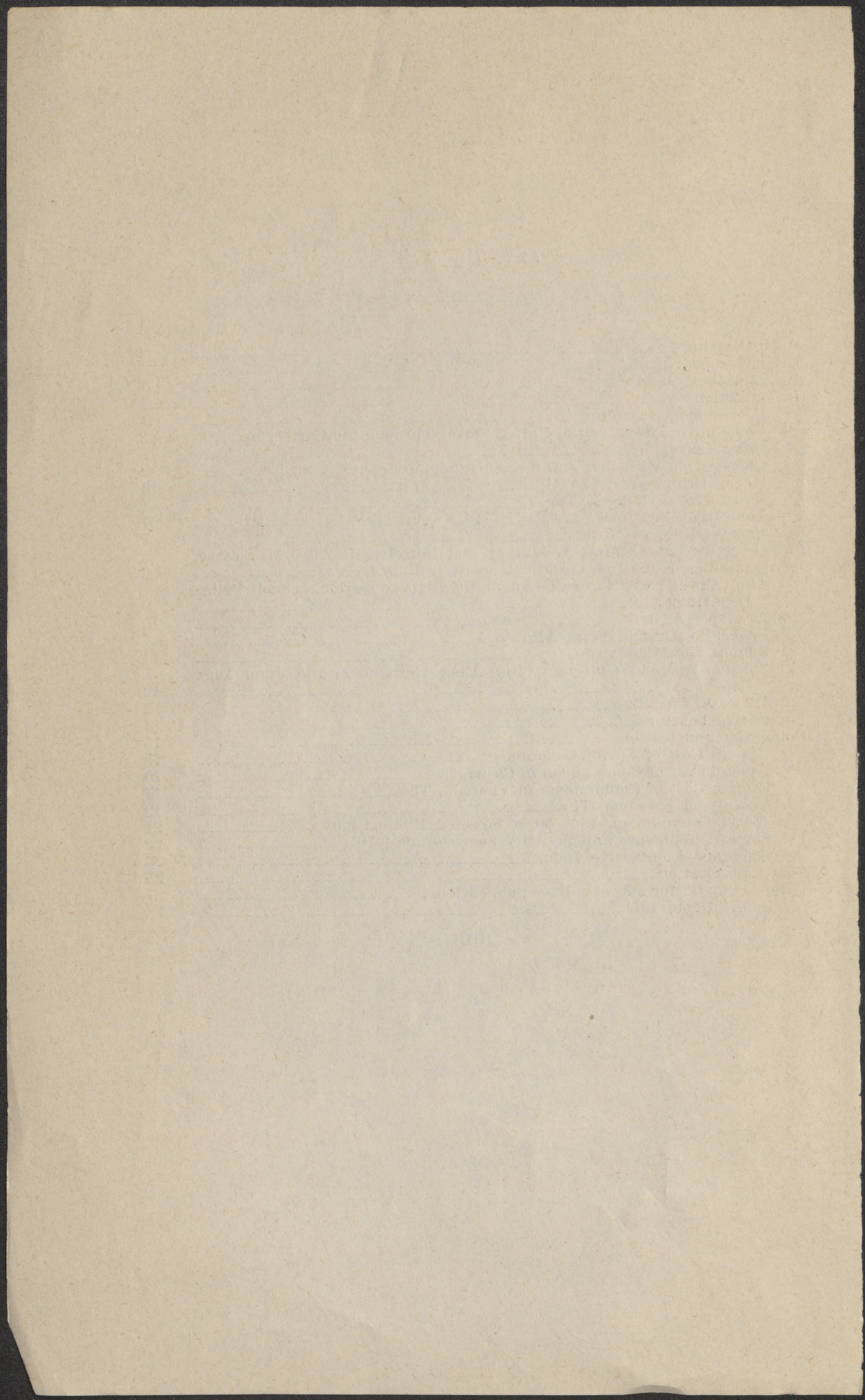
RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, That the attached draft of the Report of the Subcommittee for the fiscal year ending February 29, 1972, be transmitted to the Judiciary Committee and thereafter be printed and made public.

Approved: March 28, 1972.

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OPEN HEARINGS

The Internal Security Subcommittee held 5 days of open hearings during 1971. Three of these concerned five pending bills, S. 1499-1504. Eight witnesses testified at these hearings, which have been printed.

The other 2 days of open hearings were investigative in nature. Both of these hearings have been printed. The witnesses were, respectively:

September 27, 1971.....	Roman Gonzalez-Pardo.
October 15, 1971.....	Srta. Zulema Bregado Gutierrez, Sr. Jose Diaz Hernandez, Sr. Juan Diaz Lopez.

EXECUTIVE HEARINGS

The subcommittee held 11 days of executive hearings during the year. There were also 6 days of formally recorded staff interviews.

INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEWS

Informal interviews of informants and possible witnesses taped by subcommittee investigators during the year aggregated 37 hours, of which approximately half were interviews in the field. In addition, investigative interviews not recorded verbatim amounted to approximately 750 hours.

INVESTIGATIONS

Below is a summary of investigations conducted during the year 1971.

THE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

The investigation on the Venceremos Brigade which began in 1969 was continued throughout the year 1971.

The Fourth Brigade, consisting of 221 individuals, left for Cuba March 22, 1971, and returned on May 29, 1971, through Calais, Maine.

On June 18, 1971, the chief investigator interviewed a member of this group at his residence after receiving reports that he had professed a disagreement with the rest of the Brigade members.

The informant cooperated to a certain degree by furnishing details of the Brigade's activities in Cuba and, most significantly, of the manner of selection of individuals to be assigned to groups destined to receive additional indoctrination by such subversive groups as the Tri-continental's Permanent Secretariat, the Continental Organization of Latin American Students, and the Committee for Political Orientation of the Communist Party of Cuba. However, he declined to testify voluntarily before the subcommittee, indicating he feared for his safety if he did so. This man is in a position to claim fifth amendment privilege if pressed, so the subcommittee has no present plans to try to force him to testify. But efforts to induce him to appear will continue.

COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN

In cooperation with the intelligence unit of the Puerto Rican Police Department, investigation of subversive activities in Puerto Rico was continued during the year 1971. Testimony in executive session was taken from several witnesses.

During this testimony and subsequent investigation, the scope of the Cuba-fomented and financed activities, centering on urban guerrilla terrorism, were fully corroborated by documents found in possession of the leaders of the movement arrested and brought to justice for bombings, assaults on police officers, and other criminal activities.

The investigation is being continued, and the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico, Jorge L. Córdova Diaz, has expressed the desire to testify before the subcommittee on the subject of political unrest in Puerto Rico. A date for his appearance before the subcommittee is to be arranged.

In addition to subversive activities in Puerto Rico, the subcommittee investigation of the "Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean" involved interviews with various other individuals, some of whose testimony may be taken this year. (Those who already have testified in this area will be referred to, and their testimony summarized, under the separate caption of "Hearings.")

During the year 1971, a substantial amount of intelligence information obtained by the subcommittee from sources friendly to the United States was relayed to the appropriate agencies of the U.S. intelligence community.

REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA

An investigation was opened into the activities of Reies Lopez Tijerina and a number of his associates in the organization known as Alianza de los Pueblos Libres, founded and led by Tijerina.

Reies Tijerina was interviewed in Albuquerque soon after his release from Federal prison. Tijerina expressed the desire to testify before the subcommittee, but his apparent willingness aroused considerable skepticism because of Tijerina's propensity to use every occasion for publicity purposes.

The investigation of his activities is still active.

JAMES EDWARD MCGOURTY, VIRGIN ISLANDS

During 1971 an investigation was opened to ascertain the merit of statements of James Edward McGourty, then in the custody of the Virgin Island police, who recounted having participated in activities of gun-running and contact with Cuban agents in Mexico for the purpose of training black militants.

After interviewing the subject and pursuing the investigation, it became evident that most of the allegations made by the subject were unfounded, and for that reason the investigation was closed.

COOPERATION WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

During the year 1971, the subcommittee continued to maintain close cooperation with various Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies.

The chief investigator attended the L.E.I.U. (Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit) conference in Houston, Tex., in April 1971, and was invited to address the Northeast Conference of State and Provincial Departments in Hyannis, Mass., in June 1971. He also attended monthly meetings of the combined Law Enforcement Intelligence Group, and the Intelligence Subcommittee of the Council of Governments.

HARRY BRIDGES AND ILWU

The subcommittee has kept a close watch upon the operations of the West Coast longshore union headed by Harry Bridges, radical agitator, since the very inception of his "independent" International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. The ILWU was ousted from the CIO August 29, 1950 as a Communist-dominated union. In 1971 the union tied up West Coast docks and shipping operations, costing the Nation over \$2 billion.

In the subcommittee's report for the year 1958 fear was expressed as to that very point, calling for legislation that would thwart it. The chairman of both the full Judiciary Committee and the subcommittee, Senator Eastland, made observations (at page 71) as to pacts among non-AFL-CIO unions and remarked,

If the longshoremen can immobilize shipping at all U.S. ports, little imagination is required to picture what simultaneous strikes of longshoremen and teamsters could do to inland industry and business and to the welfare of the Nation.

A number of recommendations was made by the subcommittee (page 94) including proposed laws concerned with use of labor funds for Communist purposes, withdrawal of NLRB benefits from unions contributing funds for Communist purposes and laws for protection of strategic defense facilities.

The subcommittee has stressed over the years the danger of pacts and relationships between powerful unions and those geared toward Marxist ideology as practiced by Harry Bridges and his union's hierarchy, e.g., three pacts embracing the "Relationship Between Teamsters Union and Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers." Part 2 (1962 and 1963) reported the coalition of ILWU and kindred unions, self-styled "independent" because it is not within the AFL-CIO.

HARRY BRIDGES FEATURED

It became urgent in February of 1972 for the House to approve a modified version of the administration's emergency bill to end the west coast dock strike through compulsory arbitration. Featured in the reports from San Francisco was Harry Bridges, his union and the Teamsters, all of whom had combined to virtually throttle this country's maritime activities. The same news reports reflected "the proposed merger of the 65,000-member ILWU into the 2.1 million-member Teamsters Union."

This too was envisaged by the subcommittee and the Congress was warned as to the possibilities. In pointing out the infiltration of ILWU Communist-identified members into the Teamsters and the rapport between their union's leadership under James Riddle Hoffa with Harry Bridges, the subcommittee reported August 28, 1964 (page 72 in its report):

Despite the warning publicly sounded to Hoffa of the perils of *entente cordiale* with Communist-trade unionists, the entry in 1962 by Research Director Bernard Stern of Mine-Mill into the Teamsters, also in Hawaii [as was and is ILWU] would indicate that Hoffa feels he's bigger than the Communists and perhaps smarter. Senator McClellan (of this subcommittee) told the Congress September 19, 1961—

"Many of those who have made a study of communism and who know the records of both Bridges and Hoffa appear to feel that Jimmy Hoffa is no match for Bridges and are apprehensive that the Hoffa-Bridges association will open opportunity for Communist infiltration of the Teamsters—with the strong probability that Bridges will ultimately dominate both unions."

The need for the subcommittee's keeping abreast of the operations of Bridges and his unions was stressed, in effect, in a syndicated newspaper column referring to the fact that "the Pacific waterfront long has been drenched with the power of a handful of men only one of whom surfaces—namely longshoremen's chief Harry Bridges. For every solution offered over 15 months to settle 'the' strike, Bridges and his wraiths who are his comrades developed a new problem."

The files of the subcommittee and its continuing researches indicate that the basis of this finest of monstrous mischief lies not in American trade unionism but in pro-Soviet ideology. Roots of the threat surely lie partly in international ramifications reflecting that ideology. Contributing may be, also, to what the columnist, Vic Riesel, reports are "furious battles inside the ILWU between Harry Bridges, long pro-Soviet, and his ultra associate secretary-treasurer, Louis Goldblatt." The Pacific Maritime Association of 114 shipping companies yielded on 95 percent of the union's demands.

What makes Harry Bridges so cocky? How could he, in that surly self-confidence with which he has literally sneered at this government for some four decades, threaten with such assuredness that the shippers would be sorry if they forced a Congressional settlement?

Could it be that Bridges' ties with the international pro-Soviet maritime unions give him a justifiable sense of global muscle? Virtually everybody except a handful of Federal officials in and out of the Nation's intelligence services has overlooked his threat—to cripple American ocean-going commerce. He did say that it could well be that if the Congress forced the 13,000 longshoremen into compulsory arbitration and U.S. freighters moved out, they might be immobilized in foreign ports by left-wing unions. ("Inside Labor," by Vic Riesel, February 7, 1972).

The subcommittee continues to recommend that tax exemptions be denied a union whose activities invoke the Communist Control Act of 1954. Denial of such largess to Communist infiltrated hierarchies will place stress upon the need for leadership geared to the needs of individual union membership, and serving American, not hostile foreign interests.

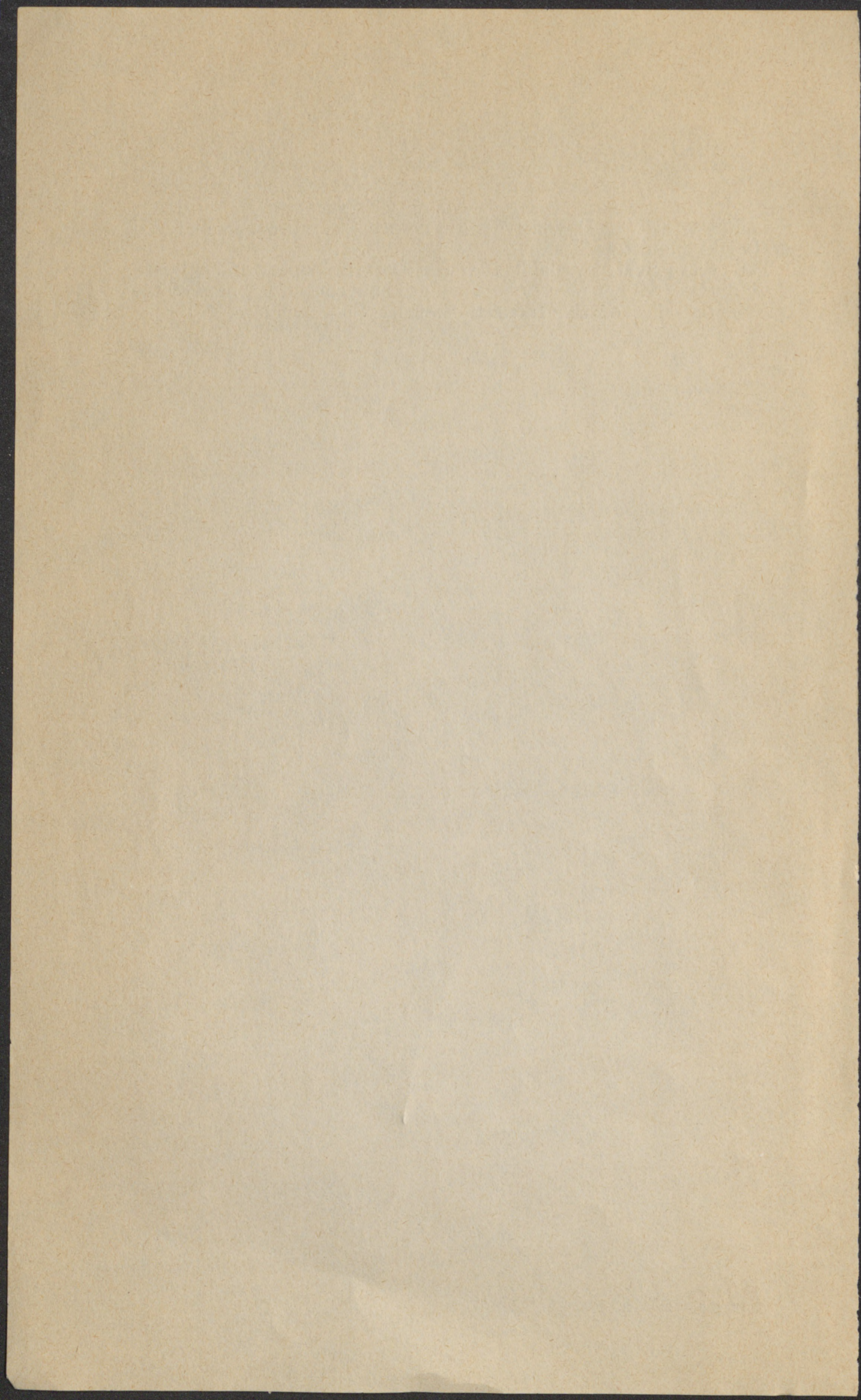
THE VAN DEEMAN PAPERS

In early 1971, the subcommittee learned the Army had in its hands a portion of a private collection of papers amassed by former Army intelligence officer, Colonel Ralph Van Deeman, who died in 1952. Inquiries determined the documents were not integrated with files maintained by the Army, and were surplus to its needs.

It was requested the so-called Van Deeman papers be turned over to the subcommittee to determine what value, if any, they might be in the discharge of the subcommittee's responsibilities. In his letter of request Senator Eastland called attention to the private nature of

the documents; that in whole they were not composed of material resulting from Army investigations. They were examined and found pertinent and germane to the subcommittee's purposes. It was determined that the Van Deeman files did not duplicate previous material in the subcommittees files.

The Army made available the Van Deeman papers and advised their return was not necessary. They are now considered part of the confidential files of the Internal Security Subcommittee.



SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS

Set forth below, in chronological order, is a synopsis of the investigative testimony released by the subcommittee during the year 1971.

FEBRUARY, MARCH, 1971, THOMAS EDWARD MOSHER

The testimony of Thomas Edward Mosher gives an inside view of the Revolutionary Left—an intimate behind-the-scenes look at the radical movement now preaching, and practicing, revolution in America.

It began with Mosher becoming active in SDS projects in Chicago following civil rights work in the South during the summer of 1965. He was first connected with JOIN (Jobs or Income Now), which at the time was headed by Rennie Davis.

In early 1968, Mosher and other leaders of JOIN were invited to meet with Gus Hall, chairman of the Communist Party, USA, and several other high officials of the Communist Party. At the meeting, Mosher and others were invited to visit Russia. Mosher accepted, but was subsequently persuaded by the leadership of SDS to go to Cuba instead. He took the place of Bernardine Dohrn, who was unable to go due to her involvement in the intensive plans for demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Mosher's SDS group traveled to Havana through Mexico City in the latter part of August 1968. It was the second trip of "New Left" leaders. A group which included Mark Rudd traveled there in February of 1968 prior to his leadership of the Columbia University riots. They were the forerunners of the "cane-cutting" Venceremos Brigades which began a year later. Mosher was "chosen by the SDS National Office to make the contact with the Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples," a Havana-based, Communist dominated general headquarters to "support, direct, intensify, and coordinate guerrilla operations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America." The Tricontinental had issued an invitation to create an "on-going" relationship with SDS, according to Mosher's testimony.

RED CARPET TREATMENT

The visiting Americans in Mosher's group received the "red-carpet" treatment, even to the extent of being served gourmet meals while the ordinary Cuban people waited in long lines for sparse rations. Mosher described the Cubans as being very sophisticated in their treatment of his American group and being exceedingly skillful in bringing about the sort of discussion they wanted, giving it direction . . . giving people the impression that they reached their own conclusions.

In private conversation with an American Catholic priest, the Rev. Blaise Bonpane, who had been expelled from Guatemala for working

with the Communists, and a representative of the Cuban Central Committee, Mosher was told of "the necessity of the American clergy beginning to engage in acts of violence against property—not against people—so as to legitimize revolutionary violence in the United States." Mosher assigned great importance to this referring to the significance of the Berrigan Case. He said they expressed the opinion that American people identify with the clergy so that if they could make a moral issue out of war and revolution, many young people would begin to accept the legitimacy of revolution and violence.

Mosher said the other representative of the Cuban Central Committee, during this meeting with Father Bonpane, continually emphasized the necessity of SDS and the Panthers working in the same direction, stressing the availability of Cuba for secret discussions. Mosher pointed out that the Tricontinental Conference in its early literature had "made a great deal of the Black Panthers" at a time when the Panthers "had gotten very little press in the United States and had a very small membership." Subsequent to the lavish coverage in Cuba, Mosher noted that the Panthers "have grown, have adopted a Marx-Leninist ideology, and have declared themselves a revolutionary organization dedicated to the overthrow of the American Government." Mosher felt these conversations more or less suggested to him that the activities of Mark Rudd and the SDS Chapter at Columbia University the prior spring were an example of the sort of direction the student movement should take in the United States, which it subsequently did.

TIES WITH BLACK PANTHERS

After returning from Cuba in October 1968, Mosher enrolled at Stanford University in California. He began work on UFAF (United Front Against Fascism) and in the process of working on the conference set up an initial meeting between the Central Committee of SDS and the Black Panther Party. At about that time he began a new role as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In this period of time, Mosher developed "on-going" relationships with staff members of the Black Panther Party and members of the Central Committee. He attended numerous meetings, some of which were in the home of David Hilliard. One meeting took place in Mosher's home with Bobby Seale, David Hilliard, and Big Man (Elroe Howard) present, all top leaders.

Subsequent to his return to the San Francisco bay area, around March 1969, Mosher and approximately 10 other individuals traveled to a remote mountain area in the Santa Cruz Mountains for target practice, to discuss techniques of using high explosives, and to discuss revolutionary politics.

Mosher had further experiences with the Santa Cruz location through acquaintance with Randolph Williams, whom he identified as a primary military instructor and organizer for the Black Panther Party, and with whom Mosher had interacted within a cell group and had extensive personal knowledge of the Urban Guerrilla activities of Randolph Williams. Williams told Mosher that he had brought a number of small groups of Panthers to the Santa Cruz location for periods of several days to "engage in training with high-powered and automatic weapons, and other implements of revolutionary terror." Eventually the site was used as a bomb factory "with timers, home-

made mercuric fulminate, and electronic devices utilized for detonation of high explosives." Later, on information provided by Mosher, the place was raided by the Criminal Investigation and Identification Division of the California Department of Justice. Four large caches of explosives were confiscated.

Mosher said James Johnson, an expert on bomb timing devices, told him of helping to burn a murder victim at the Santa Cruz area. Johnson claimed that Black Panther James Carr shot Fred Bennett, an alleged informer. Subsequent separate searches by Mosher and the Criminal Investigation and Identification Division and the Sheriff's Department of Santa Cruz County of the area recovered bone fragments positively identified as human by a pathologist, keys, buttons, some change, and other metallic objects, a wedding ring, and several other personal possessions of the deceased, which subsequently were identified as having belonged to one Fred Bennett. Fred Bennett was a high-ranking Black Panther attached to the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee as liaison between the defense committee and the Black Panther Party. Reportedly Fred Bennett had been involved in a love affair with Artie Seale, the wife of the then-imprisoned Bobby Seale.

MARCH 16, 1971, DETECTIVE SGT. CLIFFORD A. MURRAY
AND DETECTIVE RICHARD M. SCHAVE, INTELLIGENCE
UNIT OF THE MICHIGAN STATE POLICE

Testimony of these witnesses centered on the activities of Venceremos Brigade members in the State of Michigan, involving recruiting, distribution of propaganda, and the manufacture of explosive devices.

In addition, these witnesses told of a conspiracy to kidnap Senator Robert Griffin, by the leaders of the White Panther Party, now known as the Rainbow Peoples Party of Ann Arbor, Mich., a group formed to provide support to the Black Panther Party. [One of the founders, Lawrence Plamondon, was indicted along with John Sinclair and John Waterhouse Forrest by a Federal grand jury for the bombing of the CIA offices in Ann Arbor, Mich., on Sept. 29, 1968.]

The White Panther Party leadership, it was testified, had elaborated plans for urban guerrilla operations for the purpose of not only kidnapping high State and Federal officials including the Vice President of the United States, but also to rob banks and bomb police stations. On July 23, 1970, the Michigan State Police arrested Plamondon and Forrest and a search of their vehicle yielded 65 pounds of explosives and maps of military installations in addition to a detailed diagram of a bank building in Traverse City, Mich.

The officers made available documents relating to the activities of the Radical Education Project, a publishing commune which prints Marxist-Leninist material and disseminates it to leftist organizations.

MARCH 25, 1971, ALLAN CROUTER AND PAUL CHAMBERS,
INTELLIGENCE SECTION, DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT

This testimony centered on the activities of the Venceremos Brigade in the Detroit, Mich., area, and the Radical Education Project.

The detectives gave detailed information of the activities of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, founded in 1967 by General (given name) Gordon Baker, a former leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, who had visited Cuba in 1964 and who, in 1966, was convicted for carrying a concealed weapon.

The League of Revolutionary Workers had organized cells in practically every automobile manufacturing plant in the Detroit area, as the list below indicates :

Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant of Chrysler Corp. ;
 JARUM at the Chrysler Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant ;
 FRUM at the Ford River Rouge Assembly Plant ;
 MARUM at the Chrysler Mack Avenue Assembly Plant ;
 UPRUM at the United Parcel Warehouse, and
 NERUM, Detroit News Plant.

The program of the LRBW, which was incorporated in June 1969 after the merger of DRUM and ELDRUM (Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Revolutionary Union Movement), was endorsed by the Auto Commission of the Communist Party, USA, in the spring of 1969.

MAY 5, 1971, LAWRENCE A. BRITT

Mr. Britt testified before the subcommittee on May 5, 1971. He is a defector from the Czechoslovakian Government, having served as a ranking official in its espionage apparatus directed mainly toward discrediting the United States in the eyes of the world through methods commonly referred to as "disinformation." In the Soviet-bloc intelligence services this department was known as Department for Active Measures, according to Mr. Britt.

Mr. Britt was recruited into the Czechoslovakian Intelligence Service (CIS) in 1954 and remained as one of its employees (attaining the rank of major) until his defection in 1968. Mr. Britt characterized the activity of disinformation as "black propaganda * * * These operations, first of all, aim at influencing the sphere of public opinion of the non-Communist world, trying to deceive the world public opinion, to undermine the American positions all over the world."

Another consideration of the technique of the Active Measures Department "is deceiving decisionmakers of the non-Communist countries, and to bring them false decisions;" in other words "to 'feed' them with false information and expect that they will then use it as a basis for wrong conclusions and measures."

Britt stated a CIS plan worked out in 1965 under Soviet supervision characterized the United States as its primary enemy. "The goal was to isolate the United States in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa morally and politically and to promote the withdrawal of American military from Europe * * * The territory of developing countries represented the main battlefield in anti-American activities," according to Britt.

One example cited by this witness occurred in about 1965 and involved three forgeries of American documents portraying the United States as the "major conspirator and enemy of left-oriented African regimes." These papers were published in Tanzania by its then Foreign

Affairs Minister. They were eventually proved wrong but not before an anti-American propaganda campaign was instigated.

Another instance cited by Mr. Britt was the direct involvement by CIS in organizing demonstrations and riots in Panama in 1965.

Mr. Britt was also aware of and described a CIS plot to discredit the 1964 presidential candidate, Senator Barry Goldwater. The candidate was attacked as a racist by mixing sensational ingredients with facts concerning him, and then distributing the mixture in the form of leaflets through anonymous mailings in the United States. Mr. Britt concluded the CIS operated in this manner not because the candidate was anti-Czechoslovakian but because Mr. Goldwater was anti-Communist.

While the CIS may seem to be independent of outside influence, Mr. Britt reaffirmed its complete control by the Soviet Union's intelligence and espionage apparatus through a system of Soviet advisers.

JULY 30, 1971, FRANCISCO ANTONIO TEIRA ALFONSO

Teira's testimony was extremely valuable because it provided hitherto unknown details of the techniques used by the Cubans to recruit, indoctrinate, and train American radicals visiting Cuba. Teira, who had personally participated in several sessions, revealed that among the American radicals trained in such manner were some of the top leaders of the Weathermen faction in addition to many black militants such as Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and others.

Teira's testimony also revealed the methods used to mislead foreign correspondents visiting Cuba.

Teira also testified that he personally witnessed the encounter of a group of American radicals with a Vietcong representative, now a member of the Vietcong delegation at the Paris peace talks. During the exchange, the Vietcong exhorted his audience to assault and kill policemen as the only means of destroying the establishment in the United States.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1971, ROMAN GONZALEZ-PARDO

Roman Gonzalez-Pardo, who testified in both executive and open sessions, formerly, was director of the Cuban fishing fleet.

In this capacity, Gonzalez-Pardo was responsible for the dispatching of the Cuban Fishing Fleet into U.S. Territorial waters for the purpose of creating an international incident in January of 1964. The Cubans hoped to involve the Soviet Union and the United States in a dispute as a result of the artfully created incident, he testified.

Gonzalez-Pardo revealed that the Cuban Directorate of Intelligence (DGI) could request the use of any vessel of the fishing fleet for the purpose of transporting subversives and arms along the littoral of North, Central, and South America.

Disclosing details of operations involving leaders of guerrilla movements in Latin America, and the role of the Soviet Union diplomatic mission in Cuba, Gonzalez-Pardo also revealed the details of a plot to assassinate Fidel Castro, which was discovered and resulted in his arrest and jailing.

OCTOBER 15, 1971, ZULEMA BREGADO GUTIERREZ, JOSE DIAZ HERNANDEZ, AND JUAN DIAZ LOPEZ

Given in open session, the testimony of these athletes of the Cuban team which participated in the Pan-American Games in Calai, Colombia, centers on the use of sports as a means of not only propaganda, but subversion and espionage as well.

According to the athletes, who defected in Colombia, the Castro Regime, in order to score propaganda points with the Latin American public, forces its athletes to train almost to the end of their physical endurance.

In order to achieve its goals, the Communist Regime of Cuba completely disregards the personal feelings of the athletes to the point of prohibiting marriage and performing abortions on promising female athletes.

In order to achieve the highest performance, the Cubans violate the Olympic Committee regulations by subsidizing their athletes in addition to forcing them to train much longer than the permissible training period of 6 weeks prior to an international competition. Political indoctrination is a relevant part of training.

The Cubans make extensive use of Iron Curtain coaches to train their teams and artfully manipulate the points awarded to their athletes so as to obtain a higher propaganda value from the international competitions.

State security agents disguised as members of the Delegation travel along with the athletes to prevent defections and in some instances to photograph military installations in the countries visited.

According to the testimony of the athletes, the Cuban Regime uses its athletic delegations as conduits of propaganda by distributing records and pamphlets with Cuban subversive messages.

NOVEMBER 17, 1971, VANCE A. CHRISTIAN

Mr. Christian testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee meeting in executive session on November 17, 1971.

On June 26, 1969, a police officer also testifying in executive session, which was later made public, introduced a list of names taken from an address book of a member of the Black Panthers. The police officer had obtained the data from one of his confidential sources. Among the names and addresses appearing in that book was: "Vance A. Christian, 211 Statler, 114 Summit Avenue, Ithaca, N.Y. * * *"

In March, 1970, Mr. Christian petitioned various Members of Congress protesting that he was not a member of the Black Panthers. Mr. Christian was afforded an opportunity to appear under oath and rebut the earlier allegation concerning his membership in the Black Panthers. In accordance with the practice of the subcommittee, Mr. Christian's testimony was ordered printed and disseminated in the same manner as the earlier published information furnished by the police officer.

LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS

SENATE BILLS: S. 1499, S. 1500, S. 1501, S. 1502, S. 1503, S. 1504

On April 5, 1971, Senator James O. Eastland introduced six bills (S. 1499, S. 1500, S. 1501, S. 1502, S. 1503, and S. 1504) which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and are presently pending before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Considered together these six bills make up a package which includes substantially all the provisions that were contained by S. 12, which died on the calendar of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary at the end of the 91st Congress, after having been reported favorably by the Internal Security Subcommittee. S. 12 had proposed to rewrite the Internal Security Act quite extensively so as to plug various loopholes and restore the efficacy and enforceability of various segments of our internal security laws along the lines suggested by a series of Supreme Court decisions which found those various security provisions inadequate in one respect or another, or ineffective to accomplish their purposes.

Although 20 Senators joined in cosponsoring S. 12, the bill spent nearly 2 years without action on the calendar of the Judiciary Committee in the previous Congress. One reason for this may have been the fact that S. 12 involved so many different provisions in a single package that Senators were reluctant to take it up while they were faced with various other responsibilities of great importance which were before the Committee on the Judiciary during both sessions of the 91st Congress.

In brief, the purposes of these six bills were as follows:

S. 1499. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, with respect to certain offenses against the security of the United States;

S. 1500. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes;

S. 1501. A bill to amend titles 18 and 28, United States Code, with respect to proceedings before committees of the Congress, and for other purposes;

S. 1502. A bill to amend the Internal Security Act of 1950, and for other purposes;

S. 1503. A bill to amend the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938; and

S. 1504. A bill to provide for the internal security of the United States Government, and for other purposes.

Without discussing at length each of the several bills, but giving a general idea of what they involve, each is identified as follows:

S. 1499 is a proposed Security Offenses Act of 1971. It would amend the criminal code in various ways for the purpose of strengthening security. Among its major provisions are: First, strengthen definitions of "war premises" and "national defense premises"; second, a provision for suspension of the running of the statute of limitations applicable to offenses involving the performance of official duty by Government employees; third, the statute of limitations on the crimes of treason, espionage; fourth, a series of amendments to restore the efficacy of that law; and fifth, a prohibition against the giving of aid or comfort to a foreign government engaging our Armed Forces in combat.

S. 1500 is a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, with a view toward increasing both immigration security and passport security. This bill carries the short title of the Immigration and Passport Security Act. Among other provisions, this bill embraces a short travel control act which would give the Secretary of State, subject to the approval of the President, necessary authority for travel control, entirely independent of passports.

S. 1501 is a proposed Congressional Inquiries Act of 1971, which contains necessary provisions for facilitating congressional investigations. Among these provisions is a new immunity statute for congressional witnesses, provisions dealing with the service of congressional subpoenas abroad, a section prohibiting reprisals against congressional witnesses, and a section providing that no court of the United States shall presume to decide whether a congressional committee is performing or has performed its duties effectively or satisfactorily, any such determination being an exclusive legislative prerogative.

S. 1502 is a series of amendments proposed to the Internal Security Act of 1950, which together bear the short title "Internal Security Act of 1971." Among other provisions, these amendments would :

First, make a series of changes in the Subversive Activities Control Act to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the Subversive Activities Control Board ;

Second, effectively prohibit the employment of Communists in Defense Facilities ;

Third, prohibit employment of Communists as teachers in any school system supported wholly or partly by Federal funds ;

Fourth, deny tax exemptions to subversive organizations or individuals, and

Fifth, disallow tax donations to Communist organizations.

S. 1503 would amend the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

S. 1504 which carries the short title of the Government Security Act of 1971, would provide for the establishment of an independent agency in the executive branch of the Government to handle all of the investigations and evaluations in personnel security cases, except with respect to employees of agencies in the intelligence community and employees of the armed services. This new Central Security Agency would not grant clearances, that power being left to the heads of the respective employing agencies or departments.

Open hearings were held on these six bills May 11-13, 1971, at the conclusion of which recess was taken subject to the call of the chair. No further hearings or action were taken on these six bills during the remainder of the first session of the 92d Congress. However, it is hoped that these six bills may be moved toward the floor of the Senate as rapidly as possible during the second session of the 92d Congress so that the Senate may work its will with respect to these matters which so vitally concern the internal security of our country.

COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

Several publications other than hearings were issued by the subcommittee during the year.

THE HUMAN COST OF SOVIET COMMUNISM

This study, which was originally prepared for the subcommittee by the famed British Sovietologist, Robert Conquest, in the fall of 1970, was reissued as a Senate document in July 1971.

Only 36 pages long, "The Human Cost of Soviet Communism" has attracted much attention and had been the object of a continuing demand.

The following paragraphs summarizing Mr. Conquest's study are taken from the late Senator Dodd's introduction:

The author of this study, Mr. Robert Conquest of London, England, is a scholar who enjoys an international reputation as an expert on Soviet affairs. His recent book, "The Great Terror," is without exception the most definitive work on Stalin's purges of the thirties. It is precisely because of his widely acknowledged expertise in this area that Mr. Conquest was asked by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security to prepare this study, which, to our knowledge, is the first document yet published that attempts to assess in a systematic manner the total human cost of Soviet communism.

Mr. Conquest's computations, based on a monumental job of research, comes up with this staggering finding that well over 20,000,000 human beings were executed or killed in other ways by the Soviet Communist authorities since the revolution. Mr. Conquest points out that this is a conservative estimate, which is almost certainly too low and that the real figure might very well be 50 percent greater than this.

Mr. Conquest does not include in this tabulation, although it is the conviction of the undersigned Senator that they belong there, his estimate that the cost of the civil war, from military action, executions, typhus, and famine, totaled 9 million lives, and that the great famine of 1921 which followed the civil war, cost another 5 million lives.

If these figures are added to the figures given above, we come up with a grand total of nearly 35 million human lives as a minimum estimate and 45 million as a more probable estimate.

The Communists believe that the end justifies the means. Even if the Soviet Union had turned out to be the kind of social paradise that Communist propagandists peddle to those they are attempting to deceive, it would still be impossible to argue that any paradise is worth 40 million human lives. But the fact is, as the Judeo-Christian ethic teaches us, that the end cannot be separated from the means, that evil means inevitably beget evil ends.

The mass terror of the Bolsheviks, with its incredible toll in human life and human suffering, instead of producing the promised paradise, not very surprisingly produced a totalitarian state where a ruthless political elite to this day seeks to perpetuate itself in power and to order every aspect of their people's lives.

Instead of opening the way to a more productive and more prosperous future, it created a state-owned system of agriculture which, by destroying human incentive has saddled the Soviet Union with the most backward and unproductive and crisis-ridden agriculture in any major nation.

Instead of producing the great outpouring of artistic imagination and spiritual energy that has characterized the aftermath of every authentic revolution in history, it created an artistic wasteland, where literature and art were reduced to instruments of Communist propaganda, and where those brave souls who

sought to break the bonds of the cultural straitjacket were sentenced to prison or forced labor or to the insane asylum.

One of the most telling sections of Mr. Conquest's study is his account of the ideological roots of the Bolshevik terror. The terror was not just something that happened because rank and file revolutionaries got out of hand. On the contrary, as the gruesome quotations from Bolshevik sources establish, organized mass terror was a cardinal tenet of Bolshevik policy, from Lenin and Trotsky down.

For example, Lenin, in his collected works, is quoted as saying: "not a single revolutionary government can dispense with the death penalty for the exploiters (i.e., for the landlords and capitalists.)" And when the Leningrad party in June 1918, sought to restrain those elements who wished for mass terror, Lenin replied to them with a statement, "This is unheard of. The energy and mass nature of the terror must be encouraged."

Mr. Conquest makes no apology for the czarist regime or its repressive measures. But he nevertheless makes the point that the Bolshevik dictatorship introduced new horrors that had been unheard of during the worst days of czarist repression—horrors like the execution of hundreds of thousands of people on class grounds; like the taking of hostages; like the shooting of enemy wounded; like the obscene confessional trails in which innocent men accused themselves of crimes they could not possibly have committed; like the mass famine of the thirties deliberately organized for the purpose of crushing peasant resistance; or like the Stalinist system of forced labor camps which, over a period of some 20 years, housed an average population in excess of 8 million a year, and where the death rate averaged at the very least 10 percent a year.

Mr. Conquest, in his summary, makes the point, that in concentrating on the mortality statistics,

* * * it would surely be wrong to forget the vast amount of unquantifiable human misery resulting from, indeed part of, this same process. The suffering of wives whose husbands disappeared, the children who were orphaned, cannot be counted. The spiritual cost of being forced to denounce one's own parents, the mental torment of lying in fear of unjust arrest and death night after night for months or years, is not subject to measurement.

THE HUMAN COST OF COMMUNISM IN CHINA

As a companion study to "The Human Cost of Soviet Communism," The late Senator Thomas Dodd, in the fall of 1970, asked Professor Richard L. Walker to prepare a study on "The Human Cost of Communism in China." As Senator James O. Eastland pointed out in his introduction, Professor Walker, who serves as director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina, was selected for the assignment because he is widely recognized as one of this country's foremost China scholars. The publication was released in August 1971.

"The announcement that President Nixon will be visiting Red China in the near future," said Senator Eastland further, "makes it more than probable that the coming period will witness important changes in our relations with Peking. But there can be no disagreement on the central point that, whatever the status of our relations with China, it is imperative that we in America have a realistic appreciation of the nature and objectives of Chinese Communism. * * * The great merit of the study * * * is that, while it does not deny the Communists credit for certain important economic and social accomplishments, it paints the picture whole by assessing and bringing to life the terrible human cost at which these accomplishments were achieved."

It was Professor Walker's estimate, after having studied all the evidence, that communism in China, from the time of the first civil war (1927-1936) until the present, has cost a minimum of 34,000,000 human lives and that the total might run as high as 64,000,000 lives. The study quoted a Radio Moscow broadcast as charging that "in the

course of 10 years, more than 25,000,000 people in China were exterminated. * * * During 1960 alone, Mao Tse-tung's government exterminated more Chinese than were killed in the entire war against Japan."

Professor Walker also quoted the following passage from a letter written by Professor Yang Shih-chan to the Yangtze Daily during the brief period of intellectual freedom that characterized the "Hundred Flowers" period:

* * * During the social reforms campaign, unable to endure the spiritual torture and humiliation imposed by the struggle * * * the intellectuals who chose to die by jumping from tall buildings, drowning in rivers, swallowing poison, cutting their throats, or by other methods, were innumerable. If we say that comrade Stalin has not escaped from condemnation in history for his cruel massacre of comrades, then our Party, in my opinion, will also be condemned for our massacre of intellectuals who had already "surrendered" themselves to us. Our Party's massacre of intellectuals and the mass burying alive of the literati by tyrant Ch'in Shih-huang, will go down in China's history as two ineradicable stigma. This cannot but make us utterly heartbroken.

In addition to the gross cost in human lives, the study dealt with other aspects of the human costs of communism in China—the arbitrary movement of people, the purging of the intellectuals, the systematic destruction of the old Chinese culture (including the burning of libraries and shrines), the stifling of creativity, the suffering of the refugees, and "the replacement of the traditional language of courtesy and respect between humans—so characteristically Chinese—with the language of violence and struggle * * *."

Conceding that the Chinese Communists had made marked progress in certain areas, Professor Walker argues that "there are other paths, far more peaceful and far less destructive, through which the Chinese civilization can find its place in the modern world. * * *" He describes Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore as three specific examples of the remarkable accomplishments of which the Chinese people are capable, without incurring the staggering human costs incurred by Red China.

Summarizing his findings, Professor Walker said in his introduction:

The Communist movement in China, despite its proclaimed high ideals, must be judged on performance and, as regards the human equation, there is little to commend it. Those who wish to rationalize public assassinations, purges of classes and groups or slave labor as a necessary expedient for China's progress are resorting to the same logic which justified a Hitler and his methods for dealing with economic depression in the Third Reich.

It is important that we in America remember some of the basic facts of human values lest we be beguiled into forgetting that those who succeeded in inducing an artificial American euphoria in the wage of ping-pong diplomacy from Peking in the spring of 1971, are the same leaders who have extracted such a great human cost from their own people, in the name of a doctrine long since discredited in the world, both in terms of performance and intellectual respectability.

THE HUMAN COST OF COMMUNISM IN VIETNAM

"The Human Cost of Communism in Vietnam"—the third in the series of studies on the human cost of communism—was released by the subcommittee on March 7, 1972.

The study took the form of a compendium of excerpts from some of the most authoritative writings on the subject of Vietnam. In-

cluded in the compendium were Joseph Buttinger, a leading member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party in the pre-Hitler days, and the author of several major works on Vietnam; Bernard Fall, a French national whose books on Vietnam have the status of standard reference texts; Douglas Pike, author of the definitive work on the Vietcong; Stephen Hosmer of the Rand Corp., who has made perhaps the most thorough available study of terror as an instrument of Communist policy in Vietnam; Prof. P. J. Honey of London, one of the foremost free world authorities on North Vietnam; Hoang Van Chi, a Vietnamese scholar who held important posts under Ho Chi Minh; Senator Gale McGee; and others.

Communist terror in North Vietnam, according to several authorities quoted in the study, has cost about 500,000 lives, while Communist terrorists in South Vietnam have already killed more than 30,000 civilians and kidnapped 54,000.

In his introduction to the study, Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the subcommittee, said:

It is, of course, impossible to provide mathematical proof for the proposition that a Communist victory in South Vietnam would result in a bloodbath. But there are documents and historical indices that permit one to make an intelligent assessment of what is likely to happen if a Communist regime ever should come to power in Saigon. And an examination of the (documents as a whole points) to the almost certain probability that a Communist victory would be followed by a bloodletting that would rival the worst that have taken place in Communist countries to date.

Senator Eastland said some indications pointing to probable mass murder include:

(1) The merciless body of Communist doctrine—from Lenin to Stalin to Mao Tse-tung to Ho Chi Minh—which justifies and insists on the imperative need for mass terror.

(2) The historical record of Communist bloodlettings—in the Soviet Union, in Red China, in North Vietnam, and wherever they have come to power.

(3) The record of Communist terror in South Vietnam during the entire period of the so-called insurgency, including the merciless massacres of men, women, and children at Dak Son, Duc Duc, and other places.

(4) The Hue massacre with its systematic killing, from prepared rosters of more than 3,000 victims, who, according to captured Communist documents were considered "wicked tyrants" or "counter-revolutionaries," who owed "blood debts" to the people.

(5) The considerable body of evidence of Communist intentions contained in captured documents and in the testimony of defectors.

Senator Eastland quoted two North Vietnamese colonels who had defected after more than 20 years in the Communist movement, as estimating that the Communists would slaughter from 1 million to 3 million if they win in South Vietnam. Prof. P. J. Honey and Douglas Pike both estimated that a Communist victory would be followed by the slaughter of at least 1 million South Vietnamese, and that it might run much higher.

"That there would be a massive bloodletting is something that is taken for granted by virtually every serious student of Vietnamese affairs," said Senator Eastland. "And the probability is that the final toll would lie somewhere in the range indicated by Professor Honey, Douglas Pike, and the two North Vietnamese colonel-defectors."

Senator Eastland said, "There are differing opinions on what we should do in Southeast Asia. But, whatever one believes, the record set forth in this study is something that every honest man will want to keep in mind in assessing the future of our Indochina policy."

THE ASSAULT ON FREEDOM

"The Assault on Freedom" is described as "a compendium of theoretical and policy statements by the Moscow and Peking Communists and by the bevy of other extremist organizations committed to the destruction of free institutions (almost all of which take pride in describing themselves as Marxist or Marxist-Leninist)."

In his introduction to the study, which was released in December 1971, Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of subcommittee, sets forth the purpose of the study in these terms:

It is important in any situation to "know one's enemy." This is especially so in trying to deal with the special kind of political warfare that has been forced on the free world by the Communists and their allies. There can be no better way of understanding the Communists or anticipating their actions than by systematically studying their press, their broadcasts, and their manuals, with a view to determining their policy on various issues, domestic and international.

Among other things, the compendium contained particularly extensive selections dealing with the organizational continuity of the Communist movement; urban guerrilla warfare; the Sino-Soviet split; President Nixon's visit to Red China; and Vietnam and the Anti-Vietnam movement.

Basing himself on the material contained in the compendium, Senator Eastland made the following basic points:

(1) A world Communist movement still exists.

The growing differences within the world Communist movement have led some observers to conclude that the movement no longer exists or that it has lost the capacity to operate as an effective international organism. They are right in the sense that it will be virtually impossible to reconstitute the centralized discipline of the Stalin period. They are wrong when they conclude from this that the movement has lost its capacity to function in a unified manner.

It operates on a different basis now. But that it operates effectively is apparent from the worldwide clamor that the world Communist movement has been able to generate on behalf of Angela Davis, or in opposition to American policy in Vietnam, or to the American invasion of Cambodia, or to the sentences recently imposed against Communist leaders in the Sudan. Common sense suggests that when demonstrations against American policy in Vietnam take place simultaneously in some 40 or 50 countries, this orchestration is the work of an international apparatus—and the Communist apparatus is the only mechanism in existence today capable of stage-managing such a worldwide extravaganza.

(2) The Communist movement now functions increasingly through international front organizations, and through united front movements, national and international.

Perhaps the most spectacular and successful example of an international united front movement under Communist control is the Afro-Asian and Latin American People's Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) which was set up at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in January of 1966. This development enormously enhanced the Communists' capacity for international subversion, because it brought together in a single organization dominated by them numerous militant nationalist movements, which, while not Communist, share the antipathy of the Communists towards the West and towards the United States in particular. It is also a development which has dramatically affected the internal security of the United States.

Since its establishment, the Tricontinental Organization has acted as the central fountainhead of terrorist and guerrilla activities throughout the Americas—including the United States.

It is of more than academic interest that the Tricontinental Organization has published and distributed in its own name in Spanish, Portuguese and English—Carlos Marighella's infamous "Handbook of the Urban Guerrilla," which provides detailed instructions on the entire spectrum of terrorist actions, from making bombs and robbing banks to political assassination and kidnapping.

In the case of the United States, the Tricontinental Organization has sponsored, taken under its wing, or struck up an alliance with, virtually all of the left-wing extremist organizations in this country that are committed to violence and terrorism—the Black Panthers, the Young Lords, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the Chicano Liberation Movement, and the Weathermen.

(3) The Sino-Soviet split and other differences within the Communist movement have not prevented joint action, or parallel action, in the Communist cause.

It would be a dangerous oversimplification to conclude that because certain Communist parties differ with Moscow on certain issues, they are, by virtue of this fact, disposed to be more friendly to America.

There is a dichotomy to the Moscow-Peking relationship which can be deceptive if one looks at one side only. They abuse each other daily in their radio broadcasts, and both sides are engaged in serious and enormously costly military preparations along the Sino-Soviet border. And yet they frequently take parallel action in the "anti-imperialist" cause; and sometimes, under instructions, their followers have even taken joint action.

Both China and the Soviet Union participated prominently in the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in 1969—competing for influence, and yet cooperating on basic policy.

They have both given massive military aid and unstinting political assistance to Hanoi—again, competing for influence and sometimes trading accusations.

When the April 24 anti-Vietnam demonstration was being organized, pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communists, Trotskyites and SDSers, responding to an appeal from Hanoi, decided to bury their differences in the interest of a united front, against their common enemy—"American Imperialism."

(4) Despite differences with New Left organizations and other Old Left organizations, the Communist Party and these organizations work together through "The Movement."

What is "The Movement"? The introduction explains it in these terms:

Especially in connection with the anti-Vietnam demonstrations, it has become commonplace for Communists and sundry radicals who have been working with them to refer to "The Movement." The term is generally used in a very broad manner, intended to cover the aggregate of organizations which seek not only an immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, but the progressive paralysis and eventual overthrow of American society—in short, the aggregate of organizations belonging both to the Old Left and the New Left.

Despite their frequently acrimonious differences with the Communist Party, the other organizations belonging to "The Movement" play a vital role in the Communist scheme of things. When the Bolsheviks were bidding for power in Russia, they entered into a temporary alliance with the Left Social Revolutionaries (Essairs) and the Anarchists, who, although terrorist organizations, had between them far greater popular support than their Communist partners. Like the Weathermen and the Black Panthers in the United States today, the "Essairs" and the Anarchists were able to generate a good deal of mischief. But it was the Bolsheviks who were the ultimate beneficiaries of their mischief, because only they possessed a science of revolution and a conspiratorial apparatus to go with it. Once the Bolsheviks, with the help of their allies, had overthrown the Kerensky government, they turned on both the Essairs and the Anarchists and suppressed them mercilessly.

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM

"Stripped of its sematic camouflage," said Senator Eastland in his introduction, "the Communist program for America, as is amply apparent from this compendium, boils down to the following essential points:

(1) They seek to isolate America, to destroy our alliances, and to drive a wedge between us and our most important friends, West Germany and Japan in particular.

(2) They seek to disarm America, calling for a 75 percent reduction in the military budget, the abstention from new military technologies, the curtailment of military research, the abolition of ROTC, the liquidation of the CIA.

(3) They seek to divide America by exploiting and exacerbating racial differences and minority grievances. Many of the grievances they seek to exploit are legitimate, and call for corrective action. But that the Communists are not interested in corrective action is apparent from their violent attacks on moderate leaders of our major ethnic minorities. Through the so-called "Black Liberation Movement," the "Chicano Liberation Movement," the "Indian Liberation Movement," they fan the flames of racial differences and seek to utilize the ethnic minorities as instruments of revolution. (The Bolsheviks also utilized the national minorities in the Russian empire as instruments of revolution. They promised them "freedom of self determination"—a slogan the CPUSA frequently uses with reference to American ethnic minorities. Once the revolution was firmly established, they not only forgot all about the right of self-determination, but imposed on their national minorities a rigidly centralized regime which has made the Soviet Union a veritable prisonhouse of nations.)

(4) They seek to further divide America along class lines and to undermine our economy by encouraging the most exorbitant demands by trade unions in which they have influence; by initiating wildcat strikes; and by an unremitting attack on the authority of responsible trade union leaders, mounted through movements like the National Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy, Miners for Democracy, and the National Rank and File Action Conference.

(5) They seek to undermine our entire structure of laws and law enforcement—our courts, our grand jury system, the FBI and the local police. Among other things, they call for community control of the police, for "Peoples' Tribunals," and for Citizens Committees of Inquiry.

(6) They seek to further weaken the authority of government and to give their immediate followers and allied extremists access to power, by agitating for community control of the schools, social centers, day care centers, etc.

(7) They seek to neutralize and destroy the two-party system by encouraging centrifugal tendencies within both parties.

(8) Operating primarily through the agency of Castro Cuba, the Tricontinental Organization, and the Venceremos Brigade, the world Communist movement seeks to sow chaos in America by encouraging, training, and supporting the various American extremist organizations which are committed to a policy of urban terrorism, including the assassination of policemen and the bombing of public buildings. (The CPUSA misses no opportunity to proclaim its own opposition to terrorist methods. But it is not "guilt by association" to suggest that their enthusiastic support for the Castro government, the Tricontinental Organization and the Venceremos Brigade, makes them morally involved in the terrorist activities sponsored by their vaunted allies.)

(9) By attacking on all of these fronts simultaneously, the CPUSA and the world Communist movement hope to bring about the destruction of "American imperialism," which they have proclaimed the "No. 1 enemy of mankind" for the obvious reason that only American power stands between them and their goal of worldwide dominion.

WORLD COMMUNISM, 1964-69, A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

At the end of the year, the subcommittee published a broadly gauged bibliography of writings on communism titled, "World Communism, 1964-69, A Selected Bibliography, Vol. II."

The bibliography lists nearly 6,000 significant publications in the field of international communism which were published or became available during the years 1964 through 1969.

This reference volume embraces the multiple aspects of international communism as a political movement and as an international system. Therefore, special emphasis has been placed on international relations, in addition to internal developments within each Communist state.

The subcommittee published a similar bibliography in 1963 dealing with important writings up until that time. The present one is organized along the same lines as the first volume, that is, according to

subject and geographic areas. The entries are arranged in three major categories: (1) Books and Pamphlets; (2) Periodicals and Newspapers; and (3) U.S. Government Publications.

Though this is a selected bibliography, and thus represents only a segment of the vast literature on communism, it nevertheless provides an excellent scope of useful literature on the subject. It is a valuable aid to Members of the Senate in selecting readings on this powerful and frequently perplexing movement which has never denied its eventual goal of world domination.

SOVIET INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY SERVICES, 1964-70

The Soviet Union's remarkable but largely unnoted turnabout in recent years from its longtime policy of calculated silence about Soviet espionage operations abroad is emphasized in a subcommittee publication, "Soviet Intelligence and Security Services, 1964-70," which was nearing completion at the end of the period covered by this report.

As late as 1962, Nikita Khrushchev piously told the chairman of the Japanese Communist Party: "Espionage is needed by those who prepare for attack, for aggression. The Soviet Union is deeply dedicated to the cause of peace and does not intend to attack anyone. Therefore it has no intention of engaging in espionage."

Yet, only 2 years later, *Pravda* published an article extolling the noted Soviet spy Sorge, who was executed in Japan during World War II.

Once the logjam was broken, a flood of articles about Sorge and other Soviet spies (notably Col. Rudolf Abel, convicted in the United States in 1957) followed.

The admission to the Soviet people that the Soviet State Security Service—long portrayed to them as an internal, defensive arm of the state—does in fact engage in peacetime spying abroad is even more dramatic than the revelations of the activities of military intelligence.

This subcommittee publication is a selected bibliography of Soviet writings on the subject, together with titles on Soviet intelligence activities appearing in English and French publications. Material was compiled by the research staff of the Internal Security Subcommittee and was prepared in its final form for publication by the Foreign Affairs Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

The introduction notes that the compilation is not intended to be all-inclusive.

It does, however, provide a cross-section of the attempt by the Soviet government to refurbish the image of its espionage and security apparatus . . . But no item has been published to date which might undermine the effectiveness of the security or intelligence services. Hence their history under Stalin, when they were used as private instruments of power, has not been revealed.

No attempt was made to comment on the accuracy of Soviet materials, although frequently claims made in them are at variance with other information available outside the Soviet sphere. It is also pointed out that discrepancies appear even among the data in the various Soviet publications themselves, "even though the program seems to be centrally directed and is well orchestrated."

"Despite the problems of credibility," the introduction says, "both the deliberate and the unintended, the publications of the Soviet

regime about its intelligence services, taken as a whole, are a valuable tool for students and specialists in the Western World who know how to use it. These works are pervaded by the regime's twin purposes of changing the way Soviet citizens think and feel about the two main intelligence services and of misleading all controlled research about events that the regime still consider sensitive."

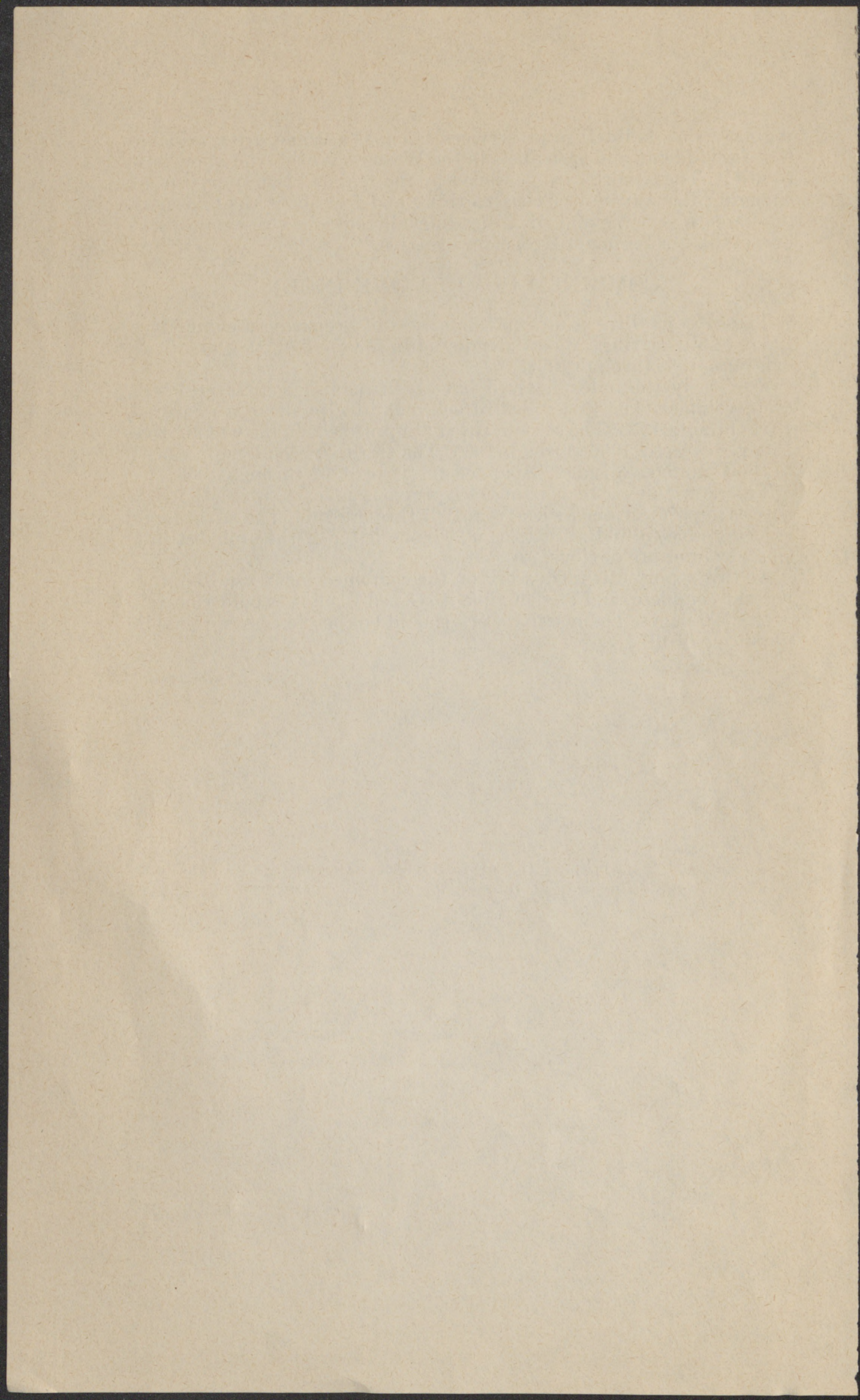
COMBINED CUMULATIVE INDEX

The subcommittee is now in the process of preparing a cumulative index of its hearings, reports, and studies for the first 21 years of its existence, 1950 through 1971.

Previously the indexes issued have been published in several separate volumes. The first index of subcommittee publications covered 1951 through 1955. The second, titled "Supplement to the Cumulative Index," covered 1956 through 1960. The third, "Second Supplement to the Cumulative Index," spanned the years 1961 through 1966.

The new index will combine all previous indexes, plus all index entries in publications issued from 1967 through 1971. The advantages of being able to find all entries under one letter of the alphabet in a single volume are obvious.

As this report was filed, work on the combined index was about 50 percent complete, and at that time it seemed likely it would run well over 1,500 pages. The massive work should be completed some time in the spring of 1972.



CONTEMPT CITATION

By resolution (204) adopted December 1, 1971 (Legislative day, November 29, 1971), the President of the Senate was authorized to certify the report of the Committee on the Judiciary regarding the refusal of Robert F. Williams to appear and testify before the Internal Security Subcommittee.

The subcommittee had prepared a report (92-525) on the date in question reflecting that on July 8, 1971, Robert F. Williams, though properly subpoenaed, failed to appear.

The December 1, 1971, report of the subcommittee pointed out that the subpoena to Williams was issued June 25, 1971. The testimony was called for pursuant to Senate Resolution 366, approved by the 81st Congress, second session, as amended and extended, and Senate Resolution 46, agreed to February 17, 1969, as modified. The subpoena was duly served on Williams in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on July 2, 1971.

Valuable testimony had been given the subcommittee by Williams, in response to its processes and requests, in 1970 on February 16, March 24, and March 25, as reflected in Parts 1, 2, and 3 of subcommittee printed hearings bearing those dates. The subcommittee was and is anxious to complete the testimony as the basis for a final report.

Williams has been regarded for several years as a dangerous, revolutionary militant. He became a fugitive from justice in 1961 and fled to Canada, to Cuba, to North Vietnam, to Peking and mainland China, to Tanzania and to Russia. Williams is regarded as a hero in Tanganyika; he has led a fight not distinguished for polemics but counseling force and violence in demanding a black nation in league primarily with Red China. As reported, "although not in this country for many years, he has nevertheless been plotting with revolutionary militants."

After Williams had finally returned to this country and was subpoenaed for the first of three sessions, his attorneys, of Detroit, Michigan, returned the transcripts of Report of Proceedings without correction or comments. "It is his position that the transcript is a report of your proceedings and if there are errors, they are your responsibility," the accompanying letter said.

Reasons for interest on the part of the subcommittee within its jurisdictional orbit include the fact that in 1969, Williams was Mao Tse-tung's Peking-based guest. Press reports September 12, 1969 described Williams' return on a special \$20,000 TWA flight. A few days later he told a reporter that "duty" called him back, though a fugitive from a North Carolina charge of kidnapping. Williams was described, on his return from China, as "president-in-exile" of the Republic of New Africa. The reference to him as "fugitive" stems from charges of kidnapping of two white persons, Mr. and Mrs. G. Bruce Stegall, North Carolina. Williams had pleaded that he had "guarded" the two victims during a night of mob clamor.

The subject had faced kidnapping charges and Michigan was about to permit extradition of the "separatist." In November of 1969, a State Circuit Court Judge had issued an injunction barring immediate extradition to North Carolina, though he had fled the country in 1961 when North Carolina authorities were pressing charges.

As the contempt proceedings neared a formal presentation before the United States District Court, Williams, by counsel, asked opportunity to purge himself. The subcommittee agreed to grant the request, and at first sought to arrange a hearing. When this proved impracticable, it was decided Williams would be given an opportunity to purge himself in two steps: First, by examining the printed record of his statements before the subcommittee and correcting any portions he now considers inaccurate; Second, by answering written interrogatories to be submitted by the subcommittee.

STATEMENTS OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, SISS PRINTS, PARTS 1, 2 AND 3, FEBRUARY 16, 1970 AND MARCH 24 AND 25, 1970:

Williams testified February 16, 1970 that when he departed this country he went to Canada and stayed there six weeks until he learned by way of the press that the U.S. Government had asked that he be apprehended . . . "because it was not safe there," he decided (Page 2 of print) to leave Canada and go to Cuba, where he stayed with his family five years. He then visited China and Vietnam and "later in 1966 moved to China to live." While in China Williams visited Africa in the year 1968 and stayed in Tanzania for about six months.

On questioning by Senator Strom Thurmond, who presided, the witness testified (Page 3) . . .

"* * * I left Cuba because I had some disagreement with the Cuban Government—and from there I went to China, but I left China because I wanted to return to the United States. I returned to the United States specifically because this was my home. The fact was that I was not Chinese. * * * I felt also that having lived abroad I had gained certain experiences and insight into a lot of problems, and I thought I would be able to make a contribution to my people, among my people, in America."

Continuing (Page 6) . . . "I know some intellectuals, but I differed with the Cubans—I am a black Nationalist, and the Cubans said that they did not support black nationalism because they had a black population in Cuba and they did not want these ideas to catch on among their people. So they said they could not support it. And I told them that my whole struggle, all of my resistance had been based upon the fact that I was fighting against racial discrimination plus I told them that when I went into Radio Havana that it looked like Mississippi, and they asked me what did I mean when I said it looked like Mississippi, and I told them because all the faces in the station, all of the faces were white, and this looked like Mississippi to me. It was what I would expect in Mississippi, and also in the foreign ministry I found the same thing. So later they did bring some black Cubans into the foreign ministry, but they got some people who were not qualified which only brought about a state of frustration and made it look worse."

In a session chaired by Senator Birch Bayh March 24, 1970, the witness testified as to a "Republic of New Africa" and as to "subjugated territories of RAM." (Page 81.) Asked as to what the territories are or would be, he answered, "Well, there was, I understand, according to the territory that they want, it is supposed to be the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina." [Note: RAM refers to Revolutionary Action Movement.]

A folder entitled, "Black America, Arm Yourself" was referred to and Mr. Williams stated that he had seen it . . . "This is some of the literature that was distributed." The attorney for the witness, Mr. Roger Craig, indicated (page 81) that at the bottom of the folder it would appear that it was the product of "Black Liberation Front of the United States of America."

PUBLIC DEMAND FOR SUBCOMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

Continuing interest of U.S. citizens in the work of the subcommittee is evidenced in constant public demand for its hearings, studies, and reports.

Many constituent requests for publications are relayed to the subcommittee staff from Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. A large number of letters asking for publications are mailed directly to the subcommittee. In addition, the subcommittee furnishes copies to newsmen, librarians, teachers, clergymen, and other interested persons.

The subcommittee issued 19 different hearings, studies, and reports in 1972, amounting to 74,490 separate booklets. Of these, an estimated 60,000 have been distributed and the remaining ones are in a state of on-going demand.

When possible, the subcommittee maintains a modest stock of back publications. There is a steady flow of requests for back publications from persons interested in historical research, security matters, Communist techniques, workings of espionage and subversion, and other varied facets of the field of internal security.

From time to time, the subcommittee suggests to the Superintendent of Documents of the Government Printing Office that it print one of its publications and offer it for sale through the mail or at its bookstore. Reasons for this are twofold:

First, the subcommittee receives only a limited number of copies of each publication. Under ordinary circumstances, this is not nearly enough to satisfy demands of constituent and other requests. When the Government Printing Office puts a publication on sale, this insures there will always be a supply available at a modest price, as long as there is demand.

Second, the sales allow the Government Printing Office to make a small but reasonable profit and therefore help reduce governmental printing expenses.

The Superintendent of Documents now has on sale 53 different titles originating from the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. A breakdown of the last 3 years furnished by the GPO (See p. 28) shows that GPO sold 69,721 separate subcommittee publications and took in \$50,903.25 from those sales.

One of the publications listed has been on sale there for 16 years. It is the famous "The Communist Party of the United States—What It is, How it Works—A Handbook for Americans." In the 3 years 1969–71, the "Handbook" sold a total of 2,614 copies at 45 cents each for a total of \$1,176.30. That is a better record than most publications on the list, but only a small part of the story. This remarkable booklet has, since 1956, sold a total of 162,459 copies and brought in a total of \$48,904.80.

A recent subcommittee publication put on sale by GPO shows promise of similar success. It is "The Assault on Freedom," released December 7, 1971. The initial sale print of 2,000 sold out quickly. The Superintendent of Documents was caught by surprise and had a backlog of 1,000 orders on his hands before he could go back to press with an additional order for 3,000 sale copies. Since then, "The Assault on Freedom" has been chosen for the GPO "Preferred List" for publications of best seller potential which is sent to more than 400,000 persons and organizations.

1971 PUBLICATIONS

Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

Extent of Subversion in the New Left :

Part 8—Testimony of Clifford A. Murray and Richard M. Schave.

Released March 16—132 pages, 3,200 copies.

Part 9—Testimony of Allen Crouter and Paul Chambers.

Released March 25—112 pages, 3,200 copies.

Testimony of Thomas Edward Mosher. Parts 1, 2. Released June 16.

192 pages, 4,000 copies each.

Hearings: Proposed Amendments to Internal Security Laws. Parts 1, 2, 3.

Released as received, July 21, 22, 23. 292 pages, 2,500 copies each.

Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean :

Parts 22, 23—Testimony of Francisco Antonio Teira Alfonso.

Released July 30—164 pages, 4,500 copies each.

Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean :

Part 24—Testimony of Roman Gonzalez Pardo.

(Open Hearing) Received from GPO December 7. 24 pages, 6,000 copies.

Part 25—Testimony of Zulema Bregado Gutierry, Jose Diaz Hernandez, and Juan Diaz Lopez.

(Open Hearing) Received from GPO December 15. 48 pages, 6,000 copies.

Testimony of Lawrence Britt—Released August 9—28 pages, 6,000 copies.

Human Cost of Soviet Communism (Senate Document 92-36)

Reprinted July 1971—42 pages, 10,000 copies.

Human Cost of Communism in China—Released August 12—48 pages, 8,000 copies.

Testimony of Robert F. Williams. Parts 1, 2, 3. Released November 16.

352 pages, 3,000 copies each.

The Assault on Freedom.

Released December 7. 244 pages, 2,200 copies.

Testimony of Vance A. Christian. Released on receipt, December 10. 16 pages, 2,100 copies.

World Communism—1964-1969.

Released January 14. 468 pages, 1,790 copies.

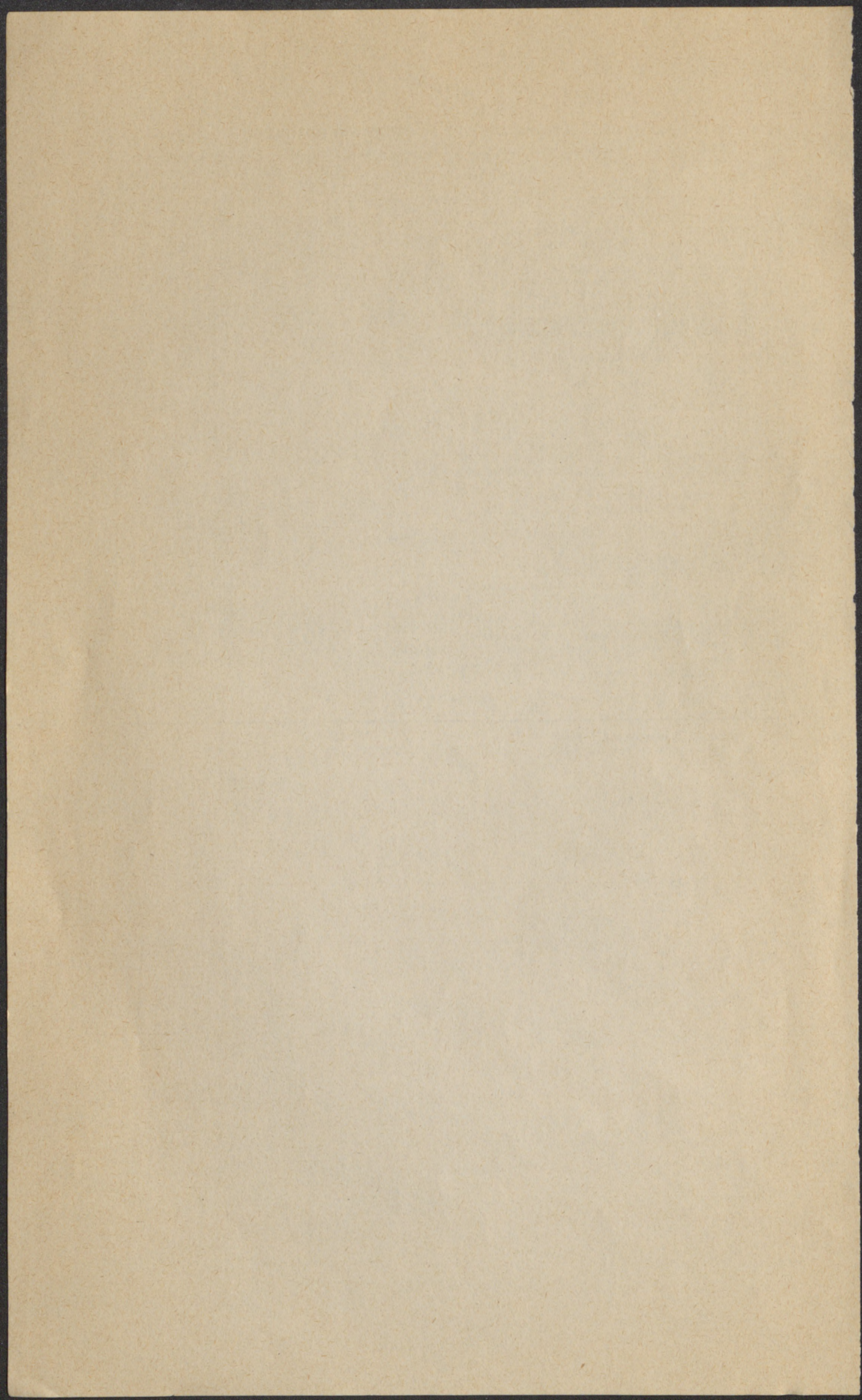
PRINTS OF INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE SOLD BY GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1969-71

Title	Price	Sales for the last 3 years	Reprinted in the last 3 years
Hearings—Testimony of Juan Isidro Tapia Adames and Alfonso L. Tarbochia.	\$0.20	400	No.
C.P. The Amerasia Papers Vol. 1.....	4.00	2,544	Yes. ²
C.P. The Amerasia Papers Vol. 2.....	3.75	2,397	Yes. ²
C.P. The Assault on Freedom.....	1.00	2,000	Yes. ¹
Hearings: The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program.....	.25	833	No.
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in Campus Disorders, Part 1.....	.40	2,735	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in Campus Disorders, Part 2.....	.45	2,545	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in Campus Disorders, Part 3.....	1.25	1,555	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Testimony of Stokely Carmichael.....	.20	1,750	No.
C.P. Castro's Broken Promises.....	.15	2,748	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, V. 1 Part 1.....	.15	700	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, V. 1, Parts 2 and 3.....	.20	127	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, Vol. 2.....	.20	62	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, Vol. 3.....	.20	91	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, Vol. 4.....	.15	56	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, Vol. 5.....	.15	67	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, Vol. 6.....	.15	80	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, Vol. 8.....	.20	67	No.
C.P. The Church and State Under Communism, Vol. 9.....	.15	80	No.

PRINTS OF INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE SOLD BY GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1969-71—Con.

Title	Price	Sales for the last 3 years	Reprinted in the last 3 years
Contradictions of Communism.....	.20	305	No.
The Communist Party of the U.S.A.—Soviet Pawn.....	.20	169	No.
C.P. World Communism 1967-69: The Soviet Efforts to Regain Control.....	\$1.25	2,123	Yes. ¹
C.P. A Study of the Anatomy of Communist Take-Overs.....	.25	200	No.
C.P. Human Cost of Communism in China.....	.20	4,765	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Assaults on Law Enforcement Officers Pt. 1.....	.55	760	No.
Hearings: Assaults on Law Enforcement Officers Pt. 2.....	.35	905	No.
Hearings: Assaults on Law Enforcement Officers Pt. 3.....	.50	524	No.
Hearings: Assaults on Law Enforcement Officers Pt. 4.....	.40	830	No.
Hearings: Assaults on Law Enforcement Officers Pt. 5.....	.50	430	No.
C.P. The New Left.....	1.00	6,344	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 1.....	.45	2,600	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 2.....	.55	2,480	No.
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 3.....	.30	1,518	No.
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 4.....	2.00	801	No.
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 5.....	.55	798	No.
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 6.....	.70	1,510	No.
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 7.....	.30	2,999	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 8.....	.55	611	No.
Hearings: Extent of Subversion in the New Left Pt. 9.....	.45	720	No.
Hearings: Murder International, Inc. (Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy).....	.50	497	No.
Hearings: Communist Exploitation of Religion.....	.20	4,228	Yes. ¹
Hearings: Threat to the U.S. Security Posed by the Step-up in Sio-Soviet Hostility.....	1.00	1,013	No.
C.P. The Warsaw Insurrection: The Communist Version Versus the Facts.....	.20	2,450	No.
Hearings: Testimony of Robert F. Williams Pt. 1.....	.35	3	No.
Hearings: Testimony of Robert F. Williams Pt. 2.....	.50	2	No.
Hearings: Testimony of Robert F. Williams Pt. 3.....	.60	2	No.
C.P. Wordmanship—Semantics as a Communist Weapon.....	.15	645	No.
Sen. Doc. 84/2-117—The Communist Party of the U.S.—What It Is and How It Works.....	.45	2,614	Yes. ¹
Sen. Doc. 59, 87/1—The Communist Party Line.....	.05	3,081	No.
Sen. Doc. 36-92/1—The Human Cost of Soviet Communism.....	.20	250	No.
Sen. Doc. 106-90/2—Aspects of Intellectual Ferment and Dissent in the Soviet Union.....	.40	2,600	No.
Sen. Doc. 69-88/2—World Communism—A Selected Annotated Bibliography, Part 1.....	1.00	90	No.
Sen. Doc. 69-88/2—World Communism—A Selected Annotated Bibliography, Part 2.....	.20	97	No.

¹ Reprinted one time in the last 3 years.² Reprinted two times in the last 3 years.



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