Scanlans

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SUPPRESSED ISSUE:

GUERRILLA INTHE USA.

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Scanlan's Monthly

Volume One Number Eight

January 1971

New York, October 7, AP

Scanlan's, a monthly magazine, said Tuesday in U.S. District Court that employees of its printer have refused to work on the November issue.

Scanlan's sought to have Barnes Press, Inc. and its employees, members of Local 1 of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America, ordered to print the issue.

The November issue is entitled "Guerrilla Warfare in the United States." The employees of Barnes declined to work on it because the material was "detrimental to the interest of the United States."

NOTICE TO READERS:

Three consecutive printers refused to print this issue of Scanlan's.

We are suing them all.

We finally were forced to print this issue on newsprint and in another country to get it out.

The delays, totalling nine weeks, forced us to drop an originally scheduled October 1970 cover dating, then November, then December.

This issue, Volume I, No. 8 is now January, 1971, and will appear on newsstands in early December. Our last issue, Volume I, No. 7, was dated September and was on newsstands during September.

All subscribers will receive twelve full issues during the term of their subscription.

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Even though Canada is under martial law, its atmosphere is eminently more conducive to the publication of Scanlan's than the hardhat state of America. Here, printing plants in states from coast to coast knuckled under to threats of sabotage and other blackmail rather than print Scanlan's.

The issue of Scanlan's you are now holding was originally scheduled as our October issue. It was halted on its way to press by hardhat elements among the lithographers of our New York City printing plant.

This issue tells the raw truth about what is going on in this country. Some ruffian printers decided they didn't want that truth printed. They bullied the plant's owners into breaking their contract with Scanlan's. The threats were hardly veiled; sabotage was the alternative.

Of course we immediately took the union and the printing plant to court. The judge told us to stand in line to wait to collect our damages. When prisoners wait six months for a bail hearing, you can imagine the time schedule for controversial magazines.

That left Scanlan's with no place to print its October issue. And it was already October. So we changed the date of the special issue on guerrilla war to November, and arranged to print it in San Francisco. The day before the presses were to roll, that printer sent us back a check we had given him as a down payment. He hadn't cashed it. He said he could no longer print the issue. He gave no reasons.

Subsequently, Scanlan's has been turned down by other large printers in Colorado and Missouri. Their reason: the lithographer's union had "put the word out on Scanlan's." Any printer who had tried to print the magazine in America clearly would have had trouble.

What now? We're printing Scanlan's in Quebec. But we still have a backlog of trouble, and as Scanlan's only kin there are some things you can do to help, if you will. You can tell your friends, your local newspapers and radio stations and your congressman about this unprecedented situation. And to help us hold the fort, you can send us ten bucks and become a subscriber. If you already subscribe, you can help by renewing now, even though you still have issues to come. And if there is someone to whom you can give Scanlan's as a gift, you can do that, too.

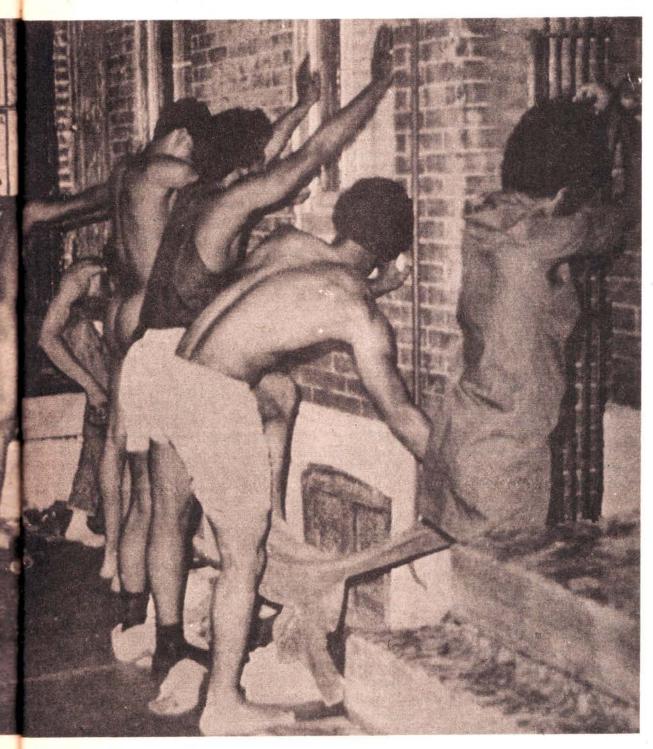
-The Editors

SPECIA GUERRILLAW



BY THE EDITORS OF

I SSUE: ARINTHE USA.



SCANLAN'S MONTHLY

[AN EDITORIAL PREFACE]

The next 90 pages of this magazine document the dismaying reality of guerrilla war inside the United

States today.

This special has been seven months in the making — with an unexpected appendage of seven more weeks delay during which iniquitous and pernicious attempts were made by ruffian trade unionists and censorious printers to prohibit the publication of

this magazine as it was written.

If the printers' reaction is typical of anything but latent Comstockery there will be people in this country who won't like what they read in this issue. Our reaction to that is a shrug—it's a little like refusing to hear that the Japanese were going to bomb Pearl Harbor. At any rate we hope we don't sound too accusatorially right wing by pointing out that the now quite visible wave of bombings is not the work of some isolated terrorist nuts, but part of an overall guerrilla war which has been waged in hot pursuit of American institutions for at least the last three years without anyone, most of all Attorney General John Mitchell, declaring or recognizing it as such.

It is quite the job of the press to tell the people what is going on—especially when the government won't or can't. If the necessarily relentless documentation of the machinery of terror loose in this country scares the hell out of some people, we don't apologize. If the shock of recognition is to bounce off something or someone, it should be the administration and the President, who are responsible for the perverse maintenance of imbalances in society without which there would be no popular base or support for guerrilla acts.

In the long haul of preparing this issue, Scanlan's reporters and researchers had to investigate and analyze every definable instance of left-wing terrorism and sabotage in America since such acts began in 1965. The government's research in this area is appallingly insufficient, although we suspect the administration knows more than it allows, since to admit what is to follow here would be to admit its inability to cope with it.

The resulting extraordinary documentation of guerrilla warfare is printed in agate type in the center pages of this issue. It provides a compelling footnote-in-depth to the accompanying journalistic revelations of the rudimentary stages—but on a scale that is truly astonishing—of urban guerrilla war in the most ad-

vanced industrial nation in the world.

The meaning of this phenomenon is explored as thoroughly as our contacts would allow. The editors managed to interview American radicals and revolutionaries who were representative of the new wave of urban guerrillas carrying out the increasingly violent acts which they categorize as "armed propaganda." We report their developing yet incomplete ideology, and their disparate motivations yet similar techniques. We describe their bases of operation and support within the United States, their common culture and internationalist world view, their lifestyles and reading materials, their sources of armaments and blueprints of destruction.

The current left-wing terrorism in the United

States is modeled on strategies developed during guerrilla struggles in other nations. This historical perspective is basic to the revolutionary view and tactics of most American guerrillas. Thus we have considered the history and characteristics of 20th century guerrilla warfare, its successes and failures, and traced the development of an American guerrilla consciousness during the last five years to a point where it is at least possible to make a tentative assessment of where the American guerrilla movement is at—and what might be expected to come of it.

This all makes for unusual journalism. But the editors feel that the undeclared and unanalyzed state of guerrilla war in this country presents a crisis of such magnitude and complexity that traditional magazine slickness and brevity seem unsuitable. It is critical to realize the very political difference between guerrilla violence and the more common and random acts of violence in America. That distinction is thoroughly

explored in the following pages.

Guerrilla war is a radically different political reality from anything the United States has experienced. It would be a tragedy for it to be misunderstood—either by those who would wish to crush it, or by those who would attempt reasonably to cope with it—as old-fashioned terrorism or simplistic hooliganism. The primary journalistic purpose of this special issue is to allow the reader to comprehend the nature of guerrilla war in the United States with a sophistication at least similar to that of its practitioners.

To understand guerrilla war is not to endorse it;

not to understand it is to make it inevitable.

[GUERRILLA RADIO SILENCE]

It is not unusual for a government to deny any success, much less any reality, to a guerrilla movement opposing it. Batista, for instance, let out continual rumors that Castro was smashed to smithereens when he wasn't, and the reports of Che Guevara's death in Bolivia were greatly exaggerated at least a dozen times before the CIA could deliver a corpse to

match the story.

The pattern of obfuscation in the United States is different. It allows for screaming and hollering about the terrible violence that is coming down on this country, and then degenerates into a blubbery debate about whether violence, in general, is cherry, lemon or lime or even American at all. Since the Administration raising the issue of violence is itself the largest practitioner of that trade both at home and abroad, that would seem to give the boot to the question. But there is a talented vice president on the prowl whose opprobrious rhetoric keeps the confusion alive by speeches to Rotarians and other Bedouins and knownothings across the Gaza strips of the midwest and southwest.

Despite all the official and unofficial outrage at H. Rap Brown's assertion that violence was as American as cherry pie, the National Commission on The Causes and Prevention of Violence took some 350,000 words last year to say that, in fact, was the case, and that nonviolence was not exactly in the mainstream of how Americans got things done. The only thing

new is guerrilla violence, which has never occurred in the United States before, but that revelation is apparently being saved for another commission.

Thus the central reality of violence in society has become the new American cliche. But most people don't bother to differentiate among the kinds of violence—right wing, left wing, government, criminal, and just plain demented—instead they lump all violence into one burdensome rock for this age where Armageddon takes place on prime time.

This tendency, promoted by the government, has delayed any declamatory awareness of the massive development in the United States of the specifically calculated violence of modern guerrilla warfare. But if the bombings continue this fall at the current hurricane pace, it is only going to take someone to say it is so and guerrilla warfare will become a catchword of the 1970's along with women's liberation and the mini skirt. Whether it will be as easily popularized and assimilated is entirely another question.

While the government's semantic holding action against guerrilla war is already slipping, it does remain true that certain realities, especially unpleasant one, take a long time to penetrate the American consciousness—a phenomenon social critic John Jay Chapman referred to as the "habitual mental distraction" of Americans. It is now getting to the point, however, where it won't require the services of a computer to project a war out of the rapidly multiplying attacks of guerrilla terrorism and sabotage. March of 1970, for example, was a typical month inhout any major civil unrest or campus or ghetto rots. During March there were 62 left wing guerrilla actions against targets in 17 states, among them:

Selective Service Headquarters in Urbana, Illinois, Colorado Springs and Boulder, Colorado were fire-bombed. The Minnesota Selective Service Headquarters in St. Paul was heavily damaged when sprayed with black paint in a freak sneak attack.

Time bombs were discovered at Army installations

in Oakland, Brooklyn, and Portland.

A Post Office was dynamited in Seattle, the Federal Building was firebombed in Champaign, Illinois, and a courthouse blown up in Cambridge, Maryland.

Firebombings and arson attacks caused light-to-extensive damage at eight colleges, and physical attacks on buildings and security guards took place at the University of Puerto Rico and Loop City College in Chicago. During the same period, six high schools were bombed and two damaged by arson.

Guerrilla attacks against police took place in Richmond, Calif., Chicago, Billings, Mont., Detroit, Boulder, Colo., and Cleveland. Dynamite, firebombs and sniper fire were employed in the actions.

In Manhattan, the IBM, General Telephone and Mobil Oil buildings were bombed, and incendiary devices were set off in Bloomingdale's and Alexander's department stores. During the month there were 17 bombing attacks against corporations and banks in eight states.

The geometric progression of such actions tells the story: the 62 guerrilla actions in March, 1970 were roughly double those of March of the previous year when 39 attacks took place against schools, federal

installations, police and corporations. In March of 1968 there were only 14 attacks; in 1967 there were four; and two such instances occurred in March of 1966 and 1965.

It is surmisable that the administration does not require this magazine to tell it that guerrilla warfare is going on in the country. It should not strain even the competency of the FBI to uncover such shocking statistics. But just who is going to tell the people is something else. The government doubtless has its own reasons for maintaining radio silence about the guerrilla war, but its semantics at times become strained. President Nixon, deploring violence in September in a major address at landlocked, conservative Kansas State University, went to awkward extremes to avoid the use of even the adjective "guerrilla" (except to refer to the "Palestinian guerrillas," which was all right, apparently, because that was out of town.) In describing American bombers and snipers, the President instead variously employed the descriptive labels "disrupters," "a small minority," "destructive activists," "small bands of destructionists," "acts of viciousness," "blackmail and terror," and "assaults which terrorize."

One reason for the Administration's compulsive evasion of the term is that it just sounds so bad. Guerrilla war psychologically is in the "It-can't-happenhere" category for America. And the admission of the existence of guerrilla warfare would prompt a host of embarrassing questions, not the least of which is why can't the government stop it?

The fact is that every branch of the federal government with as much as a pinky in law enforcement is actively but furtively attempting to catch itself some guerrillas. The FBI, the Secret Service, the Treasury Department, the Pentagon, the CIA and even the Bureau of Mines are all in on the chase. With all the resources at their disposal to monitor and supervise reputed revolutionaries, it must be a matter of considerable professional and political embarrassment that the combined law enforcement, military, security and spy establishment of the United States has been unable to catch even a literal handful of the thousands of underground revolutionaries who, now as a matter of daily benediction, harass the government with sniper fire or bombs.

Guerrillas interviewed in the course of preparing this issue found it a matter of exultant amusement that the government's intelligence system has turned out to be such a basket case. The Pentagon Counter Intelligence Analysis Division has a subversive data bank with 1.5 million names and even circulates a little red book entitled "Organizations and Cities of Interest and Individuals of Interest." The Secret Service has indices of 100,000 radical names and extensive dossiers on 50,000 revolutionaries presumed to be dangerous. If those figures have any rational or scientific base, that is quite some draft pool for guerrilla soldiers. The FBI has 194 million fingerprints in its files and quick access to 264 million police records, 323 million medical histories, and 279 million psychiatric dossiers. It also claims to have an infiltrator in a top position in every revolutionary group in America. Yet the nearest the FBI has gotten

to the Weatherman is to hang their pictures in post-

office galleries.

To be fair to the FBI, authorities in other countries faced with indigenous guerrilla war of the type we are experiencing in the United States have fared little better in capturing insurgents. In Brazil, even the extensive repression of a relatively up front police state has failed to derail measurably the half dozen guerrilla groups following the teachings of Brazilian guerrilla theorist Carlos Marighella. (Marighella's Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla, from which selections are reprinted on Pg. 67 is prized as a crimedoer's textbook by American guerillas.) Uruguay's military is also at a loss to stop the operations of the notorious Tupamaros, whose bank robbing and kidnapping tactics may represent the next stage of emulation by American guerrillas.

["ARMED PROPAGANDA"]

The patron saint of constant flux and change is Heraclitus, a grouchy pre-Socratic philosopher who pointed out to the surprise of practically everyone in the fifth century before Christ that you can't step into the same river twice. His didactic analogy is quite contemporary with the Marxist-Leninist heresies of modern guerrilla theorists. They hold that each country's revolution is necessarily different from previous ones — successful or unsuccessful — and that the means a guerrilla movement adopts will eventually define its ends, if the guerrilla minds his Mao and keeps his politics close to the inclinations and concerns of the people.

The revolutionary ideology that Mao defined in his treatises on guerrilla war is regarded in most instances as absolute, major exceptions being his political structure and the encrusted bureaucracy of vertical communism. Contemporary guerrilla war is an ever-changing revolutionary dialectic with common tactics which must of necessity develop dif-

ferently in differing national circumstances.

Now that may sound unassuming and even reasonable, but the free-wheeling political and tactical positions that American guerrillas espouse along this line are sufficient to give heartburn and heart attacks to the traditional Marxists for whom the history of orthodox communism is perhaps half the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the other half the ensuing struggle over who is going to dictate to the dictatorship. It was a game in which just about anyone was eligible to play except the proletariat.

The hit-and-run tactics of guerrilla war have changed little since the days when the Maccabees were hotfooting the Syrians. But that formerly pure tactical set of military assumptions has developed into a distinct revolutionary ideology in the 20th century, particularly under Mao. More recently, in Latin America it has undergone another metamorphosis into a burgeoning revolutionary theory all its own that threatens to disinter established Marxist-

Leninism.

The primary theoretician of the "new guerrilla" is Regis Debray, a young French philosopher-journalist and close friend of Fidel Castro. Debray has been under house arrest or worse in Bolivia since 1967, when he was accused by the right wing government of having travelled to the hills to break bread with Che Guevara. His imprisonment has been an international intellectual cause célèbre, even prompting a group of French journalists to petition the Bolivian authorities for his release on the unique grounds that "one must admit the legal existence of guerrilla correspondents (their italics), who must obviously be granted the same status as war correspondents." A left wing government came to power in Bolivia several months ago but as of this writing it has not sprung Debray, a fact which may attest to his controversial status within the communist world.

Debray's slim volume Revolution in the Revolution? fulfills the quip that the road to war is paved with good books. His revisionist analysis of the Cuban revolution leads Debray to argue that the classic Marxist patterns of revolution and guerrilla warfare must be scrapped for more up-to-date and egalitarian methods. The old Chinese and Soviet models will not do, indeed no models are necessary. The successful guerrilla war will be entirely homegrown, without the interference of what could only be termed "outside agitators," otherwise known as

orthodox Communists.

In his scorn for the ossification of Communist Party machinery and the conservative and dictatorial methods of Marxist-Leninist institutions, Debray led the field in anticipating two of the most consequential political sensibilities of the 1970's: the New Left affection for "participatory democracy," and the worldwide radical student movement's struggle to free men equally from the institutional controls of Western capitalism and Eastern bureaucracy.

Accepting Mao's concept of the guerrillas being one with the people as the sine qua non of a successful guerrilla movement, Debray rejected Mao's principle that "politics directs the gun." Rather, it is the gun, in the form of successful guerrilla actions against definable manifestations of imperialism and oppression of the people, which defines and develops

successful revolutionary politics.

This shattering revision of traditional Marxism offs the Communist Party from its traditional and cherished role as the political vanguard which sets the correct "line" for the people. The guerrillas, through terrorist and military actions geared to gain propaganda successes, gradually politicize and assemble the exploited classes on their side. Communist

bureaucrats are left out in the cold.

What drives most professional observers of the new American revolutionaries to such fits of distraction and disgust is their lack of discernible "goals," of "something to replace what they want to tear down," their emphasis on the primacy of revolutionary tactics over political structure. Yet this reality, so defiant of traditional politics, is the carefully thought out ideological cornerstone of contemporary guerrilla theory as it is being practiced in Latin America and experimented with under the unique conditions that the United States has to offer any pioneers. The traditional left, and particularly

the older left – from social democrats on the right to leftover descendants of the Luddites on the left takes about as much joy in guerrilla politics as Spiro

Agnew.

Like Heraclitus' river, guerrilla theory is ever changing. The Cuban "model" rejected the traditional communist theory of creating a mass party and then proceeding to win allies for a united front for which guerrilla forces would act only as an "non fist" when so instructed by the party. Instead, Castro's small band of 81 dedicated men themselves became the vanguard by instituting guerrilla actions that were not initially aimed at military victories but a deological organizing tool to recruit more guerrillas. Other guerrilla struggles that followed this pattern also began with small numbers — the Irish Republican Army had around 200 men, the Stern Gang and Irgun in Israel began with even less, the Alerians with around 500.

American guerrilla groups passed through this period several years ago, and now are in a stage of "armed propaganda" which involves geared to both undermining governmental thority and inspiring a revolutionary state of mind others in the populace who share the guerrillas' loping political line. Even the most braggadocio the guerrillas interviewed for this issue did not edict the attainment of the next level of guerrilla — larger and more regular forces carrying out traditional military operations — in the near future unless their patient timetable was changed through large scale repression by the government.

Castro's revolution was primarily rural-based — he once called the large city "a cemetery for revolutionaries" — but the I.R.A., the Irgun and the Algerians successfully carried on urban guerrilla terrorist tactics. The current guerrilla struggles in Canada, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay are largely urbancentered. While holding to Debray's theory of the vanguard in the people, not a party, American guerrillas have largely adapted the methods of urban guerrilla war, which are uniquely suited to the high strung, interlocking gears of a mammoth industrial society.

Future scriptwriters for Efrem Zimbalist Jr. may note that at this point in history the FBI was up against alien and unconventional tactics of sabotage, terrorism and hit-as-hit-can military and psychological warfare to which the modern industrial society is acutely vulnerable. Tactics successfully employed by insurgent forces in Ireland, China, Israel, Algeria, Cuba and currently in Latin American and African nations are being experimentally adapted to American surroundings by black urban guerrillas and the burgeoning middle and upper-middle class white revolutionaries who operate with relative impunity from college oriented communities which have become cultural and political "enclaves" in America.

Not that the tactic of blowing up things for principle is foreign to America, nor even politically parochial. The McNamara Brothers and others did it from the left when they gave a dynamiter's what ho to the L.A. Times Building in 1910, and many of today's generation of bombers were old enough to

go to the movies in 1949 and watch Gary Cooper as Howard Roark, the architect as man-of-steel in Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead*, blow up buildings from

the right.

But the indicia of the contemporary guerrilla is not so much the use of infernal machines but the political and cultural acceptance of that violent tactic in the community to which he belongs. Thus large sections of this land—its new youth communities, its older black, brown and Chinese communities—have developed a new importance as bases of support for domestic insurgency. It is in these communities that the traditional authority of the state has deteriorated most, and where the old system of values—capitalism, organized religion, the necessity of wedlock and the social unit of the family—is least appreciated by the young blood.

Berkeley, Seattle, Madison, Wis., and New York City are the largest of such political enclaves. They provide both the sources of guns and butter and the shared quality of life which has always been a necessary condition for the maintenance of a guerrilla

struggle.

The golden rule of guerrilla war is to do unto the enemy no more than the people will support you in doing. This moral imperative hinges not so much on Mao's homey analogy about guerrillas being fish in the sea, but on its practical corollary: no sea, no fish. The big flops in guerrilla war this century came about when the guerrillas lost their common touch with the masses, as in post-1945 Greece and the guerrilla wars in the Philippines; or when they never had a base within the population to begin with, as in Che Guevara's disastrous attempt to organize a whistle stop guerrilla war in Bolivia.

American revolutionaries take their world guerrilla history seriously and thus there is constant discussion among guerrillas as to just what "action" is tactically best at the moment for the political effect of the act to outweight its violent means. There is always the problem of a "guerrilla backlash" which could alienate or scare off their active base of support

among their less revolutionary peers.

At this early stage of an urban guerrilla movement, the tactics are largely geared to what Marighella calls "armed propaganda"—bombings which serve a political and psychological purpose in singling out "enemies" and at the same time embarrassing the government by its inability to catch the mad bombers.

This is a delicate balancing act, and guerrillas occasionally blow it. But an integral part of guerrilla strategy is that cilivians aren't supposed to get hurt, just scared. This doesn't necessarily make a Mr. Nice Guy out of a bomber; but true is true, and it simply is contrary to all guerrilla theory to go around blowing up people whom they expect, inevitably, some year, to side with the movement against the government.

All guerrilla tactics are adaptable to the situation: in Brazil, guerrilla forces don't usually engage in bombings because they fear the government could turn it around by planting a bomb in a crowded market place and use the atrocity to turn the people against the guerrillas.

At any rate, this political safety-first among Amer-

ican guerrilla terrorists is why so few casualties have been sustained—despite the horrendous noise of all those bombs going off in the United States the last few years. Most bombing attacks are on buildings or other inanimate objects and usually take place at night when the premises are safer on both sides to blast. A warning is routinely delivered before the blast in case of a night watchman or unknown laggards. The graduate student at the University of Wisconsin got it because somebody fouled up the warning call. Most deaths in bombing attempts have been those of careless guerrillas who blew themselves up.

Insurgents know that increased police repression helps to keep the community opinion scales weighted on their side. So as long as the enclaves don't sustain a guerrilla backlash, the current flabbergasting pace of "armed propaganda" could continue far over

the horizon.

All American guerrilla groups have revolutionary tactics in common, but few share any common ideology. Few, indeed, have a definable ideology or post-revolutionary program. Most are feeling their way along the bombing trail, letting the tactics, as it were, quarterback the action in the manner suggested by Regis Debray.

[THE EXPLOSIONIST RASPBERRY]

American guerrilla tactics are as different from violence past in this nation as Scrooge was from Tiny Tim. The staccato of terrorism punctuating American history has always been associated with a single issue, or more exactly, a single hatred: that of the sheeted white Southerner for uppity blacks, or the exploited worker for his corporate overlord. The only group with a track record in bombing that could be said to have an overall political program was the high profile Anarchists of the 1880's and 1890's, and they made a point of principle out of having no program at all. The working class arsonists in the north and northwest, as well as the arsonists of the sheet in the South, shared a naive frontier optimism that evil as they perceived it could be corrected, or destroyed, or at least sufficiently scared to death to make the existing society a better place for workers or racists, as their case might be. With the few exceptions of groups like the Wobblies, violence was practiced in America without benefit of any real political philosophy. Terrorists were moved to action by their own galling view of an outrageous flaw in the fabric of society - not from any rejection of the overall crazy quilt of society itself.

Not so today's guerrillas. They wish to trash the American Dream, not sleep with it. Their tactics are embodied in an internationalist political perspective that sees their own country as the empress-torturer of oppressed people both next door and overseas, and they have in common a political analysis of the problem which is so severe that they have elected to engage in some form of armed struggle against their country, right or wrong.

The indigenous guerrillas who share this nightmare version of the American dream are of two broadly

traceable ethnic, economic and social groups. To classify them as black and white would be an over-simplification, although not a heinous one. Their rise to guerrilla status, indeed their very choice of targets, grows partially out of their economic and social condition, which in America is more a question of skin than class.

Black and other non-white American guerrillas have their origins in that condition which sociologists and understanding liberals distantly and majestically refer to as culturally deprived, or oppressed, depending on the politics of the listening audience. They understand their own actions as guerrillas in the moral imperative of exploited third world peoples attacking their colonial master, and see the ghetto geography of America as a territorial map to the unique condition of a people living in colonies located within the mother country instead of over

Kipling's waves.

The other catholic class of American guerrillas is the white and middle-to-upper-class citizens of college or dropout age who largely operate from those "enclave" communities fanning college campuses. They are generally distrustful of any Marxist eschatology, but generally accept a sophisticated and updated Marxist analysis of the American corporate state as an imperial presence in the underdeveloped world and cultural totalitarian presence in the overdeveloped world. They see America as a colossal computer running amuck in a post-industrial society which must be reprogrammed, if not destroyed.

Such tactical differences as exist between these two varieties of guerrilla are manifest in their choice of primary targets. The majority of sniper and bombing attacks on police are carried out by black guerrillas who view them (in the vernacular) as pigs who are the immediate and aggressive representatives of their colonial oppressor (this view of police is shared, in theory and practice, by white revolutionaries who see police as the shock troops of the enemy). Similarly, the judiciary and the entire machinery of justice are also targets for bombs which are aimed to

clear the malfunctions in the machinery.

The first target for white guerrillas is the college, and increasingly, the high school. Next is the military, including and especially ROTC buildings on campus and Selective Service offices off campus. These two American institutions are the arch offenders both in disrupting the lives of white guerrillas and in the exploitation of the lives of others. "First America steals a country's leather to make shoes, then we sell the shoes to the people, then we wipe our feet on them," one guerrilla told me. This is neither a logical analogy nor sophisticated Marxism, but in its crudity it represents the feelings of many revolutionaries of middle class parentage. The schools are seen as the containers and suppliers of the human raw material of the corporate state, and the Army is viewed as its private police to protect resources abroad from those with proper prior claims. Another favored target of white guerrillas is partial to the same reasoning: the corporations which have their straw in the pineapple of underdeveloped nations' economies, and the banking houses attendant to those corporations.

If the guerrillas can be said to uniformly agree on any goals of American guerrilla warfare in addition to fighting the hated war in Southeast Asia, it would be to support national liberation movements throughout the world and, of course, the black liberation struggle in the United States.

A more limited if intriguing goal of the incendiary to bring the war trashing home by bombing, and burning the country to perfect distraction thereby undermining the faith of the populace and stability so essential to the work-

aday conduct of commerce.

The highest profile among the practitioners of this the explosionist raspberry are the Weatherho make it a point of principle each time they something to drive the FBI quite crazy by up somewhere in the country and telling they got away with it. It is all a little in the of a terrorist's April Fool, but the joke always to be on the FBI.

[DAMAGE REPORTS]

The Bureau linked the Weatherman to the Chicago bomb factory it mothballed in March. And it required so ace police work to associate Weatherman with the accidental explosion that crumbled the Greenwith Village townhouse next to the loft of Dustin Hoffman, leaving three Weatherman members dead. Federal authorities have occasioned the indictments of just about as many of the Weatherman as they have names for. Twelve were indicted shortly after the Greenwich Village blowup, and this summer another 13 alleged members of Weatherman were indicted in a bill of particulars which read like a Magna Carta for American revolution. It charged the guerrilla organization with "agreeing to organize a central committee to direct bombing operations with members assigned to Chicago, New York, Detroit and Berkeley" and also establishing "clandestine and underground locals consisting of three or four persons who would be under the command of the 'Central Committee' and would carry out the actual bombing of police stations and other buildings."

So.far, the only effect of the indictment has been for Weatherman to do just about what they were charged with planning, but without being caught. The FBI to date has been able to lock up only three accused Weathermen, one of whom turned herself in, and this slim catch required kamakazi missions on the part of the police underground that crashed the Bureau's painfully planted infiltrators. All this while Weatherman was taunting and humiliating the pursuers, sending them fingerprints of the Weatherman leaders, openly forecasting major attacks and then pulling them off, as hasty journalists write, under the cops' noses (in the case of the bombing of Manhattan police headquarters it was

literally under their feet).

Unlike organized crime, which by definition has to be at least organized, or even J. Edgar Hoover's ideal communist cell, which by now should have acquired Smithsonian rank, modern guerrillas require no layered structures of authority or communication. They would be betraying the studied exemplars of successful guerrilla experimentation if they did. Successful guerrilla actions minimally require a revolutionary consciousness and a can of gasoline, a weapon that is about as traceable as the common

bobby pin.

There are, however, guerrilla lend-lease arsenals stockpiled throughout the country, and occasionally law enforcement finds one. In March, for instance, police and FBI agents in a joint discovery found a bomb factory in a Chicago North Side apartment stocked with enough explosives to level a city block: bombs, blasting caps, explosive liquids, plastics, hydrochloric and sulphuric acid and a variety of guns and ammunition. That haul was not even a firecracker in the tonnage of dynamite and other explosives regularly stolen from private sources in this country and lifted in truckload quantities from

the military (see Pg. 52).

More indicative of the everyday manner of sabotage by guerrillas was an arrest in March in Rochester, New York — police found three young men carrying 18 readymade firebombs onto the campus of New York State University. The majority of guerrilla attacks are more products of Yankee ingenuity than private arsenals. There is no storehouse needed for the arsonists' gasoline soaked rag, the simple petrol bomb or the pipe bomb stuffed with gun powder. The ingredients are all available for the going price plus sales tax at local hardware or sporting goods stores. As far as that goes, dynamite may still be purchased without a permit in many states, or it can just as easily be stolen.

Citizens are now alarmed because the care and exploding of homemade bombs is becoming a discipline too widely studied, but the alarm should have gone off about three years ago. Blueprints and pamphlets on guerrilla weapons are so readily available that one need only sift through the rubbish after a large demonstration on almost any campus to find throwaway instruction sheets in the art of guerrilla weaponry and tactics. Much of this formerly difficult-to-get material was available to all takers, postpaid, through a right wing publishing house in Colorado which used to be called Panther Publications but now has changed its name to something a little less political: Paladin Press.

The laissez-faire publishing of the military right, and some left wing imports, combined with the ready availability of inexpensive photographic duplicating equipment, has made the literature of destruction as available as first aid pamphlets. One reality of guerrilla war that can be taken as an absolute is that the guerrillas (and all potential guerrillas) have the bombs

if they want to use them.

Then there is the matter of the Library of Congress, which has available in excess of 1,000 reported books and pamphlets on the tricky art of destruction. The fledgling guerrilla can find in its card catalogue some 300 titles on blasting or incendiary bombs and 850 titles on "explosives." Xerox copies cost a dime a throw. For that matter, the Army only recently began thinking about applying some restrictions on

the warfare manuals it hands out for the asking, and some unusual people have asked. Father Daniel Berrigan, the guerrilla priest, said that he and others of the Baltimore "Catonsville Nine" made the napalm they used to burn draft files. The instructions were found in the Green Beret Handbook which was read to them over the long distance telephone by a housewife in Southern California who kept the handbook up on the kitchen shelf with her other

recipe books. People in this country seem to think that you can quiet the drum beat of left wing bombings by somehow curtailing the knowledge of explosives. This is a dangerous and foolish opinion. It is dangerous because it regards bombings as an aberration or temptation, completely misunderstanding the overall political nature of guerrilla war and the manifest abrasions in society that its successful waging implies. And it is foolish, not just because diagrams don't make people make bombs, but because the widest possible dissemination of the strategical and technical literature of modern guerrilla warfare has already been accomplished in the United States. It would be as fruitful to worry about kids having guns if Weatherman had turned Peter Pan and handed out automatic rifles to every American under voting age. The question is not whether guerrillas should have such weapons. They have them. And they can manufacture more. The question is what more they intend to do with them, and why.

Given the government's reluctance to let the cat out of the bag, some picture of the real extent of the damage being wrought in the nation from guerrilla

actions must be put together piecemeal.

The Los Angeles Times reported in 1969 that damages to Los Angeles schools totaled over \$1 million from arson attributed to terrorist students, few of whom had been caught or charged. California's Chief Deputy Attorney General Charles O'Brien put that statistic in more colorful if menacing language. "There have been more fires in Los Angeles than there were in Saigon during the Tet Offensive."

The General Services Administration reported a \$2.2 million taxpayer's loss in man hours during the first six months of 1970 due to 130 evacuations of personnel from government buildings because of bomb threats. Such threats had increased nine-fold from 46 during 1969 to 383 in just the first half of this year. The GSA did not estimate real property damage from the actual bombings of government buildings and installations. However, Scanlan's researchers found newspaper reports of 59 left wing attacks on government installations during the same period of the first six months of 1970. Actual damage reported to federal buildings and property, state buildings housing federal services, and Armed Services recruiting offices and bases from dynamiting, time bombs, arson, firebombs, pipe bombs and sabotage totaled \$2,061,305. However, damage figures in dollars were reported in only 18 of the 59 incidents; in many cases where an estimate was not given, the damage was described as "heavy," "extensive" or simply "destroyed." During the same six-month period, eight bombs were discovered on government property and disarmed before they could explode, and five time bombs were sent through the mails to the Selective Service offices in Washington and to the White House. These figures do not include attacks on more "neutral" property—for example, on April 24 and 27 bridges were dynamited in Maryland and Arizona.

Property damages sustained by colleges and government installations on campuses during the wave of arson and bombing attacks in American schools following the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State and Jackson State killings in May have yet to be estimated in any accurate fashion, but were of course massive. But there are solid figures indicating the quite staggering extent of merely routing guerrilla actions on American campuses. The American Insurance Association reported property damage directly resulting from campus actions during the eight months from January 1 to August 31 of 1969 totaled \$8,946,972. The insurance industry's figures were taken from holy sources—the Riot Reinsurance Data Bank, Fraud and Arson Bureau memoranda, and insurance adjusters' confidential loss reports. The nearly \$9 million damage figure represented property damage by students in elementary schools, high schools and colleges in 79 cities. Most of the destruction took place on campus; off-campus actions done by students were included only when action was directly related to a campus incident.

That \$9 million report card for students takes on added significance as an indicator of the magnitude of what has been happening on campus since the halcyon days of panty raids. The insurance people pointed out that their total damage bill for all riots, civil disorders and guerrilla acts in the United States during the same eight-month period amounted to some \$15 million, which means that campus violence accounted for approximately 60 per cent of the wreck and ruin in the insured regions of this nation.

(The insurance carriers do not believe in guerrilla war as an act of God. Beginning in 1967, when arson and firebombing became common in high schools and colleges, the insurance companies who had to pay off began raising their deductible amounts. The first move in Los Angeles, where school fires increased 130 per cent in one year, was to raise the deductible for school fire insurance to \$25,000 from \$1000. Similar raises, some higher, went into effect for schools in most urban areas and certain high schools which have become favored targets of yough guerrillas are

rapidly becoming uninsurable.)

The campus is one of the two bases of operations for American guerrillas. The other is the urban ghetto, where small bands of black urban guerrillas are carrying on a running war with the police. The New York Times reported in September that 16 policemen had been assassinated this year and some 750 others injured in guerrilla sniper attacks and bombings. These casualties did not occur during riots or other disorders but represented individual sneak attacks on policemen by guerrillas. "There is more sniping and shooting in the streets of large American cities than in the streets of Saigon," Adlai Stevenson III said. At the time Stevenson was locked in a battle for a U.S. Senate seat with a more-repressive-than-

thou-Republican. Stevenson, who scampered to the right in order to emerge a winner in Illinois, may therefore be surprised to read that he has given comfort to the guerrillas by declaring one of their chief aims, that of bringing the war home to America,

as achieved. Anyway, he said it, we didn't.

In addition to the war on police, urban centers have been rocked by the spate of bombings and other terrorist attacks against corporate headquarters, banks and large department stores. Guerrilla actions against such institutions appear likely to double this year from last. Scanlan's researchers documented 86 attacks on corporations in 1969, but by the late summer of this year 110 such incidents had already been reported. Defensive measures are metamorphosing many company headquarters into virtual corporate fortresses. Locked lavatories are an increasingly common sign of the times. The J.C. Penney Company is installing specially coded door openers on its 14 administrative floors in Manhattan. Dun and Bradstreet now requires employees to carry and show identity cards.

The federal government is fashioning its own Maginot Line against the guerrilla hailstorm. It is now as troublesome to enter many federal buildings during office hours as it is to get on an airliner during hijack season: guards open parcels, inspect briefcases, and require identification from those with a patina of the disenfranchised. The paranoia level in the Pentagon has risen with the decibel purr of special pentagon police patrolmen steering electric powered golf carts along the labyrinthian hallways in search of interlopers. When President Nixon signed the vaunted anti-crime bill, FBI and Secret Service agents equipped with walkie talkies guarded the Justice Department as if the ceremony were taking place at the plenary session of an SDS convention. The President has asked for 1,000 new FBI agents, and the Secret Service is getting several hundred more men to beef up a new Home Guard to protect foreign diplomats from what they assume will be kidnap attempts by U.S. guerrillas in emulation of the recent happenings in Canada and Latin America.

Such belt tightening came on the rebound from Weatherman's self-proclaimed "fall offensive" in early October, during which many bombs went off

from Santa Barbara to Rochester.

The fall onslaught of sabotage occasioned the first break in the government's radio silence about guerrilla warfare. The right wing, which knows a good conspiracy when it sees one, came right on with the word. In early October, John McClellan of Arkansas, the Senate's chief crime buster, described a "war against the police" as part and parcel of "a wave of guerrilla warfare" sloshing the nation. William C. Sullivan, an assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, repeated the word a few days later in a speech to a gathering of newspaper publishers in Virginia in which he talked about "commando type units" in the Weatherman underground organized to carry out "urban guerrilla warfare."

It should be noted that although this constituted the first official use of the forbidden word, it was employed in most contexts as an adjective, a synonym for terrorism. It was not given the stature of a noun, nor did anyone allow that "guerrilla" activities were anything but a very new thing in the United States.

Then those handmaidens of the leaked largesse of federal information, the newsweeklies, came up withtheir own versions of the new trouble. Noting that "It was hardly the administration's official line," Newsweek quoted an anonymous but "veteran, Justice Department official" as making this "stark" but suitably melodramatic admission: "Face it, we're in what amounts to a guerrilla war with the kids. And so far, the kids are winning." Time found urban guerrilla warfare to be a problem suitable for framing on a global scale, and found guerrilla activities to be "relatively tame" in the United States compared with the situations in other countries. While allowing that guerrilla attacks had become "daily" occurrences in the U.S.A., Time adopted the developing administration line by blaming much of the trouble here on secret guerrilla training camps in Cuba. Its stringers also scrounged up several psychiatrists to attest to the fact that the guerrilla phenomenon was based on people suffering from childhood damage to the psyche due to overly strict or overly weak fathers, or an "Icarus complex" that leads to sensational derring-do.

After five quite incredible years of unreported guerrilla warfare, the American reading public is being eased upward in its political sophistication by

reportorial analysis of this distinction.

[WHAT McCLELLAN MISSED]

As awesome and portentous as these facts may appear, they remain only pieces of the whole. One problem in developing an overall picture of guerrilla operation is that the few primary sources of information include property damages and casualties stemming from riots and mass insurgency which belong to the studies of mass violence rather than planned guerrilla action. The other fault in available statistics is that right wing, criminal and other violence is lumped together with left guerrilla violence.

The high priest of Senate investigators, Senator John McClellan (Dem-Ark.), has put his permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to the task. Sometime in November it will make public yet another study of violence in America, covering roughly a 15-month period to June, 1970. This magazine has

obtained an advance copy of the report.

Senator McClellan's staff study cites 4,330 instances of bombings in the United States during the roughly fifteen months from January, 1969 to early April, 1970. That sounds like something, but the report follows the usual government methodology. By the time our researchers had separated the left-wing wheat from the chaff, we discovered the Senate's investigation of violence to be surprisingly deficient in the singular area of guerrilla activities.

About the only thing the committee had right was the list of most bombing and sniper attacks on policemen, or police stations during the period studied. (Law enforcement is rather good at supplying governmental agencies with details of all such attacks, and our investigators were able to establish independent corroboration for all incidents reported by

McClellan.)

However, the Senate Committee simply missed about half of the left-wing guerrilla attacks which occurred during its study. There were over 1000 additional revolutionary acts of sabotage and terrorism against non-police targets such as corporations, high schools, military installations, federal buildings and colleges which you wouldn't know much about if you read McClellan. Documentation for these attacks were uncovered by Scanlan's researchers during a four month independent research project into the scope of guerrilla warfare in the United States. The study confirmed our beginning suspicions that there was an astonishing amount more guerrilla terrorism and sabotage going on in America than the government was admitting to.

Since all official sources of information were relatively useless, we had to compile original research the hard way: our researchers methodically plugged through all daily and Sunday editions of seventeen major daily newspapers during the last five years. They read the Seattle Post Intelligencer, San Francisco Chronicle, Milwaukee Journal, St. Louis Press Dispatch, Boston Globe, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Baltimore Sun, Atlanta Constitution, Denver Post, Los Angeles Times, Houston Post, Miami Herald, Washington Post, New York Times, Chicago Daily News, Detroit Free Press and the Kansas City Star. Where possible, they utilized the newspaper's own library and index; otherwise, they got their fingers dirty reading every final edition of the newspaper over the last five years.

Our researchers also studied the underground press, and private sources such as the Lemburg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University. When we found an incident from any source that was not also reported in a daily newspaper, we dug up independent verification of the attack or else for-

got it.

Our object was to document planned guerrilla actions that clearly employed the techniques of urban guerrilla warfare as practiced in Latin America. We therefore eliminated the plethora of individual incidents related to major urban riots, although riots that were sustained by heavy guerrilla actions—such as Watts—are mentioned. We, of course, ignored any arson, bombing or other terrorist act that had its origins in the beserk, criminal or right wings—for instance, the bombing of a synagogue is not guerrilla business.

Only actions that were clearly left wing and utilized guerrilla tactics were included in the final tabulation. When the political motivation for an incident could not be ascertained, we left it out. For instance, a high school arson immediately preceded by a school controversy over an issue such as the expulsion of a political student or the censorship of an underground newspaper was included; if no political motivation was evident, we left it out.

The study begins in 1965 as that year is the definable starting point for a new pattern of violence emerging in American society. Armed attacks, rang-

[GUERRILLA ACTS OF SABOTAGE AND TERRORISM IN THE U.S. 1965-1970]

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	Total
Government	2	3	1	11	21	47	85
Corporations	4	5	15	28	86	110	248
Homes	3	3	4	9	22	21	62
High Schools	. 4	16	19	21	90	42	192
Colleges	0	2	6	26	85	161	280
Police	3	4	11	124	168	113	423
Military	0	1	0	17	31	52	101
TOTAL	16	34	56	236	503	546	1391

ing from minor street trashings to more complicated forms of sabotage, began to develop in a fledgling guerrilla phenomena where the actions appeared to grow more out of spontaneous uprisings than clearly planned targets.

The guerrilla movement began to define itself during 1966 and 1967 with a concentration of attacks against colleges, high schools and police which reflected a growing radicalization of a sense of impotency and bottled frustration with the war and with

racism.

These early stirrings of guerrilla activity were all close to home. Convenient targets such as the cop on the corner and the unguarded ROTC building allowed revolutionary tactics to develop without the danger and discipline associated with planned guerrilla assaults.

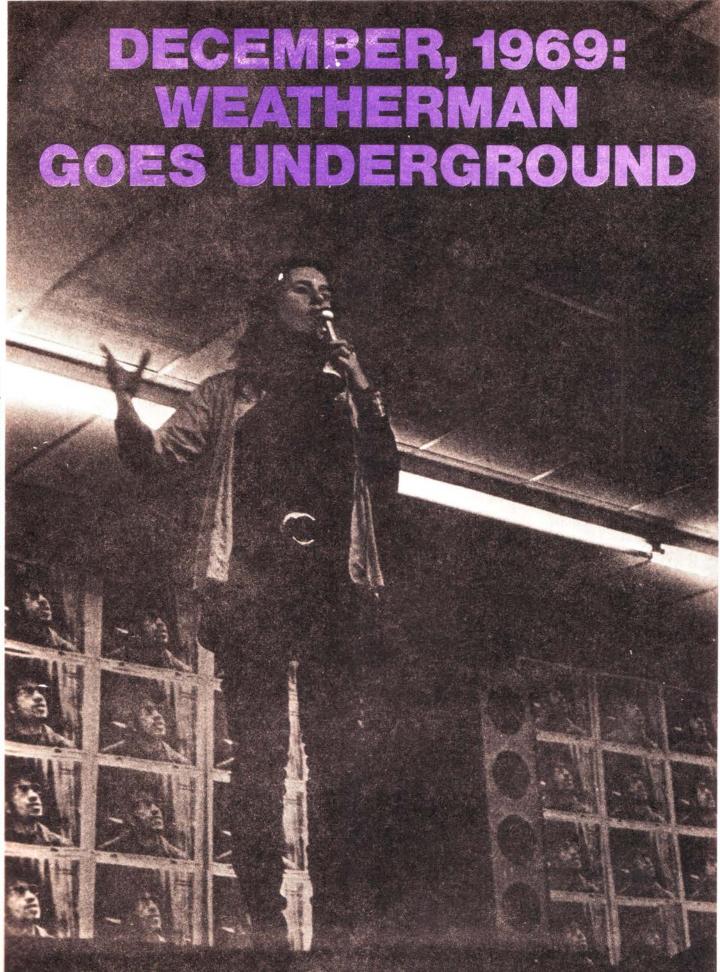
But as guerrilla politics developed in its campus and ghetto incubators, guerrillas began to strike at political targets outside their immediate environment. Since 1968 bombing and arson attacks on army installations, federal buildings, corporate and banking headquarters and department stores have escalated into the commonplace. This growth pattern is apparent in the statistical compilation of guerrilla attacks by year and target which is printed below.

As journalists we find statistical reporting rather offensive. Nor did we feel any compunction to engage in a body count competition. We therefore condensed whenever possible a number of incidents under one guerrilla attack. Thus many single entries in the study include two, three or more bombing or arson attacks if the attacks occurred in a pattern

against the same or a related target.

This distilled research, printed in the center pages of this issue, represents the first definitive picture of the development of guerrilla war in the United States. We thought it important to print it in its entirety because the sum of statistical research is never as believable as the substance, and the awesome reality of guerrilla war is such that reasonable men should not have to differ on its existence.

-by Warren Hinckle



For the first time in memory, since even the years when desparados sought to keep drys wet, the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list has balooned to sixteen. Over half of that number are guerrillas, and the majority of that revolutionary lot are admitted or suspected members of Weatherman.

The American guerrilla organization took its name from one of the lyrics of Bob Dylan ("you don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows"), emerged amoebalike and split from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The Weatherman grew out of a battle in the 1968 SDS national convention over which ideological theory could hold the shattered student left together.

The fight to control SDS was between a group of revolutionary-minded students who later came to call themselves Weatherman and the Progressive Labor Party, a Maoist

group.

Weatherman, who had dreams of white radicals joining blacks in a guerrilla war against racism (Weatherman Mark Rudd called for "two, three, many John Browns"), had a rude political awakening some months later at a Black Panther conference in Oakland when the Panthers rejected the Weatherman call for urban guerrilla war and opted instead for one alliance with white groups and a traditional united front on the left.

Weatherman, after practising with trash in Chicago during their heralded "Days of Rage" in the fall of 1968, elected at an historic Weatherman conference in Flint, Michigan in December, 1969 to become an underground organization and carry out urban guerrilla war by themselves.

They have done just that, and successfuly, to date under the Weatherman theory that their "white skin privilege" made it easy for them to "bring the war home" by attacking the "beast in his own belly." Except for their obsessively rhetorical revolutionary proclamations before or after major attacks, Weatherman has remained totally underground. The following interview is between a Weatherman and a Weatherwoman who has since left the organization. It is significant because it is the first time that any Weatherman has made public any of their underground history.

What was it that first attracted you to Weatherman?

For a long time I had been searching for an alternative. I knew that America was fucked up and I knew that I was fucked up. I had been into freak culture, the whole hippie trip, but it was only a beginning, not a real change.

I got into the movement and realized that there had to be a revolution. From the beginning I agreed with a lot of Weatherman philosophy, but I was

afraid to commit myself. I was scared.

Then it struck me, at a meeting I went to, that they were a family. A big, very tight family. I wanted to be a part of that. People were touching each other. Women together, men together. They were beautifully free. I felt that they were experiencing a whole new life-style that I really hadn't begun to understand. They were so full of life and energy and determination and love.

Can we talk a little bit about the War Council at Flint in

December?

Flint was unique. People were drawn by the publicity of the national action in Chicago—by the charisma, the aura, that surrounded Weatherman

after the action. Everyone was looking to Weatherman to lead the way. There were Weather factions

in every radical organization.

The Council lasted four days. Revolution was really in the air. Enormous hand-painted murals of Fidel, Ho Chi Minh, Bobby Seale and our other heroes hung from the ceiling. On one wall posters of Fred Hampton spelled out "Seize The Time." The spirit of the raps by Bernadine (Dohrn), Mark (Rudd), J.J., Linda (Evans) were of such intensity that there was just nothing left to say. It had been said. Do it. It was after Flint that I became a Weatherman.

Yeah. It seemed to me that the overriding element was to charge people up after a very heavy winter. This was after Fred was murdered, which certainly contributed. I also felt that for a lot of the people there who were not Weather

people, well, there was no place for them.

No, it wasn't as cohesive as it could have been. And it's true because of the murder of Fred Hampton that people felt extremely impotent. The national action had built them up, had given them reason to begin to respect themselves. Not just for what they were saying, but more importantly for what they were doing. And yet that wasn't a lasting thing. Perpetual activity is the lifeblood of a revolutionary organization. They fell short of that by being unresponsive to Fred's murder.

But even though there were shortcomings, the War Council was a new beginning. A leap. A new era had begun. People were determined to destroy the State. The things that were talked about were things that people would be doing in the very near future—higher levels of struggle. Although we weren't given the new form of what was later to become the underground organization, we were

given the content.

What would you say characterized the beginning of the

formation of underground cells?

Well, people were coming into Weatherman, people were leaving, many were being transferred from one city to another. So none of the people in any one collective knew any of the other people that were in that city after a short period of time, except for a few leadership people who went from collective to collective to insure some kind of unity, to bring things together in terms of how the city as a whole was operating.

Earlier we talked about the content being there after Flint, but the form hadn't been supplied yet. Was this the begin-

ning?

Yes, I'd say so. Evidently what people thought would come out of this was exactly an underground organization. What reason is there for not being in contact with each other except for security purposes? In other words then this was very similar in terms of structure to the Tupamaros?

Yes, I think so.

You joined a collective. How big was it?

When I first arrived there were two large groups of people, maybe 15 in each house. Shortly thereafter we split into smaller cells of five or six.

Was there any grace period—any period of adjustment?

No. The same was expected from everyone, from

first moment you arrived. You were exacted to adjust immediately to what was going on, as constantly changing. Everyone had to be there was no initiation, no getting to know you immediately became involved in political pronal discussions with everyone. On maybe third day there there'd be a full-scale criticism. Maybe you'd only be there three days altother three standards were very high. There was no allowed, no monogamous tendencies. You allowed, no monogamous tendencies. You had to push yourself and other people as hard could, try to be the best you could be.

What were some of the key internal tensions going on? About 70 per cent of the people in Weatherman at this time-March of 1970-were women. A lot of the heaviest criticism was directed at the men for their male chauvinism. Weatherman understood that the most potentially explosive conflict brewing in white America is between men and women. We had to kick out these jams in ourselves in order to move the nation forward in miniature. Men and women who couldn't change their patterns of thinking and reacting were asked to leave. I had to overcome the limitations I had set on myself and on my sisters. For the first time I made love with a woman. It was a uniquely beautiful experience, because we built off of each other's strengths rather than playing off of each other's weaknesses.

Wasn't this period of time used to instill the kind of consciousness that would be necessary to reach the highest level—the level of armed struggle?

Yes. People were being pushed to their limits. Some were being weeded out. It was a test to see who was best.

How did Weatherman deal with the problem of infiltration? At first it was difficult, due to the open nature of the collectives. We were trying to bring people in off the street, off the campus. And there were a handful of people outside of Weatherman—people with revolutionary potential-who ran on actions, even lived in collectives, knew almost everything we knew, but who weren't under strict collective discipline. A couple of them turned out to be pigs. There was one guy, William Frappoley, who was suspected of being a police agent. When confronted, he admitted that he had been in a police academy for a year and that he had been a pig; but he said he wanted to change, and we wanted to believe that people could change. It was decided to trust him a little, which turned out to be a mistake. Frappoley ran on actions, then implicated people and got them busted. He loaned Bernadine his car and then got her picked up on a stolen car rap. He finally blew his cover as a government witness at the Chicago Seven trial.

More recently we had Larry Grathwohl. He got Linda Evans and Dionne Donghi picked off and sent up. He is an example of what any revolution has to confront. He looked like one of us—he even passed an acid test.

Infiltrators are not fools. They'll do whatever they have to do to get people to trust them. They grow their hair, smoke weed, sell us guns, even help us blow a pig station.

How did Weatherman see the revolution happening? What was their strategy?

We tried to figure out a strategy for each area in which a collective was working, a strategy for the particular city we were in—an overall strategy for the nation. We calculated scientifically, militarily, historically.

Was this among black people, or in white areas?

We concentrated most on racially mixed areas, because there racial contradictions are at their highest, most explosive level. Not that there is any such thing as an integrated community in America. On the fringes and borders, that's where things were coming down. Especially in high schools that were newly integrated or desegregated—so that's where we were.

What exactly was your role in all this?

Generally we all worked together doing more or less the same things. However, because I look rather young, I was chosen to go into some of the high schools, so I dressed up and became a student. I spent some time walking around the halls talking to kids—black kids, white kids—trying to get a better idea about what kinds of tensions existed there. Being in the halls I could pretty much determine who ran the school, and believe me, it wasn't the teachers. We discovered that when there were close to equal numbers of black and white kids in a school, the white kids usually would follow black leadership, which was mostly out of sight. It was mainly in schools that were disproportionately black or white that the shit really came down.

Why did Weatherman start moving from large, open collectives doing mass organizing work into small very security-

tight cells?

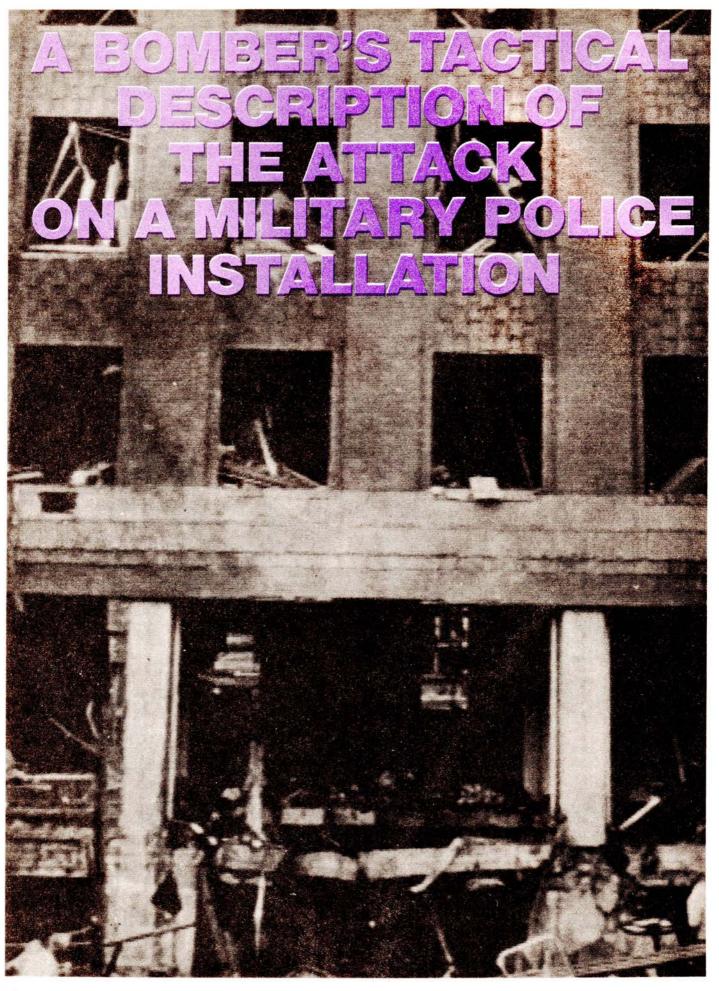
There was a need for heavier security measures. And there was a real need for radical militant leadership for young white kids. Weatherman had been organizing for quite some time, which led to more organizing but not to revolution. Enough people now knew what Weatherman stood for. What was missing was the armed vanguard.

Why did you leave?

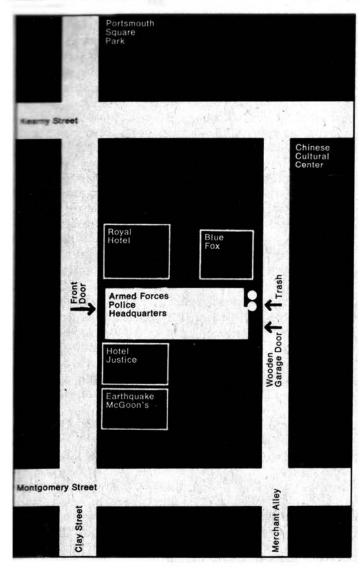
I think that because of the fear people were experiencing at being so close to armed struggle, the cadre wasn't critical enough of what the leadership said or did. We were into accepting lines and tasks almost without question, almost blindly. We felt unsure of our own ability to make decisions, unsure of the validity of our arguments. And, the leadership was not very responsive to what dissent there was. It was a breakdown of our democratic centralism. I had political disagreements and I felt I had no power to change what I thought needed to be changed—so I had to split.

What do you think of Weatherman now?

Weatherman has done what it set out to do. They have succeeded in publicizing to millions of kids that there is a revolution in the making in America—in the world. And that white kids have a stake in it and a responsibility to make sure that it happens. It has started to happen all over this country. If you don't believe it, just pick up a newspaper or try to talk to your kid.



28, 1970, the Armed Forces Police headquarters was bombed by three civilians, two men and The following is an interview with one of them.



Why have you decided to give us this description of the bombing of the military police station in the North Beach area?

We realized we were making a mistake. Our actions were not being clearly defined. We weren't able to provide people with an understanding of what we are trying to do... we weren't explaining the importance of violence in bringing the war to America... we hadn't explained to people why we picked this obscure station and did what we did.

Could you give us the chronology of events that led up to your action?

Well, we had come together as a group to begin to engage in various acts of violence. We decided that we would participate in the new kind of struggle—that of armed struggle—but not necessarily withdraw from other political activity. We planned to develop a new life-style for dealing with problems.

Of course we had discussions about what target we would attack. The corporations and the pigs and the various targets that now occupy the consciousness of all young American radicals ran through our minds. We thought about the new Bank of America Building, but that's too big and sloppy and wouldn't be very effective. And we thought about the new police station—but the increasing security in police stations would make it difficult to strike. Our actions are always designed to maximize significance and minimize getting caught. Because right now we realize that we can't destroy the police mechanism or the corporate mechanism. We realize we're at a very elementary stage—the stage of the theatrical.

Once you realize the absolute historical necessity of armed struggle, you can't organize a demonstration anymore. You might be able to attend one, but you can't invest your political efforts in trying to make peaceful political changes. All the people in our group had realized that and that was the basic unity of the group. We didn't have any major unity or strategy or tactics. We weren't prepared at that time to engage in direct personal violence unless absolutely necessary in terms of self-defense. We felt it would be possibly alienating to engage in the same kind of personal violence that the governing structure gave us every day. We thought we would try and begin in another range and experiment in another possibility of physical property damage because we felt that was paramount in the consciousness of America.

Let's go from here to this action that happened.

Well, we found that the most important institution in America is the military. It's the military that the Vietnamese people face every day. They don't face Bank of America directly, they don't face our universities directly, they don't face the city government or the tactical pigs. The thing they really face is the U.S. military, the foot soldiers. Now, basically we were saying that we were declaring war in unity with the Vietnamese against the military operations.

We realized, of course, that the military itself was also stratified just like American society, that there were all classes, all kinds of people in the military—people that had been forced into it by the very nature of American capitalism. They were slaves to the military. So, with that realization and with the realization that these men were trained military experts who could also become involved with the struggle against imperialism and racism, we felt that we would have to be very discriminating in our attacks on the military.

Now, until the time when we did our action, we followed other actions. That's one of the main things you get into as a group. You wait every morning to read the newspaper, you listen every day to the news. You're always getting in touch with the other members and discussing what actions have been created, so you are abreast of what's going on. And that becomes your life—armed struggle is your life.

We thought about who the greatest oppressors of the GI's were and we knew the main oppressor was the commander or the lifer. The actual mechanical apparatus of the lifer is oppression of the foot soldier—the average guy. We were aware that before every GI in the country goes to Vietnam, he comes to North Beach. Then, of course, there are the GI pigs—the people who pick up the deserters, the resisters, the trouble-makers. We'd seen several occasions in which GI's had been busted. So, we realized that to these

guys, the real instrument of oppression was that military policeman. And we went on to investigate that. In other words, because of the role of the military policeman in the North Beach vicinity, we began to understand that it was necessary to attack that symbol.

What particular target did you pick?

The military police station, the Armed Forces Police Station, which is in San Francisco. It's located on Clay Street. It's rather obscured, even most of the people in the area don't know about it. This was one of the key reasons it was picked as a target—to emphasize its very presence, the fact that such a police station could exist and no one even know about it. The police station itself was in a civilian community (which was an interesting contradiction in that they were military police and they didn't get on very well with the civilians in the area), so we didn't feel that we would be alienating any of the people in the area. They'd wake up in the morning and it would be: "Oh well, the military station has been bombed." The main reason it wouldn't be important in their lives is because in no way does that military station serve anyone's interest in the area. It doesn't protect, it doesn't defend, it doesn't procure—all it does is

After the picking of the target what was done? Was there

reconnaissance planning, were there charts made?

We planned in depth. A number of us sat around and we discussed what would be the way, militarily, to execute this action. We decided to do something with that station. So we went and used some of the

simple tools of reconnaissance.

We worked with a real map, a very detailed map of the area, because there are other police stations in the area—we knew where they were and watched their patrols and had a basic understanding about how the area was kept under surveillance by the local pigs. The civilian pigs and military pigs are very close.

We decided this was a fairly easy action. There were one-way streets going both ways—main streets. Late in the evening there's very little chance of congestion and usually the pigs don't patrol that area because it's downtown and very visible and light.

Previous to the incident, we began to live a social existence in that area. We'd go there for our meals—we'd eat in Chinatown or North Beach. We'd walk around that area. We'd get entertained there. We'd get high there. When we had free time, we'd spend it there in bookstores. The key thing always is to understand the area—to know where to go. We began to live there and to feel settled about the issue and then we picked a time when we were going to strike—and then the main thing of course was to plant the bomb. See, we knew it was absolutely simple to plant any device.

We certainly didn't want to harm any civilians. Definite precautions were taken not to. We took great precautions not to interrupt any civilian activity in the area or any GI activity. See, we consider the GI, the non-com, the foot soldier, to be a civilian. Whereas we consider the lifers and the military structure and the police structure of the military to be a more permanent structure—a structure which is evolving to a more Gestapo-type existence. Of course

we wanted to isolate our acts of terror from any other elements of the population.

So the two main problems were planting and escape. That area happens to be particularly good for escape because it's filled with traffic. Because it's constantly congested and there are people around, you are never out of place. So we felt that escape was not much of a problem. Part of our discussion was about how to develop an untraceable escape. And that was also fairly easy.

How did you go about doing the actual action?

First we prepared the weapon. There was substantial discussion about what kind of weapon to use. Should we shotgun the place or whatever? What kind of attack? We finally decided on a fairly simple kind of pipe-bomb. The ingredients that were used in this pipe-bomb are not super easy to procure but it's fairly easy to create. The device we used was approximately . . . Okay, let me tell you this . . . all the things that we used were totally untraceable in that they all were stolen. Stolen from someone's home, stolen from a store, a hardware store . . . we stole some pipe from a construction sight. The whole point of the pipe-bomb is that it is a people's weapon. Just about anyone can make one of these. So we stole what we needed and then we made up a dynamite-type base which would be fairly effective. My own particular task was to detonate the device, and to arrange a timing mechanism for it, since I had volunteered to plant it.

Let's talk about the actual planting of the device. How was

that carried out?

There's an alley that runs behind the pig station. The back door of the station—which faces on the alley—is made of wood. This is the weakest spot in the whole building and the point we chose to attack.

Anyway, this alley was lined with trash cans. The military police station put their trash out there, too. So we figured there would be no better place than a trash can to put the bomb. Our main concern was that the device be in a place where there would be no question as to what our target was. Secondly, the trash can would provide a good cover for our device. There were times when the wooden door was open, but we thought it would be difficult to get inside.

There had never been attacks on this station before. That's one of the reasons we picked it. It had remained obscured in that commercial community. That evening we went by there several times. First we had dinner in the area earlier in the evening. Then we walked around and got a feeling that was fairly comfortable.

Early in the day we hid the device in a park. This park was a key staging area because it allows perfect vision down both the alley and Clay. In the evening we came back, had dinner and went to the park. Then we walked around North Beach and the topless area just like any tourist does. We walked around very casually—we were dressed very conservatively. We looked just like anyone else on the street.

What did you do to execute this action?

Let me just describe very simply what was done. There were basically three people. One was a woman. She was stationed in the park and her job was to

monitor this area. She and I were in visual contact always. We had created various signals to communicase with one another. The first thing I did was proceed down the alleyway and at the time there was a building under construction across the way from the back of the station.

Were you driving or parked?

We were already parked. We parked two vehicles a block away on a one-way street which was part of the get-away plan . . . we would be leaving by two one-way streets.

What were you doing at this time?

I would go down and plant the weapon in the general area. At that time the area was so congested I could just walk anywhere and lie the weapon down. Not for detonation, just lay it down. In other words, hide it . . . take it from the park and hide it again. Just temporarily hide it again . . . move it . . . to begin the motion of the action.

So I hid it at the construction site, not inside but in the debris. The plan was: I would walk down to the end of the alley and back up again-and then I would retrieve the weapon, plant it and procede up

the alley and institute the get-away.

As I passed the first time, I realized the wooden door was open to the rear garage of the military police station. Immediately inside the garage is an area in which vehicles park, both civilian and military. From there you can see a locker room which we thought was used to store the gear—the guns and weapons and whatever—of the pigs working in that station. So when I made my trip down the alley, I decided it would be the best place . . . because I noticed these trash bins standing inside the doorway. So I came by the second time (on my first trip I saw there was no one inside) and I picked up the weapon and treated the weapon and put it in the trash can. Now as I was coming up here with the weapon and getting closer and closer to the spot itself, this woman was in constant visual contact with me. If she signaled me that there was some foul-up or some police or some civilians in the area, the plan would be temporarily delayed. And delayed in such a way that it would be impossible to pin it on somebody. As I came up she gave me the clear signal. I was hurrying at that time, I was really moving, and I got to it, you know, and I put the device inside the door ... inside the trash can.

The device we used wasn't particularly accurate, but we knew we had enough time. It's the kind of timing device which I'd prefer not to talk about. So the device was placed inside the trash bin and I began to run. Part of the plan was that I would exit the area on foot to the get-away car. The woman would go to one car, the nearest car, and she was to start the engine on that car and be ready to leave. The other man with us was to drive the second car, which was immediately in front of hers. Then we'd escape up the one-way street so if any civilians or military were to come behind us or follow us or in any way detect what was going on, she would be able to block that road, which would make it almost impossible for anyone to apprehend us at that point. Now after the action, where did you all go?

The first thing we did was to leave the area. Then we parked the car that I escaped in and changed into the second car and we went back to one of our places, where we discussed it. The first thing we did was . . . we were all nervous and blown-out, it was our first major action . . . we got high. We turned on the radio and we sat back. Of course we were pretty anxious to hear about it, though we were pretty certain the device had detonated because we had practiced with it before and the person who was responsible for it said it was perfect.

Did you reach any conclusions while waiting to hear news of the action?

We were basically interested in how to use our violence, how to use our attacks to mobilize other people. See, we don't think that we alone can seize power or take over this country. We feel it's going to come through a large, massive movement. Our responsibility as people who realize this is to pick these targets and people to pull off these actions successfully . . . and to try and convince other people to follow our patterns . . . our style. We're experimenting-we're scientists. We're trying to develop a pattern, a style, to develop an understanding. We're willing to make certain sacrifices. We're willing to go out and do this. Now if we are to be criticized by the people, if our actions are inappropriate—then we deserve to desist, to disorganize ourselves. But until that point we feel that we have a certain role to go out and forge and create some new direction. Is there a piece of information that you could relate to me that would in some way authenticate this interview? Something that did not come out in the press, or something that you remember about the action?

One thing I remember that was very ironic was that in the process of surveillance and reconnaissance, I saw a hamburger stand in the area that's called Clown Alley. And as I went to the trash can to plant this thing I saw all this shit coming out from Clown Alley. All this, you know, cups and stuff and trash from Clown Alley . . . and there was a beer can, I know it was a Lucky Lager because I happen to drink a Lucky Lager myself sometimes. I'm sure that whoever was in charge of that investigation, if they investigated that trash in that barrel, which I'm sure they did, I'm sure they would find plenty of paraphernalia from Clown Alley and plenty of beer cans. Which is surprising—the pigs inside that station are drinking beer when they're on duty. I'd like to call for an investigation of those pigs.

I'd just like to know when you finally heard news of your

action? Was it that night? What did it feel like?

That night the news wasn't going so well, it was late and the news didn't have it. We basically listened to FM stations and rock stations and they weren't carrying it. So we actually found out the next morning. It was in the paper. Which was also a great feeling, to read about your action in the paper. We definitely began to understand the thing about mad bombers and people that are into this. There is a kind of ecstacy in knowing that you destroyed something, that you were effective. Because all of your life you are told that you can't get away with it, you can't beat it, and we beat it.

THE STUDENT WHO BURNED DOWN THE BANK OF AMERICA



might of February 25, 1970, demonstrating of the University of California at Santa started a fire which completely destroyed America's Isla Vista branch. The demonsere the spontaneous result of the university's not to grant tenure to a popular, radical

anthropology professor, Bill Allen.

state of California has indicted 12 people the bank burning. The trial of 11 of the defendance is expected to conclude soon, and the twelfth, was recently arrested in Oregon, will be brought trial during the next month.

The details of the interview explain why those

charged could not possibly be guilty.

What did this bank represent to you? This Bank of America branch?

Well, this Bank of America represented to me the same thing every Bank of America does. It's essentially the Bank of America which has its hand in everything all over the world. It's like the largest bank in the world, from what I understand. The people who sit on the board of directors of this bank, they're pigs! You know, it was more symbolic, because it's one bank and they've got so much fuckin' money. But we figured, you know, the Bank of America, let them feel the same fear they have to feel abroad. Like when guerrillas in Lebanon, the next day, shot mortars through their windows. Let them feel that at home. They're not safe anywhere, and they shouldn't be. It was also an ugly building. Aesthetically, it was ugly. As one of my friends remarked: "That fuckin' thing was so ugly, it had to go anyway."

Tell us about the events which led up to your burning down

the Bank of America at Isla Vista.

An anthropology professor named Bill Allen was fired for being cool. The Regents gave the excuse that he was being fired for not having done enough research, but in fact he had done more research than anyone else in his department. He's a noted California archaeologist. They threw him out because he had long hair and a beard and smoked dope.

He was very well-liked. He was pretty radical. He taught a class in Latin-American revolution. He had this picture on his wall that we all dug. The mouth was filled with a collage of poor people all over the world and it said: "U.S. imperialism swallows the globe." We dug him, because he was not making it into a student-teacher relationship, like a dictator to a dummy. He made it, you know, we're all in this together. So, the students got very upset when the Regents fired him.

Santa Barbara first became radicalized by the blacks who took over the university computer center. Then when the Regents dismissed Bill Allen, the whites began getting radicalized. The students requested an open hearing for Bill Allen. It was refused. This really solidified the campus because people actu-

ally knew what was going on. Over 7,000 students, over half the enrollment, signed a petition to keep him on. It was ignored by the administration and the Regents. Prior to this, most people were not aware of their roles as students. But, then, when all of a sudden, they were put in the role of niggers—having one of their teachers taken away—they became aware. This was such a needed kick to all of us.

How many demonstrations were there before the first attacks

by the police?

It's pretty hard to remember exactly. But I do remember that we were gassed and beaten a few times. But overall they were, you know, typical average riots. There was nothing special about them. It's not even worth going into detail. But it was enough to make people pissed off at the police.

Then one day, the pigs decided to arrest these four people. They were walking down the street and a pig car pulls up. "You're under arrest," one pig says. And their immediate reaction was: "Well, what are we under arrest for?" The pig says: "Get in the car." And they give out the constitutional rights trip: "What are we being arrested for?" And the pig just said: "Resisting arrest." Okay. "Resisting arrest to what charge?" "Get in the car." So they pulled these four people in and while they were doing that, they tried to pull each other out. You know, when the pig was puttin' one in, they kept tryin' to get out. And they were struggling with the pigs right on the street. People saw this and they couldn't believe what was going on. So, pretty fast there was a bunch of us out on the street. The police got uptight and said, "This is an illegal assembly," and the people started throwing rocks at the police. It was really an incredible scene. People running all over the streets throwing rocks at the police. The police called in reinforcements, and there was this street fight going on. All of a sudden, all you heard out windows of the houses right next door was The Rolling Stones' Street Fighting Man. And people are going crazy when this comes on. Like the minute they heard that, they start throwing rocks in the realty office.

Were you throwing rocks?

Well, yes. To be precise, I hit one pig in the stomach. The fucker.

All right, so groups are running around throwing rocks at the police. The police, I presume, were making arrests?

No. The pigs were retreating. They were forced to retreat. We had militarily defeated them. One pig car was bombed. It was Molotov'd. The pigs weren't in it at the time. They were away. They couldn't make arrests because there were so few of them. They couldn't get enough reinforcements. So now the area was more or less ours, and at that point you could hear Jefferson Airplane singing Got A Revolution. People were all putting on like all revolutionary songs on their record players. It was just unbelievable. Were you near the bank while all this was going on?

We were floating around on Embarcadero. That's where the bank is. We were deciding if there were any good targets and we saw some people congregating by the bank. The bank windows had already been broken the night before and the windows were

boarded up. We'd beaten the pigs. We were all so

happy we had finally beaten the pricks.

At this time I was wearing a green Army jacket. And the collar is big on it. So I pushed it up so you couldn't see my cheeks, or mouth. My hair was really long, So I'm pretty hard to tell in the midst of chaos and other friends of mine did typically the same thing with their coats. And we like pulled this trash can right in front of the boarded window of the bank. And what happened was people were talking in frenzied voices and saying beautiful, crazy things, like "I wish we would blow this fucking bank up." Just then some people started to rip down the boards from the window and, just out of inspiration, I threw a match in the trash can trying to start it, you know. You had not planned anything prior to right then?

No. I planned to start a fire in the trash can, not before but right then. The inspiration was like,

"Light this fuckin' trash can".

The inspiration must have hit all of us at once 'cause we pulled the sleeves of our jackets over our hands so we wouldn't leave fingerprints on the trash can handles, and then—WHAM! Right through the fuckin' open window. The trash splattered out all over the bank. Papers caught on fire. People were going wild, yelling out, "They're burning the bank!" The people started throwing matches and shit. Pieces of paper on fire.

What did you do after you threw the trash can through

the window?

I split. We went and checked to see if there were any pigs in the area, if we were being followed. We were pretty sure we'd gotten away with it. So we went home and smoked some more dope and relaxed and waited to see the outcome. Actually, it was rather tense after we smoked the dope. We were elated and then we settled down for our one paranoia stretch. We got the guns out of the closet and just loaded . . .

You had guns in your closet?

Yeah, I mean, fuck it. Like when you do this stuff, you should generally be prepared to die right then and there. My politics are I believe in armed self-defense. I believe in having guns in your house. 'Cause I believe there is so much repression that you never know who they're going to get. And, like, I was once formerly an SDS member, so my name is on lists. They know who the fuck I am. So, I'm not taking any chances. Any time repression can hit. It's not something you should laugh and play about. Why did you split? Were there still other people left out on the street?

There were people outside the bank when we left, chanting and yelling. But what we didn't want to do was be out there any longer than we had to. Because I'm not risking my life in a street situation any more than is necessary for that action. If I thought the action was crazy, suicidal to begin with, I wouldn't even go out there, even though I thought politically it was a groovy action. 'Cause riots are getting out of hand. They're shooting people down in the streets. I'm still gonna do shit, they're gonna still know I'm around. But I do not suggest people go out and riot. If they like violence, they should form their own cells

and go out and do something.

I still attend things, but shy away from some. Those last riots we had during the Cambodian incident were pretty bad. I was there, but I kind of stayed away afterwards. There was teargassing, beating heads, it was like martial law while all this stuff was going on. We didn't want to fuck with National Guardsmen. We figured we could talk to them, could radicalize them eventually. Because these people lived right in our community. I still think some of them can be saved and you want these people in the national guard not to shoot you but to put their arms around you and point their guns the other way. You be nice to them. A pig is a pig. But the National Guard is like guys do that to get out of the Army, so you know where some of their heads could be.

What would you like to see happen in America?

One of the things that I would like to do is some serious organizing among the labor people I've come in contact with. They are the most important. Say if people strike General Electric for political reasons—saying we don't want General Electric supporting the war—it can be incredible. You can stop the machine at home. Like I was reading Che, and he said, "You're right in the middle of the beast," and that is the most important struggle. If you can stop it here it can't go anywhere else and that means politicizing labor.

Basically I guess I'm some sort of communist. I would like to see some sort of socialist or communist type of revolution. I have definite anarchist leanings. But I must stress that I am not a Stalinist or anything. I don't think major universities will be open in five years. Black people are still going—really going—to get it in the head. All over. Students will possibly calm the riots and do some serious organizing among themselves and labor. This is what I would like to see and hopefully we'll know in a year if this will happen. I don't really expect this as I think a lot of people in the movement are jerks. They may think I'm a jerk for that, but I mean they don't see when the times are changing. All they want to do is organize hippies and stuff and keep the student revolution as the most important thing.

I used to have that egocentric view that we're the only people doing anything. But now I believe the whole population has to be moved. That of course doesn't mean everybody, but strategic militant segments of the population. The teamsters in Los Angeles for instance. When they went on strike everything stopped. About 200 of those cats didn't get their jobs back. I helped picket for them. They definitely were into militancy and into a rank and file wildcat

strike.

This one cat I know in Santa Barbara is one of the teamsters who were really pissed off and militant. They had ripped off some mortars and set them up outside the building where they worked. They were very much contemplating shelling this fucking building, but they decided against it. They said they will wait until later.

What do you think is the value of the bombings?

Well, right now I'm not so sure. It's almost like a war was going on in this country and I guess there is. And I think the pace of the war will keep pace with

the rising militancy of the people against government repression. If they continue the bombing at this pace they will force so much repression that there will be no movement. If they are going to bomb things I think they should at least avoid killing people at all costs. But the pig station is different. That is always going to be strategically and tactically correct. Because once you put that uniform on you are a pig. That's your job—you follow orders.

What about somebody like Rockefeller?

Oh, I wouldn't mind ripping him off. Of course any of their flunkies, any of their strong arms. They have to go. Now I would advocate something with real balls like picking off a particular general in Washington. It's just general violence and bombing that I question.

You were speaking of special organizing in the working class. Do you see violence as a way of organizing? How does

it help?

Most workers would be afraid of us if they thought we were these crazy bombing people. They wouldn't understand that I want ultimately to get students and workers together. Like Berkeley kids were pretty successful at the Richmond Oil Strike. There were some contacts made in Santa Barbara. So I figure that students all over the country should just invite workers up to their houses for dinner. Talk to them. Bring their families. You know, we're not bad people. You're getting all this bullshit in the media and like you should just come in and see what's going on. And don't rhetoric them to death. Just let them know that, like, there is piggery going on in the country, and they're being screwed by it because they are workers. What will you do in the future?

I have some ideas about organizing a cooperativetype venture. Hopefully I will acquire a skill before school closes. I may want to do something medical. That would be my specialty. A friend of mine will be making films. And we wanna get someone in who is

an auto mechanic.

We would give free medical or dental care to people. And free auto and mechanic repairs. Another thing I advocate for all students is to help workers repair their houses. Some workers never get a chance to paint their houses. So help them paint it . . . you actually show them that you're concerned with them. They will ask you questions, like, "Why do you fix up my house when you burn a building on campus?" You can like explain that the ROTC office was involved in killing Vietnamese. And you should have a little more—because you really do a lot of hard work out there so I can go to school. You bust your ass. You should have little more. I feel solidarity with you. I feel we should be together instead of being split apart. That's why we do stuff like this. We don't do it because we're sneaky fuckers. We do it because we actually feel this way.

I see more of a civil war than a revolutionary struggle in the United States. In a civil war I believe our propaganda will be better than the pigs', and that eventually we will sway enough workers over to our side. Militarily, urban guerrilla tactics will give us a tremendous advantage over the pigs. So the civil

Do you have a scenario for a political apocalypse?

war will be waged pretty much in guerrilla style. The whole country will become a kind of occupied territory, and there will be an underground and real guerrillas will walk down the streets looking just like the pig businessman. They will do their shit and go home and incredible things will happen at night.

There will be some armed insurrection in the cities. The Bay Area will liberate itself right off and I feel that a major part of New York will be liberated. New York is really heavy. I figure a lot of cities will be divided into liberated zones and pigs' zones. And when the pigs try and invade they will not get in so easily. And they are not going to shell them immediately because the liberals will still be screaming. And then there will be some repression for these screaming liberals and then—boom. Liberals are going to decide this is it. Hopefully. I figure that most people will get mobilized when their lives are truly affected. So far this government is not really into mass repression. They are just picking off leaders. And when repression picks up I figure they will pick off the liberal leaders first. Then the mass of liberals may actually do something. I hope. But even if they don't, most of the moderates will remain so passive, they could generally be swayed to our side.

And once resistance increases in the cities?

One of the most important things that I think will happen will be a breakdown in the national guard. In Chicago, for instance, a lot of the national guard just didn't want to be there. A similar, but not so broad, decomposition is taking place within the U.S. Army too. A lot of these cats are getting really militant. A lot of the black soldiers and the chicanos for sure, and a lot of white guys who are fucked over in the armed forces, can be counted on. There will be breakdowns and revolts in both the army and the national guard in cases of fighting guerrillas. They don't want to shoot their own people. I'm sure of that. Except maybe the sick ones, I figure a lot of them will come to our side.

Is there anyone in the movement you would like to see

become President of the United States?

Well, none of the conspirators excite me. I don't really like Tom Hayden or Rennie Davis that much. I definitely like Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, and I guess I would like to see them in leadership of the country, but more I would like to see a balance of power between guys, if there was one group it could continue to create friction, like the blacks or any other took over.

Are you going to remain a student?

Yes, that's the way it looks. I want to build as many alliances in the university as I can. Maybe the universities will be able to stay open. And if we are really successful... but I don't really see that. That's like a dream, wow, like all this stuff is going to happen. I don't think like that. I think more on a hard line, that there is going to be more hard core things going on rather than big national movements. What about money?

My parents are helping out while I'm going to school. And I've got a national student loan that I have no intention of paying back. I think it is very nice of them to send me here to school.

GUERRILLA ACTS OF SABOTAGE AND **TERRORISM** IN THE UNITED STATES 1965-1970



LEGEND

TARGET



























Buildings

Government Corporations Homes

Elementary Schools

METHOD

Molotoy Cocktail

Terrorism

	1965
*4	12 Feb. Atlanta, Ga. Two policemen were shot at and one of them killed.
183	4 Mar. Moultrie, Ga. A fire caused slight damage at a high school. Students had been demonstrating for a month in protest of "deplorable conditions" at the school.
10	25 Mar. Atlanta, Ga. A sniper fired at the State Capitol Building.
*6	9 Apr. Atlanta, Ga. Three policemen were shot and killed by sniper fire.
#	29 May. Lebanon, Mo. Radio station KLWT was hit with a TNT bomb. Reported damage was \$3,000. The station was off the air for 30 minutes.
III &	7 July. Chicago, III. Bombs exploded in downtown office buildings.
100	15 July. St. Louis, Mo. Two boys, ages 8 and 10, set a fire in the Shepard Grade School. No damage was reported.
Шí	8 Aug. Richmond, Va. The Bark and Co. Clothing Store was hit by arson for the second time. The first fire had caused \$500,000 damage.
36	9 Aug. St. Louis, Mo. A homemade bomb placed outside the door of a Selective Service Board failed to explode.
4.	11-16 Aug. Los Angeles, Calif. Approximately 10,000 persons rioted in the 150-block section of Watts. Damages were estimated upwards of \$200 million; even airplanes were shot at. Thirty-five persons were killed.
₩å	13 Aug. Springfield, Mass. Two trading stamp redemption centers were hit with Molotov cocktails after 23 civil rights demonstrators were arrested at City Hall.
CD	4 Oct. Coff City, Ga. A cigarette-fused firebomb damaged Nash Junior High School.
C D	6 Nov. Jennings, Mo. An arson fire was set in the basement Music Room of Corpus Christi High School.
44	26 Nov. Salem, Ind. The homes of two John Birch Society officials were hit with Molotov cocktails.
44	6 Dec. Tampa, Fla. Angry students burned homes, and gunfire and Molotov cocktails were aimed at police.
*	19 Dec. Marin City, Calif. Youths sniped at policemen with .22-caliber rifles.
	1966
44	20 Jan. Columbus, Ohio. The home of high school principal was bombed in what police termed a "retaliatory attack." Three teachers' homes were also bombed. Five boys were arrested.
CD	23 Jan. Warren, Ohio. An arson fire did \$4.8 million worth of damage to Western Reserve High School.
99	30 Jan. Paso Robles, Calif. A dynamite bomb blew off the side of a metal locker at Paso Robles H.S. One person was slightly injured by a piece of flying metaf.
CD	14 Feb. Barberton, Ohio. Arson at Barberton H.S. caused \$4,000 damage to office equipment.
114	14 Feb. Greenville, Ohio. A truck belonging to Indiana Refrigerator Lines was destroyed by an explosion.
83	26 Feb. Elba, Ala. A bomb exploded at Elba High School, causing \$50,000 worth of damage.
23	28 Feb. Lima, Ohio. An arson fire at Central Junior High School caused \$150,000 damage.
	19 Mar. Salineville, Ohio. The City Hall was attacked by an arsonist. There was no report of damage.
1	25 Mar. Marin City, Calif. Six teenagers, one seen throwing a Molotov cocktail, were sought by police for the destruction of an unoccupied building in a World Wor II begins project.
	building in a World War II housing project. 2 Apr. Miami, Fla. The editor of an anti-Castro newspaper, Patria, was uninjured when a bomb blew up his car.
44	18 Apr. Miami, Fla. Windows in the home of former Cuban finance minister Antonio Prio Socarras were blown out and one car demolished
an	by an explosion. 2 May. Chicago, Ul. George B. Swift Elementary School was hit by arsonists.

	1966
***	20 May. Fresno, Calif. Military-type explosives shattered windows an destroyed the front door of the Sigma Nu fraternity house at Fresn State College.
41	21 May. Wash., D.C. The American Nazi Party Hq. was heavily damage by a fire.
***	25 May. Kent, Ohio. Arson was charged in a fire at the women's dormi tory at Kent State University. Damage was reported at \$100,000.
169	4 June. Chicago, III. A black powder pipe bomb damaged the field house door at the Thomas J. Waters Elementary School. Damage was estimated at \$1500.
16D	7 June. Los Angeles, Calif. An arson fire at Edwin Markham Junion High School in Watts caused an estimated \$25,000 in damages.
169	7 June. Montgomery Co., Md. An arson fire at the Oak View Elementary School caused \$200,000 in damage.
	18 June. Edison, N.J. A deserted Job Corps building was hit by fires and four Job Corps youths arrested.
183	20 June. Chicago, III. A mobile classroom of Tilton Elementary School was almost completely charred by a fire.
*6	20 June. Chicago, III. Two policemen were wounded by sniper fire.
* 4	13 July. Chicago, III. After police turned off a fire hydrant on a hot day, firebombs burned a garage and apartment building, and gunfire and rocks were thrown at firemen.
*	6 Aug. Chicago, III. Snipers fired upon police from rooftops in Chicago's South Side. There were no reported injuries.
*	18 Aug. Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. Police were fired upon by a sniper while trying to disperse a crowd. One policeman was injured.
06	18 Aug. Omaha, Neb. A homemade bomb was discovered in a filing cabinet at Offuth A.F.B. Headquarters, Strategic Air Command. The bomb did not detonate.
169	30 Aug. La Palma, Calif. The Administrative Unit of the George B. Miller School was damaged to the extent of \$35,000 by arsonists.
Mi	21 Sept. Santa Ana, Calif. The third arson attempt at the Mayfair Market resulted in no damage. Three youths were seen running away from the area.
P.	15 Oct. Cleveland, Ohio. A gasoline bomb caused \$200 damage to Patrick Henry Junior H.S. Police arrested two youths.
Mi	20 Oct. Oakland, Calif. Roving bands looted, threw rocks, and set fire to stores. A curfew was set.
P	22 Oct. Jacksonville, III. Old Roult College High School was gutted by an arson fire.
III &	9 Nov. Atlanta, Ga. A grocery store was hit by a Molotov cocktail.
(P)	9 Nov. Wash., D.C. An 18-year-old boy was arrested and charged with setting a fire in a storage room at Eastern H.S. The contents of the room, including 2000 light bulbs, were destroyed.
CO	24 Nov. Wash., D.C. Two fires were set in the wings of the auditorium at Simmons Elementary School by a 13-year-old boy. No damage resulted.
1-2-	27 Nov Wash D.C. Damage estimated at \$2 500 reculted when stu

ol principal was	
Three teachers'	

1967

dents started a blaze at Douglas Junior H.S.

27 Nov. Wash., D.C. Damage estimated at \$2,500 resulted when stu-

III 🕹		3 Jan. Cincinnati, Ohio. A bomb placed in an air conditioner exploded, blowing a hole in the recently finished but not yet occupied offices of the Delta Savings and Loan Company.
123	19200	11 Ian Granada Hills Calif Three students were charged with arean

11 Jan. Granada Hills, Calif. Three students were charged with arson in an attempt to set fire to George K. Porter Junior High School after boycott of school cafeteria protesting poor quality of food and high process.

16 Jan. Cleveland, Ohio. A fire caused \$15,000 damage to Olmsted Falls High School library. Over 8,000 volumes were destroyed.

22 Jan. Terre Haute, Ind. Women's dorm was the target of a home-made bomb which exploded outside and shattered windows.

26 Feb. Detroit, Mich. Two bombs, found in the same room at Sterling Township Jr. High School, failed to explode.

200	1967	2-10-10-10-10-1	1967
Ш 🕹	3 Mar. Parma, Ohio. Atwell Investment Company's front window was shattered by a bomb after the real estate firm received a threatening phone call.	₩ 🕹	3 Aug. Milwaukee, Wis. One youth was killed and two others sho as Molotov cocktails were thrown at buildings and police.
* 🛦	18 Mar. Abbeville, Ga. Police chief was shot to death as he was trying to break up a street fight.	(P)	7 Aug. Cleveland, Ohio. An arson fire at the Kinsman Elementary School caused a reported \$100,000 in damage.
ed	26 Mar. Los Angeles, Calif. Vandals at Woodrow Wilson Jr. High School turned on five fire hoses, emptied 20 fire extinguishers and rampaged through the school dispensary and store causing \$15,000 damage.	P)	8 Aug. Chicago, III. Arson caused \$200 damage to Ehringer Elementary School.
en i	28 Mar. Los Angeles, Calif. A classroom bungalow at 223rd Street Elementary school was set ablaze resulting in \$15,000 damage.	4i	8 Aug. Jefferson, Ga. A state prosecutor died when his car went up in flames at his home. Authorities suspected an assassination.
eD i	9 Apr. Cleveland, Ohio. An arson fire at the Giddings Elementary School caused a reported \$250,000 damage. A second arson fire finished off the school three days later.	₩.	8 Aug. Hartford, Conn. A firebomb caused \$200,000 damage to a supermarket.
i XXX	9 Apr. Jefferson City, Mo. Lincoln University's Memorial Hall received minor damage from fire. There were demonstrations on the campus the previous week.	₩\$	9 Aug. Chicago, III. A firebomb caused \$150,000 damage to a Mac Donald's Hamburger restaurant.
♦ ₹₹₹	13 Apr. Chicago, III. Slight damage was done to the University of Chicago bookstore when a bomb went off. Students were protesting inadequate facilities of store.	₩₽	9 Aug. Chicago, III. A firebomb caused \$150,000 damage to the Lincoln State Bank.
e b i	16 Apr. Bloomington, Ind. Central Junior High School was completely destroyed by a fire. Damage reported at \$2,000,000.	iii 🕹	26 Aug. New York, N.Y. One elderly widow was injured as a firebomb exploded in the East Side. Further damage by the fire was caused to a school and an A&P food store. There were 22 fires in three hours in
694	16 May. Cleveland, Ohio. Landis High School was bombed causing minor damage.	A i	this area. 31 Aug. Shaker Heights, Ohio. The home of a hospital official had windows broken after a firebomb ignited.
大商	18 May. Houston, Tex. One policeman was shot to death in a gun battle at Texas Southern University after the arrest of a student the day before and shooting of plainclothes policeman.	→ ★	2 Sept. Cleveland, Ohio. 19 youths arrested after a firebomb was tossed in the home of a policeman.
11 6	24 June. St. Louis, Mo. A bomb was planted in front of the home of the vice-president of the Mortgage Loan DeptMercantile Trust Association.	***	22 Oct. Chicago, III. The student center, dining hall, and auditorium at the University of Chicago were the targets of small fires set after
	28 June. Berkeley, Calif. Three plate glass windows were blown out at the Berkeley Draft Board in the early a.m. \$500 damage.	↑	recent anti-war protests. 2 Nov. Houston, Tex. One policeman was shot to death and several others injured after a riot on the Southern University campus.
11	5 July. Cincinnati, Ohio. Over \$1 million in damage was caused to businesses and stores by fires set by gang of youths.	*	15 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Two policemen were injured by sniper fire at the Hunters Point Police Station.
₹	16 July. Chicago, III. One police car was destroyed when it was fire-bombed.	* @	22 Nov. Chicago, III. Police were the target of sniper fire on the South Side. 220 arrests were made.
PDI	17 July. Wash., D.C. Arson caused considerable damage to the basement and storage area of Taylor Elementary School.	X D t	23 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. George Washington High School was the target of a firebomb. It was quickly extinguished after it exploded on
Pi	24 July. Cambridge, Mass. \$5–6,000 destruction occurred to a one-story frame building at Pine Street Elementary School.		the second floor. 23 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Balboa High School was damaged by a \$250,000 three-alarm fire. A firebomb had been tossed into the record
ĬÅ	24 July. Cincinnati, Ohio. Firebombs caused \$3,000 damage to the Cabanon Lounge and the Atlas Welding Co. in Avondale. Downtown fires at the same time caused \$10,000 damage.		room. 1 Dec. Joliet, III. Three juveniles and five firemen were injured when \$1.5 million damage was caused by a fire at Washington Junior High
44	25 July. St. Louis, Mo. A pipe bomb was lobbed into the home of a policeman.	76.91	School. Only the walls of the main building were left standing. Three separate fires were set before six a.m. 12 Dec. Atlanta, Ga. A police informer's home was firebombed.
	26 July. Cleveland, Ohio. Flaming bombs caused \$600 damage to Patrick Henry Junior High School when they were tossed into the	4 0	12 Dec. San Francisco, Calif. During a day of insurrection at S.F. State
	cafeteria and typing classroom. 26 July. Waukegan, III. Five firebombs were tossed into Webster Junior High School, Whittier School and three other schools in North Chicago.	XXX	College the campus bookstore was set afire. 16 Dec. Wash., D.C. The home of the president of Howard University
11 T	26 July. San Francisco, Calif. Roving bands of youths threw bombs destroying some property of markets in 15 scattered incidents.	4	was firebombed.
H.O.	26 July. Detroit, Mich. Two police were the target of sniper machine gun fire in chaos of looting and fires over a 40-block area. Over 1,000 per-	*•	24 Dec. San Francisco, Calif. A percussion bomb went off in Park Police Station causing light damage.
	sons injured and 15 deaths. 27 July. San Francisco, Calif. Markets all over the city were damaged as	Ш ♦	30 Dec. Los Angeles, Calif. A downtown motel and storage tank were dynamited.
T T I	they were bombed by gangs of youths. 27 July. Oberlin, Ohio. Firebombs causing \$1,000 damage went off in Johnson Hall, an Oberlin College dormitory.	Α	1968
	28 July. Detroit, Mich. One policeman was injured as a result of sniper fire which arose over racial violence.	44	16 Jan. Nashville, Tenn. Two policemen were fatally shot by five people when they stopped car to question them about a theft.
	31 July. New York, N.Y. Firebombs caused \$1,500 damage to a drug- store and barber shop.	X 🔘	20 Jan. Walnut Creek, Calif. Windows were shattered in the police station when a bomb exploded.
	3 Aug. Chicago, III. \$1,500 damage was caused by fire to the gym at the Addolorata Elementary School.		29 Jan. San Francisco, Calif. A time bomb placed in the Board of Supervisors chambers was discovered before detonation.
	3 Aug. Wyandanch, N.Y. Elementary classrooms burned as 100 teenagers rampaged in a ghetto in East Long Island.	O T	31 Jan. Kalamazoo, Mich. A firebomb caused \$12,000 damage to the National Guard Storage Building.
マラ 1	3 Aug. Peoria, III. A store was damaged as sniping of police occurred	O ÷	3 Feb. Washington, D.C. A bomb was discovered at the home of the Howard University Dean of Liberal Arts. There was no explosion.
	and a firebomb was thrown.	$\wedge \wedge \wedge \bullet$	noward University Dean of Elberal Arts. There was no expression

	1968
***	10 Feb. Orangeburg, S.C. An arson fire set at South Carolina State College resulted in the deaths of three persons.
*	19 Feb. San Diego, Calif. A police car was shot at in the southeast area of the city.
*	20 Feb. Lorman, Miss. Three policemen were injured in sniping and throwing of furniture and bottles at police.
*	25 Feb. San Diego, Calif. Police car was shot at in the southeast area of the city.
100	28 Feb. St: Louis, Mo. An arson fire, the second in a week, caused minor damage to Beaumont High School.
***	10 Mar. Los Angeles, Calif. The employment office of San Fernando Valley State College was firebombed because of the school's defense contracts.
Шф	12 Mar. New York, N.Y. The General Telephone Building was bombed. The explosion caused heavy damage.
*6	16 Mar. Gainesville, Fla. Shots were fired at a police officer called to investigate the theft of wallet at restaurant in a slum area.
1114	16 Mar. Washington, D.C. Two Safeway stores were bombed, causing \$400 damage.
41	17 Mar. Gainesville, Fla. Arson fires were set in 18 homes.
*•	19 Mar. Norwalk, Conn. An explosive device detonated outside police department.
ШЬ	20 Mar. Berkeley, Calif. An electrical tower furnishing power to the University of California was dynamited in Tilden Park.
1114	23 Mar. Berkeley, Calif. Two telephone trunk lines were dynamited.
0	25 Mar. Juneau, Alaska. The Coast Guard Cutter Baratoria, just returned from Vietnam, was damaged by an explosion.
	26 Mar. Oakland, Calif. The Induction Center was tear-gassed and an unexploded bomb was found.
(CO	29 Mar. Phoenix, Ariz. An arson fire at the Coolidge Elementary School caused a reported \$25,000 in damages.
Шi	30 Mar, Chicago, III, Fires were started at Wieboldt's Department Store and Montgomery Ward's. No estimate of damage was released.
Ш	30 Mar. Chicago, III. Six fires were started at the Carson Pirie Scott & Co. Department Store.
0	31 Mar. New York, N.Y. The Induction Center was "shaken" by a dynamite blast.
₩ †	Apr. New York, N.Y. Arson fires, set off by Molotov cocktails, hit S. Klein's, Montgomery Ward's, Gimbel's, and Bloomingdale's department stores, causing \$20 million damages. Apr. Detroit, Mich. Two policemen were wounded by gunfire during
XO	a civil disturbance. 4 Apr. Greensboro, N.C. Three policemen were wounded by shotgun
X	blasts, one critically. 4 Apr. Memphis, Tenn. Three policemen were injured in sporadic
*	sniping.
**	5 Apr. Deerfield Beach, Fla. Police officers in a ghetto area were targets of rock throwing and sniper fire.
*6	5 Apr. High Point, N.C. Two police cars were hit by sniper bullets. No injuries were reported.
*6	5 Apr. Tallahassee, Fla. Sporadic gunfire and arrows were shot at campus police of university.
*6	5 Apr. Wilmington, N.C. Police cars were shot at by snipers.
·e Di	5 Apr. Nashville, Tenn. An arson fire at the DuPont High School and Junior High School caused a reported \$3.25 million loss.
	5 Apr. San Francisco County, Calif. A massive bulldozer was used to topple a 90-ft. P.G.&E. tower This was called the latest in a series of utilities sabotages.

	1000
*6	6 Apr. Gainesville, Fla. A deputy was shot at during a demonstration.
₩÷	6 Apr. St. Louis, Mo. Sixteen firms were firebombed, causing varied damage.
*	7 Apr. East Albany, Ga. A shotgun and a .22 caliber rifle were used in the ambush of a police cruiser.
*	7 Apr. Jacksonville, Fla. Two shots were fired at a police car during a disturbance.
*	7 Apr. Malvern, Ark. A sniper fired a .38-caliber pistol into a police car.
**	7 Apr. Frederick, Md. A hundred people attacked police cars.
**	9 Apr. Petersburg, Va. Sniper gunfire and rock throwing were aimed at police officers.
P D	10 Apr. Chicago, III. Two firebombs caused \$1000 damage at Crane Technical High School. Eight people were arrested, six of them juveniles.

to the Montgomery County Board of Education.

15 Apr. Memphis, Tenn. Arson fires were started at several luxury department stores and a cocktail lounge.

11 Apr. Rockville, Md. Arson and firebombings caused minor damage

22 Apr. Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. A police car was fired into seriously wound-

16 Apr. Pittsburg, Calif. During a disturbance patrolling sheriffs were fired upon by snipers. One sheriff received a minor wound.

ing one officer. One youth was arrested for vandalism and shooting.

23 Apr. Chicago, III. An arson fire at St. Viater High School caused

24 Apr. Calvert Co., Md. A fire was set in the Fairview Elementary School, Chaneyville, causing \$125,000 damage. There were no injuries.

\$100,000 in damage.

30 Apr. Cleveland, Ohio. Five youths were held responsible for fire-bombing the Nathan Hale High School.

4 May. Chicago, III. A police car was fired on by an unknown sniper. The three shots came from the area of a nearby apartment house.

4 May, San Francisco, Calif. A Telephone Company cable was sabotaged in Portola Valley, causing \$400 damage.

7 May. Chicago, III. Two police officers were shot when they attempted to question two suspects.

7 May. Washington, D.C. A building on the Catholic University campus was firebombed and a note was left reading, "You can help support the Poor People's Campaign." No injuries or damage were reported.

8 May. Palo Alto, Calif. During ROTC protests at Stanford University,

the ROTC building was set afire, resulting in \$75,000 damage.

9 May. Washington, D.C. The fine arts building at Catholic University

sustained heavy damage through an arson fire. No injuries were reported.

13 May. Washington, D.C. The auditorium and classrooms of the Turner

Elementary School were damaged in an arson fire to the extent of \$1000.

15 May. Washington, D.C. The Stanton and Grimke Elementary Schools were set on fire, but no damage or injuries were reported.

16 May. Washington, D.C. The theater, a museum, and other buildings of the Catholic University sustained \$150,000 damage from arson. No injuries were reported.

418 May. Catonsville, Md. The files of the local Induction Center were damaged by Philip Berrigan & the Catonsville 9.

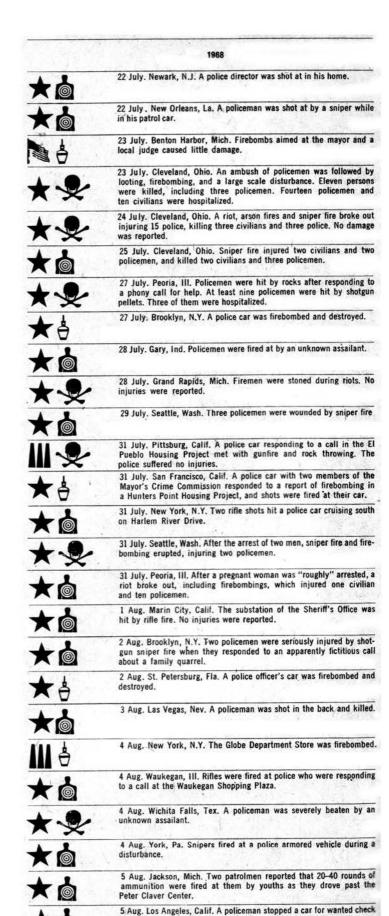
22 May . San Francisco, Calif. An arson fire broke out in the Polytechnic High School. No damage or injuries were reported.

gutted. There were no injuries.

28 May. East St. Louis, III. Four persons attempted to murder a policeman who was trying to question them about a gun thrown from their

27 May. Wilkinsburg, Pa. A police officer's home was firebombed and

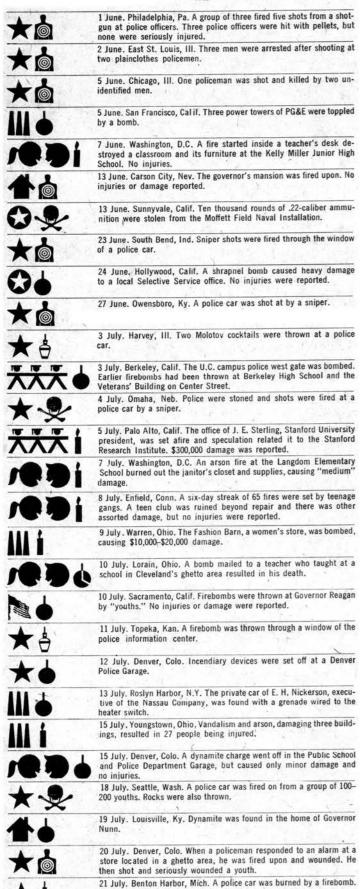
31 May. Chicago, III. Police attempted to arrest a female suspect. A crowd gathered and became unruly. Two policemen injured by shots fired and 12 persons arrested.



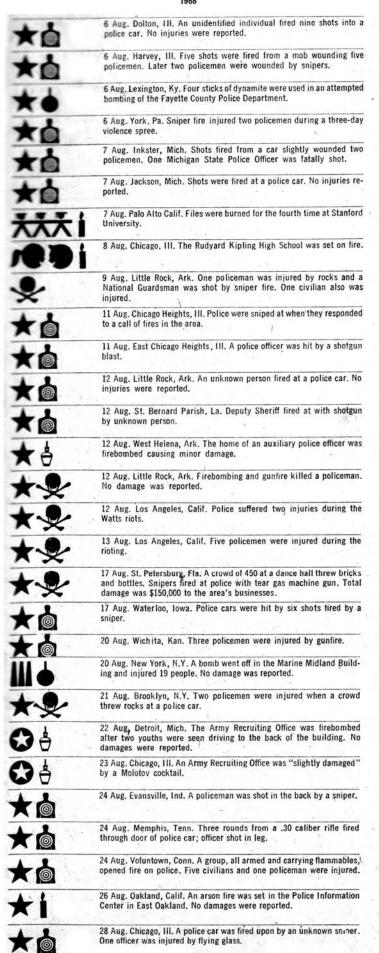
and four men opened fire wounding a policeman. The policeman returned fire and killed three of the men.

5 Aug. Chicago, III. Durkin & Durkin clothing store was firebombed.

5 Aug. Chicago, III. The North Shore Foundry was firebombed.



21 July. San Francisco, Calif. A one-story building containing a military uniform manufacturer was leveled. No injuries were reported.



**	29 Aug. San Francisco, Calif. The Hunters Point Police Station was fired upon from one or more of three cars.
*	30 Aug. Berkeley, Calif. Five shots were fired and two policemen wounded in confrontation. Ten arrests were made.
**	30 Aug. St. Paul, Minn. Two off-duty policemen took guns from a youth at a dance and then the officers were attacked by a large group. An unknown person shot at officers, wounding one. Later on, in the early morning hours, officers were struck by sniper shots.
*4	30 Aug. Detroit, Mich. A police car was dynamited outside the Woodward Police Station. No injuries were reported.
*	31 Aug. San Francisco, Calif, A shotgun was fired into the Hunters Point Housing Authority Police Station.
***	1 Sept. Durham, N.C. An ex-student of the North Carolina Central University set a building on fire, causing \$1,000,000 damage.
**	1 Sept. Newport News, Va. An officer was surrounded by a crowd and beaten by a man who took his gun and fired at another policeman. Disorder followed and buildings were destroyed. \$2 million damage was reported.
	1 Sept. Ann Arbor, Mich. The CIA building was bombed. No damage was reported.
111 6	1 Sept. Oakland, Calif. A man and wife were charged with bombing a PG&E power line.
*.	1 Sept. St. Paul, Minn. Firebombs and gunfire injured two policemen.
103	2 Sept. St. Clair Shores, Mich. Gunpowder gouged a sidewall and shattered glass to the tune of \$150 at the South Lake School District Administration Buildings. Two local youths were charged but found not guilty.
04	3 Sept. Macomb, Mich. Two Selective Service offices were blasted by bombs. There were no injuries.
	3 Sept. Oakland, Calif. The Oakland Hall of Justice, headquarters of the Qakland police, was bombed.
*	4 Sept. Seattle, Wash. A police car responding to a call was fired upon from both sides by snipers.
1114	4 Sept. Long Beach, Calif. A substation of the Southern California Edison Company was bombed.
**	6 Sept. Elmhurst, Mich. The private cars of police were dynamited.
*	7 Sept. Pittsburgh, Pa. A patrol car was fired upon by snipers. No injuries were reported.
A	9 Sept. Paducah, Ky. The Wallace for President Headquarters was firebombed. No damage was reported.
*	10 Sept. Detroit, Mich. Police cars parked at the Woodward Station were dynamited.
27	10 Sept. Detroit, Mich. An Army recruiting car was dynamited as well as a policeman's private car.
27	10 Sept. Oakland, Calif. An Army recruiting car was dynamited by a passing car, the second bombing in 24 hours, the fourth in 12 days.
27	10 Sept. Van Nuys, Calif. Five heavy Army trucks were dynamited.
III i	10 Sept. Berkeley, Calif. A three-alarm blaze that caused \$25,000 damage broke out in a 94-unit ticky-tacky under construction.
*	12 Sept. Crown Heights, N.Y. A sniper fired three times on a police car at the same spot where two other policemen were sniped at on
***	August 2nd. 13 Sept. Berkeley, Calif. A bomb carried in a black satchel was deposited at the University of California NROTC building, causing extensive damage.
★ Å	13 Sept. San Francisco, Calif. A Highway Patrol car was sniped at, but no injuries were reported.
44	18 Sept. San Francisco, Calif. A housing project building in the Hunters Point area was bombed, damaging 15 windows and a water pipe.
	20 Sept. Santa Rita, Calif. \$100,000 in damage was caused by fire to the

Job Corps Center Warehouse adjoining the Alameda jail. The facility

was used for training prisoners. Five fires had been set in one night.



	1968
(CD)	28 Oct. Cleveland, Ohio. Hough Elementary School was the second grade school to burn down in a ghetto area in 18 months. Damage not reported; cause undetermined.
1	29 Oct. Wilmington, Del. Two FBI agents were assaulted while escorting an apprehended deserter to an automobile. The agents were beaten, requiring hospitalization. Their guns were taken and the deserter allowed to escape.
*•	29 Oct. San Francisco, Calif. Dynamite blew a three-foot hole in the Richmond District Police station and destroyed a police car. It was one in a series of well organized attacks against the police over a three-day period.
\$	4 Nov. Northridge, Calif. At San Fernando State College students occupied the administration building and held the president and other administrators at knife point for four hours.
\\\\	8 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Arson and vandalism spread over San Francisco State College campus during the first week of the student strike.
*•	12 Nov. New York, N.Y. A bomb exploded outside the 25th Precincle police station.
★Ġ	13 Nov. Berkeley, Calif. A policeman was wounded by shots fired by an unidentified man.
*•	14 Nov. Houston, Tex. Five boys threw a hand grenade into a police car, but it did not explode.
***	15 Nov. Los Angeles, Calif. A pile of wooden construction forms was burned at a building site by Molotov cocktails at California State College. Other firebombs which were set did not go off.
4i	15 Nov. Newton, Ga. Farm buildings were the target of arsonists. Damage was not reported.
*6	16 Nov. St. Louis, Mo. Four shots were fired into the 9th District Police Department. No injuries reported.
*•	19 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Three policemen were wounded, two critically, in a noon shootout with suspects identified as fleeing from \$80 gas station robbery.
*	20 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Shots were exchanged when police stopped a truck. One policeman was seriously injured.
à	22 Nov. Los Angeles, Calif. Three firebombs thrown into a parole office caused \$1000 damage.
*6	23 Nov. Pittsburgh, Pa. Two policemen were injured by a shotgun blast from a sniper in the Hill section.
\\\	25 Nov. St. Louis, Mo. An incendiary device was lobbed at the ROTC building at Washington University.
**	27 Nov. Wilmington, Del. During a disturbance bottles were thrown at police cars. One officer was hit in the back of head; two others were assaulted. One State Trooper was struck.
★ å	29 Nov. Jersey City, N.J. 35 shots were fired into the Fifth Precinct police station. No injuries reported.
i XXX	3 Dec. St. Louis, Mo. Three jars of flammable liquid with wicks were found in the ROTC building in arson attempt at Washington University.
₹₹₹	5 Dec. San Francisco, Calif. Police found a bomb in a bag in the administration building at San Francisco State College. The building was cleared and the bomb defused.
**	7 Dec. Denver, Colo. A man was arrested for assault on a police officer and pointing a rifle at a passing police cruiser.
i čšš i	9 Dec. Palo Alto, Calif. Donner Lounge and Stern Hall were burned at Stanford University causing damage to the grand piano, amplifiers and furniture. This was the first of three major fires this year. The second was in the Naval ROTC office, the third destroyed the office of the president. Firemen had to be drenched with water before enter- ing as chemicals were probably used.
*•	10 Dec. Pittsburgh, Pa. In an attempted bombing of police stations 58 sticks of dynamite in a 5-gallon can were found next to a station house. They failed to ignite.
46	10 Dec. Canton, Ohio. A sheriff's detective had his home dynamited causing \$4000 damage.
(P)	10 Dec. Chicago, III. An arson fire at the East Prairie High School damaged administrative records and files on students.
1.0	12 Dec. Miami, Fla. Police investigating a disturbance were attacked with boards, bottles, and a hammer, Minor injuries reported.

with boards, bottles, and a hammer. Minor injuries reported.

\$100,000. A freshman was arrested.

12 Dec. Northridge, Calif. The administration building was damaged by fire at San Fernando Valley State College. Damage was estimated at





14 Dec. San Francisco, Calif. Files in the administration building at San Francisco State College were destroyed by fire.

15 Dec. Canton, Ohio. A detective's home was bombed.

24 Dec. Chicago, III. An arson fire at the Hess Upper Grade Center caused \$15,000 in damage.

1969



1 Jan. Jersey City, N.J. An explosive device was thrown through the window of the Fifth Precinct of the Jersey City Police Dept. No injuries reported; property damage was minor.



2 Jan. Chicago, III. A man walked into a police station and shot a policeman. He was killed by police.



5 Jan. Santa Barbara, Calif. Two Molotov cocktails were thrown into the administrative offices of the ROTC Building on U.C. campus. Minor damage.



5 Jan. San Francisco, Calif. A homemade bomb, planted in the lobby of the San Francisco State College Administration Building, failed to explode.



7 Jan. San Mateo, Calif. An explosive device was thrown into the garage of the Dean of Instruction, College of San Mateo. Damage to garage, master bedroom and 2 cars estimated at \$15,000-\$20,000.



7 Jan. Santa Barbara, Calif. Several gasoline bombs caused \$1,200 damage at ROTC Headquarters on University of California campus.



9 Jan. Vallejo, Calif. A fire caused by a firebomb destroyed a building on the campus of Solano Junior College. Reported damage \$50,000-\$60,000.



10 Jan. Plainfield, N.J. A police officer was shot and wounded by sniper.



10 Jan. San Francisco, Calif. A firebomb tossed into home of San Francisco State College official failed to explode.



11 Jan. Seattle, Wash. A car stopped and four to six men got out and fired at police car which had been following them.



12 Jan. Los Angeles, Calif. An arson fire at the Louis Pasteur Junior High School caused \$25,000 damage.



13 Jan. San Francisco, Calif. A time bomb was found behind Provost Marshal's office, Presidio of San Francisco. Telephone operator had



received a bomb threat. 14 Jan. Chicago, III. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a Selective



Service Board Office. Minor damage; no injuries.



17 Jan. New York, N.Y. Police were fired on when they stopped an auto near 170th St. and Harlem River Drive.



17 Jan. New York, N.Y. The 44th Precinct Police Station in the Highbridge Section was shaken by a dynamite blast.



18 Jan. Los Angeles, Calif. An arson fire at the Audubon Junior High School caused \$50,000 damage.



18 Jan. Washington, D.C. A Molotov cocktail caused extensive damage to the National Selective Service headquarters.



19 Jan. Chicago, III. Chicago police discovered a timing device and other explosive material in the rubble of a trash can fire in Grant Park.



19 Jan. Walnut Creek, Cal. An explosive device detonated near rear of local police station. 19 Jan. New York, N.Y. A bomb, consisting of five sticks of dynamite,



was discovered outside the 24th Precinct. The bomb was dismantled. 20 Jan. Berkeley, Calif. Two firebombs caused minor damage to (1)



Wheeler Auditorium and (2) the interview room of placement center on the University of California campus. 20-28. Jan. Colorado. During a nine-day period, four electric transmission towers of the Public Service Company of Colorado were damaged



21 Jan. Wilkesboro, N.C. A bomb exploded shattering a classroom at West Wilkes High School. Damage estimated at \$6,600.

by dynamite explosions.



22 Jan. Berkeley, Calif. A fire caused by a firebomb destroyed Wheeler Auditorium on the University of California campus. Arson suspected. Estimated damages, \$500,000.



26 Jan. Palo Alto, Calif. The front door and all front windows of the home of a City Councilman were blown out by a pipe bomb filled with gunpowder, nails and BB shot.



27 Jan. Freeport, N.Y. Two firebombs detonated at Freeport H.S.



28 Jan. Berkeley, Calif. Three separate gas firebombs were thrown into Dwinelle Hall, Sproul Hall, and a crowd at Sather Gate on the University of California campus.



28 Jan. Denver, Colo. A dynamite blast knocked a chunk of concrete out of a main support pillar on the 15th St. viaduct.

30 Jan. Palo Alto, Calif. A gas cartridge bomb shattered the windshield of a station wagon belonging to a Palo Alto school official.



30 Jan. San Francisco, Calif. Between 500 and 600 demonstrators threw rocks and bottles at police at San Francisco State College. No injuries



were reported. 30 Jan. Kalamazoo, Mich. A firebomb was thrown into classroom of ROTC Building on the Western Michigan University campus. Mingr damage.



30 Jan. Kalamazoo, Mich. A firebomb was thrown through the window of a building used by the Michigan National Guard causing minor damage to 3 jeeps and extensive damage to 2 jeeps and the building. 31 Jan. Las Vegas, Nev. Windows were broken in a gun shop which was robbed during a uisput ing. \$2000 was the estimated damage. was robbed during a dispute which grew out of high school racial fight-



3 Feb. San Rafael, Calif. An explosive device detonated on stairway leading to Selective Service Office and Army Recruiting Station causing some damage to building and breaking all windows.



4 Feb. Berkeley, Calif. Approximately 150 demonstrators attempted to block entrance to University of California, Berkeley. Police were hit with rocks, sticks, cans and other flying objects at the entrance to the University. Twelve policemen were injured.



6 Feb. St. Paul, Minn. Two shotgun blasts struck a police car.



7 Feb. Fort Ord, Calif. A pipe bomb placed under seat in a crowded (400 people) theater exploded injuring one person seriously and causing minor injuries to 5 others.



8 Feb. Columbus, Ga. When police attempted to arrest a high school student, a crowd surrounded the policeman and beat him, and then set fire to the auditorium. Sniping followed, five persons injured and one policeman. \$300 was the reported damage.



9 Feb. Washington, D.C. The faculty lounge in the student center at the American University was set afire causing heavy damage. This was the third such fire in a week in that lounge.



10 Feb. Athens, Ga. Arsonists attempted to burn down the Army ROTC building on the University of Georgia campus. This was the second attempt in a year.



11 Feb. Minneapolis, Minn. An explosive device was set off near a U.S.A.F. Recruiting Office.



13 Feb. Seattle, Wash. An explosive device was found in the cafeteria at Rainier Beach High School prior to detonation.



13 Feb. San Francisco, Calif. A pipe bomb exploded beside the deserted Gallery Lounge on the campus of San Francisco State College shattering windows and causing several hundred dollars damage.



17 Feb. San Juan, Puerto Rico. Three bombs destroyed 21 police cars outside a government bank and a Howard Johnson's restaurant.



17 Feb. Columbus, Ohio. A pipe bomb exploded in a locker at Eastmoor



17 Feb. Marshall, Tex. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a football ticket booth on the Wiley College Campus.



17 Feb. San Francisco, Calif. A homemade time bomb shattered 18 windows of Administrative Building at San Francisco State College. Campus Security Officer suffered severe ear damage.



18 Feb. San Francisco, Cálif. A fire started by an incendiary device caused minor damage on the sixth floor of Macy's.



19 Feb. San Francisco, Calif. A fire started by incendiary devices caused minor damage in the basement of The Emporium.



19 Feb. San Francisco, Calif. A fire started by an incendiary device caused minor damage in the basement of Woolworth's.



20 Feb. Berkeley, Calif. A firebomb was thrown into Dwinelle Hall on the University of California Campus but did not ignite.



20 Feb. Berkeley, Calif. Two police vans overturned by demonstrators on Bancroft St. Three policemen were hospitalized.

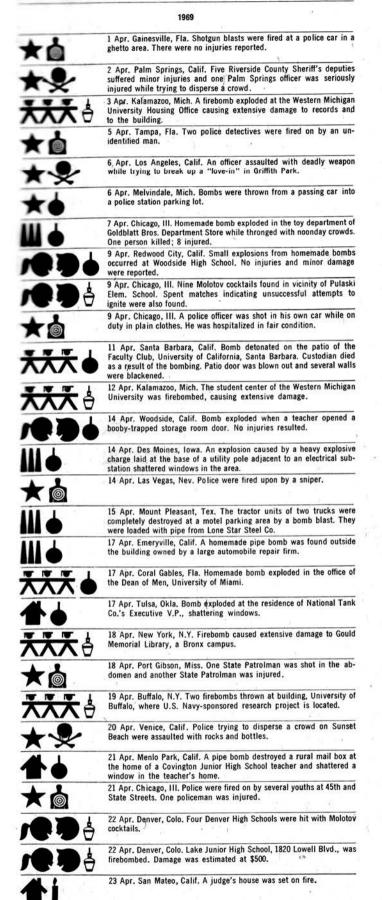


21 Feb. St. Louis, Mo. Two firebombs were thrown through the front entrance of 9th District Police Department. No injuries resulted. The building suffered minor damage.

without striking any equipment.



7 Mar. San Francisco, Calif. A bomb exploded at the Creative Arts Bldg. on the San Francisco State College campus.

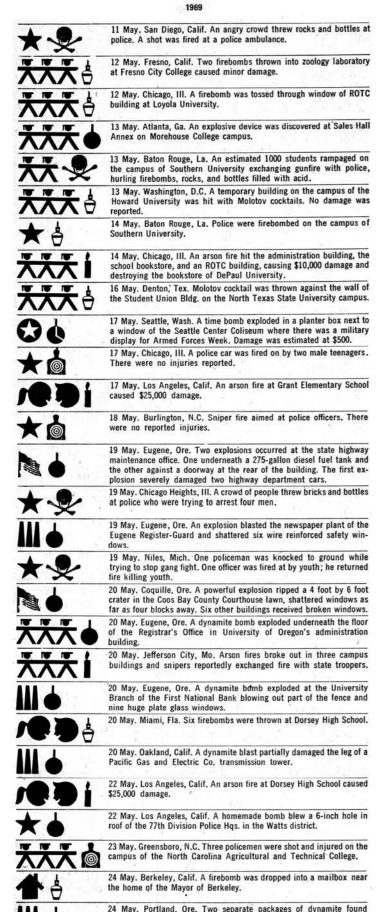


23 Apr. Pittsburgh, Pa. Shots were fired by snipers at two police

mated at \$8000.

vehicles in the Hazelwood section.

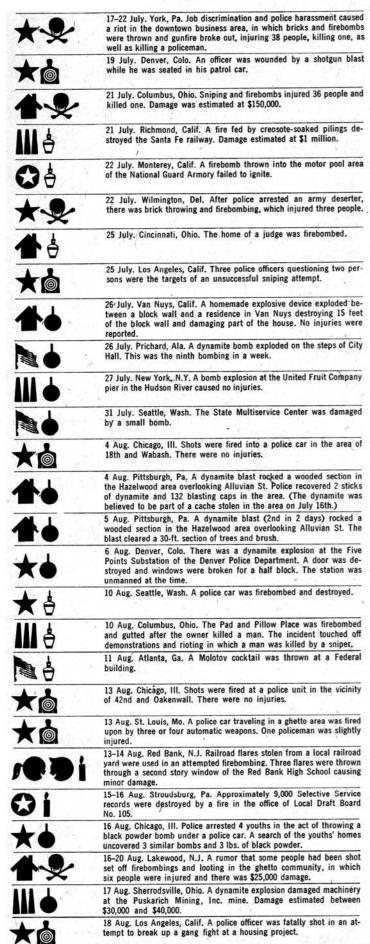
	1969
**	23 Apr. Racine, Wis. During a disturbance, two policemen were found near a park in critical condition after having been beaten.
*	24 Apr. Chicago, III. A policeman was fatally shot outside of a tavern on West Roosevelt Road.
	25 Apr. New York, N.Y. Bombings and fires broke out at Lincoln High School in Brooklyn, and Morris High School in the Bronx.
*	26 Apr. Chicago, III. A sniper fired at a police car, injuring an officer
****	26 Apr. New York, N.Y. A firebomb was found on the New York University campus in the Bronx.
*6	26 Apr. Chicago, III. Two police department lieutenants were shot and wounded by shotgun blast on the West Side.
**	27 Apr. Miami, Fla. A policeman was shot at while investigating a stabbing incident. He was hit by the ricocheting bullet and flying glass.
*	28 Apr. Chicago, III. Two shots were fired at police car by a sniper, injuring one policeman.
PD	29 Apr. Columbus, Ohio. A homemade bomb exploded in an empty locker at Walnut Ridge High School.
**	1 May. San Francisco, Calif. One policeman was shot and killed and his partner was beaten in a street battle.
	May. Pasadena, Calif. Two fires caused by firebombs broke out at John Muir High School. Two bungalows adjacent to the main school building were damaged.
*6	2 May. Charlestown, S.C. Two police cars were fired on by snipers.
<u> </u>	2 May. Portland, Ore. Four stores in North Portland were firebombed causing \$100,000 damage to one of the stores.
1001	2 May. Altadena, Calif. Two fires of unknown origin broke out in class- rooms at Eliot Junior High School causing early closing of the school.
16.0	3 May. Mingo County, W.Va. Dynamite put near gear shift lever of a Mingo County School bus detonated. Extensive damage to vehicle resulted.
Ш ф	3 May. Meta, Ky. Discovery of 116 sticks of dynamite planted across the C&O tracks on Upper John's Creek.
(P)	3 May. Los Angeles, Calif. An arson fire at the Castle Heights Elementary School caused \$10,000 damage.
****	5 May. Chicago, III. Security guard at III. Institute of Tech. found a green plastic bag containing black powder charge a few feet from atomic reactor.
ŽŽŽ i	5 May. Kalamazoo, Mich. Arsonists set fire to an ROTC office, Western Michigan University. Damage was estimated at \$3000.
****	5 May. Berkeley, Calif. Dynamite blast at the Pacific School of Religion chapel entrance caused an estimated \$2000 damage.
***	5 May. Cambridge, Mass. Firebomb caused minor smoke and fire damage to one classroom of NROTC building on Harvard University campus, Minimal damage resulted.
(CD)	6 May. Elyria, Ohio. An arson fire at Clearview High School caused \$500,000 damage.
*	7 May. Chicago, III. A patrolman was wounded in the leg by sniper fire. The shooting occurred at 6147 South University.
	7 May. Palo Alto, Calif. Fire caused by incendiary device destroyed NROTC building (in process of being rebuilt from previous fire).
***	7 May. New York, N.Y. Series of blazes were set off by Molotov cocktails at Brooklyn College.
*	8 May. Chicago, III. An off-duty policeman was shot and killed in front of Woodland Tap, 1206 East 47th Street.
XXX	8 May. Washington, D.C. Two buildings at Howard University set afire by firebombs.
***	9 May, New York, N.Y. Arson and vandalism occurred in the auditorium of the City College of New York. It was one of ten fires on
***	the campus. No damage was reported. 10 May. Denton, Tex. The ROTC office at North Texas State University was damaged by fire, started by Molotov cocktails. Damage was estimated at \$8000.

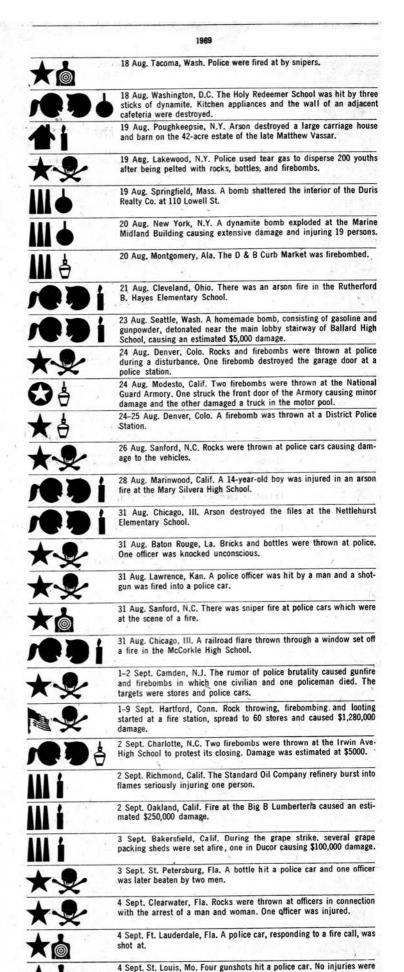


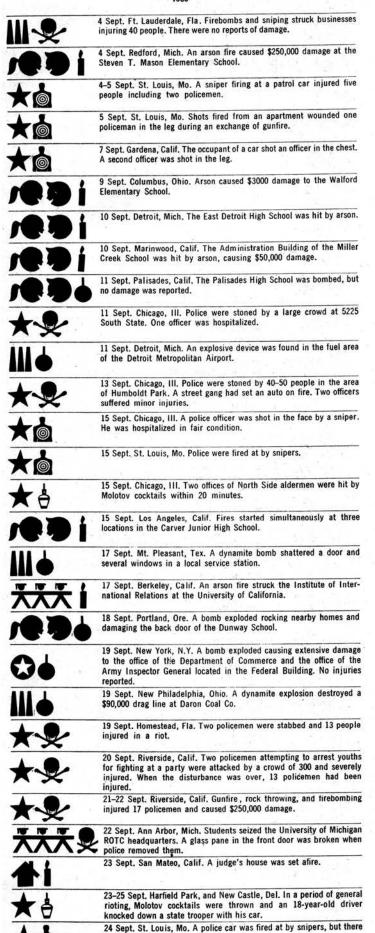




	1909		1969
**	13 June. Portland, Ore. Two police officers and several citizens were beaten by youth gangs.	★ 🕁	2 July. San Rafael, Calif. The sheriff's office was the target of home- made firebombs made with soda pop bottles.
*	13 June, Roxboro, N.C. A shotgun was fired into a police patrol car and three policemen were injured.	**	2 July. Lancaster, Pa. In reaction to police arrests during the prior week, arson and sniping killed two people, injured two, and caused \$45,000 damage to a clothing store and warehouse.
***	14 June. New Haven, Conn. The Art and Architecture Building of Yale University was hit by an arson fire which caused \$1,000,000 damage.	4	2 July. Venice, III. A firebomb was thrown through the window of a policeman's house.
III d	14 June. Vancouver Wash. A bomb consisting of 5 sticks of dynamite taped together with a dummy fuse was found at the Bonneville Power Adm. Substation after an anonymous call to police.	**	3 July. Pittsburgh, Pa. Two policemen required hospitalization after being pelted with rocks.
*6	15 June. Sacramento, Calif. Following a crowd dispersal action, seven policemen were slightly wounded by shotgun pellets.	41	3 July. Radford, Va. A fire set to a 133-year-old, two-story brick building, built by the town's founder, caused \$5000 damage.
	16 June. Fairmont Heights, Md. A faculty meeting with School Board members and Superintendent William S. Schmidt was briefly disrupted by a fire which caused \$3000 damage.	— ÷	3 July. Lancaster, Pa. At least seven firebombs were thrown into a warehouse and clothing store during a three-hour disturbance in a ten-block ghetto section. Damage was extensive.
N.	16 June. Tahlequah, Okla. The Assistant District Attorney for Cherokee County was reported in satisfactory condition after a bomb exploded as he started his pickup truck.	*•	July. San Francisco, Calif. A bomb exploded in front of the Mission District Police Precinct Station causing minor damage to the building. No injuries were reported.
*•	16 June. Compton, Calif. Compton Police surprised saboteurs in the act of placing a pipe bomb in the restroom of a special services center.		4 July. Aspen, Colo. A tavern, a clothing store, a realty company, and a garbage truck were dynamited within a 24-hour period. No injuries reported.
**	17 June. Bronx, N.Y. Three policemen were injured when 150 people, angered over the arrest of two men, tried to storm a police station.	*	5 July. Camden, N.J. Two Camden police officers were shot and killed in a sniper ambush.
*	The crowd threw bricks and bottles. 17 June. Springfield, Ohio. A police car was firebombed.	*	5 July. Tampa, Fla. A police officer was wounded twice by gunfire and a police car was fired on.
*6	18 June. Portland, Ore. Shots were fired from a crowd at police who were arresting a man for árson.		6 July. Perth Amboy, N.J. The Perth Amboy High School was hit by a Molotov cocktail.
→	18 June. Cleveland, Ohio. A police car was firebombed.	**	6 July. Chicago, III. An off-duty officer was attacked with a bolo machete when he tried to break up a gathering of seven youths in front of his
	18 June. Seattle, Wash. A metal pipe, containing two sticks of dynamite, detonated at the State Multiservice Center causing \$1,500 damage.	**	residence. 7 July. Arlington, Va. A police cruiser was shot at by a sniper and a Molotov cocktail was thrown at it.
→	20 June. Pittsburgh, Pa. A sniper on a bridge in the downtown area fired on policemen.		8 July. Cleveland, Ohio. Dynamite detonated at the Manor Supermarket, extensively damaging the interior of the building. No injuries were
**	22.June, Northridge, Calif. A crowd trying to storm into a rock festival threw stones and bottles at policemen, injuring ten of them.	41	reported. 10 July. Detroit, Mich. Arson nearly gutted a half-renovated slum building, destroying four apartments. Angry vagrants who were turned out of the building, considered a radical experiment in urban develop-
1691	23 June. Los Angeles, Calif. An arson fire at the 135th St. Elementary School caused \$10,000 damage.	4.0	ment, were blamed. 10-13 July. Evansville, Ind. Firebombing and snipers injured two people and caused \$2000 damage.
★ å	24 June. Venice, III. During a racial disturbance six firebombs were thrown, one of which ignited a small fire in a store. As firemen arrived to extinguish the fire, a firebomb was thrown at the fire truck. Three firebombs were also thrown at two police cars that arrived at the scene. No injuries were reported.	₩ ×	11 July. Cleveland, Ohio. The Collingwood National City Bank was bombed for the seventh time in 40 days.
re Di	25 June. Chicago, III. An arson fire was set at the Englewood High School.	M D d	13 July. San Diego, Calif. The Knox Elementary School was firebombed.
*	26 June, Denver, Colo. Snipers fired one shot at each of two police stations. There were no injuries and damage was minor.	* 6	13 July. San Diego, Calif. During a disturbance snipers fired at police. The police returned fire, killing one man.
M b	26 June, Chicago, III. The Onward Neighborhood House, a settlement house and day-care center was bombed. Windows were broken and damage was \$500.	111 -	13–15 July, Jamesburg, N.J. Vandalism and a firebomb hit an ice cream parlor supposedly owned by a racist.
Шė	27 June. Akron, Ohio. One person was injured and the store front and merchandise of the Montella Isaly Dairy Store was damaged by a firebomb.	**	13-15 July. San Diego, Calif. Police harassment set off widespread looting and fires which injured 20 people and killed two.
*	27 June. St. Louis, Mo. A policeman was injured when firebombs were thrown at his car.	* 6	14 July. Sacramento, Calif. Six or seven shots were fired at police at the scene of a fire. Three additional shots were later fired at police
*•	27 June. Powers, Ore. A dynamite blast shook the Ranger Station and nearby homes causing minor damage. No injuries were reported.	M →	in same area. 15 July. Seattle, Wash. A firebomb was thrown at the Holy Name Academy causing an estimated \$12,000 damage and no injuries.
★ 👌	28 June. St. Louis, Mo. A policeman's home was hit by two firebombs.	***	15 July, Seattle, Wash. Eight firebombs were thrown at the Gompers Branch of Seattle Community College.
★ 🗄	29 June. Waterbury, Conn. A Molotov cocktail heavily damaged a police vehicle during a racial disturbance.		15 July. Pittsburgh, Pa. A firebomb was thrown at Tower B on the Univ. of Pittsburgh campus causing a fire and \$500 in damages.
***	29 June. Seattle, Wash. A bomb ripped through the Administration Building of the University of Washington causing an estimated \$300,000 damage to the 3-story building. Windows shattered in three other campus buildings. No injuries were reported.		15–18 July. Youngstown, Ohio. The mistreatment of a customer by a dairy store owner set off window smashing and fires. When police arrived, snipers opened fire and the National Guard had to be called
100 à	30 June-2 July. Grand Rapids, Mich. Police provocation caused the firebombing of the Grand Rapids Central Christian High School, in which 19 people were injured, as well as four policemen. The damage was estimated at \$30,000.	* 4	in. Twenty-seven people were injured, including seven police. 16 July. Bridgeport, Conn. One police car and five civilian automobiles were firebombed during a racial disturbance.
W	July. Wichita, Kan. Three bundles of dynamite tossed on the roof of Razooks Thrift Market exploded causing several thousand dollars damage.	i XXX	17 July. Berkeley, Calif. Arson fires were set at the Student Union, University Hall, and Dwinelle Hall of the University of California campus. Many fires had been started in the previous two weeks.







	1909
reni	24 Sept. San Francisco, Calif. The James Denman Jr. High School was heavily damaged by an arson fire.
*•	24 Sept. Mt. Sterling, Ky. The private automobile of a State Detective was damaged by a dynamite blast.
46	24 Sept. Morehead, Ky. A stick of dynamite failed to go off after being placed on the lawn of the Rowan County Attorney's home.
***	24 Sept. Milwaukee, Wis. Firebomb was thrown through the window of the ROTC office at the University of Wisconsin; caused minor damage.
1114	25 Sept. El Sobrante, Calif. An explosive device was found on a Pacific Gas and Electric Co. tower leg.
*	25 Sept. Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. Snipers fired on the police department 12 times.
*6	25, 26, 28 Sept. and 1–2 Oct. Pontiac, Mich. Snipers shooting at police injured six people.
*6	26 Sept. Champlain, N.Y. Young men "carrying subversive literature" injured three policemen-customs agents in a shooting melee.
n d	26 Sept. Chicago, III. A time bomb was found two hours before it was set to go off in the Civic Center.
*6	26 Sept. Chicago, III. Shots were fired at a patrol car which was driving past 2350 West Madison. The car was not hit.
**	26 Sept. Denver, Colo. Police responded to a car accident and were aiding the injured party when a group of people, thinking police were trying to subdue the injured person, attacked the police. Mace was used and several policemen as well as three civilians received minor injuries.
Oi -	26 Sept. Akron, Ohio. A fire in the Selective Service Building destroyed records. Damage estimated at \$15,000.
0	26 Sept. Madison, Wis. An explosive device demolished a door of the Wisconsin National Guard Armory, and destroyed voting machines and police riot equipment. Damage estimated at \$25,000.
	26 Sept. Milwaukee, Wis. A bomb explosion occurred in the Federal Building, causing extensive damage to the first and second floors. The second floor houses the Selective Service offices. Damage estimated at \$75,000 to \$100,000.
Ш ♦	26 Sept. Bowling Green, Ky. A 623-foot television transmitting tower was left in rubble by a dynamite blast. The explosion knocked the station off the air indefinitely.
***	27 Sept. Syracuse, N.Y. A bomb exploded on the campus of Syracuse University causing minor damage.
*	27 Sept. Pontiac, Mich. A police car was fired upon and hit four times.
*6	29 Sept. Dallas, Tex. Three policemen were wounded with shotgun pellets by snipers.
₩ 4	29 Sept. Fort Ord, Calif. The Special Processing Detachment barracks were firebombed, injuring three soldiers slightly. This detachment mainly handles soldiers awaiting court martial.
	29 Sept. Ann Arbor, Mich. The CIA recruiting office was bombed. No damages were reported.
*6	1 Oct. St. Petersburg, Fla. Police were fired at by snipers hiding in a building.
**	1 Oct. San Diego, Calif. A gang of youths threw rocks at two police men who were attempting to put out a fire in their automobile.
100	1 Oct. New York, N.Y. Police and firemen dismantled a homemade bomb left on the steps of Midwood High Sohool.
***	4 Oct. New York, N.Y. A Molotov cocktail was thrown into the Nav ROTC offices in Hartley Hall on the Columbia University campus. Con siderable damage was reported.
*•	5 Oct. Chicago. III. Snipers fired at police from the Mother Cabrin Housing Project. There were no injuries, but the car was hit four times
*•	6 Oct. Chicago, III. A dynamite explosion rocked the Haymarket Squar area of Chicago damaging a statue which commemorated the seve Chicago policemen who lost their lives in the 1886 Haymarket Squar riots.
*•	6 Oct. Philadelphia, Pa. Two hand grenades exploded in the parkin lot outside the Police Dept. radio repair shop damaging 14 police cars No injuries were reported.

No injuries were reported.

7 Oct. New York, N.Y. A bomb explosion occurred on the 5th floor of the Armed Forces Entrance Examining Station. Extensive damage

centered on the 5th floor and water damaged the 1st through 4th floors.



1969		
W &	8 Nov. New York, N.Y. Two small firebombs were found in Alexander's Department Store on 3rd Ave.	
	10 Nov. New York, N.Y. Incendiary bombs caused slight damage to the New York Public Library.	
шь	11 Nov. New York, N.Y. An explosion at Chase Manhattan Bank head- quarters caused extensive damage.	
W 4	11 Nov. New York, N.Y. RCA building in Rockefeller Center was bombed, extensive damage reported.	
W -	11 Nov. New York, N.Y. A bomb exploded in the General Motors building cousing moderate damage.	
ШЬ	12 Nov. St. Louis, Mo. An explosion damaged the windows of seven shops in the Mosley Square Shopping Center in Creve Coeur.	
ШЬ	12 Nov. Seattle, Wash. Two bombs were found at the telephone com- pany equipment building. The fuses of both bombs, containing about five sticks of dynamite, were lit but had gone out.	
Ш 🕹	12 Nov. New York, N.Y. A firebomb damaged the exterior of the Brook- lyn branch of the Hanover Trust Co.	
Шф	12 Nov. Seattle, Wash. A bomb exploded on the pavement in the yard of the City of Seattle Municipal Electric Power Facility causing minor damage.	
ШЬ	12 Nov. Seattle, Wash. A bomb was found in the First National Bank building.	
0	12-13 Nov. New York, N.Y. A bomb was tossed into a National Guard truck parked outside the 69th Regiment Armory. The bomb did not explode.	
0	12 Nov. New York, N.Y. Police arrested two men as they were placing dynamite charges in the 26th St. and Lexington Ave. Armory.	
*•	12 Nov. New York, N.Y. Dynamite shattered two walls of a washroom in the Criminal Courts building near Police Headquarters in downtown Manhattan.	
P D	13 Nov. Cincinnati, Ohio. The LaSalle High School was firebombed.	
	13 Nov. Franklin County, Mo. The Franklin County Courthouse was bombed causing an estimated \$173,000 damage. Ten persons were injured.	
(C)	13 Nov. Seattle, Wash. An M-80 grenade simulator exploded at Rainier Beach High School. Damage estimated at \$150.	
*6	14 Nov. Hartford, Conn. Five shots hit a police car in the north end of city. It was believed a shotgun was used, but there were no injuries.	
	14–15 Nov. Washington, D.C. During the November Moratorium one civilian car was burned, one police motorscooter destroyed, and a dynamite bomb set off in the rear of a building knocked out windows. Ninety-seven persons and five policemen were injured during the two-day protest.	
1694	16 Nov. Los Angeles, Calif. A home-made glass bomb ripped 25 lockers off a wall of the King Junior High School.	
* 6	17 Nov. Chicago, III. A sniper hit a police car twice.	
*•	17 Nov. Sioux City, Neb. A dynamite explosion occurred in the front- yard of the County Sheriff's Headquarters.	
Q	17 Nov. Lafayette, Ind. A firebomb was thrown into the Selective Service Office.	
Ⅲ •	18 Nov. Seattle, Wash. A Safeway store was bombed. Two employees were injured.	
***	18 Nov. Seattle, Wash. A bomb exploded in an old warehouse-type building at Seattle Community College.	
(P)	18 Nov. Seattle, Wash. A bomb exploded in the schoolyard at the Garfield School.	
Qí	18 Nov. Lafayette, Ind. An arson fire did extensive damage to the Tippecanoe County Selective Service Office.	
	19 Nov. Washington, D.G. Dynamite did slight damage to two ghetto liquor stores.	
(CD)	19 Nov. St. Paul, Minn. A bomb explosion tore a door loose and damaged a 1st floor hallway at North High School.	

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1969		
*6	21 Nov. Cambridge, Mass. A single shot was fired into police head- quarters.	
	23 Nov. Pocatello, Ida. Neale Stadium was racked by an arson fire which caused \$20,000 damage.	
**	25 Nov. Paterson, N.J. Bottles and ashcans were thrown at police officers, injuring them.	
* 6	25 Nov. St. Louis, Mo. Two police cars were fired on by snipers. There were no injuries.	
PD &	25 Nov. Brooklyn, N.Y. A firebomb was thrown into the cafeteria of the Lane High School.	
re D è	26 Nov. New York, N.Y. Firebomb exploded in the Lane High School courtyard.	
PD &	27 Nov. Bladensburg, Md. A gasoline bomb was thrown into the parking lot of the Bladensburg Senior High School.	
*	29 Nov. Jackson, Mich. A sniper fired at the police headquarters and a fire station.	

2 Dec. St. Louis, Mo. Four shots were fired at police officers by snipers.

3 Dec. Chattanooga, Tenn. A dynamite bomb exploded on the roof of a building at the Cavalier Corp. Plant.

4 Dec. Harvey, III. Arson at the Kinney Shoe Store caused \$95,000 in

5 Dec. Chicago, III. An off-duty but uniformed policeman was driving home in his personal auto when he was forced off the road and shot by two youths. His injury was not serious.

6 Dec. Chicago, III. A police car was shot at several times in the vicinity of 4305 South Berkeley.

6 Dec. Wheaton, Md. Fire did \$5000 damage to the Laboure Elementary school.

7 Dec. Chicago, III. Arson at an A&P store caused \$45,000 damage.

8 Dec. Washington, D.C. Arson and vandalism at the Legg High School caused \$75,000 damage.

9 Dec. Huntsville, Tex. A bomb exploded on campus of Sam Houston State Univ. No injuries. About 40 windows were broken.

10 Dec. New Brunswick, N.J. Two firebombs damaged Rutgers University Headquarters Building.

10 Dec. Salt Lake City, Utah. A police car was firebombed and completely destroyed.

10 Dec. Akron, Ohio. Fires set while students barricaded themselves in another building damaged several campus buildings.

11 Dec. Fairfax Co., Va. Arson fires damaged the Lee Intermediate High School to the extent of \$75,000.

12 Dec. Chicago, III. An arson fire in the Plaid Stamp Redemption Store did damage to the extent of \$40,000.

12 Dec. San Juan, P.R. The Sheraton, Hilton, San Jeronimo, Chez Bamboo, Americana, and Howard Johnson's hotels were bombed. No report of damages.

12 Dec. Denver, Colo. A stick of dynamite, thrown at an occupied police

12 Dec. Denver, Colo. A stick of dynamite, thrown at an occupied police car from a passing vehicle, failed to explode.

13 Dec. St. Louis, Mo. Two shots were fired through the front doors of the 9th District Police station. There were no injuries.

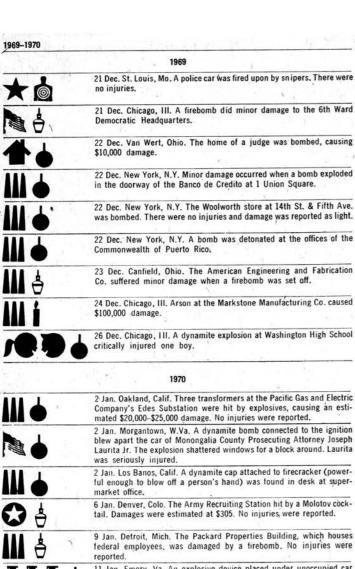
18 Dec. Washington, D.C. A crowd of about 250 people threw rocks

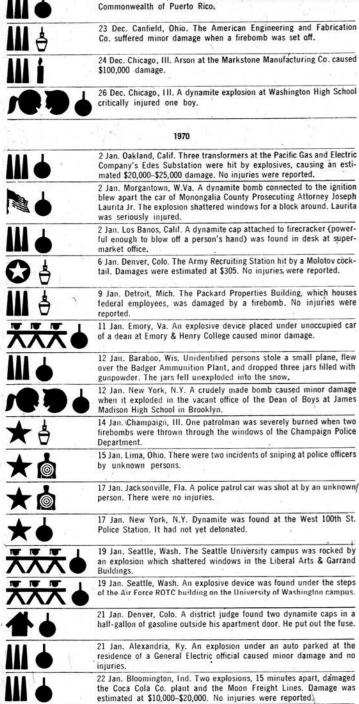
and bottles at police at 5th and E Streets.

18 Dec. Chicago, III. A police vehicle was fired on while in the vicinity

of 500 West Division. There were no injuries.

20 Dec. St. Louis, Mo. Police making an arrest were fired upon by a sniper on the roof of a housing project. There were no injuries.



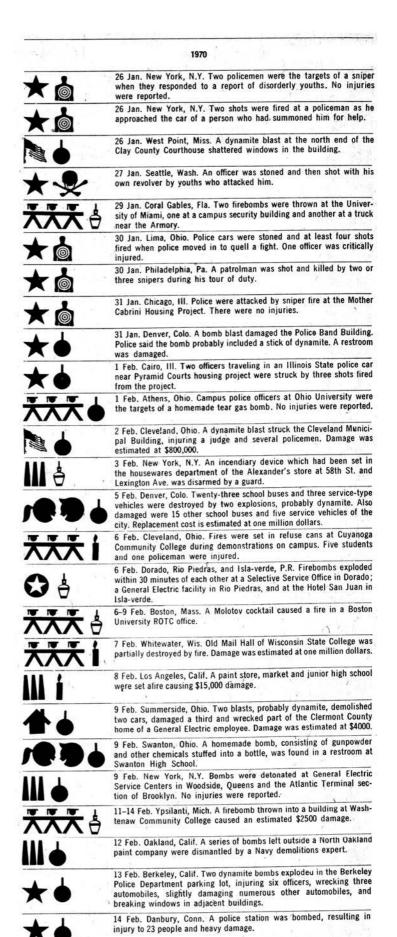


25 Jan. New York, N.Y. Two policemen were shot at from behind. One

25 Jan. Ann Arbor, Mich. The Administration Building at the Univer-

sity of Michigan was the target of arsonists. No damage was sustained.

was shot three times in the back, the other was shot in the arm.



15 Feb. San Francisco, Calif. Two firebombs were thrown into the

15 Feb. West Covina, Calif. A pipe bomb filled with black powder

exploded in the South Hills High School, damaging 32 lockers by blow-

ing a hole two feet in diameter in a wall behind the lockers.

Fillmore fire station. No damage was reported.

caused heavy damage.



minutes before it was timed to ignite.

	1970		
i XXX	9 Mar. Seattle, Wash. Parrington Hall at the University of Washington sustained \$6000 worth of damage from arson.	⊘ ‡	20 Mar. Portland, O the U.S. Army Rese ploded and burned it
XXX i	10 Mar. Berkeley, Calif. Wheeler Hall at the University of California was damaged by arson. Estimated damages were \$5000.	₩.	21 Mar. New York, N Department Store in packages with flipto teries and wristwate
XXX	10 Mar. Chicago, III. A security guard at Loop City College was beaten by 8 to 10 students.	₩ \$	21 Mar. New York, dale's Department cigarette packages v
***	10 Mar. San Francisco, Calif. A firebomb thrown into the office of Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, President of San Francisco State College, failed to ignite.	Ш.Д	light batteries and 22 Mar. New York, and blue-glass wind
	10 Mar. Cambridge, Md. An explosion in the Dorchester County Court- house caused extensive damage. No injuries were reported.	III C	brokerage office local windows in neighbor 22 Mar. New York,
****	11 Mar. Normal, III. Three Molotov cocktails thrown at the Central School Building, Illinois State University, fell short and caused no damage.	III O	ledge of the Chase-N a nearby brokerage 23 Mar. Oakland, Ca
⊘ ∳	11 Mar. Urbana, III. A U.S. Army and Air Force Recruiting Office was destroyed by a firebomb.		the target of arsoni heavily damaged. Da 24 Mar. Boston, Mas
1114	11 Mar. Detroit, Mich. The J. L. Hudson Company's Northland store was the target of a smokebomb. No damage or injuries were reported.	M ð	an insurance compan
(CD)	12 Mar. Lindenhurst, L.I., N.Y. Lindenhurst Junior High School suffered \$30,000 worth of damages from arson.	*•	mond police officer' damaged the walls a 26 Mar. Santa Fe, N
*•	12 Mar. Chicago, III. An explosion wrecked a police car immediately after two policemen left the car to respond to a call for help.	ШФ	pany was the target 27 Mar. San Francis
*4	12 Mar. Chicago, III. An explosion ripped up the floorboards of an empty police patrol car parked in front of a detective headquarters.	₩•	bombing attack. The Hall of Justice. Dan reported.
III 🕹	12 Mar. New York, N.Y. "Revolutionary Force 9" claimed credit for a dynamite explosion which caused extensive structural damage to the 34th floor of the Mobil Oil Co. building.	***	28 Mar. Seattle, Wash ton campus was the \$20,000.
₩ 🕹	12 Mar. New York, N.Y. "Revolutionary Force 9" claimed credit for demolishing the 21st floor and knocking out telephone service on 31 floors at the Sylvania Electric Division of the General Telephone	169	30 Mar. Elida, Ohio. in \$30,000 worth of da 30 Mar. Chicago, III.
₩	Building. 12 Mar. New York, N.Y. "Revolutionary Force 9" claimed credit for blasting a 25-foot-hole in the floor of the 12th floor of the IBM building.		North Side apartmen block. Experts worke caps, explosive liquid phuric acid. Police als
	12 Mar. New York, N.Y. Fifteen thousand people were evacuated from the United Nations Building when bomb threats were received. No bomb was found.		a 22-caliber rifle, a re making bombs and v 31 Mar. Seattle, Wasi
P D &	13 Mar. Appleton, Wis. Two separate incendiary devices were thrown through the windows of a classroom and a faculty room at Appleton West High School.	***	ton were bombed w damaged. 1 Apr. Lansing, III. T
XXX i	13 Mar. Appleton, Wis. A fire damaged the wall of the ROTC building at Lawrence University.	16.2	Cram Elementary Sci
P)	13 Mar. New York, N.Y. Several explosive devices detonated in a New York City High School. There were no injuries.		ing at Rice Universit
06	14 Mar. Brooklyn, N.Y. An explosive device was discovered outside the U.S. Army Reserve Building, Ft. Hamilton, N.Y.	*	man was shot with known.
*•	16 Mar. Billings, Mont. A bomb explosion demolished a parked police car.		1 Apr. Washington, D. to the next director o The package had be
2-2	16 Mar. High Seas. A Navy ammunition ship bound for Thailand was hijacked. It was taken to Cambodia, where the hijackers were granted political asylum.	***	1 Apr. East Lansing, ministration Building reported.
4i	17 Mar. Gainesville, Fla. Eighteen homes were damaged by arsonists after a judge refused bail to civil rights activitists.	Ш ♦	2 Apr. New York, N.Y a bomb exploded at ported.
276	17 Mar. Greenville, N.C. An explosion occurred in a vacant hallway at Rose High School.	₩ 👆	2 Apr. New York, N.Y Chase Manhattan Bar tives prior to detonat
XXX	17 Mar. Buffalo, N.Y. Police arrested three young men who were transporting 18 firebombs to the campus of New York State University. In an earlier incident, policemen were allegedly shot at while investigat-	*	3 Apr. Chicago, III. Tw fired at from a field i ceived minor injuries.
114	ing a report that Molotov cocktails were being made near a dormitory. 18 Mar. Cincinnati, Ohio. A dynamite explosion at a Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. booster station in Lockland caused extensive damage to a	**	3 Apr. Hamilton, Ohio up a fight were assa others were injured. F
	transformer. 18 Mar. Compton, Calif. A bomb explosion of unknown origin at a high school damaged the school bell system.	₩ •	4 Apr. New York, N. night depository of Ba section in South Bro
577	senior. Samugod the senior ben system.	111 1	4 Apr. San Francisco,

18 Mar. Buffalo, N.Y. An explosion, possibly a time bomb, caused extensive damage to the third, fourth and fifth floors of the Lafayette

building. The blast shattered interior walls, stairways, and fixtures and

18 Mar. Chicago, III. At least two unknowns fired on a cruising squad

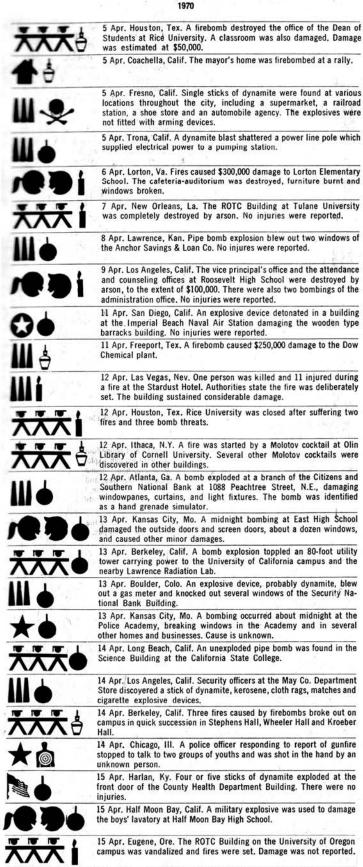
blew out windows. There were no injuries.

car with shotguns. Two officers were injured.

Ore. Two firebombs were found near two trucks at serve Training Center. One of the bombs had exitself out and the other was intact. N.Y. Incendiary devices started fires at Alexander's in midtown Manhattan. The devices were cigarette tops, containing flammable material, penlight battch mechanisms. N.Y. Incendiary devices started fires at Blooming-Store in midtown Manhattan. The devices were with fliptops, containing flammable material, penwristwatch mechanisms. N.Y. A pipe time bomb shattered the front door ndows of Nagler, Weissman & Co., Inc., a stockated in the North Bronx. There were no injuries, but oring buildings were broken by bomb fragments. N.Y. A pipe time bomb was found on the window Manhattan Bank, Bronx Branch, one-half hour after firm was bombed. It was disarmed by police. alif. A garage shed at the Oakland Army Base was nists. A fork-lift truck and a tanker truck were Damage to the shed was estimated at \$5000. iss. Three firebombs caused fires in an outlet store, any, and in a parked car in the Jamaica Plains area. Calif. A homemade bomb planted outside a Richr's home blew out the living room window and and furnishings. N.M. The First Northern Savings and Loan Comt of a bombing attack. No injuries were reported. sco. Calif. II Troyatore Tayern was the target of a ne bar is frequented by policemen from the nearby image was estimated at \$5000. No injuries were sh Parrington Hall on the University of Washingtonhe target of arsonists. Damage was estimated at . A bombing attack on Elida High School resulted damage. . FBI agents and police found a bomb factory in a ent filled with enough explosives to blow up a city ed for several hours dismantling bombs, blasting ids, plastic explosives, and hydrochloric and sulilso found an army carbine, two 12-gauge shotguns, revolver, communist literature and instructions for waging guerrilla warfare. sh. Two jeeps owned by the University of Washingwhile parked on campus. They were extensively Two bombs exploded in early April 1970 in Lester chool, causing \$4000 damage. Kerosene was used to set fire to an NROTC Buildity. The outer wall of building was damaged. While attempting to arrest three youths, a policehis own gun. The extent of his injuries is not D.C. A bomb was discovered in a package addressed of the Selective Service. It had not vet detonated. een mailed from Seattle. , Mich. A bomb caused slight damage to the Adg at Michigan State University. No injuries were Y. The bomber accidentally blew himself up when t the Electric Circus. No other injuries were re-Y. A homemade bomb found in the vestibule of a ank in the South Bronx was dismantled by detecwo police officers responding to a routine call were in the vicinity of Altgeld Gardens. One officer reio. Police called to the Community Center to break saulted. One officer was shot in back, and three Four cruisers were damaged. .Y. A homemade pipe bomb was found atop the Sanco de Ponce and another at a busy street interronx. 4 Apr. San Francisco, Calif. Western Chemical Company was destroyed by arson. The loss is estimated at \$200,000. 4 Apr. Pullman, Wash. Roger's Field Stadium on the Washington State University campus sustained \$700,000 in damages as a result of arson.

5 Apr. Sandusky, Ohio. The Sandusky High School principal's home

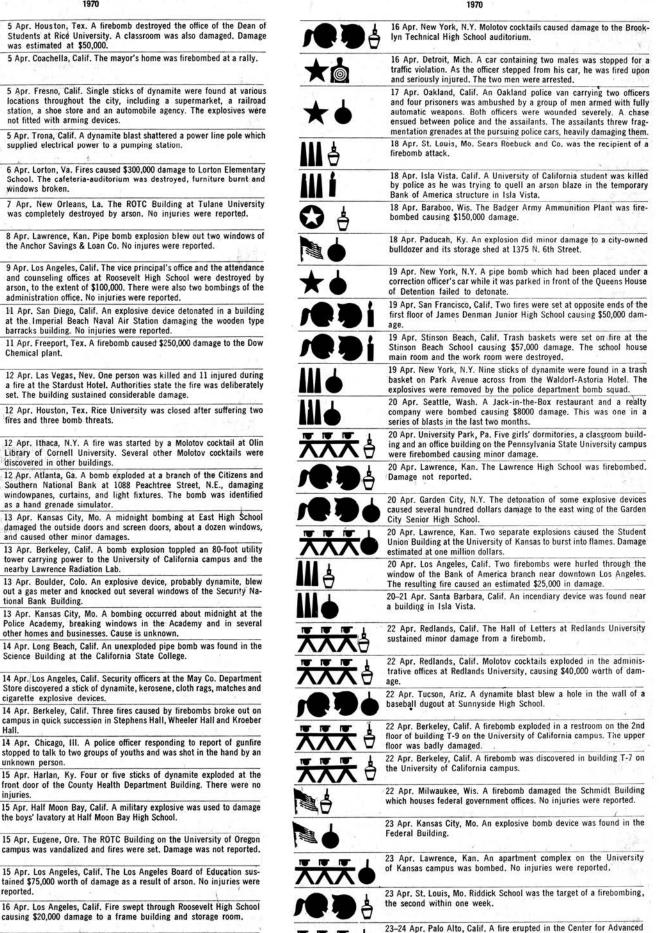
was set on fire. No damage was reported.



reported.

16 Apr. Berkeley, Calif. Dozens of small fires were set on the University of California campus causing \$20,000 damage to the Life Sciences

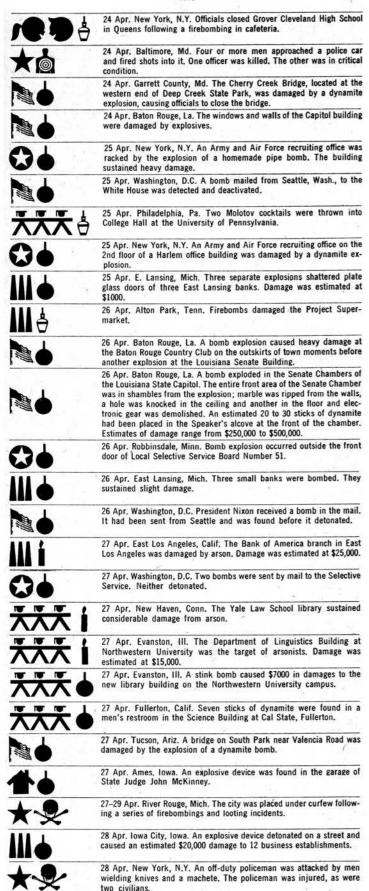
Building. The windows of five police cars were broken.



Studies in the Behavioral Sciences Building at Stanford University.

Authorities indicated that the fire was started by firebombs thrown into

the building. Damage estimate was \$100,000.



28 Apr. Berkeley, Calif. A tear gas canister was set off inside Luther

28 Apr. St. Louis, Mo. Two firebombs caused \$250 worth of damage

Junior High School, forcing evacuation of the school.

to the Bridgeton Terrace City Hall.

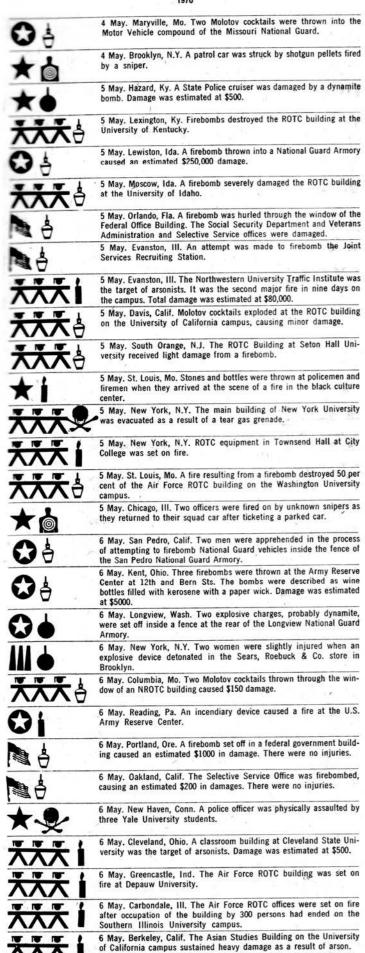
	1970
****	29 Apr. Seattle, Wash. Xavier Hall on the Seattle University campus was firebombed causing an estimated \$1000 damage.
*•	30 Apr. New York, N.Y. A homemade pipe bomb was found in a brown canvas bag in front of the Harlem Police Station.
III.ė	30 Apr. East Lansing, Mich. A firebomb exploded on a window ledge of the First National Bank.
III 🕹	1 May. Champaign, III. A firebomb exploded at the Carson Pirie Scott Co. store, killing one person. Damage was minor.
★ ♦	1 May. Detroit, Mich. The police recruiting office was firebombed. Damage was not reported.
****	1 May. Corvallis, Ore. Two firebombs were thrown at the Oregon State University ROTC Building, damaging its interior.
***	1 May. New Haven, Conn. A bomb explosion occurred in ROTC building on the Yale campus. No serious injuries were reported.
*** *	1 May. Greencastle, Ind. An explosion and fire damaged the ROTC office and library at DePauw University.
*****	1 May. Geneva, N.Y. A firebomb destroyed the ROTC office at Hobart College.
****	1 May. College Park, Md. Firebombs caused extensive fire damage to the ROTC building and related equipment at the University of Maryland.
***	1 May. East Lansing, Mich. The Michigan State University ROTC building was firebombed and damaged.
**	${\bf 1}$ May. Aliquippa, Pa. A police cruiser was stoned by a group of 50 youths.
****	2 May. Princeton, N.J. The Armory at Princeton University, which houses ROTC facilities, was firebombed.
*****	2 May. West DePere, Wis. Firebombs were thrown at the indoor ROTC rifle range at St. Norbert College.
*****	2 May. Kent, Ohio. Firebombs were thrown at the Army ROTC building on the Kent State University campus, destroying the building. Other buildings on the campus suffered fire damage.
⊘ ⊹	2 May. New York, N.Y. A U.S. Armed Forces recruiting booth at 600 West 168th St. was heavily damaged by a firebomb.
183 6	2 May. Tucson, Ariz. An explosion, probably dynamite, went off at the main entrance to Sunnyside High School, damaging the administrative area, counselor offices, library, and toyer. Estimated damage was \$5000. No injuries were reported.
***	2 May. Seattle, Wash. A firebomb consisting of a gallon jug of gasoline caused an estimated \$750 damage to the second-floor classrooms of Thompson Hall on the University of Washington campus.
★ 👌	2 May. Carbondale, III. Three policemen were injured when a Molotov cocktail was thrown from a dormitory window of Southern Illinois University.
***	3 May. River Forest, III. A firebomb exploded in the university administration building, causing \$100,000 worth of damage. No injuries were reported.
****	3 May. Milwaukee, Wis. Two buildings on the Marquette University campus were heavily damaged by firebombs.
XXX i	3 May. New Paltz, N.Y. The administration building at New Paltz State College sustained moderate damage from arson.
1114	3 May. Seattle, Wash. Two explosions, one-half hour apart, completely destroyed two telephone booths.
*****	3 May. New Brunswick, N.J. A firebomb damaged the ROTC building at Rutgers University.
****	4 May. Berkeley, Calif. Firebombs were thrown at a heating plant adjacent to the ROTC building at University of California, Berkeley, causing minor damage to the building. An ROTC vehicle burned.
****	4 May. Chapel Hill, N.C. A plastic bomb damaged the ROTC office at the University of North Carolina.
****	4 May. Madison, Wis. The ROTC building and the home of a military instructor were firebombed at the University of Wisconsin.
Ш	4 May. Madison, Wis. Students stood by and cheered as a supermarket was destroyed by arsonists.

4 May. Norman, Okla. Bricks were thrown in the window of the Se-

lective Service Office and the building was then firebombed

6 May. Stony Brook, N.Y. Three buildings at the State University of

New York were damaged by arson. Damages were heavy.



$\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Lambda}$	New fork were damaged by arson. Damages were neavy.
\\\\	6 May. Albuquerque, N.M. Three members of the University of New Mexico's football team were stabbed while trying to defend a flagpole.
i XXX	7 May. Shaker Heights, Ohio. Arsonists caused heavy damage in the boiler room next door to the ROTC building on the campus of John Carroll College.
*****	7 May. Oxford, Ohio. A firebomb was thrown at the Administration Building at Miami University. The bomb exploded on a grating outside the building, causing \$250 worth of damage. No injuries were reported.
*****	7 May, Tuscaloosa, Ala. Two buildings on the University of Alabama campus were hit by firebombs. One was completely destroyed.
*****	7 May. Valparaiso, Ind. The Administration Building at Valparaiso University was destroyed by firebomb.
XXX	7 May. Carbondale, III. Two buildings on the campus of Southern Illinois University were destroyed by arson.
***	7 May. San Francisco, Calif. A firebomb was placed on a window ledge of the ROTC building at the University of San Francisco. The explosion shattered two large windows, and the walls and draperies in Loyola Hall were scorched.
\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	7 May. Charlottesville, Va. The ROTC building at the University of Virginia was destroyed by arsonists.
***	7 May. Marietta, Ohio. The campus bookstore at Marietta College was destroyed by arsonists.
ŽŽŽ í	7 May, Middlebury, Conn. The University building on the Middlebury College campus was destroyed by fire.
*****	7 May. Buffalo, N.Y. The ROTC building on the State University cam- pus was firebombed.
⊘ ∳	7 May. Mankuto, Minn. The Local National Guard Armory was fire- bombed. Damage was not reported.
4 4	7 May. New York, N.Y. Police seized three people at 54 E. Eighth St. as they were planting five Molotov cocktails.
***	7 May. Cleveland, Ohio. Firebombs damaged three buildings housing ROTC facilities at Case Western Reserve in Cleveland.
****	7 May. Reno, Nev. There was a firebombing directed at the ROTC facilities on the campus of the University of Nevada.
****	7 May. Colorado Springs, Colo. A firebombing was directed at ROTC facilities on the campus of the College of Colorado.
*****	7 May. Athens, Ohio. A firebombing was directed at ROTC facilities on the campus of Ohio University.
XXX i	7 May. New York, N.Y. A three-alarm fire was brought under control at Fordham University. Two Molotov cocktails were found in the bushes near the Administration Building. Damage to Campus Center could run as high as \$1,000,000.
₹ ₹₹	8 May. New York, N.Y. There was an attempt to bomb a \$3,000,000 computer at New York University. The computer, owned by the Atomic Energy Commission, sustained \$100,000 damage.
4	8 May. Canyon, Tex. Three Molotov cocktails were tossed through the rear door of the Randall County Abstract Co., destroying records dating back to 1902.
*****	8 May. New London, Conn. Three firebombs were thrown at the National Guard Armory.
i XXX	8 May. Ann Arbor, Mich. A fire was set in the ROTC building on the University of Michigan campus. No damage was reported.
	8 May. Boston, Mass. The Boston City Guard Armory was attacked by four firebombs. Damages were not reported.
i XXX	8 May. Duluth, Minn. Several fires were set on the University of Minnesota campus.
i	8 Madison, Wis. Forty fires were set on the University of Wisconsin campus during the night.

8 May. Iowa City, Iowa. A classroom building at the University of

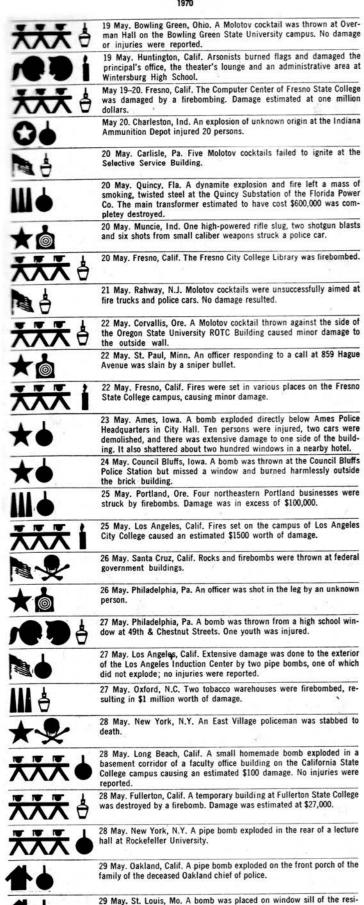
9 May. Brooklyn, N.Y. A fire caused \$100,000 worth of damage to the

Humanities Building at Long Island University. Administrators said

lowa was destroyed by fire during a war protest.

they had received warning letters.





dence of a St. Louis County Circuit Court Judge. Rain put out the fuse.

29 May. Cleveland, Ohio. One policeman was injured by a sniper

shooting into his patrol car.

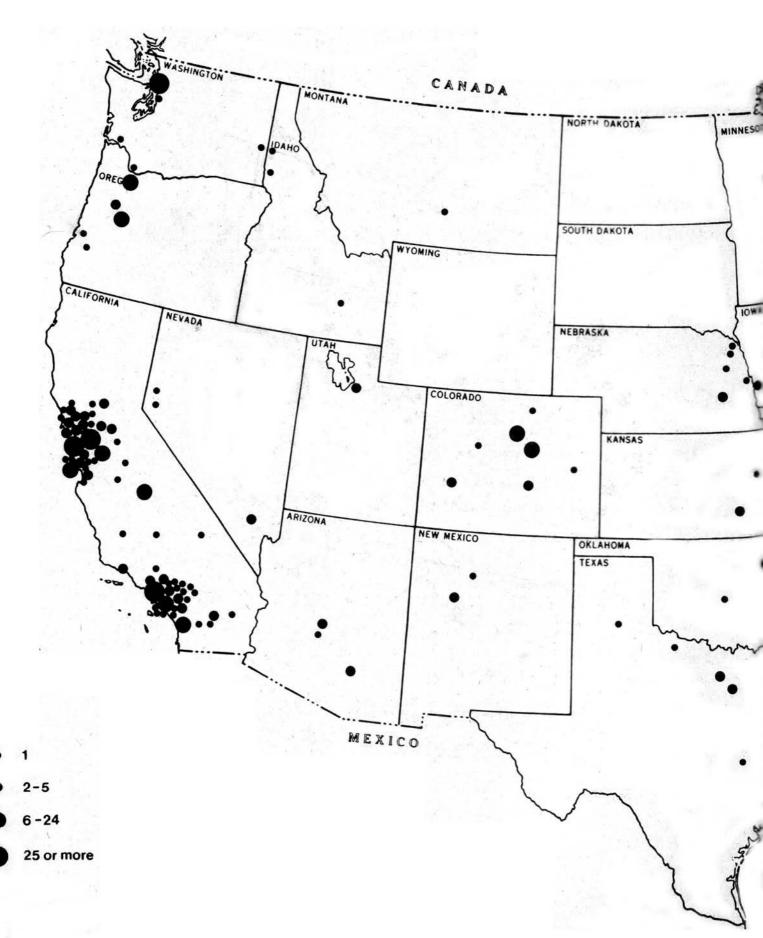
	1970
₹₹₹	30 May. San Francisco, Calif. A bomb exploded outside the ROTC building at the University of San Francisco. Damage was light. It was the fifth act of arson on the USF campus in recent weeks.
₩ ♦	31 May. New York, N.Y. Dynamite exploded at the World Trade Center, causing light damage and no reported injuries.
₩ 🕁	31 May. Detroit, Mich. The Food City supermarket sustained heavy damage as a result of a firebomb.
W+	2 June. Baton Rouge, La. An explosive device detonated under a Gulf States Utilities Co. transformer causing an estimated \$40,000 damage and disrupting electrical service in the Feliciana area. 2 June. Joliet, III. A dynamite bomb exploded when State Representa-
	tive William G. Barr turned on the ignition key in his late model Cadillac. Barr was badly injured. 2 June. Edison, N.J. A homemade bomb exploded in a cigarette urn
W •	in the Menlo Park Shopping Center Mall, putting a hole in the ceiling 25 feet overhead. 3 June. Detroit, Mich. A suspect attacked a police officer at a police
**	station, causing injury to the officer.
*•	4 June. Oakland, Calif. Two officers investigating a pool hall disturbance returned to see their police car engulfed in flames from a pipe bomb explosion.
\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	5 June. Los Angeles, Calif. An explosion and fire at the ROTC facility on the University of California campus in Los Angeles caused about \$10,000 in damages.
₩ 🕹	5 June. Los Angeles, Calif. A fire at a Bank of America branch in East Los Angeles was touched off by firebombs.
(P)	5 June. Los Angeles, Calif. A junior high school was damaged in a blaze to the extent of \$50,000.
	5 June. Taljulah, La. One law enforcement officer was injured when a state trooper and a town marshal were kidnapped.
114	6 June. Isla Vista, Calif. A bomb exploded at the Bank of America branch, destroying two windows and a neon sign.
*•	7 June. Los Angeles, Calif. Firestone Park Station was bombed by military type grenades. There were no injuries but five squad cars were damaged. Damage was estimated at \$5000.
!	7 June. New York, N.Y. A firebomb placed in a Woolworth store at 44th and Broadway in Manhattan caused an estimated \$100,000-\$200,000 worth of damages.
∂ †	8 June. Oakland, Calif. An armed forces patrol car was damaged by a bomb which consisted of two sections of pipe filled with black powder and tacks and tied to a bottle of gasoline. No injuries were reported.
46	8 June. Chicago, III. A grenade type device blew out the windows of the National Socialist White People's Party headquarters. No injuries were reported.
ed i	8 June. Hacienda Heights, Calif. Arsonists struck Orange Grove Junior High School, causing an estimated \$35,000 worth of damage.
11 ♦	8 June, Isla Vista, Calif. The Bank of America was bombed for the second time.
	9 June. Galesburg, III. Draft records in the Selective Service Office were damaged by arsonists.
*•	9 June. New York, N.Y. Police Headquarters at 240 Centre St. was rocked by an explosion which heavily damaged the 2nd floor of the five-story building. At least four officers and four other persons were injured. The explosion demolished several offices including four rooms occupied by the Deputy Commissioner in Charge of Administration, blew out many windows and smashed walls in Centre Market Place Nos. 3, 4, and 5 and wrecked two cars parked in front of No. 4.
★ 🗄	9 June. Stratford, N.J. A Molotov cocktail caused a fire which destroyed the Stratford Police Station. Estimated damage was \$35,000, including the destruction of 6000 records.
♣ ♦	10 June. Stratford, N.J. A police sergeant's garage was firebombed.
	10 June. Santa Rita, Calif. Two persons were injured when prison inmates set a fire in retaliation for the shooting of an inmate.
1 ***	10 June. Lincoln, Neb. Considerable damage was caused to the Military and Naval Science building at the University of Nebraska after five fires were set.
*•	11 June. Omaha, Neb. A dynamite explosion ripped a four-foot hole in a corner of the Omaha Police Department's North Assembly Building, shattering several windows, damaging the ceiling of a room, and blowing out windows of a bus parked outside the building. No injuries were reported.

11 June. Los Angeles, Calif. A homemade pipe bomb caused an esti-

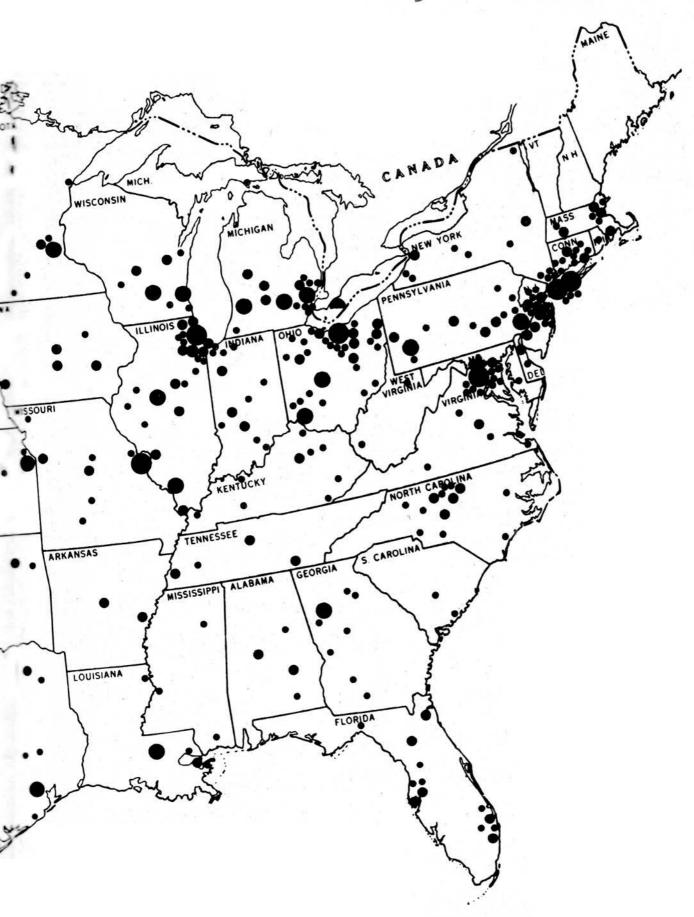
mated \$2000 damage to an annex-type trailer located at the Central

Ave. branch of the Department of Public Services.

GUERRILLA ATTACKS

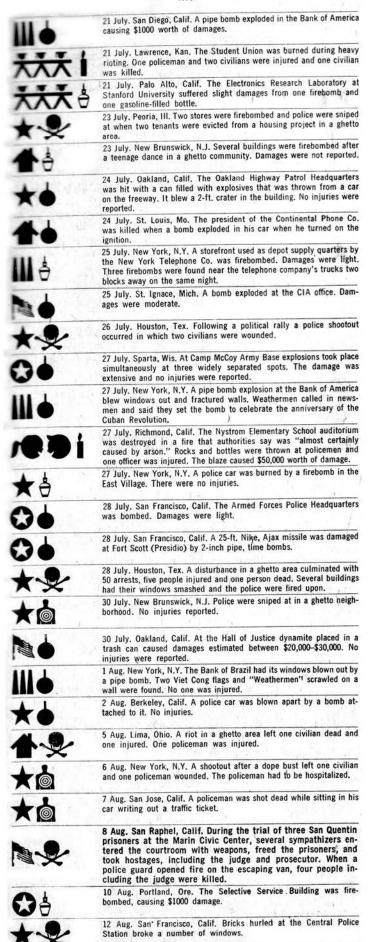


INTHE U.S., 1965-1970



	1970
1	12 June. Cairo, III. A bomb in a box was placed outside a door at th Alexander County Courthouse. Police disarmed the bomb and foun seven sticks of dynamite.
*	12 June. Cairo, III. An Illinois State police unit was fired upon and on officer received minor injuries.
1000	12 June. Aliquippa, Pa. Eleven persons were injured and minor damag to Aliquippa Junior High School was sustained during a racial dis turbance.
* 4	13 June. Chicago, III. Crude bombs were thrown by three youths at police car. The car was seriously damaged, and the policemen's leg were burned.
Wii -	13 June. New York, N.Y. A crowd of people, angered by trash on the streets, set a supermarket and a liquor store on fire. Rocks and bottle were hurled at police and firemen. Eight civilians and one policeman were injured.
₩ 🕹	13 June. Jersey City, N.J. Seventeen civilians and two policemen wern injured when a Molotov cocktail exploded at the Commercial Trus Co. Damage was minor.
lie	13 June. Kansas City; Kan. Two bombs exploded outside the Mid Continental National Bank blowing out three windows and causing minor damage. No injuries were reported.
III è	13 June. Des Moines, Iowa. A dynamite explosion caused an estimatec \$75,000 worth of damage in the Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce building. The blast blew out approximately 275 windows ir surrounding buildings, and damage to surrounding property was estimated at \$25,000.
★ 👌	15 June. Manhattan Beach, Calif. Manhattan Beach's joint police and fire station received minor damage when a ring of crude bombs exploded around the building. There were no injuries.
	15 June. San Diego, Calif. The U.S. Navy Destroyer Richard B. Anderson sustained \$200,000 worth of damage when an unidentified object was thrown into the ship's gears. The destroyer was bound for Vietnam.
	15 June. Providence, R.I. Vandals destroyed the files in four draft boards and the State Selective Service headquarters.
III i	15 June. New York, N.Y. Third Ave. was blocked by a deliberately set fire, and rocks and bottles were thrown by a street gang protesting arrests. No injuries were reported.
₩ 🕹	16 June. San Francisco, Calif. The California State Garage at Golden Gate and Larkin Sts. was firebombed. Two state-owned automobiles were destroyed.
Шe	17 June. Emeryville, Calif. Homemade pipe bombs exploded at a diner and three persons were slightly injured. Local police officers frequent the location.
* ***	18 June. New York, N.Y. Three firebombs were set off near New York University.
*	18 June. El Monte, Calif. One officer was shot and is critically injured following an apparent ambush while he was questioning a pedestrian.
4	18 June. New York, N.Y. A firetruck was firebombed while firemen were battling a two-alarm apartment blaze. One fireman was injured and another was stricken with a heart attack while fighting the incendiary device in the firetruck.
4~	18 June. Miami, Fla. Firebombs and snipers injured five people in four buildings in the Liberty City district.
*	$19\ \mathrm{June}.$ San Francisco, Calif. A police officer was shot and killed while sitting in his patrol car.
★ ል	19 June. Chicago, III. A patrolman was killed by a shotgun blast.
III 🕹	20 June. Berkeley, Calif. Two branches of the Bank of America were slightly damaged by bombs. No injuries were reported.
*i	22 June. New York, N.Y. Two police cars were set afire and a third was damaged when a large crowd gathered outside an upper Manhattan police station after a young girl was taken into custody following a dispute among teenagers.
0	$25\ \mathrm{June}.$ San Francisco, Calif. A dynamite bomb was discovered at the door of the U.S. Army Recruiting Station.
* 6	25 June. Atlanta, Ga. An off-duty policeman was shot. The extent of his injuries are unknown.
0 4	26 June. San Francisco, Calif. An iron pipe bomb was found at an Air Force recruiting office. It failed to detonate.
**	26 June. Santa Cruz, Calif. Fourteen young people were arrested and two officers were hospitalized in a disorder in front of a Santa Cruz bar. Police were attacked with rocks and bottles by about 300 persons.
111	27 June. Berkeley, Calif. A bomb was found on the window sill of a Wells Fargo Bank branch. It had failed to detonate.

	1970
₩ 🕹	27 June. Youngstown, Ohio. Three businesses were struck by fire bombs. Total damage was \$14,000.
11000	28 June. Washington, D.C. Two empty D.C. Transit buses were de stroyed by firebombs at the company's garage. Damage estimated a \$50,000. A Transit official said that another bus had been similarl damaged at the garage within the past month.
*	29 June. Detroit, Mich. Three officers were ambushed; one was seriously wounded, two were slightly injured.
(CD)	29 June, Oakland, Calif, Fifteen arson fires were set, extensively dam aging the Martin Luther King Junior High School and a USO building Two policemen were injured.
***	29 June. Des Moines, Iowa. Fifteen to 20 pounds of high power dynamit was used to damage Harvey Ingham Hall of Science at Drake Univer sity. There were no injuries. Damage might reach \$250,000.
III i	30 June. New York, N.Y. Fires touched off by incendiary devices erupted in three Woolworth department stores in Manhattan. No injuries were reported.
100	30 June. Washington, D.C. A pipe bomb was thrown into the Inter American Defense Board building, 2600 16th St., N.W.
*	30 June. Plainfield, N.Y. Two patrolmen were wounded by shotgur fire in an ambush; one officer was critically wounded, the other was reported in good condition.
****	1 July. Berkeley, Calif. A bomb explosion and fire damaged part of the University of California's Center for East Asian Studies.
***	1 July. Berkeley, Calif. A pipe bomb exploded in the University of California's School of Asian Studies causing a small fire that damaged one room.
10	2 July. Washington, D.C. The Inter-American Defense Building (OAS) was bombed, allegedly by Group Revolutionary Force No. 7. Damage was not reported.
40	3 July. New York, N.Y. Police found a bomb outside the door of State Supreme Court Justice Jawn A. Sandifer's Fifth Ave. apartment.
⊘ †	4 July. New York, N.Y. A firebomb was tossed into an Army truck at Fort Hamilton.
₩÷	4 July. New York, N.Y. A Molotov cocktail was thrown against the front door of Barclays Bank, Ltd., 300 Park Ave.
★ 🗄	5 July. New York, N.Y. Ten Molotov cocktails were found under the gas tanks of five patrol cars in the parking lot at the police station in Queens.
4 i	5 July. Saugus, Calif. Arson was suspected in the \$60,000 fire damages of the Sheriff's Wayside Honor Ranch.
	6 July. Asbury Park, N.J. A riot in a ghetto neighborhood caused heavy damages to a major department store, two churches, a school, and other buildings. The damages resulted from firebombings, thrown rocks and bottles and gunshot. There were no injuries reported.
***	7-8 July. Berkeley, Calif. Five firebombs exploded near the University of California campus. Police officers confiscated 30 firebombs and arrested five people.
∐ ∳	8 July. Berkeley, Calif. The Gil Ashcomb Toyota Agency was firebombed. The damage was minor and there were no injuries.
	8 July. Flushing, N.Y. The Hall of Science was bombed blasting a 3-ft. hole in a replica of a rocket inside the building. A Viet Cong flag was found nearby.
	8 July. New York, N.Y. The Haitian consulate, the South African consulate and a Portuguese tourist agency were hit with pipe bombs. Three people were injured, property damages were not reported.
₩ 🕹	9 July, San Rafael, Cal, Firebombing gutted parts of the San Rafael Independent Journal building.
	10 July. New Bedford, Mass. Several buildings were set on fire, overturned, and store windows smashed in a ghetto area. One person was shot.
₩ 🕁	11 July. New Bedford, Mass. Disturbances continued and more fires were started in the ghetto area. Three youths were arrested and accused of throwing Molotov cocktails.
Pi	14 July. Los Angeles, Calif. At Audubon Junior High School a smoldering fire was discovered by the custodian when he arrived in the morning. Before it was extinguished the principal's office burned. \$15,000 worth of damages were reported.
11 •	15 July. New York, N.Y. The East Village branch of Chase Manhattan Bank was bombed. Damages were not reported.
116	16 July. Palo Alto, Calif. Police found four pounds of military explosives and six sticks of dynamite at the Bank of America building. The explosives failed to explode because the hands of a clock stuck.
44	18 July. Chicago, III. Two policemen were killed by snipers.



1 6	12 Aug. San Bernardino, Calif. Five people and a policeman were
**	injured by youths roaming the streets firing pistols in a ghetto area. Windows were smashed and small fires set.
⊘ †	13 Aug. Ft. Ord, Calif. Arson and firebombs damaged the Ft. Ord mess halls to the extent of \$5000-\$10,000.
*	15 Aug. Chicago, III. In retaliation to harassment by police, a sniper kifled one policeman. Twenty persons were arrested, thrown into paddy wagons and beaten.
*4	18 Aug. Omaha, Neb. Seven police were injured and one killed when a briefcase loaded with dynamite exploded.
â •	18 Aug. Minneapolis, Minn. A bomb consisting of twenty sticks of dynamite blew up in the Federal Office Building, causing \$500,000 damage. The building houses the Armed Forces Examination Center.
*6	20 Aug. Berkeley, Calif. After stopping a youth on a motorcycle, a policeman was approached by a man who shot him in the eye and then fled. The officer died.
***	24 Aug. Madison, Wis. A bomb set off at the University of Wisconsin killed one person and injured four others. The Army Mathematics Research Center was demolished.
*•	26 Aug. Tulsa, Okla. A bomb set under the hood of a car went off, seriously injuring one policeman. It was the latest in a series of attacks against prominent Oklahoma attorneys and law enforcement officers.
Шė	27 Aug. Los Angeles, Calif. A time bomb was placed in the Los Angeles Times Building but failed to detonate.
	27 Aug. Washington, D.C. A group calling itself the "Revolutionary Action Party" claimed credit for bombing the Portuguese Embassy and the Rhodesian Information Office, causing no injuries and little damage.
*****	27 Aug. Athens, Ga. A Molotov cocktail was thrown into the ROTC building at the University of Georgia, causing a small fire which was quickly extinguished. There were no injuries.
*•	29 Aug. Santa Fe Springs, Calif. A bomb containing seven sticks of dynamite and a blasting cap was discovered on the front steps of the California Highway Patrol office. It was removed to a vacant field and disarmed.
III &	29 Aug. Berkeley, Calif. The Telegraph and Russell Sts. branch of the Bank of America was hit by two firebombs. There was little damage.
*6	30 Aug. Bronx, N.Y. A policeman was wounded by a shotgun blast while walking his beat.
*	31 Aug. Philadelphia, Pa. Three policemen were wounded in dawn raids on neighborhood centers.
*6	31 Aug. Philadelphia, Pa. A policeman, the fifth in less than 36 hours, was wounded when his police unit battered their way into two heavily barricaded homes.
(P)	31 Aug. Berkeley, Calif. \$200,000 worth of equipment was burned in a fire set by arsonists at the Unified School District's Instructional Material Center. The building itself suffered \$100,000 damage.
*•	31 Aug. Crescent City, Calif. A dynamite bomb exploded when a Sheriff's deputy started his car behind the Sheriff's office.
★ 🕁	31 Aug. Mount Shasta, Calif. A firebomb thrown into a policeman's house failed to ignite.
*6	31 Aug. Philadelphia, Pa. Police raids on ghetto buildings brought the number of policemen shot to seven, one of whom was killed, the others were hospitalized.
*	1 Sept. New York, N.Y. A policeman, responding to a report of rifle fire, was shot in the arm while sitting in his patrol car.
₩ 🕹	1 Sept. Los Angeles, Calif. Firebombs hit several businesses in a ghetto area. \$50,000 damage was caused at a department store in the Hollenbeck area, and attempts were made to set trash cans on fire in the harbor area. Five men and a woman were arrested.
*•	3 Sept. San Francisco, Calif. A bomb was thrown into a squad car moments after two officers left it to investigate a burglary complaint. Damage was extensive.
1114	3 Sept. Milpitas, Calif. A "medium-sized" bomb was set off at the Ford Motor Co.'s plant. There was little damage.
Ш →	3 Sept. Fremont, Calif. A bomb went off in front of the General Motors' plant within ½ hour of the explosion at Ford Motor plant. The front door, main lobby, and windows were damaged.
	5 Sept. Los Angeles, Calif. The Hall of Justice was hit by a bomb which detonated on the 6th floor, next to the District Attorney's office. Damage was estimated at \$10,000.
Qi	5 Sept. Rochester, N.Y. Eight men and women were arraigned for breaking into the Federal Building and destroying draft records at the Selective Service office.

Selective Service office.

7 Sept. Brooklyn, N.Y. A policeman was stabbed in the stomach while

trying to break up a street fight. He died of his injuries.

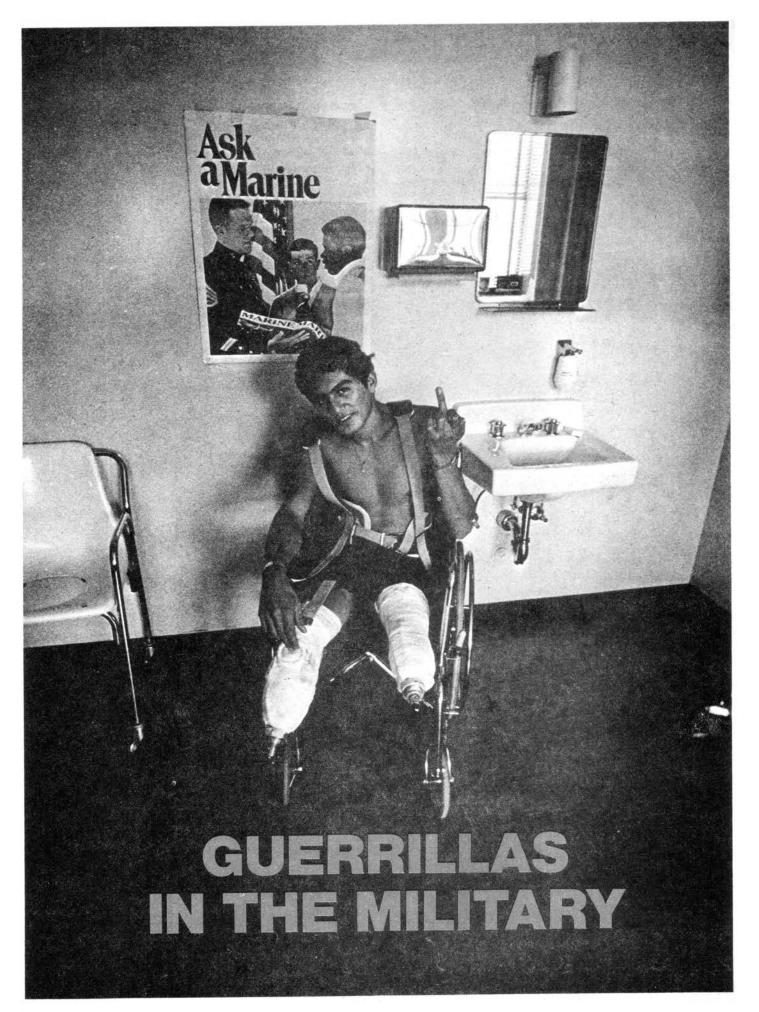
RECENTLY REPORTED INCIDENTS OF THE THE THE AND AND OTHER EXPLOSIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THEFTS OF DYNAMITE AND OTHER EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES

1969	
l Jan. Jumbo, Okla.	An estimated 25 cases of dynamite were taken from a construction site along the Indian Nations Turnpike.
19 Jan. Taylor, Pa.	The following items were taken from the cap and powder magazine of the Marona Construction Co.: 2 cases—Gelex, 10—Petron Primers 110—RM Caps, and 1—Thermo Coupler.
25 Jan. Nearman, Kan.	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported 100 electric blasting caps and 5000 ft. of fuse stolen from a customer's magazine.
2 Feb. Tijeras, N.M.	Wayne A. Lowdenmilk, Inc. reported the theft of 5 cases of dynamite and 120 electric blasting caps from a construction project on Highway 10.
2 Feb. Foursoam, Ky.	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported the theft of 3 cases of coalite, and 44 cartons (44,000 ft.) of prima cord from a customer's magazine.
26 Mar. Evans City, Pa.	The Austin Powder Co. reported the theft of 11,000 blasting caps from a customer's magazine.
1 Apr. Burkeville, Va.	The Burkeville Stone Co. reported the theft of 50 lbs. of powder primer, 100 fuse caps, and 20 electric blasting caps.
3 Apr. Berlin, Pa.	The American Cyanamid Co. reported approximately 1750 electric blasting caps missing from a customer's magazine in Brothers Valley Township.
6 Apr. Louisville, Ky.	The following items were reported missing from a magazine in Pleasure Ridge Park: 200—blasting caps, 2050—electric blasting caps, 1000—MKV acudet, and 50—tailless conductors.
10 Apr. Raymond, Wash.	The U.S. Powder Division of Commercial Solvents Corp. reported the theft of 4000 fuse caps and 300 electric blasting caps.
20 Apr. Casper, Wyo.	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported the theft of 10 lbs. Petrogel L from a customer's magazine.
25 Apr. Ankeny, Iowa	A case of dynamite (42 sticks) was stolen from a building supply company.
7 Apr. North Tonawanda, N.Y.	The Wurlitzer Co. reported 162 dynamite caps missing from their storage yard on Niagara Falls Blvd.

29 Apr. Yonkers, N.Y.	One thousand electric blasting caps were stolen from a construction site on Central Park Ave.		
1 May Clarksburg, W. Va.	The National Powder Co. reported the theft of 7000 electric blasting caps from a cap magazine on RD No. 3.		
18 May Granite County, Mont.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 8000 ft. E-cord and small amount of Gelex from a customer's magazine on Echo Lane Road.		
17 June Oswego, N.Y.	The Ballard Construction Co. reported 20 sticks of dynamite missing from a storage shed or. East 12th St.		
18 June Ft. Smith, Ark.	The Deupree Distributing Co. reported the theft of 20 blasting caps and 20 electric blasting caps.		
26 June Eveleth, Minn.	Two cases of dynamite and 2 cases of blasting caps were stolen from a construction site on highway 53.		
29 June Prince, Utah	Hercules, Inc. reported the theft of 150 lbs. of dynamite.		
3 July Flagstaff, Ariz.	Fifty cases of dynamite were stolen from construction sites near Flagstaff.		
7 July Bronx, N.Y.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 150 lbs. of Gelex and 100 electric blasting caps from a customer's magazine located on Zenega Ave.		
16 July Mono County, Calif.	One hundred dynamite caps were stolen from a magazine located at a June Mt. Resort area.		
16 July Pittsburgh, Pa.	A dynamite cache was stolen from a worker's shack at the Glenwood bridge in the Hazelwood area.		
23 July Salem, Mass.	The Austin Powder Co. reported the theft of the following materials from a customer's magazine: 100 lbs.—Gelatin, 200 lbs.—Ammonia Nitrate mixed and 51 lbs.—TNT cast primers.		
25 July Hazard, Ky.	The U.S. Army reported the theft of 11,000 ft. of detonation cord and 16,000 blasting caps from an Army Corps of Engineers project.		
29 July The Dalles, Ore.	The Cody Logging Co. reported 2 cases of dynamite missing from ${\rm 1\!\!I}$ storage shed.		
8 Aug. Springfield, III.	The DuPont Co. reported the following items stolen from one of the distributor-operators: 5 cases (250 lbs.)—dynamite, 800—blasting caps, 600—electric blasting caps and 1000 ft.—prima cord.		
13 Aug. Lima, Ohio	Ninety sticks of dynamite were stolen from a local construction sales.		

II Aug. New Lexington, Ohio	Approximately 1500 blasting caps were taken from the Monsanto Company Building at Rehoboth.	15 Jan. Medford, Ore.	Hercules, Inc. reported the theft of 40 electric blasting caps.
III Rug. Itselerville, Mich.	oroximately 35 lbs. of dangerous high explosives were stolen from rilling truck parked at the Fowlerville Fairgrounds.		Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported the theft of the following items from a customer's magazine: 29—boosters, 1200 lbs H.E.
III Rug. Wastesano, Wash.	Dynamite caps and wire were stolen from the Mike Hagara Construc- tion Co, near Newskah.	- 2	1000—blasting caps, 550—electric blasting caps, 350 convectors a 100 ft.—fuse.
IS Aug. Steuberville, Ohio	The Hanna Coal Co. reported 50 electric blasting caps and 500 ft. of primer cord missing from mine No. 22 at West Farms.	24 Jan. Mineral Wells, Tex.	The DuPont Co. reported the following items taken from 3 magazine: owned by a customer: 10,000 ftE cord, 2000 - prima cord, 4 Drum: (400 lbs.) -RDX. 2350 - electric blasting caps, 2632 Pourvex Extra, 700 lbsRCX and 100 lbs HiVel.
T Aug.			The DuPont Co. reported the following items stolen from a customer cap and powder magazine located along U.S. 40: 4 cases (200 lbs.) Gelex, 2 cases (2000 lt.) – E-Cord and 2 cases (100) – electric blastic caps.
IS Reg. Sare, Ind.			
3 Sept. Wulberry, Fla.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 400 lbs. of dynamite and 1450 electric blasting caps from a customer's magazine.	14 Feb. Littleton, Colo.	Torpedo-type explosive devices were stolen from a Santa Fe Railroad tool shed.
IN Sept. Nulls Village, Conn.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 250 sticks (approximately 80 lbs.) of dynamite and assorted blasting supplies.	19 Feb. Las Vegas, Nev.	Hercules, Inc. reported the theft of 100 lbs. of dynamite and 12,350 blasting caps.
Sept.	Approximately 28 sticks of dynamite were stolen from a locked shed owned by American Fork Contractors.	21 Feb. Raleigh, N.C.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 2 cases of Gelex from a customer's dynamite magazine.
39 Sept. Needsport, Ore.	Approximately 150 sticks of dynamite and 5 cartons of electric blasting caps were taken from an International Paper Co. logging operation	23 Feb. Marion, III.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 2000 lbs. of Pellite from a customer's trailer magazine.
IS Sept.	near Gardiner. The Deitz Hill Development Co. reported the theft of 1000 electric	24 Feb. Salt Lake City, Utah	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 1 case (50 lbs.) Gelex from a customer's magazine located 14 miles west of Salt Lake City.
Bates City, Mo. 3 Set.	blasting caps from their quarry. The W. S. Walter Company reported the theft of 21 cases of dynamite	28 Feb. Marion, III.	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported the following items stole from two magazines owned by a customer: 4700—blasting caps, 310-electric blasting caps, 14 (1 lb.) spools—connecting wire and 100 lbs
Tacoma, Wash. T Oct. Las Vegas, Nev.	and 4 cases of primer cord. Twenty cases of dynamite and 115 detonators were stolen from a magazine near Overton.	9 Mar.	Ordnance Products, Inc. reported 7 cartons (7000) blasting caps
7 Oct. Wahanoy City, Pa.	The Meadows Coal Co. near Shepton reported the following explosives missing from a coal stripping area: 10 bags (500 lbs.)—pellite and 8	North East, Md. 16 Màr. Beulah, Mich.	stolen from a magazine. Several high explosive capsules and about 15-20 blasting caps were stolen from an oil company truck box.
# Oct.	cases—dynamite. Six hundred lbs. of dynamite, 40 blasting caps, numerous fuses, and	23 Mar. Almont, Pa.	American Cyanamid reported the theft of 500 lbs. of gelatin from a customer's magazine.
www. Vernon, Wash.	2000 ft. of fuse wire were stolen from a talc mine at Marblemount in Skagit County.	25 Mar. Bauxite, Ark.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 200 lbs. of EI-785A1 from a dis- tributor's magazine.
21 Oct. Golden, Colo.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 100 lbs. of Gelex and 3000 ft. of E-cord from a customer's magazine.	2 Apr.	The following items were stolen from a magazine located at Winter's
22 Oct. Powell, Tenn.	The DuPont Co. reported the following items stolen from a customer's magazine located near Powell: 2950—electric blasting caps, 1—blasting galvanometer and 250 ft,—lead wire.	St. Elmo, III. 5 Apr.	Stone Quarry: 2 cases—Trojan U.S. Powder, 3 cases—Gelex, 2 rolls (100 ft.)—prima cord, and 1—galvanometer. Approximately 500 lbs. of dynamite were stolen from an American
3 Nov. Cary, N.C.	The DuPont Co. reported 5 cases of Gelex taken from a customer's trailer magazine.	Berkeley, Calif.	Smelting and Refining Co. facility in the Berkeley area.
5 Nov. Gettysburg, Pa.	The Austin Powder Co. reported 4 cases (200 pounds) of Extra Gelatin taken from a customer's trailer magazine.	5 Apr. Ventura, Calif.	The following amount of explosives and detonating devices were reported stolen from the Calif. Drilling and Blasting Co.: 5 cases (615 sticks)—Hercimite, 2 cases—Gellomite, 2000 ft.—fuse, 5 partial rows—detonating fuses, 100 ft.—blasting wire and 1—blasting machine.
10 Nov. Edwards A.F. Base, Calif.	A bunker located on the installation was forcibly entered and the following materials removed: 132 lbs.—plastic explosives, 74 lbs.—dynamite, 450 ft.—safety fuse, 18—blasting caps, 20—electric blasting caps and 1800 ft.—detonating cord.	5 Apr. Wellington, Colo.	The Western Geophysical Co. reported 55 lbs. of Hi-Vel (plastic) and 10 electric blasting caps stolen from a magazine and a truck located 5 miles north of Wellington.
10 Nov. Miami, Fla.	E & T, Inc. had 7 cases (350 lbs.) of powder primer taken from a magazine.	6-7 Apr. Camarillo, Calif.	The following explosives and detonating devices were reported stolen from L. S. Hawley Corp.: 6 cases (300 lbs.)—dynamite, 2 cases (200 ft.) detonating cord, 1 case—safety fuse, 1 case—delay fuse, 1 box
73 Nov. Yuma, Ariz.	The following items were stolen from a portable box magazine at a road construction site: 90—blasting caps, 200 ft,—primex economy cord and 40 ft.—safety fuse.	11 Apr. Selby, Calif.	(500)—fuse caps and 50—blasting caps. The American Smelting & Refining Co. reported the following items stolen from a magazine: 6½ cases (325 lbs.)—gelatin, 3 cases (150
21 Dec. Katonah, N.Y.	The DuPont Co. reported the following items taken from a distributor's powder and cap magazines along Route 22: 50 lbs.—dynamite and 1 case—blasting caps.	13 Apr.	lbs.)—Hercules powder. Three cases of dynamite reported missing from a smelting and refining
22 Dec. Sayre, Ala.	The Republic Steel Corp. reported 5500 coal mine blasting caps taken from a magazine.	Crockett, Calif.	The Yukon Equipment Co. reported two separate thefts along the Alaska Railroad:
14 Dec. West Hartford, Conn.	The West Hartford Water Dept. reported 21 sticks of dynamite missing from their building on Farmington Ave.	Anchorage, Alaska	Theft No. 1: 10—blasting caps and 34—electric blasting caps. Theft No. 2: 10 cases—Gelex, 4 cases—dynamite and 12—boosters.
B1 Dec. Columbus, Ohio	The Vulcan Materials Co. reported the following items stolen from their dynamite and cap magazines: 700 lbs.—special gelatin, 165 lbs.—	21 Apr. Eagle River, Alaska	The Alaskan Railroad reported that an unknown quantity of ammodyte and less than a case of Gelex was stolen from a magazine.
	pourvex extra, 250 lbs.—pourvex primers and 1460 — electric blasting caps.		An individual found 17 sticks of dynamite owned by the Amherst Sanitary Land Fill, Inc., abandoned behind his home. The explosives were stolen from a magazine at the convention center construction site.
1970		4 May Bethesda, Md.	Approximately 4250 lbs. of dynamite and 3200 blasting caps were taken from a stone quarry near Bethesda.
l Jan. Newport, Vt.	The DuPont Co. reported 7 cases of dynamite and 7 cases of Gelex stolen from a customer's magazine.	5 May Fort Edward, N.Y.	The Newton & Hill Corp. reported the theft of 35 cases (1750 lbs.) of dynamite from a storage magazine.
Jan. (ingman, Ariz.	The Apache Powder Co. reported the following items stolen from a customer's cap and powder magazines southeast of Kingman: 150—	5 May Des Moines, Iowa	The Quick Supply Co. reported the theft of 1000 lbs. of dynamite and 700 electric blasting caps from a trailer magazine.
	electric blasting caps, 1000 ft.—primex detonating cord, and 50 lbs.— Amogel.	14 May Fairhaven, Mass.	The Campanella Corp. reported the theft of 100 lbs. of Gelex.
2 Jan. San Francisco, Calif.	Persons unknown entered a bunker at Fort Cronkhite and removed approximately 32 lbs. of explosives, including electrical blasting caps and hand grenade detonators.	23 May Phillipsburg, Pa.	The Austin Powder Co. reported the theft of 75 cases (7500) miners' safety squibbs and 800 ft. of safety fuse from a customer's magazine.



Scanlan's investigation into insurgency in the mililary turned up one astonishing cultural footnote which in the long run may prove more significant than amusing: wigs are one of the biggest selling single items at military PX's both in the United States and abroad. At many PX's they are the largest item.

The second biggest seller? Children's books, not because so many GI's have had issue but because so many of them, notably blacks and poor whites, are

teaching themselves how to read.

A master sergeant of Bill Mauldin's 1940's stereotype might interpret these facts as suggestive of faggotry and illiteracy in the ranks, but it would be difficult to find a contemporary soldier who would agree with him and, more difficult still, therefore to find a man who would guarantee him safe conduct through the trenches. As the interviews which follow indicate, the targeting and executing of non-contemporary and otherwise unpopular noncoms and officers has become commonplace in Vietnam.

The PX sales figures are part of the visible facets of a Titanic-capacity iceberg of restiveness in the nation's armed forces. A sense of individuality (wigs do wonders for a GI haircut after dark) and an awareness of the contest for change in the outside world are the hallmark characteristics of this insurgent condition. Its roots are part cultural and social and part political, but its equalitarian bond of comradeship and communication (and a large part of its political reality) is dope, particularly marijuana, which is more universally consumed on military bases than on college campuses.

To know the military is incredibly turned on doesn't take John Steinbeck's son, who wrote about it, or the alarmed cries of visiting congressmen, who have yelled about it, or those vague and veiled reports of troops in Vietnam, high while on patrol, becoming involved in some atrocity. And then there is Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, with an insight that those more cursed with sophistication could not possess, who has pointed out that lyrics of many popular songs are subversive and revolutionary. He is correct, and U.S. soldiers are marching to them.

This cultural base for insurgency within the military is rapidly becoming manifestly politicized. This is inherent in the proliferation and consequent military harassment of off-base coffee houses serving leftwing blends, the flourishing of underground base newspapers, the formal attacks on the war by commissioned officers, even West Point graduates, and the growth in influence and depth of membership of the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM), an organization of enlisted men and former GI's which provides information and legal and other aid to soldiers who wish to resist the military on its own turf.

Below the surface of this high tide of open insurgency in the United States Armed Forces is the even more extraordinary reality of a state of rebellion, sabotage and guerrilla warfare within the military. To date, the armed forces have been totally unable to contain or control this situation, so they have elected to obscure the insurgency and put off for as long as possible the admission that for thousands of soldiers the military system itself has become as much

a radicalizing force as the "establishment" has been for others at home, and that it is leading to serious acts of defiance and terrorism.

Last year thousands of enlisted men fought back. They burned, trashed or blew up their bases. Some shot their superior officers. Others resisted orders to battle. Many sabotaged military equipment or stole weapons and ammunition. It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of soldiers currently involved in such guerrilla activities or acts of armed resistance. From the sparse figures the Army makes available, cross-checked by Scanlan's researchers with documentation in the files of the MDM, it is certain that the number of guerrillas now active within the military is in the tens of thousands. Over 15,000 men are already being held in military stockades, over 90 per

cent of them on AWOL charges.

The soldiers who left, of course, can be more accurately counted than the ones who stayed to fight from within. The last figures available are for the fiscal year 1969, when 56,000 GI's deserted; 23,000 never returned and were never caught. Another 149,695 soldiers took unauthorized leaves of absence, thereby depleting the Army's total manpower of 1,500,000 by about ten per cent on any given day. There is also no accurate count of the number of GI deserters now living in Canada as political exiles. Estimates range higher than 60,000, and a minimum of 25,000 is a conservative figure. Many of these former soldiers have become militant political radicals; the underground military papers report they are organizing an American-Canadian border military unit for unspecified assignments. Many draftees are going underground before the Army can get them—the Oakland Armed Forces Induction Center, for instance, reported recently that of the 9000 men ordered to report for induction each month, at least 400 never showed up.

Guerrillas in the armed forces have become a primary source of weapons and explosives for revolutionaries on the outside. In that regard the compilation of recent thefts of dynamite and other explosive materials in this issue (Pgs. 52-53) is seriously incomplete. Since the military rarely admits that its supplies of destruction have fallen into private hands, it is unlikely to acknowledge that the amount of weaponry now in the possession of guerrillas is as enormous as it is said to be—in some cases involving entire railroad cars filled with ammunition. But this was a subject that both the urban guerrillas and individuals involved in military insurgency interviewed by Scanlan's were reticent to discuss, except to admit that "a lot of stuff was being ripped off" from the Army.

One indication of the alarming extent of the theft of weapons from the military came quite by accident last April in a statement by California's deputy attorney general, Charles O'Brien. Undoubtedly looking for some publicity for his campaign for state attorney general, Mr. O'Brien announced that his office had efficiently recovered some of the weapons stolen from local military bases: "55 hand grenades, 94 bricks of plastic explosives, each powerful enough to disable a tank, 10 bazookas, 52 rifles, crates filled with ammunition, and 65 pistols." He didn't list what

had not been recovered. But with 276 pieces recaptured, Deputy Attorney General O'Brien would appear to be the country's leading gun collector, since the Pentagon has only officially allowed to 820 weapons being lifted from Army stores during almost the entire year of 1969. The Navy and Marine Corps refuse to state publicly what was stolen from them.

The Army's defenses in this vital matter seem to have been infiltrated, if not subverted. One of the underground military papers recently reprinted the text of an order from a high ranking Army official establishing rigorous new procedures to protect caches of weapons and explosives from looters and even pickpockets. And after the Pentagon was reported as having installed elaborate alarm systems to prevent such thefts, a person or persons unknown walked out of Fort Hood on July 27 with a case of C-4 plastic explosives and a case of incendiary grenades.

But the apparent ease of access to the Pentagon's warehouses is not the only means of transferring the federal government's weaponry into private hands. In San Francisco last March, Customs Commissioner Miles Ambrose reported that a "veritable flood" of automatic weapons and explosives stolen from American supplies in Vietnam were arriving in the United States through the mails. A major crackdown on this source of supply was apparently forestalled by the action of mail handlers in the general post office in San Francisco, many of them hippies, and many of them just scared, who, unofficially, refused to examine any package that came from Vietnam because who

wanted to open a bomb?

The growth of insurgency within the armed forces has in many ways paralleled the dizzying geometric progression of acts of guerrilla warfare on the campuses and in the ghettos. The military front was relatively quiet as late as 1967. The refusal of Captain Howard Levy to give medical training to Green Berets and the resulting enormous flap appear—in the retrospect of the violence on military bases—as analogous to an early, liberal stage of the civil rights movement. In the three years since the Levy trial, major uprisings have occurred at scores of American military bases throughout the world. Hardly a fort, base or secret military installation in this country has been sheltered from the GI's own insurgency. The protracted war in Vietnam and the new war at home has made it increasingly difficult for soldiers to integrate themselves into what used to be called the politics of serenity.

The revolutionary left, who four years ago viewed the military as its enemy, now looks upon GI's as a godsend—a vast potential source of armed resistance—and has recently intensified its undercover organizing within the armed services. "Now is the time to cripple this machinery of war by extending the 'siege of the Pentagon' from one end of the country to the other," Tom Hayden said earlier this year. And, although the constantly escalating military insurgency is still largely unorganized, it is nevertheless seen by leftists as the training ground for preparing thousands of radicalized soldiers for guerrilla activities

when they are released from military service.

"At this moment the stockades in Babylon are full

of soldiers who refuse to fight," Eldridge Cleaver said, "and not because they're cowards, but because they gained some understanding of the inhumanity of the war that's being waged in Vietnam. These stockades are full and these men have been given large prison sentences. Now they hate the Army and they understand the Army—they understand what it is doing to them. These men are going to be some of the most valuable guerrilla fighters in the American revolution."

Indeed, it was a dramatic rebellion within a stockade that set the tone for much of the insurgency that has since taken place. On October 11, 1968, Richard Bunch, a private with a history of mental illness who was incarcerated in the overcrowded Presidio Stockade in San Francisco, was shot and killed under bizarre circumstances by a guard on shotgun detail. The killing was declared justifiable homicide on October 13th. The next day 27 outraged prisoners staged a sit-down demonstration that was to have profound repercussions on the military establishment. The 27 were charged with mutiny and given long sentences which the Army later drastically reduced. The incident is generally regarded as the first significant act of massive defiance inside the military and served to impress stockade prisoners everywhere with a sense of their potential power.

On April 5, 1969, 15 men at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, refused to be processed for duty in Vietnam. In early June, 38 soldiers held in cell blocks 66, 67 and 84 at Fort Dix, New Jersey, rioted, burning mattresses and newspapers to protest their treatment. Later that month a prisoner, Julio Rivera, was beaten inside the stockade at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, and 150 prisoners rioted and demanded that he be released. When released, Rivera immediately pressed charges

against the guard who beat him.

The Long Binh Jail in South Vietnam was disrupted by a series of rebellions in August. Prisoners burned nine buildings to the ground, injured five military policemen and wounded the acting warden so seriously he had to be hospitalized. One prisoner was killed and 59 were wounded; 12 prisoners, all black, captured an isolated part of the jail and managed to hold it for several days before surrendering. A few weeks later hundreds of blacks again revolted inside the jail. This time they seized a part of the compound and held it against a force of armed MP's for several days. And on March 13, 1970, 100 GI's broke out of the stockade in Mannheim, West Germany, and set fire to several buildings. They fought a two-hour battle with military authorities before they were subdued and imprisoned again.

Insurgency among black enlisted men and draftees has grown apace with the disproportionate percentages of black combat deaths. Blacks constitute 11.5 per cent of the total Army manpower, yet accounted for 13.3 per cent of Army combat deaths since 1961.

Black soldiers have been particularly adverse to domestic riot duty. When elements of the 1st Airborne Division were ordered to riot duty in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic National Convention, 60 black GI's refused to go. Entreaties from the Commanding General did no good, and MP's arrested

43 of the dissidents in a dawn raid on their barracks. At Fort Campbell, Kentucky, black GI's rioted for two nights, overturning cars and setting fires on the post, after being ordered to riot duty in the aftermath

Martin Luther King's assassination.

Three recent incidents, all in July, are indicative of the increasingly militant posture of black GI's. At Fort Hood, some 200 black soldiers fought off military police and held a six-block square area for several hours before reinforcements arrived. In South Korea, some 50 black soldiers protesting discrimination in the ranks burned down five army barracks, causing \$50,000 damage. At Fort Carson, Colorado, several hundred black soldiers battled with military police after some of their buddies refused to be questioned about the disappearance of 200 M-16 rifles from the base the night before.

The pervasiveness of this hostility and radicalization in young men who were traditionally regarded as crew-cut, all-American defenders of their country is evident from a brief list drawn from the hundreds of acts of insurgency that have occurred during the past three years-acts that seem as far removed from the nonviolent resistance of Captain Levy as Rap Brown from Roy Wilkins. A cursory chronology:

On the night of October 3, 1967, at Fort Hood, Texas, between 100 and 250 soldiers who were scheduled to be shipped to Vietnam in the morning caused \$150,000 worth of damage on the base by burning buildings and smashing windows and furniture.

During 1968, sporadic acts of sabotage against military equipment took place: including, in Alaska, an explosion aboard a Coast Guard cutter just returned from Vietnam; in California, the dynamiting of five heavy Army trucks; in Oregon, the dynamiting of the Naval and Marine Corps Training Center, destroying a 12-ton crane, two bulldozers and four dump trucks.

On August 25, 1969, 21 GI's in Honolulu took shelter in a church to avoid appearing before the military court that was trying them for actions related to their anti-war activities. Four days later, A Company of the 196th Light Infantry Brigade's battle-worn Third Battalion, refused orders to move out of Saon Chang Valley to confront Viet Cong

regulars.

In four months, from September to December 1969, the First Air Cavalry alone court-martialed 109 men for refusing to obey orders to fight the Viet Cong. At an Overseas Replacement Center in Oakland, California, five per cent of the soldiers refused to go

to Vietnam each week.

In March 1970, arsonists burned down a garage inside the Oakland Army Base, and a bomb was discovered outside the U.S. Army Reserve Building in Brooklyn. In April, another bomb blew up a barracks building at the Imperial Beach Naval Air Station in San Diego. In May, two dynamite charges were set off at the National Guard Armory in Longview, Washington, and in Lewiston, Idaho, a twenty-twoyear-old ex-Marine was charged with a firebombing that destroyed 29 Army National Guard transport vehicles.

During the summer of 1970, Captain Frank Smith

ordered a platoon in the Bravo Company, 27th Infantry Division, to go on patrol near the Cambodian border. All 21 members of the platoon refused. This was, of course, not an isolated instance but an example of the continuing rebellion in Vietnam that has culminated in aggressive officers becoming "targets" for their men.

The San Francisco Presidio was rocked by the explosion in late July of several pipe time bombs that went off under a 25-foot Nike Ajax missile. On the same day, the summer training program at Camp McCoy in Sparta, Wisconsin, was interrupted by an anonymous telephone call which warned the startled operator on the base switchboard that it was going to blow up at any second. The base Telephone Exchange Building was immediately evacuated, and minutes later three bombs exploded simultaneously, crippling the base's electricity, telephone service and water for several weeks. A month earlier, three pounds of TNT had disappeared from a base warehouse.

The Navy also had its guerrillas, and it even had pirates: in March 1970, a Navy ammunition ship bound for Thailand was hijacked on the high seas by some of its crewmen and its course altered to Cambodia where the pirates were granted political asylum. In late May, the destroyer USS Robert Anderson, Vietnam-bound from San Diego harbor, was sabotaged by three soldiers aboard who "threw something into the gears." The destroyer was drydocked for two months while \$200,000 in damages were repaired. "They [the saboteurs] may not have wanted to go to Vietnam," the Army noted. The incident was not reported in the press until June 14—three weeks after it happened. And in August four men broke into the armory near Camp Pendleton, Calif., knocked out a sentry, and walked away with nine rifles, a grenade launcher, ammunition, and a pistol. At Fort Ord, Calif., several hundred GI's rioted and burnt down two mess halls.

These various acts of terror and sabotage within the military are in character with other guerrilla strategy in the United States-few people are injured and the targets are mostly buildings and equipment. The goal is to harass the military, making it more difficult for it to function with dignity, and to gradually politicize other soldiers.

Guerrilla activity in Vietnam itself, however, is different. It is much closer to real war. In addition to random acts of destruction, the military is faced with the prospect of many deserters actually going over to the enemy, and the spectre of assassination of its

officers by enlisted men.

The NLF has yet to announce an active body count of GI's now fighting on its side, but the London Express reported recently that American intelligence believed as many as 60 soldiers a week—the majority of them black—were crossing over to the Viet Cong. The Express also said the American military command had launched a top secret campaign to capture or kill these defectors, who were using their knowledge of American operations to cut in on short wave transmissions to misdirect artillery fire and lead helicopters into ambush.

John Sweeney, a twenty-one-year-old white Ma-

rine private first class from—of all places—West Babylon, New York, is the one American who is known to have signed up for a duty tour with the NLF. He has yet to write his memoirs, currently being under house arrest in a military hospital in New York. He returned to the United States via Hanoi and Sweden after 17 months of fighting with the Viet Cong.

In a radio broadcast from Hanoi before he began the long journey home, Sweeney said that his buddies of M Company, 9th Regiment, of the Third Marine Division had deserted him in the jungle when he was stricken with malaria and that two Viet Cong scouts saved his life. He cited another GI, a black man he called Mackingly Nallan, as having joined the Viet Cong before him. However, the Army thinks differently, at least for the record. "This appears to be the first concrete case of anyone who seriously defected to the Viet Cong," reads the careful notation on Sweeney's military record.

On the other side of the firing line, a new enemy, more immediate and more dangerous than the Viet Cong, has emerged in the view of large numbers of American fighting men. The meddling, repressive "lifer" and the dangerously inexperienced but gung ho young officer have become, along with "pigs" (in Army translation, agents or infiltrators of the Criminal Investigation Division), prime targets for elimination. As the following interviews indicate, to many recruits the pushy and authoritative "lifer" is the symbol of the hated military establishment that is oppressing not only people in Vietnam villages and the American ghettos, but especially themselves, the unwilling GI's who just want to smoke dope, stay alive and get along with their friends—who in some cases include the Viet Cong. In April of this year, an underground military newspaper quoted a former platoon commander, Sergeant Richard Williams, who had served in Vietnam for seven years and was just returning to the United States. "When I was a guard in the Long Binh stockade," he said, "there were 23 guys there for killing their C.O.'s and 17 others were already on trial for killing C.O.'s."

Lieutenant-Colonel Weldon Honeycutt, the commander who was well decorated for his prolonged attacks on Hamburger Hill that resulted in the deaths of most of his men, was recently further honored in the radical GI press by a wanted poster proclaiming him "GI Enemy Number 1" with a \$10,000 reward posted for his head. The subsequently reported explosions of grenades and Claymore mines near Honeycutt's person at the Third Brigade's Camp Evans indicate that attempts are being made to collect that bounty.

(Underground GI papers have experienced a birth rate second to rabbits. There were only ten underground base papers in the spring of 1969, but by the summer of 1970 the number had increased to 73. Distribution of many of these papers has been blocked by post commanders.)

The following interviews with three Marines, all veterans of Vietnam, indicate how the practice of privileged assassination is accepted as commonplace by GI's. The interviews also are significant in giving a candid, rarely printed view of the almost consuming

role that dope plays in creating what amounts to a turned on counter culture within the ranks, and the usual relationship that black Americans, and under the right circumstances of fraternization, white Americans have with the Viet Cong.

Scanlan's reporter Steven Chain interviewed the first Marine, private Ron Mounce, last month at Oakland Naval Hospital, where Mounce is recuperating from the amputation of a foot. Mounce, who witnessed the murder of a gunnery sergeant on the outskirts of Da Nang, has given permission for his name to be used. (The extraordinary picture fronting this section, which reflects the depth of bitterness and disgust of returning GI's was also taken at Oakland Hospital. The Marine is a double amputee.)

The other two statements were transcribed from interviews with white and black Marine veterans arranged by the Movement for a Democratic Military. The white Marine, now discharged, is organizing GI's in the San Diego area. The black Marine is still in the service, working from within. Both have asked to remain anonymous. W.H.

WAR MEMOIRS OF A MARINE AMPUTEE

What's your name?
My name is Ron Mounce.
How old are you, Ron?
19.

And you're from?

San Luis Obispo, California.

How long have you been in the Marines?

About 18 months.

How did you happen to get into the U.S. Marine Corps? Well, I was in a bunch of trouble. I got busted for grass and stuff like that. My P.O. (Probation Officer) was getting kind of heavy on my head. I wasn't digging it, so I thought I might as well get out for a while. I tried the Army, but they wouldn't take me because I was on probation. Then I tried the Navy. I didn't want to go in the Marine Corps that badly; I knew it was rough and all that shit, and I was kind of a peaceful guy. All I liked to do was smoke dope and stuff like that. But if I'd have got busted again, I'd have gone to jail for about two or three years. So I went to the Marine Corps. They said sure man, sure, we'll take ya man, let's go.

How long were you in Vietnam?

I was there eight months before I got hit.

Can you tell me what company you were in?

I was with the 1st Recon battalion, Alpha company.

What were you doing the day you were hit?

Well, we got up at about 5 o'clock and went down to the ammo bunker and got our grenades and this and that. Pop-ups and everything. Then we got on the chopper . . . Where was this?

Da Nang. We got on the chopper and we went out and we were trying to find the LZ . . . What's LZ?

Landing zone for a helicopter. We looked all over for one and we couldn't find one, then the helicopter pilot spotted one. Right on top of this hill. It looked like a big bald dome. He took us over there and elicopter booby trap, and the crew chief and my main leader was hit with shrapnel comin' through the chopper. We lifted it off and went back to our bone base, the battalion area. The next morning we must up and went back out there, and this time some must up and went back out there, and this time some must went up there with us and they prepped the LZ, they shot all kinds of explosives to make sure there wasn't any more booby traps. Then they set us down, and the gunbirds circled around just in case we got in shit—they're there to take care of ya. We sot behind some stumps and trees and stuff and set down. We got radio communication and everything, and we were just getting up and ready to move, man, and then they fired on us.

We was pinned down for about five minutes. We'd thrown all our grenades, and shot almost all the rounds out of our magazines, and so we called the gunbirds back and they came back. They said they didn't know how many of 'em there was, there was a lot of them around the LZ, they'd completely surrounded it. So the gunbirds started workin' all the way around us with Willy Peter. Willy Peter is a white phosphorous, very dangerous stuff to mess with. Then the helicopters came back for us, and set down, and I was tailend Charlie, I was the last man on the team, the last one out of seven. We were still takin' fire and everything, and everybody had gotten in the chopper, and I was shootin', and I was still runnin' for the chopper, out there in the middle of nowhere, and I stepped on this anti-personnel mine. What do you remember from that?

I hit it, and it blew me up against the chopper. Well, my first words that come out of my mouth—I kind of screamed 'em, ya know, because I was hurt bad—my first words were: "Oh, my God!" And then my thoughts were: Medevac. I'm going home. I'm finally going home now. This hellhole, man. I'm finally going home. Then I hopped around to the back of the chopper, and got in.

You were still able to move?

Oh yeah, I was still able to move, I mean, like I had to get in the chopper if I wanted to get out. But see, Marines, they won't leave ya, no way, they won't leave ya. Helicopter won't lift off the ground if everyone's not in it. I didn't get all the way in by myself—I fell in, and they drug me up onto the chopper.

During this period, what were you feeling? What was it like? A lot of pain. I didn't think it'd ever happen to me. You never think it's going to happen to you, and you're mostly scared, ya know. Everybody goes into shock, even if you just get a slight cut in the hand or something. So I was layin' in the back of the chopper, screamin' and that, because it was hurting badly. But my thoughts were that after eight months I was finally going home.

You didn't think about your leg?

No.

When did that all hit you? Did you have your whole leg

with you.

I had my foot. But it was all mangled and everything, it wasn't any good at all. Then I got to the 1st Medical Battalion there at Da Nang and the Doc, he

come out, and they were all carryin' me in, and I got inside and they took all the battle dressings off my foot and off my leg and everything. And the doctor said, "I'm sorry, but you'll have to lose your foot."

Well, he told me that and it just kind of hit me like a ton of bricks. And I felt—you son of a bitch, you just come out and tell me that I'm going to lose my foot and half my leg. It's kind of a downer, man. Were you angry?

I was quite angry.

Who were you angry with at that time?

I was just angry. I was kind of delirious, ya know, and I didn't know exactly who I was mad at, but now I can tell ya. I'm mad at those people over there because they just don't give a damn, man, about it one way or another. They don't care which way it goes. They don't care.

What do you think about the demonstrations and protests against the war in this country?

It's their bag.

What about how it relates to people in Vietnam and the whole war and stuff like that? What do you think should happen? Do you think they should withdraw? What do you think about Nixon's withdrawal statements?

I respect him for that.

Are they withdrawing? A lot of these cats say they're not. Well, they say we're pullin' out this unit and that. But all they're doin' is pullin' out the colors. Their flags, ya know. I mean, they pull the 3d Marines out, ya know, only all they did was pull about 500 guys back to the United States. And it wasn't that unit. There might have been a few guys from that unit, but just short timers.

Do you think the war's really coming to an end?

I don't think it'll ever end, man.

What would you advise other young cats who are being drafted and joining the military and going to Vietnam?

If I'd have known it was anything like this man, I'd have left for Canada right away. I swear to God. You would advise against other cats going? What would you tell them?

Don't go, man. It ain't worth it, man. There's nothin' there but good dope. I mean, it's hot there. You wouldn't dig it. You get so tired of looking at those people. I mean, you are so lonesome for home and for American people, you just get sick. You cry inside, man. In Vietnam, did you get on well with your officers?

No. A lot of 'em were killed for messin' around with

peons like me.

Can you tell me anything about that?

Like a gunnery sergeant or a first sergeant, some asshole like that, would come in, and they'd start jumpin' right in your shit, man. And there you are, you've got grenades on ya, you got magazines on ya—shit, man.

And did you ever see a cat get blown away? Can you tell me about that?

Sure, man. In a hole. This gunnery sergeant, I don't remember what his name was anymore . . . Where was this?

The outskirts of Da Nang. He was a gunnery sergeant, and he had a whole watch that night, and he had a perimeter to watch. He'd just gotten there — a real bastard.

How?

"You guys better police this up." "You guys better do this and that." So there's a bunch of guys just got together and tossed about three grenades in the hole with him.

Were you one of the guys?

No

But you saw it happen?

I saw it happen.

You were just freeled or

You were just freaked out?

I just freaked out. Like wow, man, what the fuck is happening?

How many cats were there?

There were about four or five. But everybody was for it, even I was for it. But I didn't have the nerve, the balls

They threw three grenades in?

Yeah.

And they killed him?

They killed him, man.

How did they report it?

"There was movement out there, and somebody threw grenades in the hole with him—we just don't know what happened."

Was that the only time you ever saw that happen?

Yeah, but I heard of it a lot, a bunch of guys gettin' together to take care of a guy.

You got any younger brothers?

Yes, I have one younger brother.

Are you going to discourage him from going into the war.'
Fuckin' A, man. He ain't goin' in the service. Well, if he does, he'll go in the Air Force.

WAR MEMOIRS OF A BLACK MARINE

I got back to the world on December 17, 1969. When I left 12 months before, I didn't know much about what was going on in Nam or anywhere. I learned a whole lot in Nam. A whole lot from the brothers, and a whole lot from the people.

I was born in Georgia and grew up in Bedford-Stuyvesant. At home I'd been in a lot of trouble coming out of some fighting we'd been in on the block. I got into the Green Motherfucker, the Marine Corps, mostly to make my bird, cause it was getting hot on me. I hadn't been in no movement, but I had thrown some rocks at pigs.

I didn't know much when I got over there. I had never met a real brother, you know. It started blowing my mind when I first got over there—brothers walk up to you and give you some power and you know they're friendly, not afraid of the pigs over there, they got themselves together. Man, I was never so glad to be black as I learned to be in the Nam.

It was like an organization, you dig, but better than a big organization: it was lots of little groups, ready and all moving together. Not into fighting each other. Into fighting for each other.

We'd do a lot of dope. Smoke a number and get mellow, then rap down about what was happening. We wondered if the movement back in the world would ever get together. A lot of talk about the Black Panther Party and about the Black P. Stone Nation.

We were trying to get all the brothers together, to

build understanding—that takes extra heavy rapping, you dig, and your shit must stay together. The pigs, the beasts, keep fucking over you, constantly harass you, try and spy on you, rip off the heaviest dudes.

We had to deal with the problem, and we had to use force or violence when necessary. This is a thing that some people who are in an organization are afraid to use—their minds start to wondering about the penalties. But you have no choice, you got to survive, to build your thing, and the pigs are murder-

ing. They don't stop, so you can't.

It was necessary to plot against the pigs in some areas. Just the same as here. The pigs are all around, and you got no alternative but to just do them, you know. Sometimes someone would just do a pig . . . sometimes people got together and decided who had to be gotten. There isn't any point of doing things without an organization, you get a whole lot of people doing different things and somebody gets

ripped off.

There were lots of CID (Criminal Investigation Division) cats, and lots of them died. Da Nang in September of 1969 is a good example. There was a black pig, a friendly dude, but his stories didn't all check and people got suspicious. We were pretty sure then, so we followed him to some areas in Da Nang the pigs thought we didn't know about, and that proved it. So a bunch of brothers started talking to the dude and asked him questions like why he was a pig and kept him moving, and later on he was just snuffed.

In July of 1969 I was in the Quang Tri area of I Corps. The problem there was communication. A bunch of us solved that problem by ripping off a couple of trucks and stuffing them with our people. We ran into a pair of brothers, Army brothers; we blew their minds. We rapped awhile and all of us went to their compound. It must have been 50 brothers by that time. We took over their mess hall, the Army brothers and us, not much talking, but we would give each other the power and raise the fist, you dig. People kept coming all night and we took over a hooch. It was mellow. Dudes were high, and high on the black people. People kept coming in all night.

A lot of Army brothers were tankers. It was heavy the next day, because we ran down what a pig the colonel was who was CO of that unit. The pig was a racist and a fool. That morning he sent up some MP's to break up the party. They came around and hassled us. Brothers wouldn't even hear what they had to say, they knew who it was that time. Two of the brothers got quiet and slid when the shit started. Next thing anyone knew, this tank rolled up to the HQ hooch and it was brothers in it! This time we hit the colonel, 'cause he was in that hooch there. It was a gas. Black MP's moved over to our side and we got out weapons and disarmed the white MP's.

There was a black captain; he had a pretty good reputation, but what he ended up doing was to negotiate for the colonel. His name was Sanders. They had sent out radio calls for assistance; we heard that from our radiomen. They had tried to jam them but it hadn't worked, so there was helicopters and

the brothers retreated back to Quang Tri. Two later the colonel, Jackson his name was, pulled the brothers and this hand grenade blew and all the windows at once.

It wasn't long after that that they tried to split us
I got transferred to Da Nang, doing supply work.
The brothers there were as together as in Quang Tri,
and I got tight with a bunch of beaucoup heavy
brothers. By September when the CID pig got offed,
thought that we had our area pretty well together.
The knew most of the brothers and had them going
the right direction. Blew my mind when this little
brother, one Thursday night right in the hall, emptied
clip of an M-16 right into this lieutenant. I didn't
hardly know the dude, but I knew that lieutenant
a pig. It didn't surprise me none that he got
blown away, but the little brother who did it sure
put fucked for it.

Most of the brothers knew that the NLF didn't consider them the enemy. In May of 1969 VC saved the life of Brother Pitts, a dude from Philly who was close to me. He had been point man on patrol, and someone signaled him with a whisper—like psst—to get down. He got down, and shit started flying. When it was over he was the only one left alive, the others were all white dudes. He never shot at a Vietnamese, and, like all of us, he used to fuck up whatever equipment he could.

WAR MEMOIRS OF A WHITE MARINE

I don't know why I joined the Marine Corps. I guess I wanted something to do. I had been working for a little less than a year at a General Motors parts warehouse in St. Louis, where I'm from. I couldn't see spending my life there, and I didn't know what else to do, so I joined. I guess I thought the same thing about the Nam. I heard you got less shit from the lifers in Vietnam and that's true. If lifers are too tough, someone just blows them away.

I really thought I'd made a mistake when I got to Da Nang. I had the job of air facility at the dump about a half mile from the base. Every morning about 9 o'clock I'd head for the dump. I'd start getting little kids and old women in the road about halfway there. Some of them had arms and legs missing and were really all fucked up. They'd just stand there, and you had to run them over or slow way down. Some of them would jump right on the truck with you and start going through the garbage.

I started dreaming about those kids. I still do. Fucked up kids, all ruined. A lot of people thought that I was crazy to worry about those kids, but they didn't have to see them every day. After about two months I thought I was going crazy, so I volunteered for combat. It wasn't hard because I was qualified as a radioman.

The thing about being in the Nam is that you are really alone at first. You see shit going down, but you don't know what's happening, and you don't know who you can trust. About my first day there I started doing dope a lot. It's good dope, and cheap. You really can get tight with people over dope.

There was even a whole thing about dope and pigs—most officers were pretty cool about it; they would warn you when they thought you were fucked up too much and otherwise they'd leave you alone.

As radioman I saw a lot of action. I went on beaucoup patrol and saw a lot of asshole officers. Some really dumb motherfuckers. I was on patrol in Happy Valley in August of 1969, around the 21st, and we got led into a fucking trap by this incredible lieutenant. Christ, he was stupid. He got uptight and ordered us into the trees where I knew there was a lot of VC around. About an hour later there were only nine of us left. We got out, but it wasn't his fault.

About 15 minutes later he wanted us to go in again. The corporal just stood in front of him about four feet away and argued that the dude was insane. Then he didn't say another word; he just ripped off his whole clip into that fucker. It nearly cut him in half. Nobody said a word. Nobody ever did.

After that I started digging that you could trust people, and I got pretty tight with the dudes on that patrol and a lot of other cats. We made some friends in the little villa near the pass that goes over into Happy Valley and got to know a woman there. I really loved her: She knew some English and we talked about the war a lot. I think she was a VC. I used to bring her medical supplies at first, and lots of stuff. I got tight with corpsmen and could rip off lots of it.

I heard that some Army people in the South were wearing red scarves when they wanted to be neutral in the war. They said the VC didn't shoot at them when they all wore red scarves, just like they didn't shoot at brothers that much. So I got one. We all did. I don't know if it worked; we never saw too many VC. The captain threatened to shoot us all for treason for wearing the red scarves. He knew it was bullshit—if anybody was going to get shot it wasn't us. I stopped carrying ammunition after that. Didn't for the last three months in the country.

The more I found out about what was happening, the more I didn't know which side I was on. I couldn't fight the Vietnamese, but I couldn't see defecting the way a lot of people I heard about did. I wanted to come home, and I couldn't see shooting at my own people. I went AWOL for a week and a half, but they found me in the villa. The third night I was there I heard some noise outside and wanted to investigate, but my woman wouldn't let me-she went outside herself and came back about five minutes later with three dudes, VC. I thought I'd had it. We talked until daylight, drank that good green tea and talked. They were really interested in the demonstrations; they had heard of Berkeley and wanted to know how long it would be until we had a revolution there.

Later on in the Da Nang brig, we talked about the whole thing a lot. I was glad to be in the brig; I could talk there and I didn't have to decide what to do. My tour ran until February, 1970, but they let me come home in December, because I just started refusing orders all the time and said that I would shoot anyone who tried to make me do anything. I got an Undesirable Discharge. I was lucky.

WHAT GUERRILLAS READ

CHAPTER VII

Techniques of Guerrilla Movement: Invisibility, and Silence Scouting, Stalking, Woodcraft

But headquarters or bivouacs—whether comfortable or otherwise—are not places for us to stay in. We guerrillas are not out for a rest cure but to fight. Our headquarters, then, are merely bases from which we work, and often, when on a scouting or other mission, we shall not return to our base, if any, for days at a time.

The two things we must bear in mind when travelling are invisibility and silence. We must not be seen nor must we be heard. The necessity for concealment and stillness must so saturate our minds that we never make a movement without automatically taking advantage of cover—whether of irregularities of the land, of objects, or of shadow—nor without guarding against any revealing noise.

Move always in the shadows, even going out of your way to follow them. Remember that the longer way round under cover is better than the shorter route if you are exposed. Take advantage of every bush, of trees, of slopes in the ground which lie between you and the enemy. Avoid moving along the top of a ridge or slope, for then you will be silhouetted against the skyline. Don't cross the crest of a hill but work round it, a little lower than the highest point. If you must cross a hill-crest or ridge, you should crawl.

If you think you have been observed by the enemy at long range, freeze suddenly into immobility, not trying to move away while he is watching you. He may not be quite sure, and your movements, in trying to disappear, may confirm his susThe Senate Internal Security Subcommittee recently singled out Tricontinental, a Havana-based simonthly revolutionary magazine printed in Engsh, as one of the most important sources of subersive information for American youth. The subcommittee is usually myopic in such regard and this time it would have done well to look closer to home, because the biggest supplier of manuals of destruction of American guerrillas is readily reached by dialing a familiar area code. That would be (303) 443-7250, which is the telephone number of Panther Publications of Boulder, Colorado, and of no relation to the political party of similar name.

The pleasant lady on the other end of the telephone made that distinction more than clear the other day: "We have nothing to do with the Black Panthers. We're just 'Panther.' And in fact we're thinking of changing our name soon because we don't want to be associated with those people, even by mistake." (Since our reporter's phone call, Panther Publications has become Paladin Enterprises, P.O. Box 1307, Boulder,

Colorado 80302.)

One should not take her earnest discrimination for another of those interminable splits on the left. For Panther Publications is as right wing as King Farouk, and until radical leftists recently discovered such gold in the Colorado hills, its large mail order volume dealt almost exlusively with the semi-militarist claptrap of the right—Minutemen, neo-Nazis, suburban citizens' defense leagues, vicarious thrill seekers and sadists, fascist woodsmen, and an occasional Boy Scout.

But whatever the client, Panther Publications seems ready and happy to be of service, as was the lady who answered the phone to a Scanlan's reporter:

"I'd like to know what books you sell," he asked.

"We have a list of 50," she answered.

"Can you tell me the names of some, please?"

"Sure. We have Guerrilla Warfare, Evasion and Escape, Boobytraps, Grenades and Pyrotechnics, and Explosives and Demolitions. We also publish the IRA Handbook." "The IRA?"

"Well, you know, there's a lot of useful things in there. This is the 1956 edition and it's very up-to-date about explosives."

"Is it true that you publish a translation of Alberto

Bayo's 150 Questions for a Guerrilla?"

"Oh, yeah, we have that one."

"That's extraordinary. Don't you usually sell to right wingers?"

"Yeah. But I'm a little bit left myself."

"Don't you think it a little strange for a right-wing publishing house to be reprinting the work of a man like Bayo, who trained scores of successful communists? He trained Che Guevara and Castro."

"Oh, it's not so strange. We'll sell anything to

anyone."

That would seem to be the case. Except for the momentary excitement on campus several years back over the availability of the Green Beret Handbook with its recipes for incendiary devices, blueprints for terrorism and sabotage have been hard to come by, even on the radical left. The simple methodology of the petrol bomb, or Molotov cocktail, was of course common knowledge after high school chemistry (al-

though the New York Review of Books managed to shock intramural New York intellectuals when it printed a Molotov cocktail diagram on its cover after the Newark riots in 1967). But by 1968, when many campus radicals and ghetto militants were beginning seriously to think of themselves as urban guerrillas, there was a definite demand for heavier revolutionary literature and technical information.

The ensuing somersault in the supply and demand of the popular mechanics of bombing was typically American. The miracle of Xerox did its part, as did the after hours use of office and campus Multilith presses. But it was the free enterprise system, represented in its merchandising extremis by the laissez faire sales politics of the favorite publishing house of right-wing militarists, which made available the hard-core guerrilla literature of both the right and the left to anyone who could pay C.O.D.

"Yank" Bert Levy is on Panther Publication's best seller list. His book Guerrilla Warfare (pg. 62), supplies amid stern admonitions to duty ("We guerrillas are not out for a rest cure but to fight") the most exacting instructions in the arts of bombing, street fighting and guerrilla scouting (see illustrations, bottom row, pg. 64). The "Yank" obviously intended his expertise for the right, but his lesson plans are being followed as well, and with a little more practice, by the left.

Alberto Bayo's 150 Questions for a Guerrilla is the most explicit and deadly of all revolutionary manuals. It is hard to get in Latin America, but for \$2.00 sent to Boulder, Colorado, one can learn exactly how to make a chemical hand grenade that will go off a convenient six hours after it is set, and study how-to-do-it charts for such esoteric weaponry as bungalore torpedos or pocket incendiary bombs (see illustrations,

top row, pg. 64).

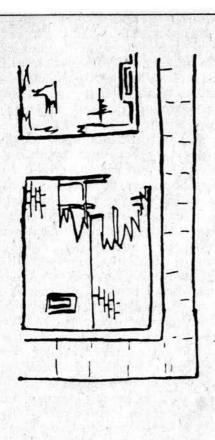
American guerrillas hastened to exploit and develop the raw materials provided by Panther Publications and other outside sources. By 1969, handbills and crudely offset booklets containing instructions for the making of variegated explosive devices were as common in campus and ghetto areas as do-good pamphlets in church vestibules. This indigenous guerrilla literature (pgs. 65-66) typically consists of eclectic terrorist recipes lifted from sources from Bayo to the Green Beret and IRA handbooks, and spiced with contemporary revolutionary rhetoric.

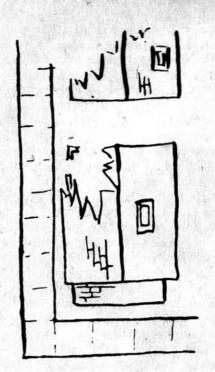
The domestic flow of blueprints for homemade weaponry has become stupendous. However, the two most popular handbooks of revolutionary ideas and strategy that American guerrillas religiously read are from Latin America. One is Bayo's 150 Questions, which gives detailed instructions on how to drive the government crazy when not bombing it. The other is the Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla by Carlos Marighella, a Brazilian revolutionary leader and expert in urban guerrilla warfare who was killed by police in Sao Paulo last year. When Cuba's Tricontinental published the Minimanual in its January 1970 issue, readers learned that Marighella was one of the first to suggest the tactic of hijacking airplanes. W.H.

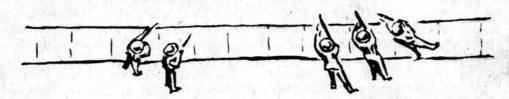
Selections from these books, which represent the gospel center of American guerrilla theory, begin on

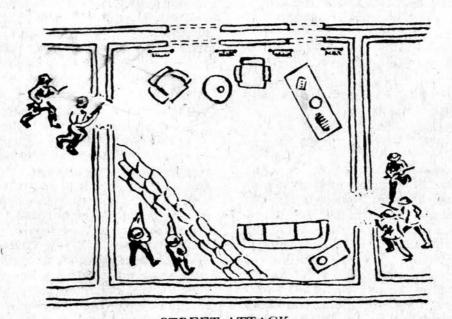
page 67.











STREET ATTACK

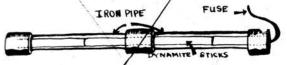
A. Cross-fire Technique (Semi-Det. Houses)

B. Mouse-Hole Technique with row houses

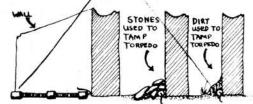


BANGALORE TORPEDO:

CONSISTS OF LENGTHS OF PIPE FILLED WITH STICKS OF DYNAMITE, SEALED AT THE ENDS, AND JOINED IN THE MIDDLE BY COUPLINGS THUS PERMITTING THE TORREDO TO BE OF VARYING LENGTHS. THE CAP ON ONE END HAS A HOLE WHICH PERMITS INSERTION OF FUSE AND DETONATOR.

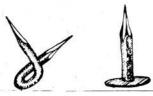


THESE TORPEDOES ARE VERY EFFECTIVELY USED IN DESTROYING CONCRETE COLUMNS, CULVERTS, ETC.

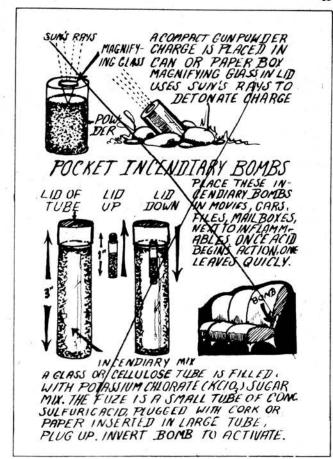


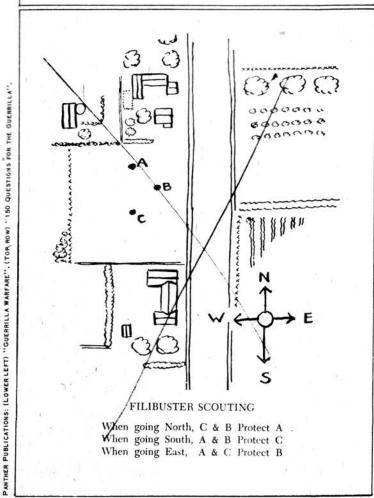
THIS TORPEDO IS USED TO DESTROY WALLS, RAMPARTS, LARGE WOODEN OR IRON DOORS.

TO SABOTAGE AUTOMOBILES:

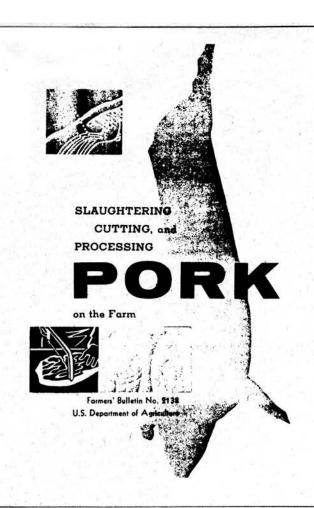


NAILS, TACKS, CLAMPS, ETC., ARE SPREAD ON THE STREETS AND ROADS AT NIGHT TO IMPEDE TRAFFIC. THEY SHOULD BE BLACK IN COLOR SO AS NOT TO REFLECT LIGHT.









UNDERGROUND MANUAL NUMBER 3.

PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED

NICK PARADOS

1970

"I do not expect any help for a libertarian revolution from any government in the world. Maybe the conflicting interests of the various imperialisms might have some influence in our struggle. That is quite possible...But we expect no help...We have always lived in alums and holes in the well. We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a time. For you west not forget, we can also build. It is we who built these pelaces and cities here in Spain and in America and everywhere. We, the workers, can build others to take their places. And better ones. We are not in the least afraid of ruins."

BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

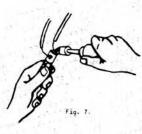
SPAIN. 1936

THIS MANUAL IS DISTRIBUTED

FREE

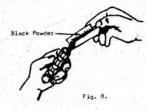
IF ANYONE TRIES TO SELL IT TO YOU

RIP THEM OFF



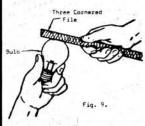
4. If no socket is available for connecting the initiator to the firing circuit, solder the con-necting wires to the bulb base. (fig. 7)

CAUTION: Do NOT use a hot soldering iron on the completed igniter since it may ignite the

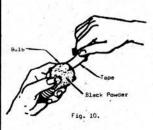


Fill the tube with Black Powder and tape the open end of the tube closed. (Fig. 8)

If the glass bulb (electric light) is large enough to hold the Black Powder, it can be used as the container.



1. File a small hole in the top of the bulb. (Fig. 9)



Powder and tape the hole closed. (Fig. 10)

9. Home "ade and Improvised Explosives.

The most widely used explosives in the improvised group seem to be the most watery used explosives in the improvised quoty seem to be cannot not and smokeless power. These two explosives, are easy to buy commercially in any gun shop for reloating purposes, or black powder can be made at home.

17

Smokeless nowder (commercial grade) will explode at a faster burning rate than black powder, if confined, and may be nurchased in one nound cans at a majority of

Other improvised mixtures and sources of homemade explosives are as follows:

- 1. Nitroglycerin (extruded from dyna-
- Mixtures of potassium chlorate and powdered or granulated sugar.
- 3. Mixtures of potassium nitrate, ammonium nitrate, and charcoal,
- 4. Potassium perchlorate mixtures.
- Mixtures of potassium chlorate and red phosphorus;
- 6. Potassium chlorate and vaseline.
- 7. Model airplane glue (confined).
- 8. Common country store match heads (tips only).
- Ammonium nitrate prills (fertili-(zer) with No. 2 fuel oil.
- Liquid oxygen and lampblack or spongy material. 11. Calcium carbide with water.

- 12. Chinese firecracker powder.
- 13. Toy cherry bomb powder.
- 14. Flashlight powder procured in camera and photography supply houses.
- 15. Common match heads nitrated with urine and dry processed.
- 16. Toy perforated roll caps in bulk.
- 17. Acetone (confined).
- 18. Ether (confined).
- 19. Mixtures of potessium chlorate or sodium chlorate with wax.
- 20. Mixtures of sodium chlorate and
- 21. Mixtures of potassium carbonate and picric acid in crystal form.
- 22. Mixtures of oxidizers and wood

The majority of mixtures shown above can be initiated by a spark or flame, but we will require a detonator to propagate a detonating wave.

- C. Miscellaneous Improvised Explosive Devices.

 - Dust explosives, flour, starch, or coal dust initiated with a burster igniter. (Fig. 25.).
 - 3. Natural gas stove jets opened and a candle placed at floor level.



Fig. 25. Calcium Carbide as sold in Toy and Hobby Shops.

Four

The Seven Sins of the Urban Guerrilla

Even when the urban guerrilla applies his revolutionary technique with precision and rigorously abides by security rules, he can still be vulnerable to errors. There is no perfect urban guerrilla. The most he can do is to make every effort to diminish the margin of error.

One of the methods we should use to diminish the margin of error is to know thoroughly the seven sins

of the urban guerrilla and try to fight them.

The first sin of the urban guerrilla is inexperience. The urban guerrilla, blinded by this sin, thinks the enemy is stupid, underestimates his intelligence, believes everything is easy, and, as a result, leaves clues that can lead to his disaster.

Because of his inexperience, the urban guerrilla can also overestimate the forces of the enemy, believing them to be stronger than they really are. Allowing himself to be fooled by this presumption, the urban guerrilla becomes intimidated and remains insecure and indecisive, paralyzed and lacking

The second sin of the urban guerrilla is to boast about the actions he has completed and broadcast

them to the four winds.

The third sin of the urban guerrilla is vanity. The urban guerrilla who suffers from this sin tries to solve the problems of the revolution by actions erupting in the city, but without bothering about the beginnings and the survival of the guerrilla in rural areas.

The fourth sin of the urban guerrilla is to exaggerate his strength and to undertake projects for which he lacks forces and does not as yet have the

required infrastructure.

The fifth sin of the urban guerrilla is precipitous action. The urban guerrilla who commits this sin loses patience, suffers an attack of nerves, does not wait for anything, and impetuously throws himself into action, suffering untold reverses.

The sixth sin of the urban guerrilla is to attack the

enemy when he is most angry.

The seventh sin of the urban guerrilla is to fail to plan things and to act out of improvisation.

Execution

Execution is the killing of a North American spy, an agent of the dictatorship, a police torturer, a fascist personality in the government involved in crimes and persecutions against patriots, a stool pigeon, informer, police agent or police provocateur.

Execution is a secret action in which the least possible number of urban guerrillas are involved. In many cases, the execution can be carried out by one sniper, patient, alone and unknown, and operating in ab-

solute secrecy and in cold blood.

Kidnapping

Kidnapping is capturing and holding in a secret spot a police agent, a North American spy, a political personality, or a notorious and dangerous enemy of the revolutionary movement.

Kidnapping is used to exchange or liberate imprisoned revolutionary comrades, or to force suspension of torture in the jail cells of the military dic-

tatorship.

The kidnapping of personalities who are known artists or sports figures or are outstanding in some other field, but who have evidenced no political interest, can be a useful form of propaganda for the revolutionary and patriotic principles of the urban guerrilla, provided it occurs under special circumstances, and the kidnapping is handled so that the public sympathizes with it and accepts it.

Surprise

To compensate for his general weakness and shortage of arms compared to the enemy, the urban guerrilla uses surprise. The enemy has no way to fight surprise and becomes confused or is destroyed.

When urban guerrilla warfare broke out in Brazil, experience proved that surprise was essential to the

success of any urban guerrilla operation.

The technique of surprise is based on four essential

requisites:

a) we know the situation of the enemy we are going to attack, usually by means of precise information and meticulous observation, while the enemy does not know he is going to be attacked and knows nothing about the attacker;

b) we know the force of the enemy that is going to be attacked and the enemy knows nothing about

our force;

c) attacking by surprise, we save and conserve our forces, while the enemy is unable to do the same and is left at the mercy of events;

Knowledge of the Terrain

The urban guerrilla's best ally is the terrain, and because this is so, he must know it like the palm of his hand.

To have the terrain as an ally means to know how to use with intelligence its unevenness, its high and its low points, its turns, its irregularities, its regular and its secret passages, its abandoned areas, its thickets, taking maximum advantage of all this for the success of armed actions, escapes, retreats, cover and hiding places.

Our problem is to get through and to know where and how to hide, leaving the enemy bewildered in

areas he doesn't know.

Familiar with the avenues, streets, alleys, ins and outs and corners of the urban centers, its paths and shortcuts, empty lots, underground passages, pipes and sewer system, the urban guerrilla safely crosses through the irregular and difficult terrain unfamiliar to the police, where they can be surprised in a fatal ambush or trapped at any moment.

Because he knows the terrain, the guerrilla can go through it on foot, on bicycle, in automobile, jeep or truck and never be trapped. Acting in small groups with only a few people, the guerrillas can reunite at an hour and place determined beforehand, following up the attack with new guerrilla operations, or evading the police circle and disorienting the enemy with their unprecedented audacity.

Armed Propaganda

The coordination of urban guerrilla actions, including each armed action, is the principal way of making armed propaganda.

These actions, carried out with specific and determined objectives, inevitably become propaganda

material for the mass communications system.

Bank assaults, ambushes, desertions and diverting of arms, the rescue of prisoners, executions, kidnappings, sabotage, terrorism and the war of nerves are all cases in point.

Airplanes diverted in flight by revolutionary action, moving ships and trains assaulted and seized by guerrillas, can also be used for propaganda effects.

But the urban guerrilla must never fail to install a clandestine press and must be able to turn out mimeographed copies using alcohol or electric plates and other duplicating apparatus, expropriating what he cannot buy in order to produce small clandestine newspapers, pamphlets, flyers and stamps for propaganda and agitation against the dictatorship.

The urban guerrilla engaged in clandestine printing facilitates enormously the incorporation of large numbers of people into the revolutionary struggle, by opening a permanent work front for those willing to carry on revolutionary propaganda, even when to do so means acting alone and risking their lives as

revolutionaries.

With the existence of clandestine propaganda and agitational material, the inventive spirit of the urban guerrilla expands and creates catapults, mortars and other instruments with which to distribute the antigovernment pamphlets at a distance.

Tape recordings, the occupation of radio stations and the use of loudspeakers and drawings on walls

are other forms of propaganda.

It is enough to win the support of a part of the people and this can be done by popularizing the following slogan: "Let he who does not wish to do anything for the revolutionaries do nothing against them."

150 QUESTIONS FOR THE GUERRILLA

How can a chemical grenade be made to start fires six or 12 hours after having been set?

A small bottle is filled with sulphuric acid and stoppered with a piece of newspaper. The paper is fastened in the bottle with a piece of adhesive tape and the edges of the paper are trimmed with a pair

of scissors to prevent waste of the acid.

Ten tablespoons of potassium chlorate and four tablespoons of common sugar are mixed and placed in a second larger bottle. The first bottle containing the acid is then placed upside down in the larger bottle so that the paper is in contact with the potassium chlorate-sugar mixture. The acid begins to eat through the paper, and when it has done so it reacts with the chlorate-sugar mixture to produce a very hot flame which will start a large fire if we have been careful to put the bottle on some papers or other flammable material.

How is an incendiary bomb made?

The incendiary bomb is made with gasoline, any type bottle and a rag-type fuse. All these elements can be easily acquired in any village, no matter how small. A bottle is filled with gasoline and a strip of rag is placed in it that reaches from the bottom of the bottle out through its neck. The bottle is stoppered with cork, paper or fabric. Or, it does not have to be

stoppered at all. The fuse is lit and after it begins to burn, the bottle is thrown against the object we intend to attack. On breaking, the bottle sprays the gasoline on the objective and the fuse ignites it. The ensuing large flame and small explosion will not endanger the thrower even though he is close to it. The bottle with its lighted fuse, stoppered or not stoppered, NEVER EXPLODES! This point is stressed to insure the thrower that he is never in any danger. The only one endangered is the target. It is recommended that the bottle be stoppered whenever possible to avoid spilling the gasoline while launching the bomb.

The following precautions are recommended. Practice with a bottle filled with water, lighting the fuse as though it really contained gasoline. Practice throwing the bottle—preferably one of hard glass like a Coca-Cola bottle—over soft earth so that the bottle is not broken and can be used again and again. Practice to develop accuracy and distance with your throws. Practice often and with different sized bottles.

The bottles to be thrown in actual combat must be as fragile as possible. If a bottle is thick and made of heavy glass it must be thrown with great force to en-

sure its breaking.

The incendiary bombs should preferably be thrown at night as the flame will illuminate the enemy target while leaving the locale of the thrower in darkness. What is the difference between an intelligence agent and a

counter-intelligence agent?

It is necessary that all guerrillas must practice intelligence and counter-intelligence work, since wars are won more through cunning and shrewdness than by pulling the trigger finger. The spy is the peasant who is in our service and who accompanies the enemy troops, pretending to be their friend and selling them any kind of merchandise they might need. It does not matter if he does not make any profit in his transactions. The important thing is that he be friends with as many soldiers and officers as possible, and that, WITHOUT EVER ASKING THEM ANYTHING, he informs us of everything he hears, of all troop movements he sees, of the equipment of the soldiers, about their morale, etc. For this job, women are unbeatable. Those who work for us must be properly trained. Their messages must be sent to us in code through a third person, or if the news is extremely important and urgent, through messengers.

The counter-intelligence agent is one who offers to work among the enemy forces and once with them keeps us informed of everything that happens. In war, the counter-intelligence agent gives better results

How is a secret society (underground) formed?

than the intelligence agent.

An underground is composed of "cells" of three people each. Experience has indicated that three people can operate easily and efficiently. What is more, should we have the misfortune—as we once did—to be infiltrated by a spy, he will be able to inform only on two other persons. This minimizes the possibility of our whole organization being compromized. Cells that have eight or 10 members and whose members are at the same time chiefs of other units of eight or 10 should be abolished.

How will the sabotage section operate?

A cell will never be assigned more than one duty. When more have been allocated, the results of their efforts have been unsatisfactory. Each cell will be baptized with a name such as, the Revengers, Sons of Marti, Land and Liberty, the White Hand, the Left-Handers, etc.

How can we prevent the enemy from advancing block by

block?

Our men will fire at the enemy from the rooftops to prevent them from entering any house. Also, dry straw and old clothes soaked in oil can be stored in each house so that if it is taken by the enemy it can easily be set on fire, turning it into a death trap and delaying the advance of the enemy.

What is the purpose of firing at the enemy at night? To inflict

casualties or to cause a bad psychological effect?

We will attempt to destroy the morale of the troops by disturbing their rest. Troops that do not sleep during the night are not as efficient during the day as they are unable to march as rapidly. For this reason, we must not let the enemy sleep a single night.

What acts of sabotage can be committed by patriots acting

on their own?

Those that have no stomach for organizing into secret cells or who are unwilling to trust anyone, but at the same time wish to contribute to the fight, can perform the following tasks. If they are employed in the postal or telegraphic service they can slow down the service as much as possible, changing the addresses of official communications by sending to the east those that should be going to the west and vice-versa in a way calculated not to arouse suspicion. Telephone employees can foul up the service simply by tying up and delaying calls. Telephone operators can eavesdrop on important conversations and then inform the opposition of the conversations without disclosing their names. Mailmen can destroy letters and steam open those addressed to influential persons, read their contents, and if the information is important, they will turn it over to our Intelligence Section. Garage employees can put emery dust in the oil system of army vehicles. Sand, ground-up stones, etc., can also be used. Those working in government garages can waste gasoline by running many "tests" on the motors and frequently washing their hands with fuel so as to use up as much fuel as possible. Those who are official drivers can ruin the tires of their vehicles by puncturing them with nails or knives while in the garage, driving them over the curb and over sharp stones while on the road. The school teacher will speak to his students of the beauty of progress and ideals. Without endangering himself, he will teach of the love among humans as opposed to the moral slavery in which they presently find themselves.

All must continually grumble about the way they are exploited, about rising prices and how to elimi-

nate the factors that cause their misery.

Workers will slow down their production and under the pretext of illness stay away from work. They will resist any attempts to speed up production. By pretending to utilize excessive caution, they can slow down production.

Those employed by the government must never

reprimand or correct their subordinates but instead constantly criticize the orders which come from above and amplify any errors which their chiefs make. They will spend as much time as possible having long telephone conversations. They will delay material being sent to enemy troops, destroy furniture, sabotage machinery, etc.

Whenever possible they will quarrel with their most efficient personnel and fire those that are able. In order to avert suspicion, they will act as the most fanatical supporters of the government. They will damage, wherever possible, toilets, bathrooms, water, light and gas installations, not only in their office

buildings but in casinos, cafes, and theatres.

The best way to destroy a toilet is to flush down cotton and newspaper mixed with nails and wires.

In the large offices our sympathizers will let loose rats and will supply them with cheese until the rats adjust to their environment and begin fulfilling their role as destroyers. They will put out the lights of offices by hitting the bulbs with a rag causing the interior wires to separate, and cause short circuits

where possible.

They will voice their opposition to the government, police, etc., when they are in the sports stadium. They will attempt to cause traffic jams by disobeying the traffic rules. On the anniversary of some memorable occasion which is not celebrated by the government, they will go out into the streets and pass back and forth before the offices of the Ministry of War, the Ministry of the Interior, and the police, which will serve as a silent demonstration of their hatred of the regime. They should also go to parks where the statutes of the heroes of liberty stand and walk around the statutes until the people and the police notice them.

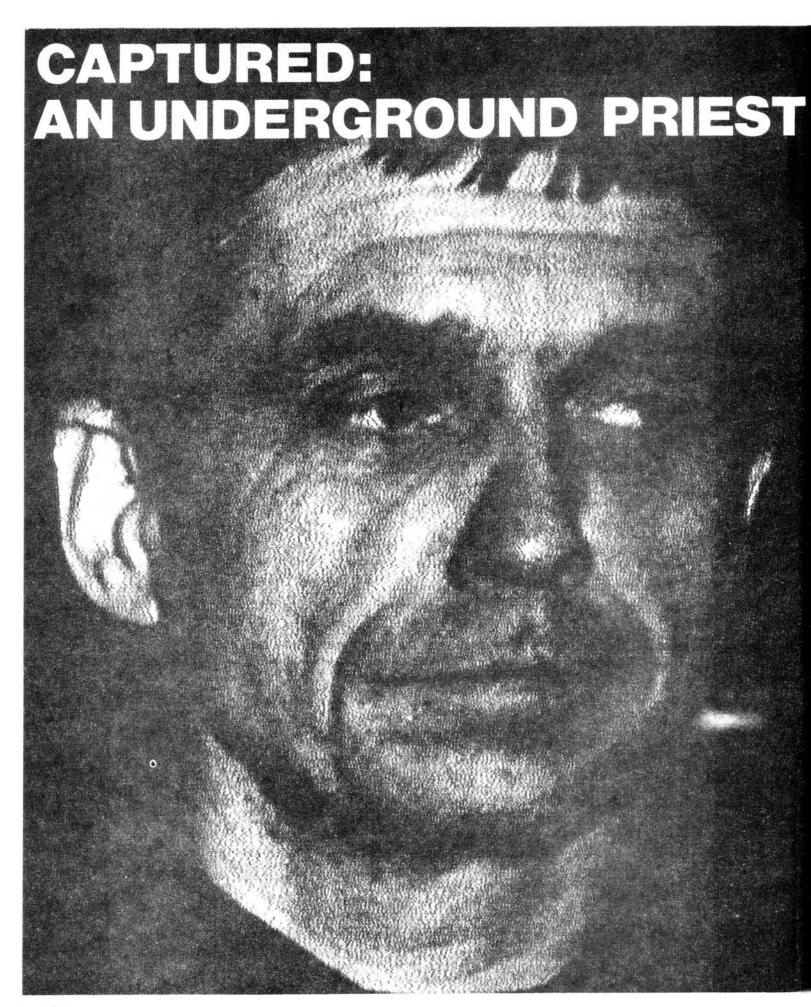
Our sympathizers will form mobs—mountains of human flesh—which will push, disorganize, surround, flood like gigantic waves against the dicator's police. Then they will retire, regroup and return to crash against the police vehicles and the soldiers. If an opportunity arises, they will scream and shout curses against the dictator. All this activity should be accompanied by deafening clamor which is savage and beastial. The most disorder will be brought about with the greatest order. If any political argument takes place with a supporter of the government, be sure you are surrounded by your comrades, particularly when the lackey is a policeman. Have your friends support your side of the argument with catcalls and hisses.

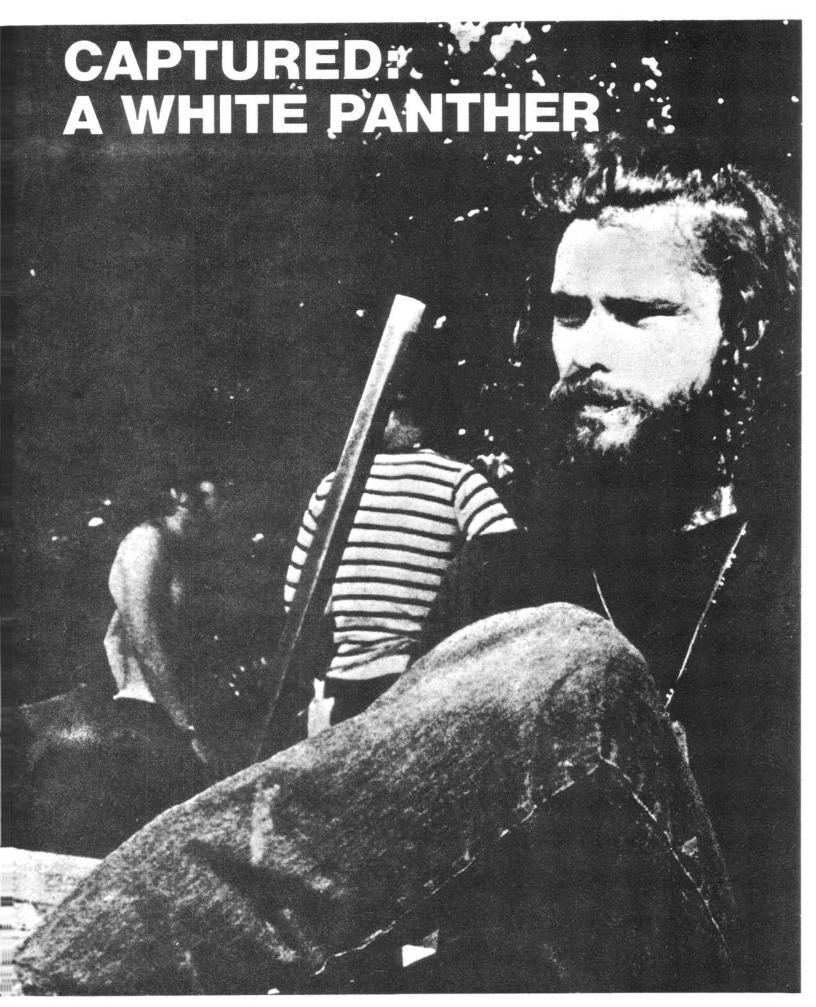
What should we do if a fire breaks out?

If a fire breaks out, everything possible should be done to hinder the arrival of the fire-fighters. An alarm should be turned in which gives the address of the fire as a point far distant from the actual fire. This act should be performed with discretion so as to avoid capture.

What can be done with vacant buildings?

When it is possible to sneak into a building belonging to a government sympathizer which has vacant floors, gasoline or other flammable material should be poured under the door. When the floor is thus saturated, it is then set on fire with a match. After the fire gets a good start, we make our escape.





The Reverend Daniel J. Berrigan is the 49-year-old Jesuit priest who, with his brother and seven other Catholic war protesters, used homemade napalm to destroy draft records at the Selective Service Office in Catonsville, Mary-

land, on May 17, 1968.

Lawrence Robert ("Pun") Plamondon is the 24-year-old Minister of Defense of the White Panther Party, a Michigan-based organization of young whites which has among its primary political goals the adoption of a revolutionary cultural life style. Plamondon has been charged with conspiracy to bomb a federal building in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the

bombing itself.

Until recently, both Berrigan and Plamondon were eluding federal authorities by making use of a loosely knit, effective underground that is increasingly providing escape, shelter and hiding for those being sought for political acts. The following interviews were conducted while the men were still fugitives. Berrigan was interviewed by a representative of Pacifica radio, and Plamondon by a representative of Scanlan's. The interviews indicate the realization by political fugitives of the necessity to remain at large for as long as possible without being caught

INTERVIEW WITH FATHER DANIEL BERRIGAN

How did your group plan the Customs House action?

The idea we had with the Customs House action was not to use blood that time, but to use napalm. Napalm was being used on children and women—not only in Vietnam, but all over Latin America—and we were selling it in Israel and throughout Africa. The horror was international and we thought it would be a very powerful symbol to destroy those files, those papers, those hunting licenses with the same material that was being used on human beings.

We had everybody's task thoroughly outlined. Then we made the napalm together. It was one part soap chips and two parts kerosene. Let me tell you, if you ever want to try something very good on material or property that has no right to exist, this is a terrific formula. It's totally incendiary, and it allows Americans to realize up close what the real product is like.

Through one of our friends, we found the wife of a Green Beret who had come home from Asia—she was very anti-war as a result of his experiences there. She read us the formula out of a Green Beret handbook . . . read us the formula all the way from California. It was so simple, it just seemed to be a natural.

Now you're being sought by the FBI for refusing to go to jail. Yet when you performed the act at the draft board, you and your compatriots stood around and watched it burn until the police arrived. What is the difference in your attitude and

thinking then and now?

That was the first really large draft board action. It was the first of the trials for this sort of thing, and we still had some hope that the trial might be a forum for political issues—that it might possibly be an important factor in turning this thing around. Well, we did get the forum; we got hundreds and hundreds of people from all over the country and the tremendous

night sessions and a very hot closeup trial with a lot of politics. But we were found guilty. We were disposed of. That made us think the thing through again.

The important thing to talk about, though, is not just the success or failure of the venture, but what it's leading to for the future. In the last year of draft board actions, every one of the groups involved has gotten away without an indictment. In this particular movement people are now doing their utmost to do as much damage as they can, and to get away with it. You have talked about the possibilities of existing underground in a sense, surfacing from time to time and flaunting

the FBI. What do you hope to accomplish?

What do I hope to accomplish? I still have a basic sense that good people can be brought further and that it's very important in every way possible to communicate with them. I prefer to do my writing rather than just expose myself through the mass media, but I'll do both for a while. What I most prefer is sitting down with small groups and talking about our lives, because that's the most basic revolution I know about and the area where we really get to one another—get our fears and terrors and dreads into the air and move closer to real adult views.

Now, a lot of the saboteurs underground would disagree with this entirely and say that it's merely playing their game again and has nothing to do with them. I have a very great sense that there is going to be much more sabotage and that the government

itself is inducing it.

Do you feel any hostility or resentment at any time? Does it lead to the feeling that the masses are never going to move?

If I have anger in me, it's against our political leadership. It's very hard to keep a balance or even a charitable decent attitude toward these people or even a conviction that they are decent people. I find that harder as the days go by because I have a night-marish feeling that their vision of man and their vision of history is so corrupted and so militarized and so anti-human that they're really going to bring the whole thing down. And that is a very defeatist kind of attitude to carry into my situation.

You know the students who were attacked in the streets of New York in March were in almost every instance unable to connect with any of these workers. The workers came at them with primitive arms and a kind of mob anger, so those kids were, practically speaking, wordless as well as defenseless. But supposing there were circumstances where it was possible for a few students and a few working families to sit around on a regular basis. For instance, I know of some Cornell SDS people who have moved to other cities and actually started communes in working class neighborhoods and have gone to work in factories and gotten ready for this kind of long haul that I am speaking of where you really are trying to get together with people whose lives are very different than yours, and whose personal, religious, social perceptions are giving way under their feet. They're being taxed out of existence. They're feeling the encroachment of middle age and no job advancement. They have brutish jobs that offer them no human recompense. And then many of them are seeing their own children going through changes that they were never

ready for. So it's no wonder that they work off the feeling of personal assault by going and assaulting others

Where do you think the next few months will take you?

My mother is quite sick right now, and, according to my family, the FBI hangs around the hospital in great numbers. They're like vultures around the dead, thinking that I would be foolish enough to appear. It's part of their cowardice and part of their misunderstanding of real human feeling that they would even hang around a sick bed, a death scene, and take advantage of someone very old. But that's part of the cowardice by which they rule anyway.

INTERVIEW WITH PUN PLAMONDON

What have been the effects of the White Panther Party?

When we look around the country at the actions we were involved in, we see that we were effectively organizing and educating the young people into a political force that could bring about some relevant

revolutionary changes.

As we did that successfully, the power structure moved in a more and more fascist manner, starting back in 1967-68 with frame-up charges against our chairman, John Sinclair. And then it all came to a head when they sentenced him to 9½-10 years for possessing two marijuana cigarettes. They thought by getting him off the set they would be able to successfully silence the Party and stop our growth and stop our organizing. But we saw that the people just got more and more dedicated behind that and more and more radicalized, and the Party surged ahead even more. We have chapters all across the country now. One of the things we are trying to do is get across to the people of America the fact that we have political prisoners here.

The White Panthers talk about you being in the under-

ground. Can you define the underground?

The underground is pretty much wherever an outlaw is. It's getting more and more developed as more people go underground and machinery gets set up to deal with their survival. It definitely is not young people exclusively. It calls on all classes and all strata of people to help those who are underground.

We've got enough people in jail. We don't have enough outlaws; we don't have enough people underground. That's one of the reasons I went underground. I think we have to break down the feeling that you have to go to jail, that you have to relate to that whole court system, that so-called legal system. The only way those pigs have any authority is if the people accept their authority. It's like them telling me to come back. If I came back then I would be accepting their authority. But I just stand here on the other side of the fence and holler at them and tell them I ain't coming back. People should think about going underground. People who don't have to go underground, who are in a position to help people who go underground, should start thinking about different ways of helping people, feeding people, moving people, providing medical supplies, whatever might be needed.

You've been to Europe and Africa since you went under-

ground. Is the underground system an international system?

You say an underground system, an international system—that makes it sound like some sort of Anacin ad where they show a cutaway of somebody's digestive system. It ain't anything like that. There's a struggle going on worldwide. It's just the basic struggle that's been going on since history has been written. The contradictions between the oppressor and oppressed. So it's definitely an international struggle. But there isn't any sort of system, any special number you call to get tapped into that. It's just there—people relate to and love revolutionaries, no matter what country they're from, no matter what color their skin is. So you can get help anywhere.

What is your justification for bombing? Could you justify innocent people getting killed accidentally by bombing?

I don't have to justify anything. Because it's just there and history has shown that bombing plays a very elementary role in any sort of revolution.

A lot of people, including John Sinclair, call trashing and rock-throwing by students "reactionary" because it's fighting

the enemy on his battleground. Do you agree?

I look at trashing and rock-throwing and bottlethrowing as a pulse, a way of feeling the energy and determination and the outrage of the people. Revolution is not a spontaneous thing. It takes many steps and many stages and many years—and it takes diligent work on the part of professional revolutionaries before we see the masses of people ready for revolu-

How do you see the revolution developing?

The youth colony will join the black colony and liberate the whole mother country itself. By doing that, it will break off the tentacles that are holding the Vietnamese people and the African people and the Latin American people in bondage. We can't really point to any other revolution in history and say that it is going to develop like that. There have never been the conditions before in history like there are here in the 20th century. So everything is going to be unique and there is going to be very beautiful music-people's music. We have to really understand that the people are involved in their own liberation. Revolution starts at home, just like charity. We are going to really have to defend our culture and our way of life, because, as I said, it's going to come under very heavy harassment and attack, because we're really a threat to the power structure. The whole new youth culture, all the people of the youth culture, are by nature anti-imperialists, anti-racists. They're not warmongers. We've all learned the Allegiance to the Flag. We used to say the Allegiance to the Flag in school every morning but it doesn't say nothing about killing Vietnamese people or killing black people or polluting the rivers or putting people in jail for smoking a harmless weed. It didn't say anything about that. So we have just got to take all that rhetoric and develop some machinery around it. If it looked like the FBI were closing in on you, would you

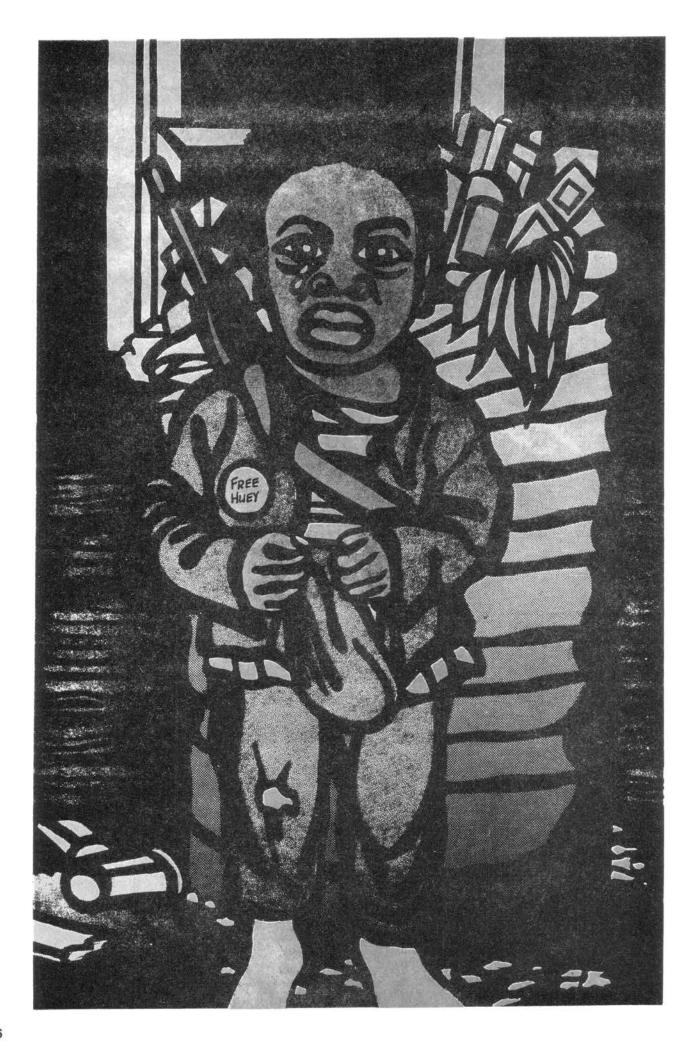
think of assassinating several people before you were caught? Do you mean do I have any eyes for being like a kamikaze pilot? No, I don't have any illusions of doing that. I think they're just chickens anyway, you know. I don't think they're gonna mess with me.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ART OF EMORY DOUGLAS



WE ARE FROM 25 TO 30 MILLION STRONG, AND WE ARE ARMED. AND WE ARE CONSCIOUS OF OUR SITUATION. AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CHANGE IT. AND WE ARE UNAFRAID."



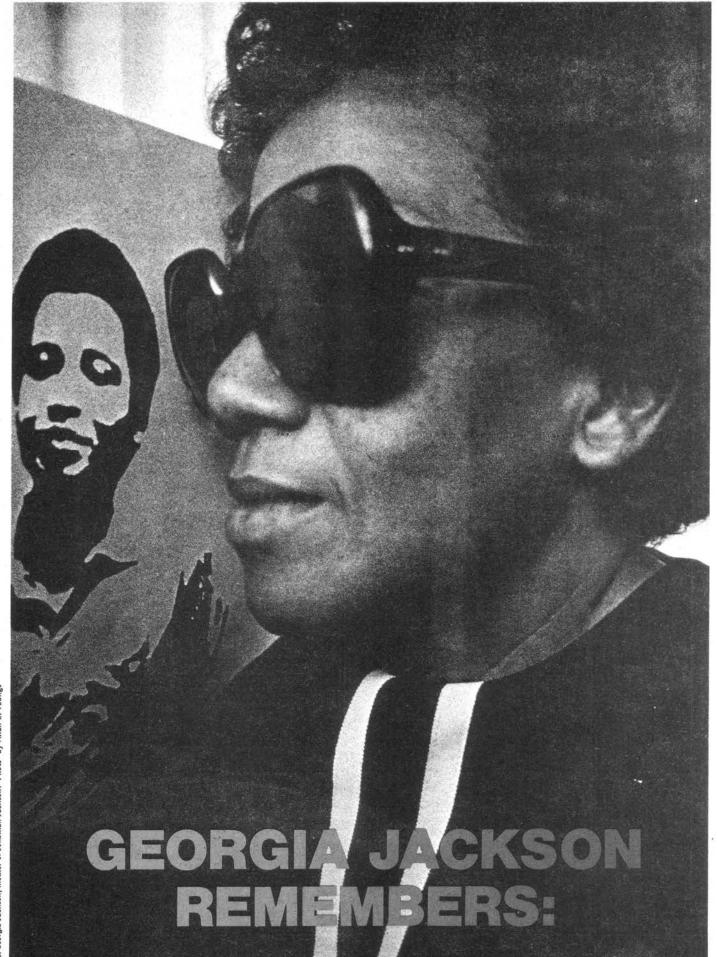


ALL THE WEAPONS WE USED AGAINST EACH OTHER WE NOW USE AGAINST THE OPPRESSOR



THE HEIRS OF MALCOLM HAVE PICKED UP THE GUN AND NOW STAND MILLIONS STRONG FACING THE RACIST PIG OPPRESSOR





George Jackson now awaits trial—with two other former Soledad prisoners—for allegedly murdering guard John V. Mills. Jonathan Jackson, George's younger brother, tried to secure the release of the three defendants on August 7 by taking as hostage Judge Harold J. Haley, sitting on an unrelated case in the Marin County (California) Courthouse. Jonathan and Haley were killed in the ensuing crossfire.

Mrs. Georgia Jackson, mother of George and Jonathan, talked to Scanlan's three weeks later in San

Francisco.

Your son George has been in prison for 10 years now and for most of those years he's been in San Quentin. How did you get up there from Pasadena to visit with him?

We'd drive up. Usually about once a month. So it was a little bit of an outing when you went to see him?

No. It was miserable because of the length of the trip. It's 400 miles. It was always very expensive. Then sometimes, after we had driven all that way, the authorities would only let us stay an hour or two. Who would go up with you?

The whole family. The girls. And Jonathan . . . he

always came.

What would you talk about?

Home, family, things like that. George would frequently tell us about the way people were treated there—how they would never have the chance to do any of the things they really wanted to do. George wanted to take journalism but the guy who ran the program just laughed in his face. They think that black people don't have the mentality to do certain things, and they ridicule them for wanting to. Did he ever tell you about physical harassment?

Oh yes. That goes on all the time. He'd always tell us about someone who'd gotten killed. Usually some black man. The prison authorities would cover it up and say nothing about it. They tell prisoners' families a bunch of lies about how a man is radical or rowdy or uncontrollable. Then if they had to they would kill him if they thought he had a idea of his own. Once a man gets labeled as a trouble-maker, that's what

happens to him.

That's what happened to George. I mean he was labeled as a troublemaker from the beginning. No matter how hard he tried to make the effort to get away from the place, every time he'd go to the parole board, they'd deny him and never tell us why. We would never be able to see anybody who could tell us about George. If we'd inquire about a counselor they'd always be too busy. We wanted to get a lawyer for him but George would tell us that it would only make things worse—they have a dim view of people who get legal help for somebody that's in prison.

My daughter Frances and I wrote letters to a man named Stratman, I believe he's an assemblyman from Pasadena. But he would write us back these little pacifying letters saying your son's behavior is up to him, and the length of time is up to him. In other words, if he's a good boy he'll get out sooner than if he's a bad boy. People seem to feel that when you go to prison you're not a fit human being but just a big conglomeration of nothing. As one of the guards said to a girl, you're really not human, you're an animal. And the only thing they can do to an animal is to kill him.

How long ago was it when Jonathan first began to realize

what was going on with George?

It was about three or four years ago. You know, ever since George has been there we've been trying to do something for him but we've never been able to. Jonathan heard all of this and saw all this and he saw the way the courts worked. Frankly I think that the so-called justice in this country and the so-called law courts in this country are the cause of my son being dead today. I don't know if you went to any of the hearings in Salinas or not, but just to go to one of those hearings and sit there, even if you weren't concerned with the people who were being tried, would just tear you apart. I mean, for someone who's never been involved in the courts or never been to a court for anything, it's incredible. Even I didn't believe it was that bad—and I've always had a very pessimistic attitude about what went on in this country.

What made you know that Jonathan was becoming aware

of these things?

I think what really tore Jonathan apart in the last two or three months was that, when this first happened with George at Soledad, he went to two of his instructors that he had a lot of respect for and he told them what was happening. I know he really liked one of them especially, because he thought this man understood what was going on in this country with black people, and this teacher said to Jonathan, "Oh, if I were you I wouldn't get too upset about it; you mightn't know all the facts."

After that he just seemed not to be interested in school any more. All he would think about was George. All he would talk about was George. I would tell him I thought that if there was anything possible to be done for George, Mrs. Stender would see that it was done. I told him it wasn't like it was before when we were just alone with this and nobody

cared

Jonathan felt that George was going to be killed if he wasn't killed by the courts he would be killed in prison. That's the way he felt. And he felt like Mrs. Stender was a good lawyer and he told me, "Momma, she works hard night and day, but no matter how hard she works, don't you see what happens in court?" He said, "I just don't know about that judge. That judge just sits there and he says no to everything. He doesn't even stop to think before he says no." A lot of the time when we'd be at the hearings he'd get up and go out and he'd be crying. So would my husband. You feel so helpless and frustrated. You say to yourself, "In this country you're supposed to have justice from the law. If you can't get justice from the courts, where can you get it?" Could you tell us something about Jonathan's early school years? Did he do well?.

Jonathan was going to a Catholic school. It was St. Andrew's. And once a teacher asked me—this wasn't a nun, by the way, it was a lay teacher—this teacher asked me how Jonathan got so smart. I told him that Jonathan took after me. You know, just joking. This teacher said, "Well, sister, he has a good chance of being President some day, smart as he is."

Jonathan really did well in school. Everybody at St. Andrew's loved him he didn't have any enemies at all in school. He never had any trouble at all until he went to public school. It was at Pasadena High, I think, that he had his first fight—and then it wasn't a fight, a boy just hit him and I don't think that lonathan wanted to fight. It seems the boy who hit im-I don't know if he was white or not-he was making some remarks about black people and of course Jonathan was defending himself verbally. After that, I had him transferred to Blair. Blair is a good mixture of black and white and chicano and everything else. At Blair Jonathan just coasted along. He never really studied very hard on any one subject. He took karate to build himself up. He played basketball for a while but he kind of lost interest. He was interested more in his brother than in anything else, I think, when he got big enough to realize how bad his brother was being treated.

George's troubles had a great influence on Jonathan. How

was he affected by what was happening to George?

He would try to do everything he could to help. But he still told me he didn't think it would do any good. He said all judges are racists. He had been going around looking at different places. He went to the trial they had during the school thing in Pasadena, about desegregating the schools. He would go and sit and listen to the way they would talk and act. He would go around to the courts in Los Angeles and watch the way they would treat people. You know that in the courts in Los Angeles they actually chained a guy to his chair one day when Jonathan was there. He came back and told me about it. "Momma," he said, "they didn't even allow him to talk. The judge just said 'confine him' and they got up and chained him to a chair."

You mean Jonathan was investigating the court system be-

cause he thought it was so unjust?

That's what he was doing. He was noticing what went on in all of them. He said that there wasn't any justice in court. He said that when people go to court everybody thinks they're guilty—they don't even have a chance to defend themselves. He said that unless people did something it would get worse. Because all people were doing was sit around and talk, talk—and then when the court date came, things just happened the same way that they happened before. People would go to jail and stay there for years—the best years of their lives.

Jonathan felt that just talk wouldn't solve it because these people in the courts just didn't care. You know, I've spoken with a lot of people on the streets, a lot of people in Pasadena, a lot of people here and LA and everywhere. They feel the same way, that it's so much talk and the courts really aren't just. But nobody seems to be able to do anything about it. Jonathan did what he felt he had to do about it—how did

that come about?

He didn't tell me what he was going to do. I didn't know he was planning to go into any court with a gun or anything. Probably the way he felt was frustrated and upset so he just made up his mind to do something about it. I know it's nothing like people say it is—conspiring. Jonathan never conspired with any-

body. He never was a kid that ran around the streets, never had any gangs, never ran around with anybody. No matter what the police say, I know, because he's my kid.

What do you think about their naming Angela Davis as a

conspirator?

I think it's just another stupid thing they are doing because they think no black person in America has the sense to do anything on their own. They either have to have Angela Davis or the Panthers to help them. There are plenty of black people in the country who are brave, and plenty of black people in this country who think—Angela Davis is not the only one. I don't have anything against Angela—what makes me so angry is how the newspapers work so hand in glove in trying to humiliate. It's like the humiliation of the FBI following me when I'm burying my boy. Now what in the hell were they looking for. The only thing I was doing was putting him in the ground. When was this?

When I took him to Mt. Vernon to bury him, the FBI was there. They were across the street in a parking lot taking pictures. Now what do they want? Just

to harass and humiliate.

Did Jonathan ever talk to you about death—about dying?

We talked about death when my father died about three years ago. He was very upset about my father, and he looked around and he said, "Do you think anybody cares that Papa is dead." "Well," I said, "you know that I care." He said, "I mean beside you." I said, "Of course people care. I have three other sisters, and your sisters and your brothers care." He said, "I was just wondering if anyone really cared when an old man died."

And then we were talking one night back in June and he said, "Momma—if I die—or if I die in any way that makes you sad—I want you to know that I died the way I wanted to die."

How did that come up?

We were eating dinner and we were talking about the committee and so I guess George was on his mind—you know, about going to the gas chamber. And he was talking about how a few people should care. He said that there wouldn't be too many people who care. Because too many people wouldn't know about it. I said that was what we were trying to do—to let the people know what really goes on. I said people who have never been to court in their life have to be told about what is really going on. And it got to the point where he didn't want to eat very much—and you know he really loved to eat—because he was really so worried.

Then he said this thing about dying the way he wanted to.

And then we started talking about the revolution—
the conversation just dragged on. I remember I was
angry because I didn't get the dishes started early
enough. And he ended up by saying that thing about

dying the way he wanted to.

I wish I knew more about what was on his mind.

I don't know what was on his mind. Really I don't. I wish that I did, because if I had known I probably could have gone and helped him. I wouldn't let any of my children do anything without my help if I could help them. And I don't care who knows that.

HUEY NEWTON ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION



[FOREWORD]

Huey Newton, Black Panther Minister of Defense, made as comments on Jonathan Jackson, ethnic pluralism, racism, ternational goals and capital punishment in an interview gave Elsa Knight Thompson, program director of radio station KPFA, on August 11—shortly after his release from San Luis Obispo Prison and four days after the Marin Courthouse shoot-out. Two weeks later, at a sparsely attended tress conference, he linked Stokely Carmichael with the CIA. Selections from both interviews follow.

[JONATHAN JACKSON'S ACT]

The event that occurred in Marin was certainly a colassal event, and it has changed the whole relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor. We feel that because of the consciousness of the three comrades who were killed, who were murdered, the event was more important than the Watts uprising or even the Detroit uprising, which was a sporadic, unorganized uprising. It lacked the consciousness and certainly lacked the revolutionary fervor exemplified in the move of Brother Jonathan Jackson in particular. Brother Jonathan Jackson, a 17-year-old, who had no prison record whatsoever, acted strictly upon a principle that says that the corrupt racist lords can make no law that the oppressed people are bound to respect.

The revolutionary people are never interested in murder. It's only the oppressor who's interested in murder. This was demonstrated in Marin, because the revolutionaries did not fire the first shot. They were interested in getting out of the prison. One of the comrades said, "I've been in prison so many years . . . too many years . . . remove these chains. I must be set free, so help me God," He addressed the jury and said this. It was an explanation to them why he had to take certain actions, because it's a revolutionary's obligation always to explain his action to the people.

Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas, and John McClain did not fire the first shot. So that shows that the police, the fascist police, are responsible for the judge's death. And the fascist police are responsible for showing a disregard for everyone in that courtroom, including the jury.

They claim to be so interested in people, democracy, human life, but they haven't shown nearly as much respect for these things as the corrupt, fascist governments of Uruguay and Brazil.

When the revolutionaries in those countries took hostages and ordered the government to release certain political prisoners and prisoners of war, then they did that, they did release them on a number of occasions, in order to preserve life. But this country refuses to do that. So I would like for the people to keep that in mind, and take the very necessary steps.

[ETHNIC PLURALISM]

The Black Panther Party takes the position that we must, must accept the reality that this country is a pluralistic country, ethnically speaking and culturally speaking. We want to see an end to the class system and all of the distinctions that would make one group privileged over another. That doesn't necessarily mean that we want an end to ethnic groups. We think there's a beauty in the many ethnic cultures, rather like a bouquet, and that if it's viewed this way the world will be a much happier place, a more interesting place, and there will be a coming together and a unity of man. As the Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, said, we will have the "essential miscegenation." When our Minister of Information said this, he wasn't speaking entirely of race miscegenation, but he was speaking of that complex whole where man finally reaches a unity with himself and with every other living thing in the universe. And this would be the mingling and the transformation of everything from the prisoner that he is within himself, from the division and the loneliness, into a whole person and into what man can really be.

This is why we hate the oppressor so much. Because when he strikes us, he strikes down the best that humanity produces. When the brothers were killed in Marin, humanity was struck a blow. Because these were true revolutionaries interested in the people's struggle, and they were taken away from us. Young Jonathan Jackson—I viewed him as a brother that should have been, and probably would have been, my successor. But he was taken away from us, and we're very unhappy about that. But the people will produce more leaders, and they will be stronger because they will inherit the legacy of Jonathan Jackson, the revolutionary fervor of William Christmas and the courage of John McClain. So we will find new direction, and new strength in the future.

RACISM

We realize that racism is rampant in this country. And this is why, in spite of the fact that we're working towards a socialist society, we're not under the illusion that this would automatically wipe out racism. It's known in sociology that when a structure changes—a physical structure or a social structure—usually there's a lag between the attitudes and the values: "cultural lag." I'm sure this concept will also hold true when we receive our socialist victory. We'll lay the foundation or the structure to change the attitude, but until the change occurs, we'll have to use certain precautions in order to protect ourselves.

One of the ways we'll work is to ask for some autonomy in our local community—complete control, as a matter of fact. While we would like to operate our institutions as collectives or co-ops, they will be owned by the whole community and supported by centralized national enterprises. According to Johnson's report on civil disorders, there's 76 monopolies or oligarchies that control the country. We will demand of them that people of color be represented on every level. The communities will place these administrators, just as mayors are now placed by elections.

As for the wealth, there will no longer be any profit, only a surplus, and the surplus from the national enterprises will be distributed in some sort of equal way

to the many ethnic minority communities. So we call this proportional representation in a socialist framework. If there happens to be any whites living in the black community or vice versa, or any Mexicans or Indians or any ethnic group members who would be minority members in their community, they will have a democratic participation in these institutions. We will make sure that a foundation will be laid to work towards a society that will be essentially human, towards a revolutionary culture that is dynamic and in constant change and always in mind of the wellbeing of man.

CIA AGENT STOKELY CARMICHAEL

We charge that Stokely Carmichael is freely operating as an agent of the CIA. We have no proof of

this, but his actions speak for themselves.

During, or shortly after, the House Un-American Activities Committee investigation of the Black Panther Party, Stokely said the Party was dishonest and made other false charges. (Later he said that perhaps he had been untimely in his charges and was

sorry about this.)

Now we hear over the wire and through our embassy in Algiers that Stokely is leading a delegation of 18 Party members in Jordan to promote the interests of the Palestinian government and the Black Power movement. But the Black Panther Party does not subscribe to the Black Power of Stokely Carmichael and Richard Nixon, which is no more than reactionary Black capitalism and certainly not in the interests of the people.

Stokely Carmichael has further stated that Pan-Africanism is the highest expression of cultural nationalism. We of the Black Panther Party are internationalists. We say that most of the African countries who adhere to the philosophy of Pan-Africanism

are aligned with United States imperialism.

We also take issue with Stokely's recent statement that socialism is not the question, economics is not the question—racism is the entire question. We realize that the United States is a racist country, but we think that the racism is rooted in the profit motive and capitalism, and that we should start with the cause and later on handle the effects of it.

In the near future we will have proof that Stokely Carmichael is responsible for the predicament of the Connecticut Nine and our chairman, Bobby Seale. Stokely recommended, when he was prime minister of the Black Panther Party, that George Sand be admitted into the party, and he was. He violated party rules by fighting with members—stabbing one, beating another, and he was subsequently suspended and then expelled. Stokely Carmichael came to his rescue and literally begged the central committee to readmit Sand, and he was readmitted. And then George Sand murdered Rackley, as Sand himself has said. We asked Stokely to tell our attorney, Charles R. Garry, everything that he knew about George Sand. Stokely told us he knew that Sand had been in a mental institution and that he was sadistic, but he wouldn't testify on behalf of Bobby Seale—he wouldn't even talk to Charles Garry. He would talk

to any white attorney in America, but that's one that he wouldn't talk to. I can only speculate that he was afraid he would reveal the truth about himself.

[INTERNATIONAL GOALS]

We're definitely going to go to victory, and I'm overwhelmed with joy that I'm able to see the unity that's existing among the people who are oppressed not only national but international unity. We feel that in order for us here in America to eliminate the evils of the world, we must eliminate imperialism and the international bourgeoisie that finds its strength here in Babylon or North America. In order to do this, the Black Panther Party takes a stand that our party is no longer a revolutionary nationalist party, but that we're revolutionary internationalist. That doesn't mean that we reject or denounce other countries that are fighting wars of national liberation. Countries such as Vietnam have a right for self-determination and, surely, independence. Because, unlike America, they've never oppressed other countriesthey don't operate an empire, they operate a country.

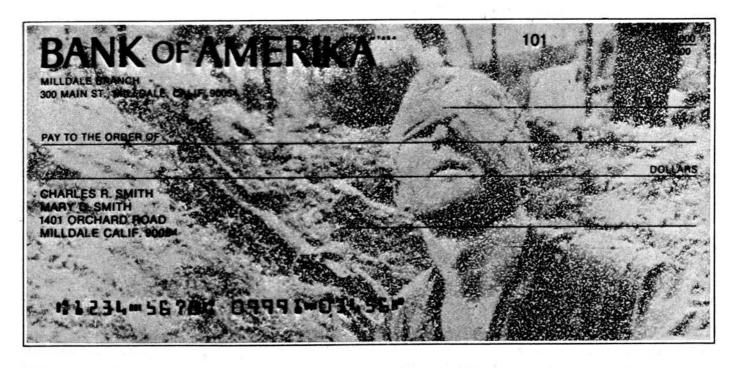
This country, though, has no right any longer to be a nationalist country; it's stolen the wealth of ever developing country in the world in order to build a high standard of living here-for the ruling circle, that is. Because of these evils, this country must think of transforming the world and replenishing it, sharing with the developing countries in a friendship way and being obligated to them. (Obligated to them in the sense that this country has been a pirate and a robber, and now it's only justified that this country pays off.) This is why the Black Panther Party is hooked up with every struggling liberation front of the world, because only through this unity can we defeat such a powerful, treacherous enemy.

We have committed an undisclosed number of troops to the Revolutionary People's Republic of Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front, the provisional government of the South. We offered these troops in the spirit of revolutionary solidarity, and we are awaiting a response. There's been some indication that the response will be favorable. The Vietnamese people and the people of the world in general are very impressed, and we feel justified in committing these troops even though we realize we have many problems here. Domestic problems. But we feel that because the oppressor, who also has domestic problems, still finds time to meddle in other people's business, to slaughter people throughout the world; certainly we can find time to aid our friends.

Americans fought in the Spanish Civil War against the fascist Franco. There are Americans fighting now in the Israeli Army. There were Americans committed to the Canadian Army in World War II. In these cases the ruling circle has seen it in their interests not to prosecute, not to charge these men with treason. Finally our plan doesn't fall under treason because there's no declared war. The war is illegal. If they want to charge us with treason, we invite them to do so, because in order to prove treason, we will first have to put the war on trial to see if it's a legal war.

And we will be very happy to do that.

GUERRILLAS AND MONEY



I'm an outlaw, a modern outlaw in the most grotesque country that has ever existed. I consider myself a revolutionary, not because I have read Mao and Che or for any exemplary acts I have done, but because in my daily life I have become an enemy of the capitalist tradition in this country. I survive by rip-offs and live in the cradle of a cooperative society.

I routinely carry around a pair of wire cutters, a screwdriver, a knife, a lockpick, a heavy felt-tip pen, a tube of liquid steel, a pack of matches and a phony press pass. At home I keep a few complete disguises, a few false ID's, a set of slugs, some false bottom boxes and store bags, a few smoke bombs, some press type, a few cans of spray paint, some surgical instruments and plenty of fine dope.

This equipment is essential for dealing with an outlaw's most basic problem—survival. The supermarkets—Safeway, A & P, Lucky—have conveniently met my family's food needs at minimal cost. My most bizarre market rip-off was with an army of eight people. Six of us collected a bag full of expensive items and gravitated toward the door. The other two lit smoke bombs on the far side of the store and we all ran out (with our haul) yelling fire. Usually I just stuff my pockets, change prices.

We refer to supermarkets as the people's restau-

rants. You can eat fruit, candy, cookies, cheese, nuts while you walk around the store—the worst that can happen is that some pig employee will get pissed off and tell you to cut it out. I would be ashamed to walk out of a supermarket without leaving packages open for others—it makes it easier for those who follow to take food and gives straight consumers ideas.

Then there's the phone company, which pleads in its bureaucracy to be ripped. Always get your phone in a phony name—you may have to pay a deposit, but it should be worth forfeiting it when you leave a big bill. If you don't want to do it that way, find a listing in a year-old phone book which is not in the latest book and use that person's name. If he paid his bills they will waive the deposit.

Telephone credit cards are my long-distance communications tool. Everyone should learn how to compose one—the phone should be free for all! You start with a letter (this year it's S), then add a plausible phone number with a real three-digit prefix (like 555-1000 for a New York number) and then add the code for the city the "number" comes from (072 for New York). Some other city codes are: Chicago 074, Atlanta 035, San Francisco 158, Los Angeles 182, Pittsburgh 021, New Mexico 105. Of course you can use any card number anywhere in the country.

Always place your credit card calls from a pay phone—it will take them weeks to figure out it was a rip-off. You can only get caught if the people you called give the phone company your name and number. But, of course, any friend would give them phony info.

There are other attacks you can make on the phone company. Whenever you get an IBM punched bill from them or anyone else, before you send it back always cut a few extra holes with a razor blade. This will fuck up their computers, and they'll have to send the bill through manually at a cost of valuable time and money. The same result can be attained by cutting the right edge off bills which have their right edge perforated specially for the IBM machine.

You don't have to pay the federal tax on the phone bill. Just send a letter with the bill saying you're against the war or the capitalist systems or whatever, and they usually won't hassle you about it. Also, whenever you mail in a bill, don't put a stamp on it.

Another important area of survival is getting into events such as concerts, movies and sports events for free. Some of my favorite methods are: to use a homemade press pass, to walk boldly past the ticket taker nodding your head like you own the place, to carry a guitar case through the stage door, to dress like a member of a stage crew or refreshment vendor, to have friends inside open the exit door. One night about 50 of us rebel freaks got into a concert by arranging a bomb scare—the place was emptied, and when people went back in, we joined them. The best method for getting into an event is to print your own tickets—you can help other gate-crashers and friends as well as yourself—but that requires equipment or reliable contacts.

Disguises are a very important part of an outlaw's wardrobe. Worker's coveralls are useful for stealing furniture (a good target is always a university student union) and ripping off cases of stuff from the back of supermarkets and liquor stores (posing as a delivery man). Freaks should also have a presentable suit and tie, a short hair wig and a hip capitalist outfit. You will find many uses for these outfits, like getting into Disneyland, applying for unemployment, using illegal credit cards or phony ID's, getting access to certain material or traveling to other countries.

I try to keep a good supply of slugs to use for tolls and fares. Mexican one-centavo pieces can be used in most change machines in place of quarters. One friend of mine makes his living by visiting the laundromat change machines a couple of times a week. Another friend has made money with a simple form of counterfeiting. He takes a \$1 bill and a \$20 bill and separates the front from the back on each of them. Then he glues the back of one on the front of the other and vice versa and passes them both as twenties. (To separate a bill, soak it in warm water and the pulp inside will soften while the glue coating on the outside of the bill will stay hard. Take a razor blade and split the corner—if you peel it slowly it should come apart. Difficult but possible.)

Picking pockets is very lucrative—but it's important to be discriminating, both because rich people. have more money and better credit cards and because stealing from the poor is bullshit. Also you should always send back what you don't use—there is no reason to inconvenience people more than necessary.

The traveler's check rip-off is a standard way to make bread. One person buys some traveler's checks, reports them lost and has a friend forge his signature and cash them while buying some cheap item (the casher should carry ID with the name on the checks—he will sometimes be asked). As long as the checks are \$10 or \$20 there should be no trouble cashing them, especially if the person cashing them looks straight (of course whites always have an easier time in this racist society). The person who bought them originally will get his money back without a hassle if the total "lost" is under a certain amount (this used to be \$500 but has been lowered in many areas).

A nice thing to do in spare time is to send letters to pig manufacturers, saying you found their product faulty—they often send replacements. When you buy capitalist newspapers from coin boxes, pull out the rest of the newspapers after you put in your dime or

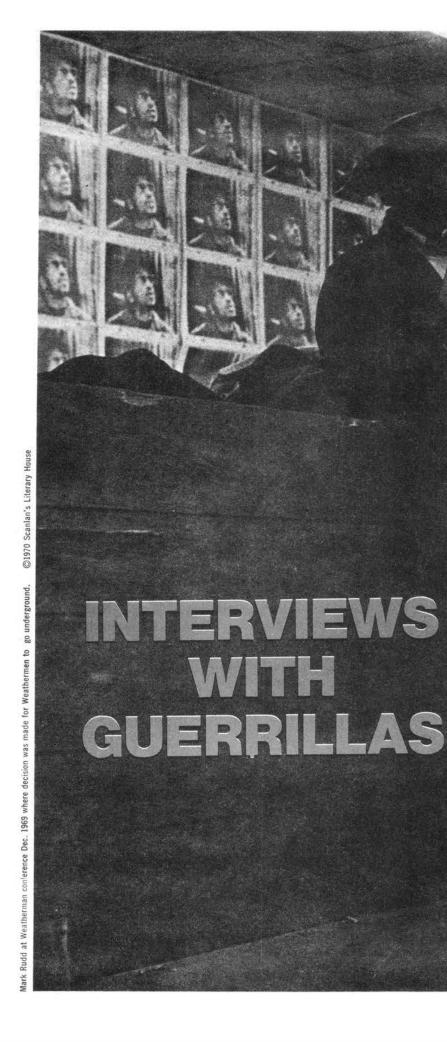
slug so others can have them for free.

If you can stand a job, that's cool, because in almost any job you can get "fringe benefits" and help a lot of people as well. Some particularly lucrative jobs are: airlines employees; supermarket checker; mailman; bank clerk; clerk in a store of almost any kind; warehouseman. Often you can steal merchandise or carelessly used credit cards, help friends lift stuff or at least screw up the bureaucracy of the company. You also get opportunities to talk to and turn on people you normally might not come in contact with.

Banks are another beautiful target. After standing in one of their "speed lines" for half an hour and then having to see an officer and get in line again, I have maintained my sanity only because I knew I could strike back. A profitable action is writing your account number on blank deposit slips in the bank. People will then fill out deposit slips to your account. You may not get the money but at least you will fuck the bank bureaucracy. I just heard of a guy who made \$10,000 doing this, but he did it too many times and got caught. Renting a safe deposit box and putting a fish in it can give the bank the perfume it deserves. Another good idea is to deposit shit or some related substance in the night deposit box.

I hope the things I've mentioned will give people ideas, and that everyone will start to see his daily actions as the backbone of the revolution. It's lifestyle, not rhetoric, that matters. Our goal should be to cast aside hang-ups about materialism, chauvinism, and competition, to learn the joy of meeting other people's eyes on the street, to start to feel natural and unselfish love, to communicate with compassion and understanding, to strike against oppression with fierce self-confidence.

This way we will build up not an army which will march in formation, but an army which will sweep like a plague over the ruling class of this country. Acts of terrorism are very important to the struggle, as is working in organizations. But we all have different capabilities and interests, and what we do from day to day will determine whether the people's army wins or the fascist state destroys us.



INTERVIEWING A STREET-FIGHTING WOMAN

What is street-fighting like?

The air is electric. You start runnin' down the street like a wild woman. Your body feels really good—there's a group consciousness. You feel like a People's Army. It's crazy 'cause all you have is rocks and bottles and maybe a few Molotovs, but you're fighting the pig and that's a rush.

Why do you go into the streets?

I go into the streets 'cause businessmen drink my wine. A couple of years ago I didn't know why I was there—I couldn't define it. It was a gut reaction. But over the years my political consciousness has risen. Dig it, like I used to want to be Suzy Q. Remember her? You know, Mick Jagger singing, "I like the way she walks, I like the way she talks..."

What kind of actions were you in and where?

My favorite action was November, 1969, in Dupont Circle, Washington D.C. It was the night of the assault on the Vietnamese Embassy. I had a can of lighter fluid upside down in my jacket pocket with the nozzle through a hole I'd made for it. I could just put my hand in the pocket and squeeze the can-squirt! I had religious-ecstatic visions of a flaming Vietnamese Embassy . . . There were lots of little fires in Washington that night. I got a charge out of them. The pigs were really chasing us and blowing their stupid tear gas. At one point, when the wind changed, the pigs gassed themselves and we tore up Connecticut Avenue. We teased them all night. Sometimes they chased us, sometimes we chased them. And when the Mobilization marshalls got creamed, everyone was happy—the people and the pige

another time, when I was still at school, we staged a building takeover. It was this really fancy edifice—plush offices with leather furniture and silk wallpaper—but the school didn't have any money to let poor people in for free. That night my best girlfriend got beaten up by a pig, and we tore the place apart. We went through the files and secured classified government documents proving CIA-university complicity and the school's being just a training ground for rich men's kids. This was too much on top of the behind-the-scenes policy-making in Southeast Asia by the fat cat professors who fancied themselves intellectuals

(yecchh!) and upholders of democracy.

We smashed up their \$1,200 mahogany desks and used them for barricades. Then we split all the leather couches and chairs and decorated the gold raw silk wallpaper with revolutionary wall-painting. We scored tape recorders, typewriters and various knick-knacks. Most important, though, was that a group with different ideologies, life-styles and backgrounds had got this together, maintained security

and done what we set out to do.

We felt we could relax—why not celebrate? So we sat around and blew two ounces of really good dope and ate peanut butter and Hershey bar sandwiches. We called up every newspaper in town and gave conflicting Yippee press statements. Our first demand was the immediate release of Sirhan Sirhan. It was

really funny how the news desks reacted. Of course, that was the whole idea. The old public still isn't hip enough to know who we are and what we want. We are everybody and we want everything and I don't think that's too much to ask. Do you?

Do you think street fighting has lost its effectiveness as a tactic?

Basically, what I gained out of street actions was a progressive feeling of coming together with my sisters and brothers. We never did smash the state like we set out to do, but the streets laid the foundations to make this possible. No matter what city I travel to, I see old faces. People get together and stick together after the streets. But no more street-fighting now after Kent State, etc. Fuck the streets. We are moving on to urban guerrilla warfare and a higher consciousness. We learned more about loving our sisters and brothers in the streets than doing acid in the parks. We learned to live is to love and to survive is to fight. Our struggle is one of armed love, and there's nothing contradictory about it.

How did you avoid arrest in the streets?

We stayed in small cadres of four or five people. Whenever someone shouted "Tex," or some other code word, we regrouped. We watched out for each other. We tried not to be too brash, just brash enough. We studied our territories and knew alleyways. We usually left rock piles at strategic points. But fast running and good karma were our best defense from arrest.

Is there a culture connected with street fighting? Which came first?

The culture came first, but it's still developing because we're still developing. The culture I identify with comes out of LSD and the whole hippie thing. Love, sharing. But the fact that most people are cold and hungry, while a few buy new fur coats and cars, negates the hippie as a stupid, selfish, bourgeois individual. So flower children carry guns instead of flowers because that's the only way everybody's gonna eat, 'cause the businessman drinks your wine and isn't going to give that up. And he sucks your blood and sends his dogs into the street to get you and then street-fighting comes.

Does being a woman affect how you are treated by your

cadre and the street population at large?

It sure does. I'm always getting my ass pinched or something, and it's longhairs who have been scoring the highest. When someone pinches me, I don't ask questions—I sock 'em hard. Fuck that shit, man. When I worked with the underground press I was a revolutionary typist. But I didn't have the balls to open my mouth and scream, "Hey, shmuck, let me write that article. I can do it 10 times better than you." There was even a time, about two years ago, when sometimes the guys in our collective would go out on actions and leave us home to have dinner ready for them.

Of course, the worst thing is this attitude that women are just so much meat—while I talk revolution some guy is thinking: I'll ball her tonight. I don't think this chauvinism has been struggled with hard enough by revolutionary men here. I won't deal with these men who believe they are revolutionaries and then oppress people. No men are free till all

women are free. The whole foundation of capitalism is penis-profit. Male chauvinism is the gut of the pig. In the streets, though, I have always been treated as an equal. Once in action chauvinism is usually non-existent, as everyone is together fighting against the pig.

INTERVIEWING AN 18-YEAR-OLD CAMPUS FIRE BOMBER

What were the circumstances which prompted you to do your

first bombing?

I was going to Valley Junior College in Los Angeles at the time of the so-called Carver Incident at George Washington Carver Junior High School in south central Los Angeles, when students were beaten by the pigs during a sit-in. Their principal really pegged them. He did a really piggish thing. What happened was like these Black Student Union members in school wanted to come and speak to the younger kids. The principal said okay, but then he went and called up the pigs, and when these two BSU boys came onto the junior high school campus, the pigs arrested them for trespassing. The little brothers and sisters held a protest sit-in at the administration hall. And this scurvy dog called the pigs in again. The pigs started beating up these little kids. So southeast and south-central Los Angeles was on the verge of blowing up. My junior college had a strike going in support of the Carver kids, but it wasn't too successful.

So this guy I knew who was like an okay cat, and this other cat who I was living with at the time, we got together on this scheme. You know: Do a bomb. We decided our own school was the target. It was still operating even though we were on strike. They were crossing our picket line. We knew we couldn't physically harm the school enough to keep people out, but we could destroy some of their files and shit. We decided to use Molotov cocktails to indiscriminately bomb an office in the administration building so someone'd get the message that people are uptight on this campus.

Around when was this?

It was in 1969, sometime between March and May. I don't remember the date that clearly, but I remember exactly every circumstance surrounding it. I know exactly how we did it. It was really weird. It's not a day you always remember in your life when you do a bombing?

No, it's strange, I figured it would be, but it just doesn't stand out in my memory like that. I don't remember the day. I don't even remember whose office it was now. I know we caused \$2,000 worth of damage. That I still remember. And I remember exactly how we put the bomb together.

How was that?

Well, we were inexperienced. We didn't know a fuckin' thing. A Molotov cocktail is only gasoline in a bottle. We at least knew you shouldn't stick the rag in early, because the fumes could seep into it really quick and we'd get blown up when we lit it. We decided on this orange juice bottle—it's fairly thick

glass and we wanted it to be strong enough to go through a window and shatter inside and open up right on the floor and catch everything—the carpet and all that shit.

What was the building?

The administration building of Valley Junior College. We wanted to get it towards the back where the fancy offices are. If we put it in the front where there was no carpet it'd take a long time to catch, and they have those sprinkler things, you know. What we wanted was the president's office or the dean's office. But we didn't know exactly where either was. We scored, though—approximately. We hit some dean. He was probably scared shitless after this that somebody was after him. As a matter of fact he was a dean I'd never even heard of. But he was heavy. SDS leaders were called in on the carpet; people accused the Black Student Union, and they still don't know who the fuck did it.

How did you pull off the bombing?

We'd taken the top—a metal cap—off the bottle and wiped it completely clean. We washed it and dried it. We tore this kitchen cloth up for a wick and we burned the rest of it. We were taking no chances in getting caught and we weren't going to have anybody trace this anywhere. It was kind of like a spy plot thing, burning the evidence, but we wanted to make sure.

Can you tell me what kind of gas you bought?

We bought the highest octane Standard. We wanted the biggest pig to help us blow our building. That was the fun part of it. We bought a gallon of this supertest stuff—they charged outrageous prices—and we poured about a quart of this into the orange juice bottle. We kept the top off.

Why.

I'm not exactly sure. I guess so part of the rag was not exposed to the fumes—fumes run straight up on a rag. We had it like bent around on the side. It was still dry when we lit it.

Did you fill the bottle all the way up?

Yeah, just about. We left some air so it wouldn't leak. There was like no soap chips or any of that shit. It was just gasoline and a rag and—fuck, we thought that was a Molotov cocktail.

How far was the place where it was done from where it was used?

The bomb was worked out at this one place in North Hollywood. We took it to a house where this one cat was staying. He had the gas.

How many of you were there?

Three. It wasn't necessary to have so many, but we didn't know exactly what we were going to do. First we had this crazy scheme to dynamite up this power station at school. We were going for the big time, but then we decided we could fuck up with that. So we decided on the firebomb. When it was ready we drove over to school. My friend was wearing gloves when he took it in, but then took off one glove to light it and forgot to put it back on to throw it through the window.

Where were you two others at this time?

In the car. And he came running back and we sped off to a safe place.

How high was the window?

Ground floor. But the fucker didn't even explode. So there we were back at a nearby safe place listening to some old soul music and paranoid as fuck because my friend took his glove off. Then we heard all these fire engines. The bottle hadn't broken on the carpet so the heat from the flames around the bottle must have cracked it, and I guess it exploded when we were already far away. This is conjecture because we didn't hear an explosion and we should have, you know, even in the car. It's really weird—we really got lucky. We were completely inexperienced and it was like a really insane thing. Afterwards we realized we were all caught up in this romantic "let's do it" type of thing. Our main reason for doing it was that if someone had the balls to do it here, people in other places would get the idea they could do it and get away with it. Get some real shit coming down. Like I said, there were something like 29 fires and bombings at schools before, and ours made it 30 and pretty soon there were over 40—all over the Carver Incident. When did you feel you were successful?

We were still on a paranoid trip. We said we couldn't be sure until we heard it on the radio. We listened to the radio all night, and finally at about five fucking o'clock in the morning they said that fire engines had extinguished this bomb at three. This was interspersed with all kinds of other reports—it was the big night for bombings, fires and vandalism. When we finally heard ours, we were very happy. We had done what we set out to do. Over all it may not have been the best thing, but we felt that people should be really getting it on at this point. Like when they fuck with little black children, you draw the line. The line should have been drawn a good many years ago. Now, I feel a little guilt about how the black people are treated and all, but that isn't what motivated me. It was more like this overall feeling that all this shit of fucking people over has got to end. And we were going to do it by any means necessary burn down all the fucking schools if necessary, and then go from there to burning down other things if necessary.

Did you think about repression?

Yes. I figured they are going to come after us anyway, so why not just go out and do this.

Are you from a working class family?

No, upper middle class. A lot of the upper-middleclass kids were in SDS. The others were working class kids.

Did you participate in other actions after this?

Mostly strikes, boycotts, sit-ins. I wasn't trying to become the mad bomber. I'm interested in political organization. But I consider these bombings to be political acts.

INTERVIEWING A MIDDLE CLASS MARXIST BOMBER

I'm David McQueen, news director of radio station KSAN in San Francisco. I'm well-known in the Bay Area for my leftist views, so I wasn't totally surprised when a man who identified himself as being involved in the recent bombings in the area, telephoned me at

the station. He said he would be willing to give me an interview explaining his motivations. The only condition was that it be done under circumstances guaranteeing his anonymity.

The interview took place in early September. Two men and a woman picked me up at dusk at a San Francisco street corner, a location arranged through an anonymous telephone call 30 minutes before.

I rode blindfolded in the back of a closed van in which we traveled for the better part of an hour through city streets and then, for a while, through what I guessed to be countryside. I have no idea where we ended up; it could have been in some part of San Francisco or in another county.

I was led from the van and the blindfold was removed. We were in the basement of a small house.

I was introduced to a young man whose name I wasn't told. He appeared to be in his mid-twenties, had short hair and was dressed in quite ordinary street clothes.

He was quite articulate, and I guessed from his appearance and vocabulary that he had a middle-class background and a university education.

He left at the end of the interview and my tape recorder was taken from me. My companions from the van ride transcribed the tape and burned the recording.

Afterwards I was blindfolded and returned to the street corner I'd been picked up on. The interview that follows was handed to me as I got out.

Can you be specific about the acts of revolutionary violence

that you've taken part in?

There's been a number of heavy bombings and fires recently. We're responsible for several of these. I don't want to say more; too much detail would put myself and my comrades in danger. They're trying hard enough to get us without us helping them. Anyway, I think it's more important to tell people what these acts of revolutionary violence stem from and what they are intended to accomplish.

What is the rationale behind revolutionary violence? What

are the goals?

In the short run it's important to move in a revolutionary fashion against the oppressor, both from a position of self-defense and also in an offensive way against an enemy that is oppressing the people in a given situation.

In the long run it's a matter of changing the whole system itself—changing capitalism and creating socialism. These various individual acts of revolutionary violence that we see now are only a prelude to what's going to happen. As the movement progresses there will be more and more acts of revolutionary violence, and I believe that at some stage a People's Liberation Army will be formed in America. Then it will become clear that it's one set of forces and political ideas versus another set of forces with another set of political ideas.

Do you believe—as Tom Hayden and others do—in a new definition of violence?

There are two kinds—revolutionary violence and what we call counter-revolutionary violence. The distinction is made on the basis of whom the violence is directed against. If that violence is directed at the

enemies of revolution, such as policemen or the people they work for—the capitalistic monopolies—then that violence is revolutionary. But when you're dealing with violence directed at the masses of people, whether it be students at San Francisco State, or the Black Panther Party or strikers, then that's counter-revolutionary violence.

All right. Actions against property are one thing, for example the bombing of the IBM Building. But injury to people is another. What if somebody is killed, such as the graduate student at the Army Math Research Building at the Univer-

sity of Wisconsin?

I think if we look at all these recent incidents we can see clearly that the pattern is not directed against individuals. Almost every time there've been warning phone calls or notes left in sufficient time to clear the premises, because the people who work in such facilities are not the enemy. The people who do the bombings clearly understand that.

The word "people" as we use it doesn't mean just human beings, because of course a policeman or a politician—even Richard Nixon—is a human being. It is a question of class. The police are an arm of the state, and they are definitely not among the forces of "the people." "The people" refers to basically the working class. The police and their bosses are in the political category of the pigs, even though they are of course human beings.

Certain "dove" politicians such as Senator McGovern have lately been denouncing terror tactics. They say that revolutionary violence is forcing a police state into existence.

What do you say to that?

I have a very short answer to that. Bullshit. I mean, the forces in power in any given society never need an excuse to oppress and exterminate people. Whether it be the Jews in Nazi Germany or the Indonesians that Suharto has killed by the hundreds of thousands, or the black or brown people here at home. The people in power, by their very nature, by their very class interest, create a situation where the people have no choice but to resist.

When the people start to righteously resist, then the ruling class stops talking about democracy, which never really existed in the first place. They cast aside all the illusions and just rule by brute force, which is the way they really rule in the first place. Your analysis is obviously Marxist. Now, Marxism-Leninism is predicated upon revolution by the working class. And Chairman Mao also speaks at length about this. Judging from the hardhat demonstrations, the white working class in this country would appear to be pro-fascist. How do you expect a revolution in this country to succeed without them?

When you're talking about construction workers and guys who work on a production line, you're talking about two very different breeds of cats. Not to mention all the people who are employed in factories for \$2 an hour—and in the case of women, even less. So the fascist views of these hardhats in no way reflect, as the establishment would have us believe, the views of the vast majority of the working people. The hippie life style, the freak life style, is in itself viewed as revolutionary, particularly by the media. But the freaks by and large seem to shy away from confrontation. For example, at Portland recently only about a thousand people

showed up for People's Army Jamboree to protest the war. But at the same time some 50,000 freaks showed up 25 miles away for rock festivals—one of which was sponsored by the Governor of Oregon to draw people away from the Portland demonstrations. Does that mean that most freaks are just the same old bourgeois consumers, and aren't revolutionary at all?

To a certain extent the life-style of young people in general, including young working class people, is revolutionary. But the ruling class can tolerate long hair and other weird stuff. They might not like it, but they can tolerate it because it's not any real threat to them. Now what is a basic threat to them is people who are politically conscious, who realize the role that the ruling class plays and who have a solid grasp of revolutionary ideas.

So the so-called life-style, although important, is not the main part of the revolutionary movement. There's plenty of so-called straight people who are plenty goddamned revolutionary. Their revolutionariness doesn't stem from the length of their hair or how much dope they smoke, but from their position

in society.

Do you think it's possible to create a single national movement here, in the same sense that the Tupamaros are a national movement in Uruguay, and the NLF in Vietnam?

Well, it's my view that eventually we're going to have a revolutionary party in this country, that is a communist party, which will represent the vast majority of people. This is just the very infancy of the revolutionary movement and many of the organizations that now exist will fade away, as we've already seen in certain cases. But that's not the important point. The united front will be a grouping not of different organizations, but of different classes and segments of society under the leadership of the industrial proletariat. For instance the intellectual and professional people, whose development is hampered by imperialism because imperialism is not concerned with seeking the truth or with improving the human condition but only with profit. All the people have a stake in defeating imperialism.

You speak of the revolution in this country coming together under the umbrella of communism. It would seem, at least for now, that communism has a very small following here.

I think that the following that communism—let's call it the movement for socialism—has in America, is bigger than most people imagine. When people opt for socialism it's not necessarily on the basis of having the book understanding of what socialism means. People move for socialism on the basis of what the fuck is empirically necessary.

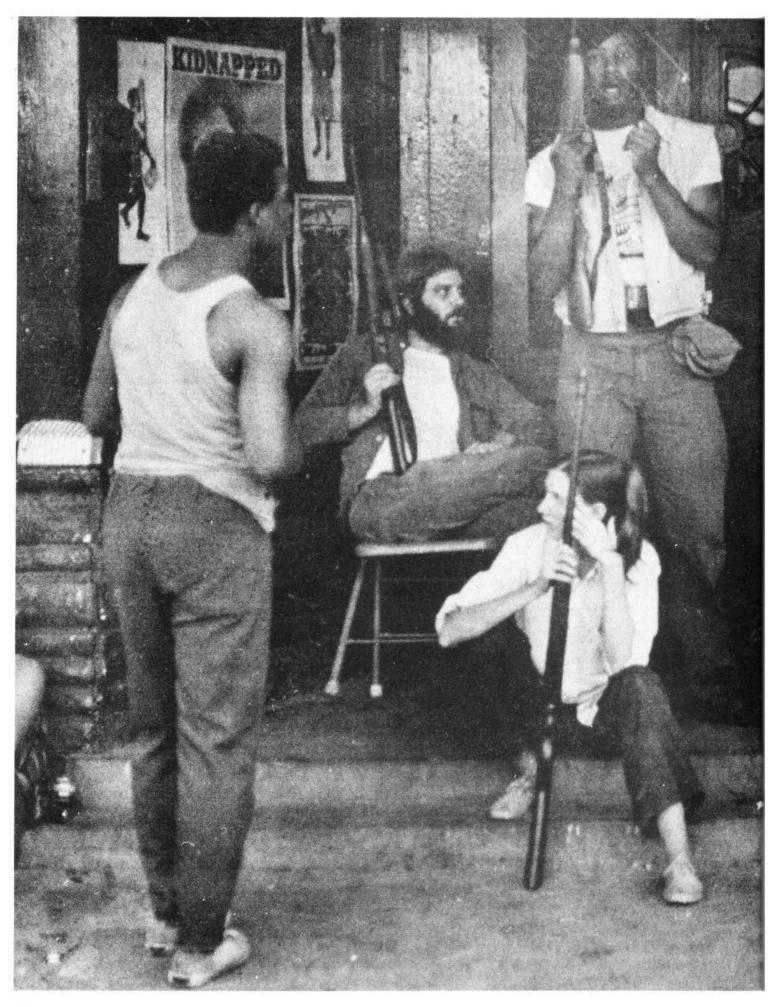
How long do you think it's going to be before we see effective

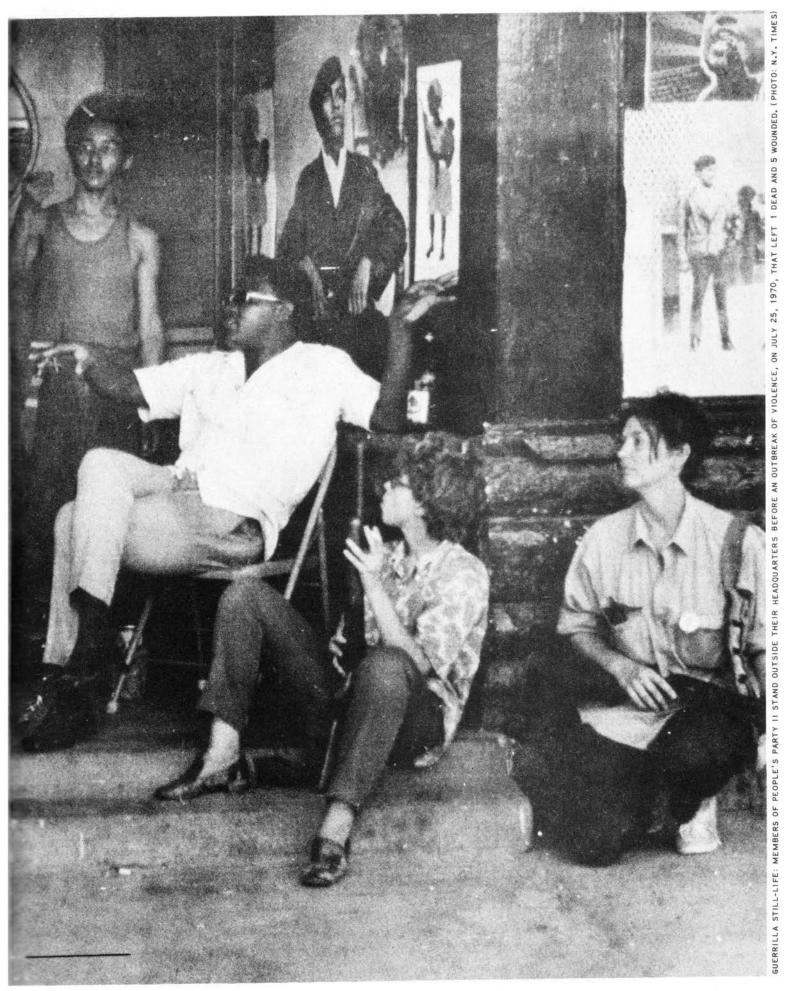
large-scale revolution in this country?

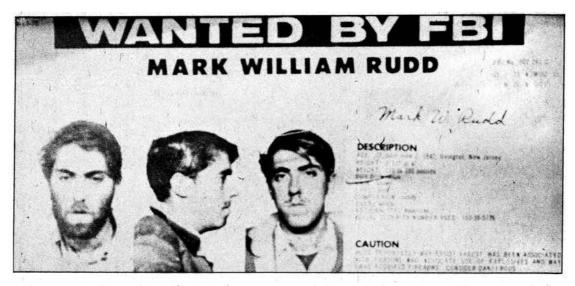
I'll be very disappointed if it doesn't come in my lifetime. I'd say at the most we're talking about 20 years. Like Mao said: "Imperialism is at the end of its rope." It's in a period of extended crisis and ultimate collapse. It may take 10 or 20 years—even 50 years—but it's going to happen.

Do you have anything to say to Mr. and Mrs. America?

Mr. and Mrs. America. Well, that sounds like Mr. and Mrs. Nixon to me. The people are getting wise to you. We see what your game is. And we're on our way.







THE FUTURE FOR GUERRILLAS

[EDITORIAL]

Guerrilla war in the United States is a concept worthy only of its documentation as a reality. Its intellectual base is empty, its practical sense burlesque, its vision as appealing as a parade of basket cases.

All of which should be self-evident to anyone with the slightest knowledge of revolutionary history. To succeed, a revolt requires at the least a dictatorial government and an attainable goal. Whatever may be said of Nixon and Agnew, it takes a particularly psychotic form of paranoia to transform their Elks Club politics into a Stalinist state. And whosoever considers it conceivable that a nation dominated by Pentagon financing and self-serving mores can be transformed by Molotov cocktails, is committable without benefit of jury.

Moreover, to the extent the bombers heretofore depicted have goals, they are as treacherous and despicable as they are sad-assed and hopeless. A dose of Marx, a touch of Trotsky, a drop of Castro, a splash of Fatah – in sum, a cornucopia of despotism.

Self-evident, yes? No. There are those who have the *chutzpah* to compare these kids to the revolutionary heroes of Ireland, Israel, Algeria. The Irish, kicked around for centuries by the English, the Jews of Palestine treated to the British boot after their brothers were turned into soap by the Germans, the Algerians cracked open by the French colons — what a disgrace to compare them with the child bombers of Beverly Hills or Harlem.

In each of these countries there was a foreign power imposing a police state on an indigenous population, In such circumstances the gun has historically been the answer to the noose, and talk of "goals" and "means" was correctly put down as irrelevant.

In his op. ed. my Brother Hinckle correctly asserts

that I favored these revolutions. I add to his insight the fact that my solidarity did not stop at the bourgeois borderline of destroying property. I thought then, and I think now, that the Stern Gang was justified in shooting English soldiers in the back, as ditto the I.R.A. and as likewise the Algerians vis-à-vis the French.

Similarly, I was pleased when Fidel Castro wiped out the Batista dictatorship, though it was less than surprising that he quickly proceeded to set up a quasi-police state in its place.

But I do not perceive the United States as deserving of the grenade. If I did, I hope I would be out there throwing bombs, rather than indulging in the presumption of the cheerleader.

This magazine never implied that there were no rats in Harlem, no rat bastards in Washington, no toilet-training problems in Beverly Hills, no murderous dung heap in Vietnam. But to diagnose the disease is not to prescribe the poison. The fact that we do not like the way people are treated does not justify advocating their suicides. The nation's Radical Sheikdom ought to be a little careful about whose song it sings, while the wine it pours is laced with hemlock.

Since I see no need for the bomb, nor any possibility of its succeeding, nor any hope in its purchasing a better world even if it did succeed, it follows that I must oppose it and surely cannot succor it.

It won't deter even one explosion, of course not. But we started this paper on the absolute that we wouldn't duck a serious issue. As the Great Hinckle eloquently attests herein, he did not think we should take a position on guerrilla war. But I saw, no reason to break an honorable rule for the satisfaction of people whose vocabulary runs from Pig to Motherfucker. Let 'em eat dynamite.

- Sidney E. Zion

[EDITORIAL]

The other editor of this magazine appears compelled to do something about guerrilla warfare.

He feels you must be for it or agin' it, and he is emphatically against it — except in the cases of Israel and Ireland where he has friends who fought that way.

It is presumptuous, in my opinion, for a noncombatant to endorse or condemn a war that is going on in his own country when he isn't out there

fighting on either side.

I have respect for the cops who are catching sniper's bullets on ghetto street corners as part of their relentless "duty." A lot of them who died I am sure never had an inkling of what was so insanely wrong with their country that their fellow citizens were driven to war against them.

I respect the seriousness of the politics, and the commitment to necessary radical change, of the American guerrilla fighters who are so dangerously attempting to change the constipated system of power-brokering which has successfully resisted all liberal and constitutional efforts at major reform.

In writing the text for this issue, I have attempted to account for the reality of guerrilla war without getting us involved in it. The function of advanced journalism is to intellectually and politically analyze such phenomena with reasonable sophistication and objectivity.

It can be of no service to our readers or to society for journalists dealing with a controversial issue to become either ideologues for, or hooligans against.

As a journalist I would prefer to keep it that way,

but we are not always allowed such options.

One important role of the left is to raise moral and political issues in such a way as to force people to choose which side they are on. That appears to be one unexpected function of the guerrilla left in this society.

Thoreau and Emerson said the first question for man was how to make moral energy effective on the earth. That for me remains the first question of politics, and Clauswitz proved long ago that planned violence was but the armed extension of politics.

It is hypocritical to be against violence per se. We accept or endorse violence when it enforces the laws which succor us, or aids in the pursuit of our favorite wars; we are usually against it when it is exercised in opposition to our perceived values.

But violence has qualitative aspects. And I will go as far as to say that there are good bombs and bad bombs, depending on both the motivation for throw-

ing and their ultimate effect.

Defense Secretary Laird said recently that if the current wave of attacks continues against defense research installations and Army facilities on college campuses, the government will have to seriously consider moving such facilities away from the universities to safer climates.

If bombs contributed to that decision, those

bombs were well thrown.

The vice president of the Bank of America also said in a recent speech that businessmen must take

the reform of society into their own hands to rid it of the stagnant social diseases that have led to such violent dissent in the nation. His rationale was selfishly simple: sustained guerrilla war against corporations and stores is bad for business.

If dynamite contributed to that mercantile re-

consideration, it was dynamite well set off.

At this stage of development guerrilla war in the United States is "armed propaganda" which delivers messages to Laird and others without unduly harming the citizenry. It will be a long time before it reaches a more para-military stage, and then it should be judged on its merits at the time.

But for now, it appears that the guerrillas are at least finally meeting Martin Luther King's request for "creative extremists" in our hogbound society. They are blasting some things loose, and I for one

cannot say that is for the worse.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the redheaded German who somehow became the leader of the French student revolt of 1968, once drove that aging intellectual dinosaur Jean Paul Sartre a little crazy in answering Sartre's request to define student radical politics. Cohn-Bendit asserted that "We must not dream of destroying bourgeois society." As Sartre blinked, Cohn-Bendit explained that "We are moving toward a perpetually changing society, modified by revolutionary actions at every stage."

There are those in this country who share Sartre's confusion about the nature of revolution and the process of change. Their usual reaction is to maintain that "it can't happen here" because of some set of social or political conditions they perceive as immutable. But the guerrillas appear in no hurry and are settling down for a long winter's struggle; they know that only soothsayers, fools, and hypnotized

Marxists predict history with impunity.

Many naysayers forget that the disorder in this nation is the direct result of the failure of the orderly process. Even Hannah Arendt, while inveighing against violence as an uncertain domestic instrument, allows that the relentless goose step of bureaucratization and centralization of power has caused "the drying up or oozing away of all authentic power sources" in the democratic system. This leaves violence high and dry as the only tool for the redress of grievances. Now this is an excellent diagnosis for which she has no cure. The guerrillas share her diagnosis, and are advancing their own cure.

We cannot blame the guerrillas for the process which has brought this society to such a crisis condition that astonishing numbers of people are forsaking the ballot for the bomb. And we cannot revitalize the system simply by wishing the bombers away, or by cursing them in the dark after they have

blown up the Con Edison power substation.

The only way to bombproof this society is to reform the system. The alternatives are repression or revolution, and probably both, and not necessarily in that order.

As for guerrillas? Personally, I think those I've met are all right, and I refuse to beat them up.

- Warren Hinckle

Advertisement:

Dear Warren . .

Here's the Wallposter ad, along with a few space problems that I've hopefully

solved, to wit:

1) Drop the subscription box and run my copy in that space. Given the vicious subscription price, I think we'd be better off soliciting \$2 sample shots . . . and that way we'll also have room to run the copy, which says a lot more than the box box.

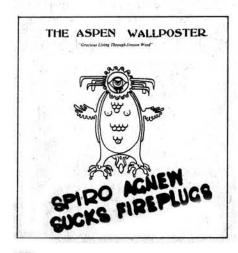
2) The other alternative is to do whatever you want with the fucker. Rearrange the whole goddamn ad, for all I care. And by way of explanation, this "Agnew Sucks Fireplugs" thing was the cover we had planned for WP #3—but the local

printer refused to touch it.

All this whole thing proves to me is that I'm clearly not worth a shit as an ad-writer-and particularly not as an adwriter cum politician cum publisher. So I leave the bugger in your hands, tor good or ill. Since my last dreary letter, our finances have taken a fast turn for the better. We are now in the black, somehow, and that kind of fatness embarrasses me. WP #5 is in the works & this one will fuck us all. I have made a list of all our enemies-and many of our friends-involved in local land-rape enterprises, and we intend to savage them all. The list is massive—everybody from R. O. Anderson, president of Atlantic-Richfield, to people who worked on the Joe Edwards campaign. And along with this list of greedheads & their transgressions, we will publish a scoreboard-showing that we have whipped, terrified & destroyed all those we have attacked thus far. . . .

—Hunter

[REJECTED LAYOUT]



[AD COPY THAT DIDN'T FIT IN REJECTED LAYOUT]

Are you ready to drop out? Flee the city? Screw off to the Rockies and seize a ripe chunk of the Good Life? If so, first do yourself a favor—read the Aspen Wallposter and be the first on your block to have your illusions come home in a tube.

The Rape of Aspen is a mushrooming horror story, designed by experts to drive even the most zealous freak/liberal/would-be agrarian escapist straight to his knees. What began in the 1950's as a chic seduction by ski-mongers and jet-setters soon became a frenzied gang-rape of the

whole valley.

Aspen has been skillfully merchandised from coast to coast as a weird little skicommune & culture-spa, full of happy refugees from the Nazi/plastic nightmare of Urban Amerika. And a lot of people came here, believing that treacherous swill-most of it written by hired geeks in the pay of such monsters as Boise Cascade, American Cement, First Nationa City Bank of New York, Texas Interna-tional Petroleum, Minnie Pearl Chicken, Head Ski and Holiday Inn. The hype was compounded by greedheads like John Wayne, Leon Uris and Robert McNamara, who lent the dubious prestige of their names to some of the ugliest "development" schemes since the Florida real estate boom of the 1920's.

Meanwhile, all political power was centered in a Nazi-oriented cartel of local businessmen who instructed the cops to do whatever was "necessary" to protect the town's image—and their own foul investments—from desecration by freaks, hippies, dope-suckers & other strange weeds that were threatening, by the end of the '60s, to take permanent root in the

merchants' profit-garden.

Then, with no warning—in the fall of '69—Aspen's long-smoldering Underground suddenly flexed its political muscle and came within six (6) votes of electing a twenty-nine-year-old head, lawyer & bikeracer as mayor. Joe Edwards lost by a hair—but the establishment lost three of its crucial City Council seats, and the mayor's tie-breaking vote is now all that keeps the greedheads in control of Aspen

The Wallposter was created in the wake of that campaign, to maintain the energy & keep the swine off balance—a full-size poster, on heavy paper, with the Brute/Color graphics of Rev. Thomas Benton on one side, and the savage screeds of the Rev. Hunter S. Thompson on the other.

After only four issues the Wallposter has grown from an esoteric local handbill to a nationally distributed monster that drives the local cops & greedheads completely crazy each time it appears. The first issue blew the county attorney out of office; #2 introduced Jimson Weed & the sexual aspects of Sumo wrestling to local newsstands; #3 caused banks in New York & Boston to pull out of a huge land-rape project, which soon collapsed; and #4 destroyed the sheriff.

Issue #5 will very likely destroy the Wallposter, the Meat Possum Press and all those associated with it. But we are now whipping it together, for good or ill, and if our infrastructure survives this next one, #6 will carry the Reverend Thompson's declaration of candidacy for the office of county sheriff—along with his platform, now being hashed together with the help of Sgt. Sunshine & Wes Pomeroy, the main cop at Woodstock.

Further issues will detail the Rout of the Greedheads & the collapse of the local money/politics establishment. . . and the implications of this battle plan extend far beyond Aspen. The question here is not How to Work Within the System, or How to Destroy It—but rather How to Seize It, how to drive the pigs off the ship without sinking the ship itself & putting us all in life rafts. It is the simple assumption that political power in this country is stagnant & static, until the people learn how to use it.

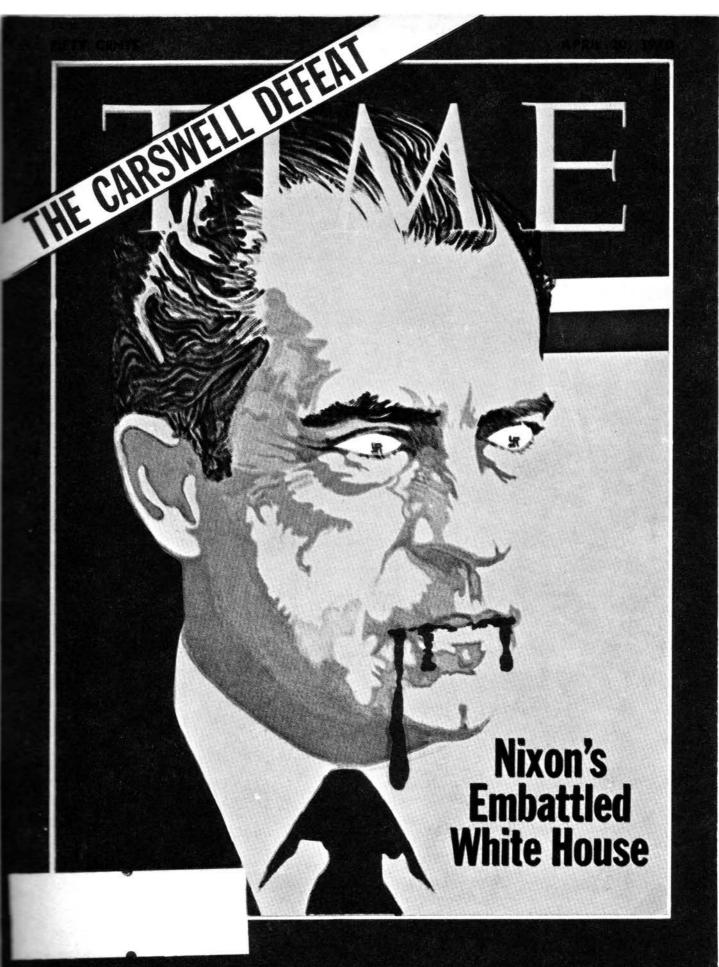
Maybe not—but on the basis of last fall's experiment, we're ready for another run at the bastards, and this time we plan to win. The Wallposter will be the main voice of this effort. It was conceived more as a political tool than either a newspaper or a poster—but it has evolved, very quickly, into a combination of all three. And on that basis we intend to run the bugger full bore for as long as there's

room to run.

—The editors



(Introductory issues of the Aspen Wall-poster are available for \$2.00 each, post-paid, from Box K-3, Aspen, Colorado, 81611. Each sample contains a subscription form & all details. A few complete sets of all four back issues are available at \$7.00 per set, which includes heavy mailing tube & vicious postage charges.)



CENSORED WALLPOSTER #5]

Wallposter Graphic Perversion by Rev. Tom Benton

A social document you can play on the piano... Or on a guitar...Or sing a cappella

Eighty-two songs that ignited a generation...assembled in permanent form to be experienced as music, poetry, protest, culture-shock and a new morality.

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Virtually every significant song of the decade is included—from the kaleido-scopic delights of Lennon and McCartney to the subtle imagery of Paul Simon and the hard but hopeful realities of Bob Dylan.

Some notable features:

• The words and music of all 82 songs are printed in full and arranged for voice, piano and guitar.

- A heavy duty spiral binding keeps the pages lying flat without help on the piano or music rack—and open to the place you want.
- If you were to play and sing without stopping, it would take you about five hours to go through the whole book just once!
- If you are of a practical turn of mind, note that the songs would cost five times the price of the book if purchased separately.
- Especially for this book, the music of the Sixties has been analyzed, "decoded" and reconsidered in the light of America's generational, technological and racial crisis by record producer and arranger, Milton Okun, and by political expert Tom Wicker, associate editor of The Times.
- Special Feature: A gallery of photographs capturing the essence of the Sixties: the people, the dramatic events, the political upheaval, the laughter and the lunacy of those explosive years.



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 Mellow Yellow Monday, Monday
 Mr. Tambourine Man . Mrs. Robinson . Ode to Billy Joe Papa's Got a Brand New Bag Respect Satisfaction
 Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud . Society's Child . The Sound of Silence . Spinning Wheel . Suzanne Those Were The Days The Times They Are a-Changin' . Turn! Turn! Turn! Waist Deep in Big Muddy Walk On By . We Shall Overcome . The Weight Where Have All the Flowers Gone? Yesterday . And 38 more!

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