

United Socialist Party of Venezuela: A Hybrid Threat to the United States

Dr. Ariel Sheen
Director of Operations – Citizens Intelligence Agency
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“The Bolivarian Revolution was designed to expand itself.”

Joseph M. Humire
Executive Director of the Center for a Secure Free Society
The Middle Eastern Origin of the Venezuela Crisis Presentation
November 26, 2019

“...if you ask me how the relations with the United States go, with the U.S. people, with its society, I must say that we never had better relations with the people, with the universities, with the intellectuals, with the unions and social and religious movements.” They never before were so good. If we make a profile of the status of the social and political relations between the social movements and peoples of Venezuela, and the social movements and peoples of the United States, this is the best moment ever.”

Nicolás Maduro Moros
President of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela
Speech at the United Nations
September 24, 2014

ABSTRACT	10
SUMMARY	10
Part I - Legal Definitions of Front Groups and Proxies	10
Soviet Union	10
Cuba	11
Synthesis	11
Part II - Collecting Data	13
Part III - Processing Data	13
Part IV - Exploiting Data	13
Part V - Disseminating the Intelligence	14
History: Goals and Strategies	14
Descriptions of the Twelve Hybrid Threat Domains with Examples	14
Context	14
Secondary Assessments: Literature Review	14
Final Assessment	15
Information Not Included	15
Comprehensive Description of Venezuelan-allied groups in the United States	15
Comparative Analysis of Hybrid Threat / Irregular Warfare Models	15
Financial Analysis of Hybrid Threat Actors	16
VENEZUELA AS HYBRID THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES: REVOLUTIONARY AMBITIONS AND STRATEGY	16
ALBA-TCP: An Instrument for International Subversion	18
The United Nations: Another PSUV Target	19
Comparison of CIA Analysis to Other Reports on Venezuela	19
Conclusion	21
SOCIAL FORUM: SITE FOR ORGANIZATIONAL TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND RECRUITMENT	22
Boston: Test Run for a National Social Forum Process	22
Social Forums Monitored by Cuban Government and Affiliates	24
Cuban Communist Party	24
Alliance for Global Justice	25
U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange: A Proxy for the Cuban Government in the U.S. Social Forum	27
National Lawyers Guild: A Proxy for the Cuban Government in the U.S. Social Forum	27
Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN)	28
Monitoring of the World Social Forum	28

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP)	29
FARC-EP's International Relations Strategy	29
International Relations Case Study: Nidia Quintero	30
FENSUAGRO	31
COCCAM	31
Marcha Patriótica	31
Sample of Activities in the United States	32
Sample of Persons Networked with: Cassia Laham	33
Social Forum as Convergence Site for US Communist Groups & Foreign Terrorist Organizations	33
HYBRID THREATS: DEFINITIONS, ACTORS, AND ACTIVITIES	34
Cyber	34
TeleSUR English	34
TeleSUR as Informational Warfare Apparatus	35
Academic Assessments	35
Government Assessments	36
Former Employee Assessments	36
Venezuela's Media Partners: FARA-Registered	37
Al Jazeera	37
FitzGibbon Media	37
Venezuela's Media Partners: Not FARA Registered	37
Context: 'Media Companies' Funding Foreign Agents	37
TeleSUR as Intelligence Collection Apparatus	38
TeleSUR's Participation in Radical Political Events	38
Occupy Wall Street	38
2006 Border Social Forum	38
2010 Allied Media Conference in Detroit	38
2010 United States Social Forum in Detroit	39
2015 United States Social Forum in San Jose	39
2015 United States Social Forum in Philadelphia	39
People's Climate March	39
Protests in Ferguson, Missouri	39
The Standing Rock Protests	40
Movement for Black Lives Conference	40
2016 RNC Protest	40
Coverage following the 2016 Election	40
2017 People's Congress of Resistance	40
TeleSUR as Funding Source for Socialist Activists	41
Vincent Emanuel	41
Mike Prysner	41
Abby Martin	41
Bill Fletcher Jr.	41
Laura Flanders	41
Rodrigo Venegas and Gonzalo Venegas	41
Space	42

Communications - Inside the United States	42
The AFL-CIO's Guide to Colombia: Dan Kovalik	42
Communication Workers of America Resolutions	43
Resolution 77A-19-6: International Worker Solidarity	44
Resolution 77A-19-07: Censuring President Trump for Racist Attacks	44
UPTE-CWA 9119's Resolution and Call for Concurrence	45
Conferences by Venezuelan-government affiliated activists	45
Economy	45
SEIU	46
Delegation to Venezuela	46
Boston Social Forum	46
United States Social Forum	46
Attended Encuentro Sindical – Nuestro América Conference	46
Organizational Support from TeleSUR Board Members	47
Support for Cuban Spies	47
Support for Alex Saab	47
Support of Strikes for Social Forum Promoted Policies	47
Boston School Bus Drivers Union	47
Former President and Vice President visit Venezuela	47
Support for Alex Saab	47
President Declares Support for Venezuela and President Maduro	48
Picketing for COVID Act	48
National Nurses Union	48
Director of Public Policy Attended Social Forum	48
Director of Public Policy Attended Meeting of the Socialist Internationale	48
Endorsed Application of the Cuban Health Care Model to the United States	48
Summary	49
Military/Defence	50
Julian Assange	50
Collaboration with the World Social Forum Network	50
Protection Given by State Governments Affiliated with the Bolivarian Movement	51
Advocacy by ALBA Movimientos	51
Legal Defense/Media Promotion by Venezuelan Linked Organizations	51
Context: The Cuban Origins of "Hands Off" Movements	52
Hands Off Venezuela	52
Hands Off Cuba	53
Hands Off Assata	53
Culture	53
Network of Artists and Intellectuals in Defense of Humanity	53
Sample of REDH Goals, Tactics and Strategies	54
Sample of Specific Objectives set by REDH	54
Sample of REDH's Priority Areas/Actions	54
Context: February 15, 2003 Protests, REDH, and Venceremos Brigade Alumni	55
Members of REDH's U.S. Chapter	56
REDH-Associated Activities	57

Political	57
Democratic Socialists of America	59
Proposed Foreign Affairs Legislation	59
Proposed Domestic Affairs Legislation	62
Legal	66
Unión Del Barrio (UdB)	67
Participation in Encuentro Sindical Nuestra America Conference (ESNA)	67
Participation in March Against Venezuelan Sanctions	67
Participation in the Hands Off Alex Saab Movement	67
Advocacy for California's Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum	67
Preventing Activities of Immigration and Customs Enforcement	68
National Lawyers Guild (NLG)	68
NLG meets with Venezuelan Embassy Staff	68
NLG Participates in the Social Forum	68
NLG co-organizes Trips to meet with Marcha Patriótica, Fensuagro	68
NLG President Expresses Solidarity for Venezuela	68
Diplomacy	68
Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA)	69
William Camacaro	69
Institute for Policy Studies	69
Staff	69
Nefta Freeman	70
Policy Activities	70
Center for Economic and Policy Research	72
Marc Weisbrot	72
CEPR Political Strategizing Activities with Cuba	72
Public Administration	72
Malcolm X Grassroots Movement	72
Receipt and Distribution of Goods from the PSUV	72
Cosponsor of Hands Off Venezuela Events	72
Cooperation Jackson	73
Director admits cooperation with PSUV	73
"Every 28 Hours": Cuban Propaganda Shared by U.S. Congress Members	73
Barbara Lee	73
John Lewis	73
Sheila Jackson Lee	74
Coordinated Protests, Cultural Events Across the U.S. due to Cuban Propaganda	74
Author of "28-hour" Claim a Communist Affiliated with the Venezuelan and Cuban Governments	75
Contemporary connections to Venezuela and Cuba	76
Information	76
Teachers Unions	77
Chicago Teachers Union	77
CTU Advocacy on behalf of PSUV	77
Jesse Sharkey	77

Stacy Davis Gates	77
Sarah Chambers	77
United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA)	78
Cecily Myart-Cruz	78
Attended the 2020 World Education Congress	78
Other 2020 World Congress of Education Program Attendees	78
Rebecca Garelli	79
Sara Chambers	79
Monique Dols	79
Peter McLaren	80
Bill Ayers	80
Anaida Colón-Muñiz	80
Luis Huerta-Charles	81
Juan Ramirez	81
Teaching-Related Organizations	81
Zinn Education Project	81
Professional Associations	81
American Sociological Association	81
Erik Olin-Wright	82
Promotes the World Social Forum as a Model for Revolutionary Transformation	82
Ruth Milkman	82
Self-identification as a socialist	82
Contributor to the Socialist Review	82
Democratic Socialists of America describes her as a member	82
Cultural Studies Association	82
Imre Szeman	82
Jaafar Aksikas	83
National Women's Studies Association	83
Premilla Nadasen	83
Barbara Ransby	83
American Studies Association	84
Scott Kurashige	84
Cites World Social Forum motto in ASA Statement	84
Participated in the U.S. Social Forum	84
Friend, "Comrade," and Grantmaker for U.S. Social Forum Organizer	84
Lisa Duggan	84
Describes Venezuela, World Social Forum as Source of Strategic Guidance for the Left	84
Ruth Wilson Gilmore	84
Walter Rodney Foundation	85
University Professors	85
Agustin Lao-Montes	85
Leading Member of ARAAC	85
Collaboration with Venezuelan-led Political Organs II	87
Ann Robertson	87
Member of U.S. Socialist Parties affiliated with the PSUV	87
Advocates U.S. Socialists Groups Follow Venezuela	87
Akinyele Umoja	88
Meeting with Nicolás Maduro I	88

Meeting with Nicolás Maduro II	88
Travel to Venezuela	88
Academic Presentation with Venezuelan Ambassador	88
Conference with Venezuelan Ambassador	89
Memorial Service with Venezuelan Ambassador	89
New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) Activist	89
Context: Longstanding Historical Links between U.S. Afrikan Organizations and Cuban Government	89
Layla Brown	89
Travel to Cuba	89
Participation in Venezuelan-government sponsored political meetings	90
Describes Venezuelan 'Comrades' as Source of Guidance for Activism	90
Steven Klees	90
Participation in the World Social Forum	90
Commitment to Anti-Capitalist Activism	91
Dr. Curry Malott	91
Contributor to PSUV-Affiliated News Media Publications	91
Conference with Cuban-Government Official	91
Member of Venezuelan-Government Proxy Group	92
Dr. Rebecca Tarlau	92
Academics and Activists Collaborate Directly with Nicolas Maduro	92
Context: Parallels with CCP Infiltration of International Educational Organizations	93
Hiring Practices at UMASS	94
Suspension of Jodi Dean	94
Hiring of Jared Ball	94
Firing of Anthony Monteiro	95
Protests to Rehire Anthony Monteiro	95
Statement from Democratic Socialists of America National Political Committee	96
Context: U.S. Parallels with the Communist Party of Peru - Shining Path Founding	96
Critical Infrastructure	97
Organized Resistance to Dakota Access Pipeline	98
Black Nationalist Organizations	98
All-African People's Revolutionary Party	98
Indigenous Tribes	99
Indigenous Organizations	100
Red Nation	100
Founder travels to Venezuela	100
American Indian Movement	100
International Meeting of Resistance and Solidarity of Indigenous Peoples and Peasants	100
First International Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Indigenous Peoples of America	100
Statement Solidarity of Cuba and Venezuela by AIM-WEST	101
AIM-WEST meets with Venezuelan Government Official	101
Indigenous Environmental Network	101
Socialists	102
Doctors trained at Latin American School of Medicine (ELAM) in Cuba	102
Institute for Policy Studies	102

Boston School Bus Drivers Union	102
Party for Socialism and Liberation	102
National Nurses Union	102
Intelligence	103
Context: PSUV's Clandestine/Terrorist/Foreign Party Allies	104
Provisional Communist Party	104
FARC-EP Affiliates	106
Emiliano Lemos - Case Study	106
Collaboration with the United Nations	107
Attended the 10th Conference of the FARC-EP	107
Demands Release of FARC-EP Prisoners	107
'Solidarity' with the FARC-EP	108
Support of Gustavo Petro/Jesús Santrich	108
Affiliation with the Democratic Party, NAACP	108
Support for Democratic Party Candidates	108
Estimated size of the FARC-affiliated immigrant community in the United States	108
Context: Colombian Political Refugees in Spain	109
FMLN Affiliates	110
Francisco Pacheco - Case Study	110
NDLON Activity	110
Admission to Collaboration with Brazil's MST	110
New People's Army Affiliates	111
Venezuelan Ambassador Participated in Founding of Group Created by a Terrorist	111
Academic Assessment of Social Forum-Affiliated Networks	112
Jobs with Justice (JwJ)	113
Sarita Gupta:	113
Erica Smiley:	113
Robert Naiman	113
Venezuelan Government Employee	114
Rev. Cecil Charles Prescod	114
Participation in Hands Off Venezuela event	114
Additional Jobs with Justice Links to Venezuelan Government Affiliated Networks	114
Grassroots Global Justice	114
Participation in America's Social Forum in Guatemala	114
Participation in America's Social Forum in Paraguay	115
Project South	115
United States Social Forum National Planning Committee Member	115
Sent Delegates to Cuba	115
Attended the third COMPRA conference in Venezuela	115
Right to the City Alliance	115
National Domestic Workers Alliance	116
National Day Laborer Organizing Network	116
Journalism-Based Assessment of Social Forum Affiliated Movements	116
Mijente	116

B. Loewe	116
Marisa Franco	116
Cindy Weisner	116
Nelini Stamp	117
Southerners on New Ground	117
Native Organizers Alliance	117
Academic Assessment of U.S. - Venezuelan Relations	117
Venezuela's Targets: Democrats, Socialists, Indigenous, Black Nationalists	118
SUMMARY	119
FINAL ASSESSMENT	120

Abstract

This report applies organizational taxonomies developed by adapting those created by the U.S. Congress and the Organization of American States to individuals and organizations within the United States to identify individuals that can be classified as acting as proxies working on behalf of the Venezuelan government.

It then presents source information regarding the activities of these individuals and organizations and categorizes them according to the Hybrid Threat model.

This process of knowledge development proves conclusively that once Hugo Chávez Frías became president of Venezuela, the government he helped restructure and their collaborators within the Cuban government provided extensive financial, ideological, operational, and organizational support to individuals and organizations in the United States.

Summary

The following section describes the structure of the below report.

Part I - Legal Definitions of Front Groups and Proxies

During the Cold War, Communist Party managed governments, first the Soviet Union and later Cuba, led a subversive assault against Western governments by directing the activities of citizens within their own countries and providing operational support.

The criteria governments established criteria

Soviet Union

The U.S. Congress's *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications*, first published in 1948 and revised and expanded three more times, presents the then recent history of the international communist movement and contains descriptions how to identify front organizations operating in the United States on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the types of activities they typically engage in once established¹.

This report was produced because shortly after the Communist Party captured control of Russia, they sought to export its revolutionary movement worldwide and to undermine nations deemed to be their enemies. The Communists' desire for centralized economic control replicated itself on the international political scene. Communist Parties outside of the Soviet Union looked to Moscow for direction and support. While local political concerns certainly played a role in the activities of communist parties located in the U.S., the international communist movement was subservient to the will of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

¹ U.S. Congress. *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* [and Appendixes]. <https://oregondigital.org/concern/documents/df72cx02b?locale=en>

The identification criteria established in this text was such that if an organization based in the United States had one of thirteen types of relationships with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they were then considered a front group for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Cuba

The Organization of American States' *Combined Reports on Communist Subversion*, published in 1965, presents the then recent history of the international communist movement as well as descriptions on how to identify organizations operating throughout Latin America that operated on behalf of the Cuban Communist Party².

This report was produced as, shortly following the capture of Cuba by a coalition of groups led by Fidel Castro and the 26 of July Movement - which would later transform into the Cuban Communist Party - a government-sponsored effort was launched whose goal was to expand the Cuban Communist Party's sphere of influence across Latin America. Such efforts included assistance in the formation of groups engaged in armed conflict with governments as well as non-kinetic, subversive efforts.

The identification criteria established in this text focuses on persons and groups receiving training in Cuba, as well as the delineation of the specific strategies, techniques, and activities that - when implemented - match the strategic goals of the Cuban Communist Party. The rationale for the publication of this document, which pivots from the categorization model previously produced to describe proxies of the Soviet Union in the United States, was due in part to the successes of the House of Un-American Activities Committee in publishing information which demonstrated that U.S. Communist Party members' received direction and support from the Soviet Union.

Synthesis

The categorization schemes developed by the U.S. Congress and OAS documents are insightful, but also inadequate for understanding the evolution of socialist strategy in North, Central and South America since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989.

The rise of the São Paulo Forum network in 1990, the Hemispheric Social Alliance in 1997, the World Social Forum network in 2001, as well as similar such forums developing other types of thematic transnational alliances - Latin American Communist parties have increasingly taken a leadership role of the International Communist movement within the Americas and been able to fund leaders through a variety of direct and indirect methods.

This was accomplished in large part by exploiting horizontalist operational principles; by using segmented, polycentric, ideological networks to achieve their goals. "The Party" in other words, transformed from operating on democratic centralism principles to operating via social network interconnected leaders directing social movement front-groups, unions, and NGOs allied to a party-core.

Academic literature that analyzes the growth and development of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN) demonstrate that such a transformation of practices is not wholly unique to the International Communist Movement³. Socialist Affiliated Transnational Advocacy Networks (SATAN) - which consists of front groups, NGOs, unions, union caucuses, and other organizations which function as the primary

² U.S. Congress - Committee on the Judiciary. Organization of American States Combined Reports on Communist subversion. https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11262321_000

³ Margaret E. Keck, Kathryn Sikkink. Transnational Advocacy Networks in international and regional politics. <https://courses.washington.edu/pbaf531/KeckSikkink.pdf>

strategic base by which political parties affiliated with the International Communist Movement to train, organize, fund, and direct political activities - are a sub-type of TAN.

SATAN has been increasingly active in the United States since 1996. In July 1996 the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN - Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional), an armed indigenous group led by Marxists, convened the Intercontinental Gathering for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism in Mexico. Many heads of SATAN living within the US heeded the EZLN's calls to strategize about how to end neoliberalism. Numerous political scientists and historians, including those affiliated with the Tricontinental Institute for Social Research, cite this and the events around it as the beginning of the alter-globalization movement⁴.

The RAND Corporation published multiple reports on this - including *The Zapatista "Social Netwar" in Mexico*. Based on their case study the authors coined the term social netwar to describe "to societal conflict and crime, short of war, in which the antagonists are organized more as sprawling "leaderless" networks than as tight-knit hierarchies"^{5,6}. While RAND's "social netwar" framework enables a more contemporary description of how the international communist movement now operates than the U.S. Congress and OAS model - it still has limits.

Using the aforementioned documents and others a methodology called Political Intelligence Terrain Analysis (PITA) was developed by Dr. Ariel Sheen. Its procedures, processes, formulas, and standards were developed by adapting the knowledge production and management techniques and procedures used by U.S. intelligence, military, and law enforcement communities. It's specific methods, procedures, and processes are private and proprietary; however it can be disclosed that for the purpose of this report, the following definitional schema was used to classify proxies for foreign governments. An individual or organization is defined as a proxy for Venezuela or Cuba if they are a/an:

- Employee, contractor, or business partner of the Venezuelan or Cuban government-run companies, agencies, or enterprises.
- Employee, contractor, or business partner of allies of the Venezuelan or Cuban governments (Russia, China, Iran).
- Employee, contractor, business partner, or grantee of an enterprise owned/managed by the Venezuelan or Cuban government, ie TeleSUR, Petróleos de Venezuela, S.A (PDVSA), or Citgo.
- Employee, contractor, or business partner of a company with whose owners or managers are affiliated with those within the Venezuelan government.
- Member of an organization that cooperates with political campaigns, or activities sponsored by the Venezuelan or Cuban governments.
- Member of an organization that has avowed solidarity with the Venezuelan, Cuban, or ALBA-affiliated governments.
- Member of an organization that follows the Venezuelan or Cuban party line and promotes Venezuelan or Cuban interests.
- Member of an organization that has engaged in political training or consultation events in Venezuela, Cuba, or another country that is a member of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America – Peoples' Trade Treaty (ALBA-TCP).

⁴ José Seoane. Movimientos sociales e internacionalismo en Nuestra América : del ciclo de conflictividad y cambios sociopolíticos a la ofensiva neoliberal actual.

https://thetricontinental.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Movimientos-sociales-e-internacionalismo_Seoane_et_al.pdf

⁵ John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt. The Advent Of Netwar. https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR789.html

⁶ David Ronfeldt, John Arquilla, Graham Fuller, Melissa Fuller. The Zapatista "Social Netwar" in Mexico. https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR994.html

- Attendee of political events in the United States where Venezuelan or Cuban government agents, ambassadors, or their network affiliates were present.
- Attendee of meetings sponsored, promoted or attended by the Venezuelan or Cuban government.
- Recipient of awards or prizes from Venezuela, Cuba, or their allies.
- Member of an organization that delivers funds, goods, or services directly or indirectly to persons or organizations in Venezuela or Cuba.

Part II - Collecting Data

The information contained within the below report, after being selected and processed according to the PITA methodology, comes from a collection process that includes, but is not limited to sources such as:

- Publicly available documents published by the Venezuelan and Cuban governments.
- Publicly available documents published by the United States.
- Periodicals published by U.S. based Socialist, Communist, and Pan-Africanist political parties (i.e. Communist Party USA, Workers World Party, the Party for Socialism and Liberation, Socialist Workers Party, the All-African Revolutionary People's Party, etc.) and movements (Black-Left Unity Network, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, BAYAN, etc.).
- Publications within academic journals.
- Publicly available master's and doctoral theses.
- Publications containing information regarding political, economic, and academic conferences.
- News media content.
- Content posted on Facebook, Instagram, X, other social media sites, and blogs.
- Information collected from interviews.

Part III - Processing Data

Event and Identity reports were developed from the above data sources. These reports contain the date(s), subject(s), location(s), summaries of events, rankings as to the reliability of data sources, and full text links to the source(s), and other relevant information. These materials were then processed and imported into Sentinel Visualizer⁷. Graphs of the social network maps and timelines charted from this process covering the material in this report are not included in this report.

Part IV - Exploiting Data

Following the processing of the data according to the methodology outlined above, it was then structured according to the schema contained in *The Landscape of Hybrid Threats: A Conceptual Model* by Georgios Giannopoulos, Hanna Smith, and Marianthi Theocharidou⁸. The production of this model was sponsored by the European Commission and the Hybrid Center of Excellence and examines Russian activities in Europe. The schema from this publication was selected as it succinctly:

“describes the components of hybrid threats in terms of actors, their objectives, tools, the domains that can be compromised, as well as the different phases of action. The model aims to

⁷ Sentinel Visualizer. Advanced Link Analysis, Data Visualization, Social Network Analysis (SNA), and Geospatial Mapping. <https://www.fmsasg.com/>

⁸ Georgios Giannopoulos, Hanna Smith, Marianthi Theocharidou. *The Landscape of Hybrid Threats: A Conceptual Model*. <https://www.hybridcoe.fi/publications/the-landscape-of-hybrid-threats-a-conceptual-model>

facilitate the early detection of hybrid threats, the identification of gaps in preparedness, the response to such threats, and the development of effective measures to counter this complex phenomenon.”

The first element of the schema developed in *The Landscape of Hybrid Threats* is the identification of individuals or groups which have overlapping interests with a foreign government. This report by the Hybrid Center of Excellence then analyzes the activities of the Russian government and their proxies in Europe according to twelve dimensions that interact. This report uses the twelve dimensions as described, but to more firmly ground our report within a historical North, Central and South American context, we instead use the identification model synthesized from the U.S. Congress and OAS documents described above to establish linkages between domestic U.S. actors/organizations with foreign government(s) and their partner organizations.

Part V - Disseminating the Intelligence

This section describes the structure of the report which follows.

History: Goals and Strategies

This report begins with a historical summary of Venezuela and Cuba’s geostrategic goals, as evidenced from government documents, speeches by government officials, and their activities.

Descriptions of the Twelve Hybrid Threat Domains with Examples

This report continues by presenting examples of activities which fit the twelve domains described in the Hybrid Threat model. which consists of twelve distinct domains that interact with one another. The twelve sections below are structured as follows:

1. Definition of a domain extracted from *The Landscape of Hybrid Threats: A Conceptual Model*
2. Data demonstrating linkage(s) between Venezuelan government agents and U.S. based political actors (citizens or non-citizens).
3. Actions taken by the U.S. based actors which are related to the domain.

How these twelve domains interact are not described in any of these sections but are covered in brief in the Final Assessment section.

Context

Within several of the twelve sections defining hybrid threat domains and providing examples, additional historical or comparative context into the activities of actors categorizable as proxies of Venezuela, Cuba, and the international communist movement are provided. We’ve included this information to highlight similar activities undertaken by Communist and Socialist groups described within the recent past.

Secondary Assessments: Literature Review

Presently, there are few published books and reports which describe Venezuelan and/or Cuban government activities as a hybrid threat within North America. Most accounts which examine Venezuelan and Cuban state influence operations focus on their activities toward other Latin American countries.

While the few published reports which cover Venezuela and Cuba's threats to the United States are of significant value, we've decided not to include analysis from these reports in this one.

Instead, we examine three articles which demonstrate that there is a wide-ranging knowledge gap that exists in academic and journalistic articles on U.S.-based political, economic, and social movements. We made this decision to highlight how organizations based in the United States, which are able to be categorized as subversive front groups for Cuba and Venezuela, are effectively concealed by inferior research methods (i.e. non-intelligence-based methods) as well as to show that there is research literature which does detail Venezuela's efforts at cultivating relationships with black nationalist and black identity extremist organizations within the United States.

Final Assessment

This section provides a narrative account of how the twelve domains interact. Since the purpose of this report is to validate that the Hybrid Threat Model can be used to analyze the activities of Venezuelan government agents in the United States and those with whom they interact - this report should not be considered a holistic account of Venezuelan-supported activities in the U.S. The individuals/groups we present in this report represent only a small fraction of the total number of proxies identified. The Final Assessment section, thus, provides only a broad overview of the ways in which the networks described operate in a synergistic manner.

Information Not Included

Comprehensive Description of Venezuelan-allied groups in the United States

This report does not provide a comprehensive account of all the actors, organizations, relationships, and activities identified during the collection, processing, and exploitation phases which validate the claim that Venezuela and Cuba have developed networks in the United States acting in a manner definable as a hybrid threat.

This report limits itself to validating the following statement as true:

Categorization models developed by the U.S. Congress and Organization of American States for identifying foreign subversion by Communist Parties that have been adapted to the present conditions of the International Communist Movement demonstrate that Venezuela and Cuba have been providing material and operational support to groups in the United States engaged in hybrid threat activity.

It should also be noted that evidence which demonstrates that other foreign states and transnational movements allied with Venezuela and Cuba's governments (China, Russia, Iran, HAMAS, PFLP, etc.) which were detected during our research process were similarly not covered in this report.

Comparative Analysis of Hybrid Threat / Irregular Warfare Models

The data collected, processed, and structured for this report could be applied to other knowledge management systems which identify and describe the complex operational environment of non-state actors that work with and/or on behalf of foreign states, criminal syndicates, terrorist organizations, and

transnational political networks. Examples of other models and methods suitable for this line of inquiry include, but are not limited to:

- The **Threat Network** model and methodology developed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which contains a set of procedures and conceptual models for creating a systems perspective of threat network activities like those described in this report⁹.
- The **Preparation of the Investigative Environment** model and methodology, developed by the Terrorism, Transnational Crime & Corruption Center, also cover similar materials¹⁰.

While comparative analysis of the components of these and other models are a worthy subject for discussion, for the limited purpose of this report we've decided not to include comparative analysis of their models and methods to that of the Hybrid Threat model.

Financial Analysis of Hybrid Threat Actors

The PSUV and their many Socialist-oriented allies - such as the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia - Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP), the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), and the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) - all have a well-documented history of using illicit funding schemes to facilitate the activities which they believe will help them to achieve their strategic goals.

The political parties, social movements, and NGOs allied to the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV) make financial analysis of groups operating in the United States a necessity for a full description of the complex hybrid threat environment. While such work is necessary, it is outside the limited scope of this report.

Venezuela as Hybrid Threat to the United States: Revolutionary Ambitions and Strategy

Hugo Chávez, like his successor Nicolás Maduro Moros, dreamed of creating a multi-polar world, creating a Federated Socialist Republics of Latin America and the Caribbean. As the essays collected in *International Castrochavismo: 20 Years of Ambition, Subversion, and Destruction*, describes this in extensive detail - we focus here on the networks through which the party of Chávez and Maduro, the PSUV, have been able to manage and finance their proxies in the United States¹¹.

At the January 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Hugo Chávez avowed his commitment to using Venezuela's resources to spread global revolution. Chávez cited Russian revolutionary, Leon Trotsky, saying that "each revolution needs the whip of the counterrevolution to advance" and highlighted the recent creation of Latin American satellite TV network TeleSUR, "which will allow us to tell our people's reality in our own words"¹².

In a December 13, 2011 speech at a rally in Caracas, Hugo Chávez reiterated aspirations to found a new Internationale, a multinational coordinating body similar to that created by the Soviet Union, and that the

⁹ Joint Chiefs of Staff. Countering Threat Networks. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/AD1025082.pdf>

¹⁰ Dr. Louise I. Shelley, John T. Picarelli, Allison Irby, Douglas M. Hart, Patricia A. Craig-Hart, Dr. Phil Williams, Steven Simon, Nabi Abdullaev, Bartosz Stanislawski, Laura Covill. Methods and Motives: Exploring Links between Transnational Organized Crime & International Terrorism. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/211207.pdf>

¹¹ María Teresa Romero. International Castrochavismo: 20 Years of Ambition, Subversion, and Destruction. <https://amzn.to/4g1u2xu>

¹² Cleto Sojo. Venezuela's Chávez Closes World Social Forum with Call to Transcend Capitalism. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/news/907/>

Venezuelan government would now support the formation of a “*red de redes*”, a “network of networks”, through which a new world order could be achieved¹³.

Shortly following this announcement, Hugo Chávez delegated additional duties to the Ministry of Popular Power for Foreign Relations – a new government body founded following the passage of the Fifth Republic Constitution. Their task was set at helping to help manage the “network of networks” developed to help the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela achieve its geopolitical goals¹⁴.

That these public statements and those also evident in decrees made by Hugo Chávez; PSUV, ALBA-TCP, and Venezuelan government documents such as *Curso Basico de Formacion Socialista Para La Militancia de Vanguardia del PSUV*, the *2013-2019 Programa de la Patria*, and the *Memorias* of government agencies such as the Ministry of Foreign Relations, Ministry of Ecosocialism, Ministry of Communes and Social Movements, Ministry of Women and Gender Equality, were turned into concrete initiatives is evident in the actions taken and funded by the PSUV-led Venezuelan government.

The actions engaged in by PSUV include:

1. People’s democracy - Collaboration between the PSUV with NGOs, social movements, unions, and leftist political parties that are citizens of target states
2. Oil-diplomacy - Projects funded by PDVSA, TeleSUR, and other means, that have downstream effects which align with the PSUV’s geopolitical goals
3. Promoting participatory democracy - Policies at the national and international level which promote political polarization, national destabilization, and the radicalization of society via an assault on corporations, capitalist values, and democratic institutions

A result of these actions was the expectation that “new historic blocks” would form in countries outside Venezuela. The formation, growth, and power of these blocks would have cascading effects which were strategized to lead to ‘21st Century Socialist’ revolutions across the globe, would lead to the creation of a multipolar world¹⁵.

The *Memorias* published by Venezuela’s Ministry of Popular Power for The Comunes and Social Movements (MPComunas) in The 2015 *Memoria* for the former ministry highlight how they view maintaining linkages with international organizations as a component of their “national objectives”. In this document the Ministry described a contact database with over 1050 international organizations¹⁶. Based on Dr. Sheen inventory and analysis of networks administered by the PSUV and PCC, directly and via proxies, the number cited by MPComunas represents less than 20% of the PSUV and PCC’s actual number of potential collaborators.

The sections below briefly highlight one of the networks that has been active primarily in Latin America, ALBA-TCP, and one of the PSUV’s transnational targets before turning to their activities in the United States.

¹³ Hugo Chávez. Hugo Chávez: Debemos crear una red de redes a nivel nacional e internacional. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qwPyVnYjUx4>

¹⁴ William F. Fisher and Thomas Ponniah, eds. 2003. Another World is Possible: Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum. <https://amzn.to/4i2trhM>

¹⁵ Antonio Maira. Hugo Chávez presenta a Gramsci ante cientos de miles de personas. <http://www.cubadebate.cu/opinion/2007/06/10/hugo-Chávez-presenta-a-gramsci-ante-cientos-de-miles-de-personas/#.XQWC4NJKIU>

¹⁶ Memoria 2015. Ministerio del Poder Popular para las Comunas y los Movimientos Sociales. <https://wmd.vof.mybluehost.me/test/tv2/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/memoria-de-comunas.pdf>

ALBA-TCP: An Instrument for International Subversion



While attending the Gathering for a World Social Alternative, Nicolás Maduro Moros stated that one of the missions of ALBA (which includes constituent bodies such as ALBA Movimientos, the committee which helps to coordinate the activities of socialist-affiliated transnational advocacy networks) is:

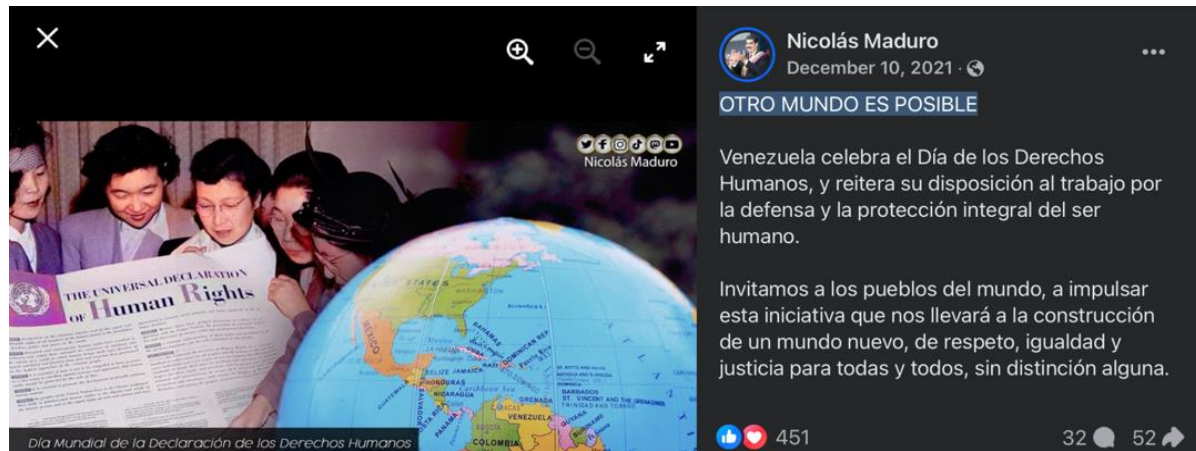
“to coordinate a new world social alternative against capitalism, against fascism, for a human civilization of peace and love...”

The Gathering for a World Social Alternative was an international meeting organized by ALBA-TCP that was held in Caracas which “brought together close to 300 delegates from movements of 60 countries from Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean”¹⁷.

Such coordination – which has been ongoing since ALBA Movimientos – has been one of the major organizational spaces in which Latin American Communists have been able to organize sustained protests and organizational efforts with a multi-generational strategic timeline.

¹⁷ ALBA-TCP. Etiqueta: Encuentro para una Alternativa Social Mundial
<https://www.albatcp.org/etiqueta/encuentro-para-una-alternativa-social-mundial/>

The United Nations: Another PSUV Target



While outside the scope of this report, it's worth noting that the PSUV's list of targets and goals also includes political subversion of the United Nations system. This is evident in multiple proclamations made by Nicolas Maduro, including:

On September 30, 2015 at the U.N. General Assembly, Nicolas Maduro called for a “new geopolitical system that respects the needs of the people” and stated that “It is only peace that can ensure that we will achieve the 2030 Agenda, which is indeed a very lofty and optimistic program¹⁸.”

On October 24, 2024, at the first plenary session of the 16th BRICS Plus summit in Kazan, Russia, Nicolas Maduro stated: “It is necessary to look for a practical plan, a bold plan, in order to reform the UN system... a new world is already being created.¹⁹”

Research on Venezuela's activities within the United Nations Security Council have minimized the PSUV's capacity to influence the institution, by looking at other areas of UN operation, such as UNESCO, it becomes evident that they've been far more influential than reported²⁰.

Comparison of CIA Analysis to Other Reports on Venezuela

The analysis presented above - that the United Socialist Party of Venezuela, in collaboration with the Cuban Communist Party and their mutual allies, seeks to ‘transform’ foreign states by developing fifth columns within foreign countries - is not itself an inherently novel or innovative claim.

The only element in the above analysis that is novel is that such efforts have been undertaken in the United States as well.

Below, we present a brief overview of literature which asserts this first point.

¹⁸ United Nations News. Venezuelan President urges UN to build new geopolitical system that respects needs of all people.

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2015/09/510652>

¹⁹ Laman Zeynalova. Practical plan for reforming UN system needs to be developed - President Nicolás Maduro. <https://en.trend.az/world/other/3961024.html>

²⁰ Mélanie Albaret and Élodie Brun. Dissenting at the United Nations: Interaction orders and Venezuelan contestation practices (2015–16).

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies/article/abs/dissenting-at-the-united-nations-interaction-orders-and-venezuelan-contestation-practices-201516/42C727DEC69A0BE59BAA216175266B7D>

Movimientos Antisistémicos En El Sistema-Mundo Contemporáneo: El Caso Venezolano by Charles Pennaforte describes numerous efforts led by Venezuela to achieve the political, economic, and military transformation of Latin America and the Caribbean according to a socialist model.

The political and economic impact of Venezuela's influence efforts via oil diplomacy on these regions - which has been decried by numerous actors within the states targeted by those efforts as corruption - are framed by the Venezuelans as an effort to achieve "regional integration". Pennaforte documents and analyzes a variety of such Venezuelan efforts such as the partnerships between Venezuela, PDVSA and the FMLN - which has been exposed as a means of exporting corruption via the cover of 'economic development aid'²¹.

Pennaforte also provides an explanation as to why the long periods of economic depression, hyperinflation, increased criminality and degeneration of democratic political norms are considered acceptable outcomes to the PSUV. From their viewpoint, such impacts are merely 'symptoms' of an intergenerational "grand plan" to create a Socialist Union of Latin American and Caribbean Republics.

El Foro Social Mundial y los Movimientos Antisistémicos by Jordi Calvo Rufanges, a fellow with the J.M. Delàs Centre of Studies for Peace describes how the Venezuelan government has sought to co-opt SATAN for their own geopolitical goals, purposes akin to the way that the ALBA-TCP's Council of Social Movements, as described by Thomas Muhr, have been co-opted by Venezuelan and Cuban geopolitical interests.

Rufanges's account shows how the consultative practices and political activities of the World Social Forum - which is also to say the regional Social Forums connected to it, (i.e. the United States Social Forum and the thematic social forums connected to it, i.e. the World Social Forum on Migration) are transmission belts for organizational technology transfer and cooperation. Rufanges's analysis highlights how these groups "use new technologies as a form of communication and even as an instrument of struggle". Email lists, online forums for deliberation, strategizing and collaboration as well as other information and communication technologies are all methods by which those involved in the Forum develop and spread a "new consciousness".

The Cubazuela Problem by retired U.S. Army Lt. Col. Geoffrey Demarest, JD, PhD provides rich descriptions as to how transnational political parties, criminal organizations and terrorist networks linked to Venezuelan and Cuban governments operate and act as midwives to organizations which seek to influence the host nation state via fraud, corruption, non-enforcement of laws, racketeering, and assorted other methods. Citing examples of convictions of politicians linked to the Venezuelan and Brazilian state projects marketed as "economic development", Lt. Col. Demarest highlights how these efforts were vectors for laundering money and buying political influence abroad. Lt. Col. Demarest demonstrates through social network analysis how subversion, insurgency, and hybrid warfare travel across polycentric, ideologically motivated networks and institutions.

Bolivarian Globalization? The New Left's Struggle in Latin America and the Caribbean to Negotiate a Revolutionary Approach to Humanitarian Militarism and International Intervention; (Re)constructing Popular Power in Our America: Venezuela and the Regionalization of 'Revolutionary Democracy' in the ALBA-TCP Space; and Counter-Globalization and Socialism in the 21st Century: The Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America, were all written by Thomas Muhr, a professor of Sociology and Human Geographies of Globalization, Development and Education at the University Institute of Lisbon. Taken together, these articles give a description of the PSUV's political and economic influence operations in

²¹ InsightCrime. Venezuela and El Salvador: Exporting Aid and Corruption. <https://insightcrime.org/investigations/venezuela-el-salvador-exporting-aid-corruption/>

Latin American and the Caribbean. In these and other works Muhr describes the efforts of the PSUV-led government to develop novel supra-national governmental organizations for the management of intergovernmental interactions, people's democracy (transnational collaboration between social movements), investment in economic and social development programs, and collaborative responses to crises. Using statements made by Venezuelan government officials as the basis for his claim, Muhr shows how Venezuela repeatedly describes itself as being engaged in a Gramscian "war of position" with the United States and those linked to it in Latin America. Muhr describes several activities classifiable as organizational technology transfer while hinting at other. Muhr describes how, at one Social Forum, a group of North American political organizers attended closed-door meetings with Venezuelan government officials at their Consulate offices.

Latin America's New Security Reality: Irregular Asymmetric Conflict and Hugo Chávez; Venezuela as an Exporter of 4th Generation Warfare Instability; Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, Bolivarian Socialism, and Asymmetric Warfare as well as State and Nonstate Associated Gangs: Credible "Midwives of New Social Orders" by Dr. Max G. Manwaring, a retired Professor of Military Strategy and former General Douglas MacArthur Chair of Research at the Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College and a retired US Army Colonel are all seminal texts for understanding the PSUV's endeavors at exporting political instability. Using a conceptual framework based on military doctrine about insurgency, subversion, and hybrid warfare, Manwaring provides a comprehensive account of Chávez's model of what he called 4th Generation Warfare, which:

- (1) Uses information operations of a psychological-political nature.
- (2) Uses asymmetric methods (i.e. subversion, hybrid warfare) to achieve its ends.
- (3) Is structured deliberately to be a protracted undertaking.

Manwaring cites a statement made by Chávez in 2005, wherein he claimed that the PSUV must orient their strategic planning along the lines of a protracted 40-year struggle in which he and/or other 'Bolivarian' leaders must:

- (1) Propagate Latin American nationalism.
- (2) Educate, organize, and prepare several thousand professionals for organizational duties, combat, and governance who are prepared to lead the masses through a revolution and into the proverbial halls of power.
- (3) Create a popular front not just of a few hundred true believers, but a large number of Christians, Socialists, trade unionists, intellectuals, students, peasants, the 'de-bourgeoisied' middle classes, and friendly nations that will "march together to defeat... U.S. imperialism."

Conclusion

The United Socialist Party of Venezuela views the United States as the greatest threat to its ability to continue its illegitimate and illegal rule over Venezuelan citizens and its use of subversion to expand its political influence across Latin America and the world.

Recognizing that this threat cannot be neutralized on military terrain, the PSUV developed relationships with those in the United States willing to collaborate with them and provided them - directly, and via their allies - with logistical, operational and financial support. Their goal was the creation of a 'new historic block' that would be militantly active toward the achievement of policy outcomes that are aligned with the PSUV's interests.

The net effect of these actions is to undermine U.S. political influence, economic investments, and national security interests in Latin America, as well the undermining of U.S. political stability. While in a geopolitical and economic environment significantly different from that of his predecessor, Nicolás Maduro has continued to pursue Chávez's international goals.

Social Forum: Site for Organizational Technology Transfer and Recruitment

Michael Leon Guerrero, then the national Coordinator for Grassroots Global Justice - an alliance of over sixty US-based groups - described the founding of the U.S. Social Forum as follows:

“In 2003, we had been asked by the international council that organizes the World Social Forum to organize a U.S. version, and in 2003 we agreed to explore that process and in 2004 we ultimately founded the Social Forum process in the U.S.²²”

A few months prior to the first U.S. Social Forum, Guerrero reiterated the international nature of the Social Forum's operations, declaring at the Nairobi Social Forum: “The social forum process originated in the global south and we've taken our leadership cues from the rest of the world,” he stated. “It is important to connect to broader global movements.”²³

Boston: Test Run for a National Social Forum Process

U.S. groups weren't the only interested parties that sought to coalesce anti-systemic political movements within the United States. FARA documentation submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice shows that before the national Forum was organized, the Venezuela Information Office engaged in outreach on behalf of the first Social Forum event held in Boston²⁴. Persons contacted included representatives of the Democratic Socialists of America, the Communist Party of the United States, ACORN (the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now), Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER), and the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL). Following the perceived success of the Boston Social Forum by its organizers, other Social Forums were organized in Chicago, Houston, Maine, Seattle, and elsewhere.

There appeared to be a clear momentum to the efforts, which led to the first national level Social Forum in Atlanta. Guerrero described the groups attending the Social Forum as such: “They forge coalitions, networks and alliances locally and internationally.”²⁵ Notably, one of the overt purposes of the ‘social forum process’ was to help form a new “National Social Movement”²⁶. Meetings held at the Social Forum were not academic discussions but practical ones, related to U.S. government policies, elections, and determining strategies and practices that would lead to the Social Forum affiliated network being able to exercise real power in the United States. Kate Randall, a participant in the U.S. Social Forum in Atlanta, summarized her experience at the first national Social Forum in Atlanta as follows²⁷:

²² Eric Larson, editor. Jobs with Justice: 25 Years, 25 Voices. <https://amzn.to/3Dyi44S>

²³ Marc Becker. The World Social Forum comes to Africa. <https://www.vachana.org/reports/wsf7/report.html>

²⁴ Eric Wingerter. FARA Reporting Log - Venezuela Information Office. <http://www.proveo.org/VIO-2005-08-31b.pdf>

²⁵ Michael Leon Guerrero. The US Social Forum: Building from the Bottom Up. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249573957_The_US_Social_Forum_Building_from_the_Bottom_Up

²⁶ Boston Social Forum. Program for the 2004 Boston Social Forum. http://boston-socialforum.org/archive/bsf_2004_program_book.pdf

²⁷ Kate Randall. US Social Forum in Atlanta: Identity politics and appeals to the Democrats. <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2007/07/socf-j10.html>

“Although the Democratic Party was not openly represented at the US Social Forum, the trade union bureaucracy and the Communist Party were on hand to promote the notion that electing a Democrat in 2008 was the most important question facing working and young people.”

The Boston and Atlanta Social Forums, notably, weren't the only case wherein the Venezuela Information Office (VIO) sought to cultivate relationships between PSUV agents and U.S. political activists. The VIO sent it's director, Olivia Burlingame Goumbri, to participate in events such as the Building a New World Conference²⁸, and the Left Forum 2008 Conference. Later she promoted the Left Forum 2013 conference^{29,30}.

Venezuelan ambassadors such as Bernardo Alvarez Herrera, Martin Sanchez, and Omar Sierra; Venezuelan labor attaches such as Marcos Garcia; as well as other PSUV-affiliated Venezuelan nationals attended socialist conferences, political assemblies of secessionist groups, and forums with Communist unions. A small sample of the hundreds of examples of this includes:

The Venezuelan Solidarity Town Hall - A meeting which enabled Venezuelan government officials to network with the leadership of multiple U.S. based 'social justice' organizations, chairpersons of union caucuses, leaders of immigrant communities, and the lawyer Lynne Stewart - then on bail after being found guilty of conspiracy to defraud the U.S. government, providing material support to terrorists, conspiring to conceal it, and making false statements³¹.

The 6th Convention of the Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism - A meeting brought together Venezuelan government officials with the most militant and active members of the U.S. Socialist movement³².

PSUV-affiliated officials also organized meetings with local aldermen and representatives from the Black Congressional Caucus to promote the success of the “Venezuela model” of politics, to network with local organizations, to propose business opportunities, and to develop sister cities programs.



Karen Bass meetings with Venezuelan Ambassador Jesus “Chucho” Garcia

²⁸ "Building a New World" Conference. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080226120040/http://www.wpaconference.org/>

²⁹ Left Forum. PLENARIES. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080422093547/http://www.leftforum.org/leftforum2008/panels.html>

³⁰ Venezuela Information Office. Supplemental Statement. <https://efile.fara.gov/docs/5957-Supplemental-Statement-20130524-7.pdf>

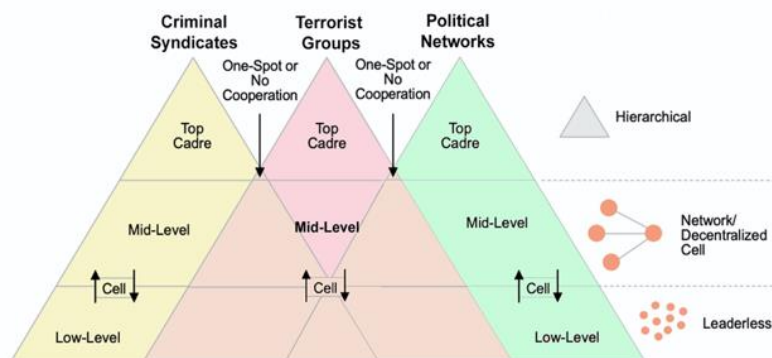
³¹ An Evening of Solidarity with Venezuela. Program. <https://web.archive.org/web/20060813092926/http://venezuelanov8.org/program.shtml>

³² Carl Davidson. Building the Left Pole of the Emerging Progressive Majority. <https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2009/8/5/762444/>

The U.S. Social Forums were not only monitored by the PSUV-led Venezuelan government, but also by their allies - Cuba, and foreign terrorist organizations (FTOs) that identify with Marxist and Bolivarian ideology.

To restate a point made in the introduction, while other states (i.e. China and Iran) as well as transnational movements, (i.e. the Muslim Brotherhood) were also present, we've decided not to include this information in this report to focus in more detail on Venezuela's role.

Social Forums Monitored by Cuban Government and Affiliates



Model of interaction model between criminal syndicates, terrorist groups, and political networks.

Based on the information contained above and below, we can come to discern that the U.S. Social Forums, their affiliated People's Movement Assemblies, and similarly linked 'encuentros' functioned as a space wherein foreign political networks, terrorist groups, and criminal syndicates could meet with American-based political networks whose goals aligned with their own for assessment of potential support.

Cuban Communist Party

Long before negotiations concerning the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas began to concern unions, Communist parties, and social movements across North, Central and South America and the Caribbean, Cuba sought to take a formative policy role in countries considering U.S. capital investment³³.

Once the FTAA negotiations began apace and the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) was formed, Cuba - the only Latin American country excluded from the FTAA - quickly came to hold a leadership role within the organization³⁴. Shortly after the Cuban government began to participate in the HSA, the PSUV-led Venezuelan government joined as well. According to Marcelo Saguier, currently a Senior Researcher at the Department of International Relations, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO Argentina) and Research Fellow at the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET):

"The Venezuelan government became involved for the first time in the campaign at the III Hemispheric Meeting on 26–29 January 2004. As the only two governments participating in the

³³ Sarah Clifford and Scott N Romaniuk. Cuban Cold War Internationalism and the Nonaligned Movement. <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/12/19/cuban-cold-war-internationalism-and-the-nonaligned-movement/>

³⁴ Marcelo I. Saguier. The Hemispheric Social Alliance and the Free Trade Area of the Americas Process: The Challenges and Opportunities of Transnational Coalitions Against Neo-liberalism. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248956577_The_Hemispheric_Social_Alliance_and_the_Free_Trade_Area_of_the_Americas_Process_The_Challenges_and_Opportunities_of_Transnational_Coalitions_Against_Neo-liberalism

campaign, Cuba and Venezuela have been fostering close relations with the continental social movements as part of their policy to advance an ALBA agenda in the region.”

The HSA, a transnational alliance of unions, political parties, religious organizations, and social movements, began to collaborate with persons that would form the Cuban-Venezuelan operated ALBA-TCP and ALBA Movimientos, its “center for the coordination of social movements”. Indeed, the Alternatives to the Americas White Paper, published in 2002, contains many principles similar to the those contained in ALBA-TCP declarations after its founding in 2004³⁵.

Three of many groups supporting the new objectives outlined within the HSA/ALBA-TCP framework included the newly founded Alliance for Global Justice (AfGJ) as well as U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange and the National Lawyers Guild.

Alliance for Global Justice



Left - Chuck Kaufman, former National Co-Coordinator and co-founder of Alliance for Global Justice wearing a TeleSUR hat. Right: James Patrick Jordan, current national Co-Coordinator of Alliance for Global Justice wearing a hat with a PSUV logo at an AFGJ sponsored protest to support Palestine in Bogota, Colombia³⁶.

AfGJ’s director Chuck Kaufman describes AfGJ’s founding as a spin-off of the Nicaragua Network and states that promoting Venezuelan-style “participatory democracy” is one of its goals³⁷:

The change allows us to expand our mission to include education and mobilization on cross-border issues such as participatory democracy, Latin America integration, and ALBA-style cooperative trade...

In the same document, Kaufman also shared his view that:

“Venezuela stands out as the hemispheric pioneer and leader in the effort to build a multi-polar world through greater political and economic integration in Latin America and to base trade on cooperation through ALBA-type agreements rather than competition as the US-backed free trade agreements do.”

³⁵ Hemispheric Social Alliance. Alternatives for the Americas. https://www.iatp.org/sites/default/files/2023-07/Alternatives_for_the_Americas.pdf

³⁶ Alliance for Global Justice. Alliance for Global Justice | [LIVE FROM BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA: March through the city in solidarity with Palestine cops.](https://www.instagram.com/all4globaljust/reel/C7zwb19P7FU/)

³⁷ Chuck Kaufman. Alliance for Global Justice Expands Mission. <http://www.nicanet.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/156-afgj.pdf>

Kaufman then lists specific organizational objectives aligned with the PSUV-led Venezuelan government interest, such as:

1. Support efforts in Latin America to expand direct, participatory democracy to those closest to the problems and the solutions at the community level such as is being pioneered by Venezuela's Community Councils and experimented with by Nicaragua's Councils of Citizen Power.
2. Expose and oppose US efforts to restrict democracy to its own deformed style of corporate-owned representative democracy. To accomplish this we will work to abolish the falsely-named National Endowment for Democracy and to return the US Agency for International Development to its original disaster relief and development roles and to abandon its democracy manipulation projects.
3. Support Latin American economic and political integration initiatives such as the cooperative trade Bolivarian Alternative for Our Americas (ALBA) agreements, the Bank of the South development bank, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and other regional integration bodies that enable a united Latin America to counterbalance what Bolivar called "the Colossus of the North."
4. Oppose neoliberal Free Trade Agreements that destroy small farmers and businesses, increase corporate domination, and force wage earners to abandon their families to try to find work in other countries, including the US.
5. Provide solidarity support for unions such as the Colombian farmers and farm workers union, FENSUAGRO, which bears the brunt of attacks by Colombia's death squad government, the Confederation of Haitian Workers (CTH) union which continues to be repressed for opposing the US-led coup against President Aristide, and the Palestinian Farmers Union which is struggling to organize farmers in the midst of a brutal occupation.
6. Oppose military solutions such as the failed "war on drugs" including Plan Colombia and the Merida Initiative as well as the re-christening of the Fourth Fleet and expansion of US military bases in an effort to surround Venezuela's oil producing region.
7. Support just negotiated peace efforts in Colombia and Haiti.
8. Oppose US disinformation campaigns by the government and corporate media.

Currently, AfGJ is the fiscal sponsor of over 130 projects. There are three conditions for the projects that AfGJ sponsors³⁸. They must:

1. Agree with AfGJ's Vision
2. Agree with AfGJ's Mission Statements
3. Not have their own 501(c)(3) status

A more concise way of determining whether or not AfGJ will provide support is asking the following question: "Will this project help the PSUV, the PCC, the FARC-EP?" If the answer is yes, then AfGJ will provide aid.



³⁸ Alliance for Global Justice. ABOUT FISCAL SPONSORSHIP. <https://afgj.org/fsp>

U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange: A Proxy for the Cuban Government in the U.S. Social Forum

- In coordination with the Alliance for Global Justice, organized tours of Cuban and Venezuelan labor activists to attend events across the United States³⁹.
- In coordination with the Alliance for Global Justice, organized tours to Cuba and Venezuela for American labor activists⁴⁰.
- U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange has participated in the labor conference founded by Hugh Chávez, Nuestra Americas, when it was held in Sao Paulo, Brazil, Sept. 22-24 2009⁴¹.
- Correspondence from U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange in the online archive of Walter Lippman, the editor in Chief of CubaNews, shows Cuba's acute interest in the activities at the USSF⁴²:

"The USSF [United States Social Forum] is of great importance to Cuba. Those of us who have participated in the World Social Forum in the past know of the high level of involvement of Cuban institutions, NGOs and cultural workers in these activities. In fact, Cuban trade union and NGO representatives have been key participants in the WSF process since its inception."

While several Cubans that were planning on attending were denied visas, the Cuban Committee of the World Social Forum shared a message of optimism regardless of their exclusion, stating⁴³:

"We feel that we are represented by numerous friends and social actors from the United States and other corners of the planet, and that in solidarity they will raise our banners of struggle and multiply our ideas. We stand together with the noble people of the United States who are mobilizing and uniting to celebrate their first Social Forum. It is to them that this message of gratitude and unwavering solidarity goes.

Another world is possible!"

National Lawyers Guild: A Proxy for the Cuban Government in the U.S. Social Forum

Attorneys Marjorie Cohn, Leonard Weinglass, and Roberto Gonzáles - all members of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) - participated in workshops at the US Social Forum and spoke on the behalf of the Cuban Five - five clients they were representing which has been convicted of spying on behalf of the Cuban government⁴⁴.

- Marjorie Cohn, in her article *Another World is Possible*, describes her attendance at the Fifth World Social Forum (WSF) held January 26-31 2005 in Porto Alegre, Brazil⁴⁵. In the article we learn that:
 - Hugo Chávez received a hero's welcome at the WSF and his speech highlighted the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) as an alternative to the Free Trade Agreements of the Americas.

³⁹ Alliance for Global Justice. Upcoming Trips and Speaking Tours. <https://afgj.org/upcoming-trips-and-speaking-tours>

⁴⁰ Alliance for Global Justice. Updates on Past Alerts & New Delegations. <https://afgj.org/updates-on-past-alerts-new-delegations>

⁴¹ Cheryl LaBash. Conferences strengthen int'l workers' solidarity. https://www.workers.org/2009/world/conferences_1015/

⁴² Labor Exchange. Subject: Cuban Workshops in the US Social Forum- Atlanta, GA. <http://www.walterlippmann.com/docs1359.html>

⁴³ Cuban Committee of the World Social Forum. Message from Cuban organizations to the U.S. Social Forum. <https://www.workers.org/2007/world/cuba-ussf-0712/>

⁴⁴ Marjorie Cohn. Cuban Five at the US Social Forum. <https://nlginternational.org/2007/07/cuban-five-at-the-us-social-forum/>

⁴⁵ Marjorie Cohn. Another World Is Possible. <https://marjoriecohn.com/another-world-is-possible/>

- Arnel Medina Cuenca, president of the National Union of Cuban Jurists, participated in panel discussions with American Association of Jurists (AAJ), and the Latin American Association of Labor Lawyers - which resulted in a resolution to support the Cuban Five.
- Cohn assesses the World Social Forum as “one small step toward uniting progressives from around the world”.

The NLG representation of Cuban spies in the United States is, notably, not limited just to the efforts of their former president Marjorie Cohn. NLG's activities demonstrate a longstanding collaboration with the Cuban Communist Party. These efforts have included:

- Participation in the Another World is Possible coalition⁴⁶. The members of this coalition, notably, include multiple organizations affiliated with socialist movements engaged in armed struggle outside the U.S.
- Annual trips to Cuba by NLG members “to show their solidarity for the struggle of Latin America against U.S. imperialism”⁴⁷.

Also of note, the International Committee of the National Lawyers Guild has also worked on Venezuela's behalf (more below) with the United Nations, producing a report titled *Venezuela As A Model For Implementation of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* for the Twelfth Session of the Working Group of the UN's Human Rights Council⁴⁸.

Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN)

The ELN is a Designated Terrorist Organization (DTO) which began as “a Marxist/Maoist group inspired by the Cuban Revolution” and whose leaders were “trained in Cuba by Fidel and Raul Castro and Che Guevara”⁴⁹.

Monitoring of the World Social Forum

- In the November 2004 edition of Si Futuro, the ELN's “magazine of urban political culture” they commend the World Social Forum as an anti-capitalist political movement (ELN Si Futuro 18).
- In the magazine of the ELN, Insurrección, published February 3, 2005, the ELN praises “the search for alternatives that “Another world is possible” then underway at the World Social Forum in India⁵⁰. They express hopefulness in the Social Forum process “Social movements of all kinds, unions, NGOs, research centers, the media, met in Gandhi's homeland to analyze the world situation, discuss how to organize joint struggles, share ideas and experiences.”
- During the 13th World Social Forum, held March 13th - 17th, 2018 in Salvador Bahía, Brazil, ELN Commander Aureliano Carbonell sent a video to those attending the event that “he reaffirmed his

⁴⁶ Eric Laursen, Kate Cooper. Permits Obtained For New York Anti-WEF Events. <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0201/S00095/permits-obtained-for-new-york-anti-wef-events.htm>

⁴⁷ National Lawyers Guild Labor and Employment Committee. Report of the United States Delegation to the International Conference on the Role of Unions and Labor Lawyers in Protecting Social Security and the Eighth Bilateral Research Exchange among Labor Lawyers, Trade Unionists, Neutrals and Scholars Havana Cuba.

http://nlq-laboremploy-comm.org/media/ProjIntl_Cuba_2007Report.pdf

⁴⁸ The International Committee of the National Lawyers Guild. Venezuela As A Model For Implementation of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/lib-docs/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/session12/VE/ICNLG-InternationalCommitteeNationalLawyersGuild-eng.pdf>

⁴⁹ Kristin Wetherholt. The history and current status of the ELN. <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/60543/>

⁵⁰ Ejército de Liberación Nacional. V Foro Social Mundial. Revista Insurrección, N° 28. https://cedema.fra1.digitaloceanspaces.com/attachments/fodtx8kesbz1f1vhrugntlk721qe?response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3D%22INSURRECCION028.pdf%22%3B%20filename%2A%3DUTF-8%27%27INSURRECCION028.pdf&response-content-type=application%2Fpdf&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=CEPOP77DLIWQVTACUYLB%2F20241020%2Ffra1%2Fs3%2Faws4_request&X-Amz-Date=20241020T173544Z&X-Amz-Expires=300&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Signature=29aeb0a44cc136703882617598ae87678247d8d3f48cea13a30fa8386bf4c670

support for the World Social Forum because “Another world is possible.” and “That is why we remain firm and in the fight.”⁵¹.

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP)



Photo of a demonstration to Free Ricardo Palmera (a.k.a. Simon Trinidad) of the FARC-EP at the 2010 Social Forum⁵².

FARC-EP's International Relations Strategy

At the Eighth Guerrilla Conference in 1993, the idea of an International Commission took form as a “linkage between FARC and leftist political parties, social organizations, labour unions, human rights organizations and non-profit foundations”, mainly in South America and Europe. This international Commission, by 2000, would produce documents attempting to legitimize the organization as a “belligerent force”⁵³.

According to Oscar Palma, a former Colombian Intelligence Officer, “The structure of the Comintern was simple but it evolved through time... In each of the countries there were offices or ‘embassies’ mainly composed by Colombian refugees, and under the control of another member of the Comintern⁵⁴.” These embassies oversaw tasks which included:

1. Participating in conferences, forums, gatherings, meetings, political, social, and student workshops on hemispheric and global levels.
2. Establishing support groups in each of the countries where FARC is present according to the political context and the assigned tasks.
3. Creating and managing instruments for the diffusion of information in other countries such as websites, magazines, and radio stations.
4. Establishing contacts with leftist movements, radical anarchist parties, insurgent groups, and networks of weapons trade.
5. Administration of FARC's goods in other countries.
6. Contacting associations of political refugees and solidarity groups.
7. Engaging in university studies and obtaining postgraduate degrees in universities in Europe and the United States in order to achieve their infiltration.

⁵¹ ELN. Voces. Kaos en la Red. Colombia. ELN: Saludo al XIII Foro Social Mundial. <https://osirredentosblog.wordpress.com/2018/03/20/eln-saludo-al-xiii-foro-social-mundial/>. Accessed March 3, 2021.

⁵² FightBack News. Interview from the U.S. Social Forum: Prisoner of the U.S. empire: Colombian revolutionary Ricardo Palmera. <https://fightbacknews.org/articles/prisoner-us-empire-colombian-revolutionary-ricardo-palmera>

⁵³ International Commission of the FARC-EP. Beligerencia. http://theirwords.org/media/transfer/doc/1_co_farc_ep_2000_10-7b8e3621ef7e288f638a8b47107c3937.pdf

⁵⁴ Oscar Palma. Transnational networks of insurgency and crime: explaining the spread of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia beyond national borders. <http://theses.lse.ac.uk/744/>

8. Designing ideological campaigns of recruitment and disinformation about the Colombian conflict and the illegality of Colombian institutions.
9. Contacting government officials, parliamentarians, and NGO leaders to obtain their support and to achieve recognition by relevant political sectors.
10. Interacting - in FARC's name - with national governments such as Venezuela, Cuba, Brazil, Mexico, Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

According to Colombian journalist José Gregorio Pérez the former leader of the FARC-EP, Raul Reyes, set concrete objectives to reach:

“the European Parliament, the US Congress, the Latin-American Parliament, the Central American Parliament, the Amazonian Parliament, the UN, the Sao Paulo Forum, the Bolivarian People's Congress, the Bolivarian Continental Coordinator Committee, the World Social Forum, Universities, Churches, media, journalists, workers associations, agrarian and popular movements, cooperatives, Indians, black communities, women's and youth organizations, and to participate directly and indirectly in gatherings, seminars, meetings and all type of activity where they could promote their project.⁵⁵”

International Relations Case Study: Nidia Quintero



Left: Nidia Quintero, in blue shirt at an event with Scott Marshall.
Right: Nidia Quintero in a red shirt with the words “US Hands Off Syria, Philippines Ukraine & Colombia”

While Human Rights Watch describes only having contact with “Anonymous members” of the FARC-EP's International Commission, it is possible to discern individuals that function as proxies of the FARC-EP⁵⁶ using the tasks and strategy outlines in FARC-EP documents. One such person is Nidia Quintero.

First, the three organizations which Nidia Quintero is affiliated with - FENSUAGRO, COCCAM, and Marcha Patriótica are categorized. Following this, an overview of her activities in the U.S. are presented. Lastly, the organizational affiliations of one of the numerous people in the U.S. with whom she met - Cassia Laham, depicted above in the olive shirt to the right of Nidia Quintero – are described.

⁵⁵ José Gregorio Pérez. Raúl Reyes: El Canciller de la Montaña. <https://amzn.to/3VvqXxu>

⁵⁶ Human Rights Watch. Guerra sin cuartel: Colombia y el derecho internacional humanitario. <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/spanish/informes/1998/guerra5A.html#farc>

FENSUAGRO

Nidia Quintero is a member of the Executive Committee of Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria (FENSUAGRO - Federation of National Agriculture Trade Unions).

Evidence of FENSUAGRO being a Venezuelan/Cuban Proxy

- Juan Efraín Mendoza Gamba, the Secretary General of FENSUAGRO, “was captured by the Colombian Army in 2009, in an operation against one of the most notorious of the FARC’s leaders, alias Negro Antonio, when Mendoza visited the FARC leader’s camp on the outskirts of Bogota.”⁵⁷
- Miguel Ángel Bobadilla, member of the Executive Committee of the FENSUAGRO, is also in a leadership position of the Colombian Communist Party⁵⁸.
- FENSUAGRO is a member of La Via Campesina⁵⁹.
- FENSUAGRO collaborates with ALBA Movimientos, Foro de São Paulo, and the Tricontinental Institute⁶⁰.
- Engages in policy activism on behalf of the Venezuelan state⁶¹.

COCCAM

Nidia Quintero, who has active in supporting coca-farmers since the 1990s, is also a representative of the Coordinadora Nacional de Cultivadores de Coca, Amapola y Marihuana (COCCAM -National Coordinating Committee of Coca, Poppy and Marijuana Growers)^{62,63}.

Evidence of COCCAM being a FARC/ELN and Venezuelan/Cuban Proxy

- Formally structured in 2017, this organization represents the farmers of the crops which the FARC-EP and ELN depends on in order fund their armed operations⁶⁴.
- The organization was formed at the behest of the Peace accord which the FARC-EP had negotiated in Havana⁶⁵.
- The organization funds research produced by the Tricontinental Research Institute for Social Research⁶⁶.

Marcha Patriótica

Nidia Quintero is member of Marcha Patriótica’s National Operational Committee⁶⁷.

⁵⁷ Major Achim M. Biller and Lieutenant Colonel Jorge Galindo Cardenas.

Venezuelan Bolivarian Missions in Colombia: What Are the Real, Underlying Reasons for Their Existence? <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA583429.pdf>

⁵⁸ Hernán Durango. Miguel Ángel Bobadilla, bienvenido a la libertad y a reforzar a Fensuagro. <https://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article2913>

⁵⁹ La Via Campesina. Colombia must abolish paramilitary organizations and comply with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants.

<https://viacampesina.org/en/systematic-violence-against-peasant-organisations-in-colombia-denounced-at-the-un/>

⁶⁰ La Via Campesina. Manifiesto por el Futuro. <https://viacampesina.org/es/manifiesto-por-el-futuro/>

⁶¹ Joint Appeal to the United Nations for the Lifting of Sanctions on Venezuela. <https://observatorio.gob.ve/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Joint-appeal-to-the-United-Nations-for-the-lifting-of-the-measures-against-Venezuela.pdf>

⁶² Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho. Histórico pronunciamiento de las comunidades de los territorios más afectados por el narcotráfico en respaldo a la Política Nacional de Drogas 2023 – 2033. <https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Sala-de-prensa/Paginas/pronunciamiento-comunidades-afectadas-narcotrafico-respaldo-politica-nacional-drogas.aspx>

⁶³ Noticiascaracol.com. Nidia Quintero, una lideresa que lleva 25 años luchando por la tierra de los campesinos en Putumayo.

<https://www.noticiascaracol.com/colombia/nidia-quintero-una-lideresa-que-lleva-25-anos-luchando-por-la-tierra-de-los-campesinos-en-putumayo>

⁶⁴ Diana Machuca, Camilo Acero, Bryan Triana, Francisco Gutiérrez and Celia Dávila. An analysis of Colombia’s drug policy and actors. https://drugs-disorder.soas.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/05_21_Analysis-of-drug-policy-and-its-actors-in-Colombia_Final.pdf

⁶⁵ COCCAM. Lanzamiento de la Coordinadora de Cultivadores de Coca, Amapola y Marihuana Coccam. <https://rebellion.org/lanzamiento-de-la-coordinadora-de-cultivadores-de-coca-amapola-y-marihuana-coccam/>

⁶⁶ Tricontinental. La criminalización de los cultivadores como coartada imperialista: economía política de las drogas en Colombia.

<https://thetricontinental.org/es/argentina/adictos-1-productores/>

⁶⁷ Marcha Patriótica. X. <https://x.com/marchapatriota/status/1309942572962512896>

At the San Jose Social Forum held June 24-28, 2015, the “militant” slogan which brought U.S. activists together was: “Another World is Possible. Another System is Necessary⁶⁸.”

Evidence of Marcha Patriótica being a Venezuelan/Cuban Proxy

- Founding members have admitted being paid by the FARC-EP⁶⁹.
- Documents found on the computers of Mono Jojoy indicate that the FARC-EP’s guerrilla bloc were instructed to allocate a quota of the processed cocaine from their criminal enterprises to support the growth and development of Marcha Patriótica⁷⁰.
- The organization is promoted by the Cuban Government⁷¹.
- The organization uses the same rhetoric as the Cuban-aligned political groups⁷².
- The organization is promoted by Plataforma Continental de Movimientos Sociales al ALBA (Continental Platform of Social Movements to ALBA).
 - This organization is a department of ALBA-TCP and Jorge Arreaza, former Vice President and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, is the current ALBA-TCP Executive Secretary⁷³.
- The organization is listed as a member of ALBA Movimientos⁷⁴.
- Regional leaders, such as Jonathan Centeno of Cauca, travel to Caracas to participate in ALBA-TCP meetings⁷⁵.
- The organization is promoted by ALBA TV⁷⁶.
 - Chris Gilbert, a professor at Venezuela’s Bolivarian University that is “grounded in a Marxist perspective” is listed as producer⁷⁷.

Sample of Activities in the United States

Nidia Quintero participated in a series of events sponsored, organized, and promoted by groups such as the Alliance for Global Justice and National Lawyers Guild.

- April 6, 2016 - Chicago, Illinois, at the United Electrical Union Hall during the Labor Notes Conference⁷⁸.
 - Nidia Quintero expressed support for the Chicago Teachers Union’s (CTU) one-day strike⁷⁹.
- April 8, 2016 - Miami, Florida, at South Florida AFL-CIO Union Offices⁸⁰.
- April 5, 2018 - Chicago, Illinois at United Electrical Workers (UE) Union Hall
- April 6-9, 2018 - Chicago, Illinois, at the Labor Notes Conference

⁶⁸ ANSWER Coalition. Activists gather in San José and Philadelphia for U.S. Social Forum.

https://www.answercoalition.org/activists_gather_in_san_jos_and_philadelphia_for_u_s_social_forum

⁶⁹ Salud Hernández-Mora. El movimiento político la Marcha Patriótica recibe dinero y órdenes de las FARC.

<https://www.elmundo.es/america/2012/12/10/colombia/1355173558.html>

⁷⁰ El Espectador. Ejército insiste en que Farc quieren fundar partido político. <https://www.elespectador.com/judicial/ejercito-insiste-en-que-farc-quieren-fundar-partido-politico-articulo-339131/>

⁷¹ Movimiento Político y Social Marcha Patriótica. Declaración del Movimiento Político y Social “Marcha Patriótica” contra el bloqueo. <https://misiones.cubaminrex.cu/es/articulo/declaracion-del-movimiento-politico-y-social-marcha-patriotica-contra-el-bloqueo-0>

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ ALBA-TCP. ALBA-TCP countries appoint Jorge Arreaza as new Executive Secretary. <https://www.albatcp.org/en/2024/02/19/alba-tcp-countries-appoint-jorge-arreaza-as-new-executive-secretary/>

⁷⁴ ALBA Movimientos. Bases Para La Unidad en Lucha de Nuestra América. https://albamovimientos.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Cartilla_ALBA_2022_Web.pdf

⁷⁵ Coordinación Pupsoc. LÍDER SOCIAL DEL CAUCA PARTICIPA EN ENCUENTRO DE ALBA MOVIMIENTOS Y ALBA TCP.

https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1014465444029177&id=100063971913423&_rd=1

⁷⁶ Escuela de Cuadros. Nace el Movimiento Marcha Patriótica (Parte 1). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_Ns1VfsUZc

⁷⁷ Chris Gilbert. About. <https://chrisgilbert.site/about/>

⁷⁸ National Lawyers Guild. April 6, Chicago: Peace in Colombia – What does this mean for unionists and agricultural workers?

<https://nlgiinternational.org/event/april-6-chicago-peace-in-colombia-what-does-this-mean-for-unionists-and-agricultural-workers/>

⁷⁹ Fight Back! News Staff. Colombian union leader Nidia Quintero speaks in Chicago. <https://fightbacknews.org/articles/colombian-union-leader-nidia-quintero-speaks-chicago>

⁸⁰ National Lawyers Guild. April 8, Miami: Peace in Colombia – What does this mean for unionists and agricultural workers? <https://nlgiinternational.org/event/april-3-milwaukee-peace-in-colombia-what-does-this-mean-for-unionists-and-agricultural-workers-3/>

- April 10, 2018 - Denver, Colorado, at Laborers International Union Hall
 - In attendance was Josh Downey, President of Denver Area Labor Federation, AFL-CIO
- April 11, 2018 - Tucson, Arizona, at ASU Law School
 - Local Sponsors: National Lawyers Guild and Chicano/Latino Law Students Association
- April 12, 2018 - Tucson, Arizona at the Global Justice Center
 - Local Sponsor: Alliance for Global Justice
- April 13, 2018 - Los Angeles, California, at the Downtown UCLA Labor Center
 - Local Sponsors: Los Angeles County Federation of Labor; USW Local 675; UCLA Labor Center; California State University, Dominguez Hills Labor Studies
- April 15, 2018 - Oakland, California, at the End the Wars at Home and Abroad rally
- April 16, 2018 - Sacramento, California, at the offices of SEIU 1000
- April 17, 2018 - San Francisco, California, at the ANSWER Coalition Office
 - Local Sponsors: ANSWER Coalition; Alliance for Global Justice; Bay Area Latin America Solidarity Coalition; Task Force on the Americas; Cuba and Venezuela Solidarity Committee, AIM West, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Party for Socialism and Liberation; Workers World Party⁸¹.

Sample of Persons Networked with: Cassia Laham

- Steward for the Broward Teachers Union⁸².
- Teacher in the Broward County System^{83,84}.
- Member of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization, which and advocates on behalf of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela, such as the #FreeAlexSaab and non-enforcement of borders campaigns⁸⁵.
- Member of People's Opposition to War, Imperialism and Racism⁸⁶.
- Former president of Students for Justice in Palestine⁸⁷.
- Affiliated with United National Antiwar Coalition⁸⁸.

Social Forum as Convergence Site for US Communist Groups & Foreign Terrorist Organizations

While the FARC-EP and ELN did not publish descriptions of their members' participation in the U.S. Social Forum, the activities described above demonstrates numerous proxies of theirs attended these and related events.

By exploiting various political front groups, these Foreign Terrorist Organizations are able promote the claim - within the U.S. and elsewhere - that farming communities in regions targeted by Venezuelan and Cuban government-sponsored influence campaigns, who are affiliated with the Venezuelan government,

⁸¹ ANSWER Coalition. Colombia: The struggle for lasting peace. https://www.answercoalition.org/colombia_041718

⁸² Charles W. Flanagan High School. Sign in Sheet for 1/23/17. https://web01.browardschools.com/ospa/ospa-central2/_sip_plan_sac/3391_03012017_Jan-2017-SAC-Minutes-&Attendance.pdf

⁸³ Diego Saldana-Rojas. Miami Rally Gathers Support For Ferguson And Against Police Militarization. <https://www.wlrn.org/news/2014-08-25/miami-rally-gathers-support-for-ferguson-and-against-police-militarization>

⁸⁴ West Broward High School. Course Selection Schedule 2023-2024 School Year. <https://www.browardschools.com/cms/lib/FL01803656/Centricity/Domain/25295/Course%20Selection%20Schedule%2023-24.pdf>

⁸⁵ FightBack News. Cassia Laham. <https://fightbacknews.org/authors/cassia-laham>

⁸⁶ Diego Saldana-Rojas. Miami Rally Gathers Support For Ferguson And Against Police Militarization. <https://www.wlrn.org/news/2014-08-25/miami-rally-gathers-support-for-ferguson-and-against-police-militarization>

⁸⁷ Max Reed. Imitating Inhumanity. <https://ufdcimages.uflib.ufl.edu/UF/00/02/82/90/01188/30410.pdf>

⁸⁸ Change.org. Nuclear Disarmament of Israel & a Nuclear-Free Middle East. <https://www.change.org/p/politicians-nuclear-disarmament-of-israel-a-nuclear-free-middle-east>

and that are engaged in illicit crop production to provide financial support to groups engaged in armed struggle against the Colombian state are ‘merely peasants’ or ‘environmental activists’^{89,90,91}.

Hybrid Threats: Definitions, Actors, and Activities

Thus far we’ve described how the U.S. Social Forum came into existence as the result of collaboration between a multi-faceted alliance of unions, NGOs, and socialist political parties operating in the United States with a broad network of foreign unions, NGOs and socialist political parties which received support from the PSUV and PCC. We’ve shown how the FARC-EP and the ELN, designated terrorist organizations whose self-avowed Marxist and Bolivarian ideology makes them allies of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela and the Communist Party of Cuba, were also monitoring the Social Forum and sought to develop allies within the United States.

In the following section, further insight into activities of the organizations and individuals which participated in the Social Forum will be detailed. It is structured to demonstrate that the activities undertaken within the “movement of movements” that is the Social Forum can be categorized as a Hybrid Threat model.

The following twelve segments are divided into three components:

1. Definitions extracted from *The Landscape of Hybrid Threats: A Conceptual Model*.
2. Descriptions of identities - individuals or groups - whose relationships with the Venezuelan and Cuban government meet the conditions described according to the subversion categorization model adapted from the U.S. Congress and Organization of American States literature.
3. Descriptions of activities undertaken by these individuals or groups.

Cyber

“This domain refers to the information environment, consisting of the interdependent networks of information technology infrastructures (including hardware, software, data, protocols), and information including the internet, telecommunications networks, computer systems, and embedded processors and controllers. The tools that can be applied by an hostile actor aiming to cause degradation, disruption, or destruction of the networks, or aiming to access data and information. Access to information may also be the objective of a hostile actor in order to collect intelligence and reduce detectability.”

*

TeleSUR English

Assessments of TeleSUR’s productions and analysis of its operations shows that it serves informational warfare and intelligence collection goals of the PSUV.

⁸⁹ Achim Miguel Biller and Jorge Galindo Cardenas. Venezuelan Bolivarian Missions in Colombia: What are the Real, Underlying Reasons for their Existence??. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA583429.pdf>

⁹⁰ Itayosara Rojas Herrera and Joost Dessein. We are not Drug Traffickers, We are Colombian Peasants’: The voices and history of cocaleros in the substitution programme of illicit crops in Colombia. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S001671852300060X>

⁹¹ Oliver Griffith. Colombia deadliest country for environmentalists in 2023, rights group says. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/colombia-deadliest-country-environmentalists-2023-rights-group-says-2024-09-09/>

TeleSUR as Informational Warfare Apparatus

Many academics studying TeleSUR's practices; statements made in Venezuelan government documents and by Cuban officials; and the personal accounts of former TeleSUR employees attest to the view that TeleSUR is not an organization that is concerned with the accurate dissemination of news but is, rather, a means for disseminating propaganda aligned with the PSUV's goals.

Academic Assessments

- Dr. Ana María Miralles, following a qualitative investigation of TeleSUR English publications, concludes that TeleSUR English “is not an information medium but rather a means of propaganda for a politically and ideologically defined project.”⁹²
- Dr. Thomas Muhr, following an investigation of ALBA-TCP concludes that TeleSUR is one component of a “multi dimensional inter and transnational” project that “operates across a range of sectors and scales” and that it is oriented towards influencing Politico-Ideological and Cultural dimensions of society⁹³.
- Dr. James Painter, following content analysis of their television shows, concluded that “Perhaps the best way of describing TeleSUR is that it is a station with an agenda... In this sense, it is not that different to other new state- funded international news channels, although there is a clear difference between those that have a hard or soft agenda. Telesur is more akin to Russia Today as having a hard agenda: Telesur in part is an extension of Chávez’s oil diplomacy abroad...”⁹⁴
- Dr. Mônica Leite Lessa and Dr. Pablo Victor Fontes, following content analysis of TeleSUR’s YouTube page, concluded that TeleSUR has “acted as a tool of Chávez’s public and media diplomacy”⁹⁵.
- Dr. Pablo Sebastian Morales, after analyzing co-produced media between Chinese, Russian and Qatari state media - all of which have been forced to register under FARA- and Venezuela’s TeleSUR, which has not had to register under FARA, points out that: “the presence of many international and regional Left-wing intellectuals in the advisory council [of TeleSUR] reflects the ideological orientation of the network.”⁹⁶
- Patricio Provitina, writing for the Center for International Media Assistance, after analyzing media co-produced by Russia and Venezuela, states that “The shows create simplistic, conspiracy-driven explanations that tie a country’s internal problems to an external source of power meddling in the affairs of the country. The evidence presented as proof of a foreign plot tends to mix-up unrelated facts, half-truths, or highly edited video interviews with policy makers, intellectuals, and academics who echo or truly believe the conspiracy narratives of each show.”⁹⁷
- Research produced by Transparencia Venezuela, the Venezuelan chapter of Transparency International, which analyzed the citation practices of Russian and Venezuelan state media concluded: “The common interests between Vladimir Putin’s Russia and Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro’s Venezuela have fostered an alliance that has transcended economic, military, political and social agreements. The dissemination of propaganda is a novel field of bi-national integration.”⁹⁸

⁹² Ana María Miralles. Content analysis of TeleSUR English and Teen Vogue with Data Selected via CrowdTangle between January 2017 and July 2019. Unpublished.

⁹³ Thomas Muhr. TINA Go Home! ALBA and Re-theorizing Resistance to Global Capitalism. <https://cosmosandhistory.org/index.php/journal/article/view/210>

⁹⁴ James Painter. The Boom in Counter-Hegemonic News Channels: A Case Study of TeleSUR

⁹⁵ Mônica Leite Lessa and Pablo Victor Fontes. Limits and paradox of TeleSUR: the media as a political agent of regional (dis)integration.

<https://www.scielo.br/rbpi/a/tdqSVBMJkYqfH7ZKJYrYNww/?lang=en>

⁹⁶ Pablo Sebastian Morales. Counter-hegemonic collaborations or alliances of the underdogs? The case of TeleSUR with Al-Mayadeen, RT and CGTN.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/17427665221125549>

⁹⁷ Patricio Provitina. Foreign Media and Misinformation – How Telesur and RT Coordinate Programs and Messages.

https://www.cima.ned.org/blog/coordinating_messages_telesur_and_rt/

⁹⁸ Víctor Amaya. Russia and Venezuela Allies in Disinformation. <https://transparenciave.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Russia-and-Venezuela-Allies-in-Disinformation.pdf>

Government Assessments

- Venezuela's Ministry of Popular Power for Communication and Information, in the 2013 annual publication, describes TeleSUR as "a space and a voice for the construction of a new communication order", describes the expansion of its operations as "Contribut[ing] to the development of a new international geopolitics, in which the multicenter and pluripolar world takes shape...", and describes this as being aligned with the Venezuelan government's goal of promoting "participatory, revolutionary democracy"⁹⁹. This description, notably, aligns with the second, third, seventh, and tenth objective described by Hugo Chávez in the "High-Level Workshop: The New Strategic Map"¹⁰⁰.
- The PSUV's Red Book is a collection of Principles, Statutes, and Programmatic Bases developed during the Party's first Congress. In this collection of documents TeleSUR is described as an apparatus by which to "encourage spaces for dissemination and ideological training for the exchange of socialist experiences with the peoples of the world" and describes it as supporting the PSUV's efforts "to beat and defeat imperialism."¹⁰¹
- Bruno Rodríguez, Cuba's Foreign Minister, has stated that "TeleSUR is that counter-hegemonic and integration platform that Our America needs to promote a new communicational order"¹⁰².
 - The phrase "Our America" (Nuestra America in Spanish) is a reference to a conception of Latin America and the Caribbean promoted by the PSUV and PCC wherein the entire region forms a unified confederation of socialist states.
- Joe Wilson, the Congressman for South Carolina, District 2, has said that: "The Telesur network is to Venezuela what Russia Today is to Russia, a propaganda outfit masquerading as a news organization broadcasting information that undermines U.S. interests in Latin America."¹⁰³

Former Employee Assessments

- Daniela Vielman, formerly a TeleSUR anchor, resigned from the network and released a statement stating that staff employed by TeleSUR are "treated as if they were working in a political party" and stated that "political convictions" are imposed from the top-down¹⁰⁴.
- Aram Aharonian, one of the persons involved in the founding of TeleSUR, describes it as being overrun by bureaucrats, stating "Telesur is taken by inept, counterrevolutionaries... people who recite slogans to look revolutionary but who have no idea what it is about... It is immoral that the Minister of Information of Venezuela is the president of the channel and handles it discretionarily."¹⁰⁵
- Jon Jeter, a former writer for TeleSUR, describes TeleSUR English's former director, Pablo Vivanco, and his deputy Cyril Mychalejko, as follows: "neither had worked for any mainstream journalism outlet, but had instead spent much of their careers prior to teleSUR in the NGO world. Neither one ever demonstrated any profound understanding of journalism, nor did they seem even remotely interested in developing one."¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Comunicación y la Información. Memoria 2013. <https://transparenciave.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/comunicacionMEMORIA-20131.pdf>

¹⁰⁰ Hugo Chávez Frías. Taller de Alto Nivel: "El nuevo mapa estratégico". https://urru.org/papers/El_nuevo_mapa_estrategico.pdf

¹⁰¹ Libro Rojo. Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela. <http://www.psuv.org.ve/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Libro-Rojo.pdf>

¹⁰² Bruno Rodríguez. Cuban Foreign Minister highlights Telesur's counter-hegemonic role. <https://misiones.cubaminrex.cu/en/cuba-telesur>

¹⁰³ Joe Wilson. Facebook Post. <https://www.facebook.com/JoeWilson/posts/the-telesur-network-is-to-venezuela-what-russia-today-is-to-russia-a-propaganda-10156616302569415/>

¹⁰⁴ Daniela Vielman. Estas son las razones por las que renunció una periodista de Telesur. <https://www.lapatilla.com/2018/10/11/estas-son-las-razones-por-las-que-renuncio-una-periodista-de-telesur/>

¹⁰⁵ Aram Aharonian. Aram Aharonian: «Telesur está tomada por ineptos y contrarrevolucionarios». <https://laclase.info/content/aram-aharonian-telesur-esta-tomada-por-ineptos-y-contrarrevolucionarios/>

¹⁰⁶ Jon Jeter. Vichy Journalism at TeleSUR and the Betrayal of the Bolivarian Revolution. <https://peakd.com/@mintpressnews/vichy-journalism-at-telesur-and-the-betrayal-of-the-bolivarian-revolution>

Venezuela's Media Partners: FARA-Registered

Al Jazeera

TeleSur's "cooperative technical-assistance deals now link it with the Arabic channels Al Jazeera and Al Manar."¹⁰⁷

FitzGibbon Media

While FitzGibbon Media was under contract with Venezuela, they were doing 'pro bono' work for Black Lives Matter activist Bree Newsome¹⁰⁸.

Prior to their contract with the Venezuelan government, FitzGibbon Media helped to prepare videos for the 2014 riots in Ferguson organized by Black Youth Project and Black Lives Matter¹⁰⁹.

Two of the members of the progressive GameChanger Salon contact list included Trevor Fitzgibbon, the former president of FitzGibbon Media, and Alicia Garza, one of the founders of Black Lives Matter and an attendee of multiple U.S. Social Forums¹¹⁰.

Venezuela's Media Partners: Not FARA Registered

TeleSUR English has had multiple production partnerships with U.S. based companies. Some of which include:

- The Real News Network (TRNN)¹¹¹
- Mint Press News (MPN)¹¹²

Context: 'Media Companies' Funding Foreign Agents

Numerous persons affiliated with the PSUV/PCC helped found TRNN, have been employed by TRNN, or been on the board of the Quitiplas Foundation - the "small family" investment foundation which has provided much of TRNN's operational revenue¹¹³.

- Sharmini Peries - former Senior Editor and Co-Founder of The Real News Network, International Economic Development and Trade Adviser to Hugo Chávez from 2003-2007¹¹⁴.
- Gregory Wilpert - former Managing Editor at TRNN; founder of Venezuelanalysis.com, an English-language PSUV-affiliated website about Venezuela; who helped launch teleSUR English in Quito, Ecuador that is married to Venezuelan ambassador¹¹⁵.
- Danny Glover - on the board of Directors¹¹⁶.

¹⁰⁷ Frederic F. Clairmont. Cuba and Venezuela: The Nemeses of Imperialism.

¹⁰⁸ Greg Botelho and Carma Hassan. Activist climbs pole, takes down Confederate flag outside S.C. Capitol. <https://fox2now.com/news/woman-removes-confederate-flag-in-front-of-sc-statehouse/>

¹⁰⁹ Black Youth Project. Video: Ferguson Speaks: A Communique From Ferguson. <https://blackyouthproject.com/video-ferguson-speaks-a-communique-from-ferguson/>

¹¹⁰ Gamechanger Salon. <https://www.scribd.com/doc/235443365/Gamechanger-Salon>

¹¹¹ Marketwired. teleSUR Launches New Investigative TV Show Hosted by Abby Martin. <https://finance.yahoo.com/news/telesur-launches-investigative-tv-show-220826217.html>

¹¹² MintPress News. TeleSUR. <https://www.mintpressnews.com/author/telesur/>

¹¹³ Ray McCoy. Commentary: The Big Red Fake News Machine. <https://tennesseestar.com/commentary/commentary-the-big-red-fake-news-machine/admin/2020/04/26>

¹¹⁴ Global Governance Forum. Sharmini Peries. <https://globalgovernanceforum.org/working-groups-member/sharmini-peries/>

¹¹⁵ The Real News Network. Gregory Wilpert. <https://therealnews.com/author/gregory-wilpert>

¹¹⁶ 2015 990 Form. Indpendant World Television. <https://pdf.guidestar.org/PDF/Images/2015/010/808/2015-010808098-0d31c800-9.pdf>

- Vijay Prashad - A writing fellow that is also Director of the Cuban government founded Tricontinental Institute¹¹⁷.

The relationships between TRNN and MPN and the PSUV/PCC is complex and compelling - even more so when Chinese, Russian and Qatari state media employees are also included - and worthy of further coverage.

TeleSUR as Intelligence Collection Apparatus

TeleSUR's media production in the United States constitutes an apparatus for wide-scale human intelligence collection on SATANs activities in the United States.

The below list contains a small sample of events which TeleSUR covered that were attended by persons and organizations linked to the Social Forum.

TeleSUR's Participation in Radical Political Events

Occupy Wall Street

Venezuela's Ministry of Popular Power for Communication and Information describes its coverage of Occupy Wall Street as a "milestone"¹¹⁸. The reason why is not provided in the *Memoria* in which this claim is made, however by examining TeleSUR's subsequent media coverage the reason why can better be understood: It provided the PSUV - as well as their Russian, Qatari, and Iranian partners - with the pretext to monitor the activities of the U.S. Leftist movements and opportunities with which to help support and direct these activities.

Marina Sitrin - shown above right on the TeleSUR funded Laura Flanders show - in an interview with Havana Times, describes her role in the Occupy Movement, shown above left, as follows: "I was a part of the NYC General Assembly movement, that became OWS once we occupied for more than a day in Zuccotti Park."¹¹⁹ Marina was later of the persons promoted in the press release announcing the launch of TeleSUR English¹²⁰.

Examining TeleSUR's media collection and hiring practices demonstrates that Marina Sitrin is not an outlier case.

*2006 Border Social Forum*¹²¹

TeleSUR was present and collected information on the persons and organizations present.

*2010 Allied Media Conference in Detroit*¹²²

"TeleSUR held a caucus meeting as they were "seeking revolutionary journalists and videographers to contribute to our growing coverage of the United States."

¹¹⁷ Vijay Prashad. TRNN> <https://therealnews.com/author/vijay-prashad>

¹¹⁸ Memoria 2012. Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Comunicación y la Información. <https://transparenciave.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Memoria-2012.pdf>

¹¹⁹ Dmitri Prieto. Horizontalism as a strategy: "taking over the state doesn't lead to real liberation". <https://havanatimes.org/interviews/horizontalism-as-a-strategy-taking-over-the-state-doesnt-lead-to-real-liberation-i/>

¹²⁰ TeleSUR English. TeleSUR English lands in the USA. <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/telesur-english-lands-in-the-usa-268483932.html>

¹²¹ The USSF Book Committee. The United States Social Forum: Perspectives of a Movement.

https://wiki.ussocialforum.net/wiki.ussocialforum.net/images/e/ee/USSF_Perspectives_of_a_Movement_Book/index.pdf

¹²² Allied Media Conference. Program Guide. https://alliedmedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/amc2010program-web_0.pdf

2010 United States Social Forum in Detroit

- According to Marc Becker, “a Venezuelan representative from the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA) participated in a question-and-answer session” after a showing of the Chávez-government funded film “South of the Border” by Oliver Stone¹²³.
- Pablo Solon, selected by Chávez ally Evo Morales to be Bolivia’s ambassador to the United Nations, also attended.

2015 United States Social Forum in San Jose^{124 125}

- Carlos Ron, then Minister Counselor for Political Affairs at the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Washington, D.C., attended the event¹²⁶.

*2015 United States Social Forum in Philadelphia*¹²⁷

- In a panel titled “Cuba, Venezuela - Another world is possible”, Gloria La Riva of the ANSWER Coalition, the Party for Socialism and Liberation, and the Communication Workers of America, described their panel as an opportunity to “learn from participatory democracy and 21st Century Socialism.”
- Building Cross-Continental Grassroots Resistance to U.S. Militarization – United States Social Forum & the SOA Watch Encuentro in Venezuela was “The workshop will bring together participants in Detroit and in Venezuela to work together in a strategy session...”¹²⁸.

*People’s Climate March*¹²⁹

Participants included:

- Members of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA)
- International League of People’s Struggle
- United National Antiwar Coalition
- International Action Center
- Black Agenda Report
- People’s Power Assembly¹³⁰
- Party for Socialism and Liberation¹³¹

Protests in Ferguson, Missouri^{132 133 134 135 136}

According to accounts of those present, TeleSUR employees not only documented the activities but also participated in the protests. G1, one of the members of Rebel Diaz (described below), was arrested for his activities at Ferguson¹³⁷.

¹²³ Marc Becker. U.S. Social Forum a Mechanism for Change. <https://upside-downworld.org/archives/international/us-social-forum-a-mechanism-for-change/>

¹²⁴ Edgar Franks on the U.S. Social Forum. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=ttv9dBT9qvE>

¹²⁵ Erika Cisneros on the U.S. Social Forum. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uz0eDAeBnJw>

¹²⁶ ANSWER Coalition. Activists gather in San José and Philadelphia for U.S. Social Forum. https://www.answercoalition.org/activists_gather_in_san_jos_and_philadelphia_for_u_s_social_forum

¹²⁷ N Don’t Stop - The Shoe Collective The U.S. Social Forum & Paul Flores. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iVSwPWWh-Ti8>

¹²⁸ VenezuelaAnalysis. Building Cross-Continental Grassroots Resistance to U.S. Militarization – United States Social Forum & the SOA Watch Encuentro in Venezuela. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/events/5334/>

¹²⁹ TeleSUR English. Ep 21. People’s Climate March | N Don’t Stop. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1uSal7njWl0>

¹³⁰ Betsey Plette. Peoples Climate March protesters say: ‘We know who is responsible’. <https://www.workers.org/2014/09/16125/>

¹³¹ Ethan Jury. 400,000 march in NYC, demand action on climate change. <https://www.liberationnews.org/400000-march-on-new-york-demanding-action-on-climate-change-2/>

¹³² TeleSUR English. The funeral of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x24k9en>

¹³³ TeleSUR English. From The South - Tensions surge in Ferguson, Missouri. <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2jcxlv>

¹³⁴ TeleSUR English. Ferguson protests move to malls and shopping centers. <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2bbbph>

¹³⁵ TeleSUR English. USA: Arrests Continue and Ferguson Protests Gain Momentum. https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=YJ_uTARDnlQ

¹³⁶ TeleSUR English. N Don’t Stop: G1 interviews #Ferguson activists. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ez1ywTMAzPU>

¹³⁷ TeleSUR. Arrestan a colaborador de teleSUR en protestas de Ferguson <http://f1.telesurvtv.net/news/Arrestan-a-colaborador-de-teleSUR-en-protestas-de-Ferguson-20141126-0003.html>

The Standing Rock Protests^{138 139}

TeleSUR was present at multiple protests against infrastructure which would enable the transportation of oil, Venezuela's primary export, within the United States.

*Movement for Black Lives Conference*¹⁴⁰

On July 24, 2015 a convention was held at Cleveland State University. Between 1,500 and 2,000 activists convened in order to participate in open discussions, strategy sessions, and to engage in demonstrations.

Five years after the event, on July 12, 2020, Harvard Book Store invited Elizabeth Hinton, Robin D. G. Kelley, Keeanga-Yamahatta Taylor, Brandon M. Terry, and Cornel West for an online panel discussion.

During the discussion, Robin D. G. Kelley provided insight into the history of this meeting that links the Movement for Black Lives to the support of the Venezuelan and Cuban governments:

“The Movement for Black Lives, as everyone knows, represents a coalition of more than 150 different organizations, many of which are actually engaged in international relationships and solidarity.

For example, it's hard to understand mobilizing around post-Katrina New Orleans [*The period during which the Black/Left Unity Network/Movement for Black Lives was formed*] without seeing the role that these organizations on the ground had in the relationship with Venezuela or Cuba.”

The Third Reconstruction ideal cannot be reduced to a national vision. It is a global vision...”

*2016 RNC Protest*¹⁴¹

Protests held in Cleveland, Ohio on July 16, 2016.

Coverage following the 2016 Election

Following the 2016 election of Donald Trump, “teleSUR reached out to several young activists around the U.S. to hear their views on why elections don't really change things.¹⁴²” These activists included:

- Lamont Lilly - Described as a member of the Workers World Party in the article.
- Rebecka Jackson - Described as a member of the Workers World Party in the article.
- Scott Williams - Described as a member of the Workers World Party in the article.
- Danielle Boachie - Described elsewhere as a Workers World Party organizer¹⁴³.
- Jefferson Azevedo - Is a Brazilian national and Workers World Party member¹⁴⁴.

*2017 People's Congress of Resistance*¹⁴⁵

A major national gathering held in Washington, D.C. September 16-17, 2017 to organize strategies against Donald Trump.

¹³⁸ What Standing Rock Showed the World. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EOrgD2OhLM>

¹³⁹ Women Backbone of Standing Rock Resistance <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSMiRnigf8>

¹⁴⁰ TeleSUR English. The Global African: Athlete Turned Artist & Movement For Black Lives Conference <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZARe7-nLDQ>

¹⁴¹ TeleSUR. N Don't Stop: Rebel Diaz brings revolutionary culture to protest the RNC <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BEC3Wv2OXJM&t=448s>

¹⁴² F**k the Elections, Let's Keep Organizing: US Activists. <https://iacenter.org/2016/11/08/fk-the-elections-lets-keep-organizing-us-activists/amp/>

¹⁴³ Workers World Party. Socialist campaign comes to Illinois, Wisconsin. <https://www.workers.org/2016/09/27081/>

¹⁴⁴ Bob McCubbin. Western regional conference calls for revolutionary struggle, socialist unity. https://www.workers.org/2010/us/western_conference_0916/

¹⁴⁵ Empire Files: Voices From The Anti-Trump Resistance. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uy01SAjTtiM>

TeleSUR as Funding Source for Socialist Activists

TeleSUR English contributors and staff frequently have leadership roles in organizations which are either directly affiliated with the Venezuelan government or have goals that are aligned with Venezuela's geo-political interests. Given the ideological, non-commercial nature of TeleSUR - such contracting appears to function as a financial supplement to these activities.

Vincent Emanuel

In the article *Reflections on Black Lives Matter - Gary, Indiana*, Emanuel opens his opinion article stating: "For the last nine months, I've been organizing with the Black Lives Matter movement in Northwest Indiana."¹⁴⁶

Mike Prysner

A producer for the TeleSUR English show Empire Files. Previously worked for Russia's RT and is affiliated with the Party for Socialism and Liberation¹⁴⁷.

Abby Martin

On-air talent for TeleSUR English show Empire Files. Previously worked for Russia's RT. While not open about her party affiliation, she is the wife of Mike Prysner and has been extensively promoted by the Party for Socialism and Liberation.

Bill Fletcher Jr.

On-air host of the TeleSUR show Global African. Bill is the former President of TransAfrican Forum, an affiliate of the Institute of Policy Studies, and a Commissioner of the National African-American Reparations Commission¹⁴⁸.

Laura Flanders

On-air host of The Laura Flanders Show. While not open about her party affiliation - she is well known as being a "progressive" and in an interview after the election of Joe Biden expressed policy preferences that are aligned with those advocated for by the Democratic Socialist of America¹⁴⁹.

Rodrigo Venegas and Gonzalo Venegas

On-air hosts of the TeleSUR series Ñ Don't Stop. These two brothers from Chile are members of a hip-hop group called Rebel Diaz. In addition to being TeleSUR employees, they received a grant from Citgo, Venezuela's state oil company that is managed by the PSUV¹⁵⁰. While their party affiliation is unknown, both of their parents were involved with Chile's Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) - an organization that in the late 1970s engaged in the assassinations of political enemies and assaults against economic and government installations^{151,152}. The Venegas brothers' father was involved in their

¹⁴⁶ Vincent Emanuele. Reflections on Black Lives Matter - Gary, Indiana. <http://t1.telesurtv.net/english/opinion/Reflections-on-Black-Lives-Matter---Gary-Indiana--20150530-0020.html>

¹⁴⁷ Reddit. This is Abby Martin & Mike Prysner of The Empire Files, AMA ! https://www.reddit.com/r/socialism/comments/amglh6/this_is_abby_martin_mike_prysner_of_the_empire/

¹⁴⁸ Bill Fletcher Jr. About. <https://billfletcherjr.com/>

¹⁴⁹ Jarrett Murphy . What the 2020 Results Really Mean: Q&A With Laura Flanders. <https://citylimits.org/2020/11/25/what-the-2020-results-really-mean-qa-with-laura-flanders/>

¹⁵⁰ N+1. Hands Up: A round table on police violence. <https://www.nplusonemag.com/issue-22/police/6423-2/>

¹⁵¹ Camila Gavin-Bravo. Semillas de la rebelión: Revolutionary postmemory, hip-hop, and Chilean exile. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41276-022-00407-x>

¹⁵² William Sater. The Revolutionary Left and Terrorist Violence in Chile. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA173510.pdf>

bomb-making operations¹⁵³. They previously received funding from Citgo, Venezuela's state oil company, via their organization Rebel Diaz Arts Collective¹⁵⁴. In 2015 they harassed Ted Cruz at an event in New York¹⁵⁵.

Space

"Space-based services include navigation, communications, remote sensing, and science and exploration... The effect of hybrid operations in space not only affects the military/defense domain, but can also have a significant impact on civil commercial activities, as these increasingly rely on space capabilities"

*

Communications - Inside the United States

The AFL-CIO's Guide to Colombia: Dan Kovalik



Following the failure of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, a series of bi-lateral trade agreements were then proposed. Instead of the U.S. negotiating with Latin America countries as a collective, direct nation-to-nation agreements were proposed, structured, and debated. The participation of Colombian business associations and the Colombian government engaging in such negotiations were seen by the PSUV as a threat, as the Bolivarian perspective - as expressed by Hugo Chávez - is that Colombia and Venezuela should reunite as Gran-Colombia¹⁵⁶.

In mid-February 2018, AFL-CIO Executive Linda Chávez-Thompson participated in a "fact-finding" mission to Colombia in mid-February. Other participants included then Communications Workers of America President and co-founder of Jobs with Justice, Larry Cohen, as well as the legal counsel for United Steelworkers, Dan Kovalik¹⁵⁷. To determine the union's position on this Free Trade Agreement, officially titled the U.S.-Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement, this group of three met with Colombian elected officials, union representatives, and civil society members.

As a result of this trio's time in Colombia, the AFL-CIO would take a position in opposition of the Free Trade agreement with Colombia. In a public statement that "Should it come up for a vote this year, we will mobilize the unions and the resources of the federation to defeat it."¹⁵⁸. While the Trade Promotion

¹⁵³ Jack Delaney. "We're Not Organizing the Poor, We're the Poor Organizing". <https://jacobin.com/2019/12/rebel-diaz-organizing-hip-hop-chile-pinochet>

¹⁵⁴ Kathleen Caulderwood. Politically Active Bronx Artists Protest Their Own Eviction. March 15, 2013. <https://citylimits.org/2013/03/15/politically-active-bronx-artists-protest-their-own-eviction/>

¹⁵⁵ Starz, Rod. Which Side Are You On? RodStarz of Hip-Hop Duo Rebel Diaz Explains Confronting Ted Cruz & Being Pro-Community. April 12, 2016.

<https://www.billboard.com/music/rb-hip-hop/rebel-diaz-rodstarz-ted-cruz-essay-7326606/>

¹⁵⁶ Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores. Venezuela will keep fighting to achieve the resurrection of Gran Colombia.

https://web.archive.org/web/20150923210324/http://www.consulvenemontreal.org/rep/boletin/Boletin_Consulado_13_01.pdf

¹⁵⁷ James M. Roberts. Big Labor & The Truth About Colombia. <https://www.heritage.org/americas/commentary/big-labor-the-truth-about-colombia>

¹⁵⁸ AFL-CIO Executive Council Statement. No Free Trade With Colombia Until Workers' Rights Are Respected. <https://aflcio.org/about/leadership/statements/no-free-trade-colombia-until-workers-rights-are-respected>

Agreement passed Congress, it's worth considering the impact had it not. Writing for the Heritage Foundation, James M. Robert, Former Research Fellow For Economic Freedom and Growth, describes the impact should it have failed to pass¹⁵⁹:

"Effectively, it would be a vote of "no confidence" in the Colombian people, which would be a public relations bonanza for Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez and the FARC narco-terrorists he is trying to legitimize in order to undermine the Uribe government. Chávez aims to rule the "Gran Colombia" that was (briefly) headed by Simon Bolivar 200 years ago, and Colombia is the jewel in would-be Emperor Hugo's crown.

A defeated TPA would put at risk the considerable progress made by Plan Colombia, into which Congress has poured hundreds of millions of dollars since 1999. Chávez would be emboldened to increase his already extensive collusion with the Colombian drug cartels, which are now on the run."

The linkage of this 'fact-finding meeting' to the PSUV and PCC, is through Daniel Kovalik.

Kovalik has been a "friend" of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) since 1987, a Communist political party that started out as an armed movement and that later joined ALBA-TCP, and had previously worked on behalf of Colombia's SINALTRAINAL (National Union of Food Workers) for a legal suit against Coca-Cola^{160,161}.

During a Joint Hearing Subcommittee meeting held June 28, 2007, Dan Kovalik's credibility is "destroyed" following admission of support for the Cuban government and Che Guevara¹⁶². Congressman Dan Burton evoked this insight from Kovalik by citing a photo of his office, however at the time Kovalik was also a member of the Network of Artists and Intellectuals in Defense of Humanity (REDH). REDH is a Venezuelan and Cuban-government sponsored transnational network that was founded in 2004 and is described in more detail in the Culture section below. In a recent video Kovalik ends his message produced by REDH by "Pledging everlasting support to the people of Cuba" and then ends his message saying "Viva Cuba. Viva Fidel. Viva Che Guevarra. Cuba Will Win!"¹⁶³

While the itinerary the group went on was not made public, Kovalik is likely the person who selected the persons with whom the AFL-CIO and CWA leaders met with given his network connections in the region.

Communication Workers of America Resolutions

The News Media Guild (NMG) is the union which represents the Associated Press. Their parent organization is the Communication Workers of America (CWA). The CWA, amongst other responsibilities, makes organizational decisions via resolution at the NMG meetings held every two years.

The proceedings of the 2019 Communication Workers of America convention, held at the Westgate Hotel Las Vegas, Nevada July 29-31, 2019 contain discussion on three resolutions - all of which were passed - that have varying levels of linkage to the PSUV:

¹⁵⁹ James M. Roberts. Big Labor & The Truth About Colombia. <https://www.heritage.org/americas/commentary/big-labor-the-truth-about-colombia>

¹⁶⁰ Daniel Kovalik. Geography. <https://www.claritypress.com/book-author/daniel-kovalik/>

¹⁶¹ Sinaltrainal v. Coca-Cola Co. <https://casetext.com/case/sinaltrainal-v-coca-cola-co>

¹⁶² Protection And Money : U.S. Companies Their Employees And Violence In Colombia : Joint Hearing Before The Subcommittee On International Organizations Human Rights And Oversight. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-110hhrg36425/pdf/CHRG-110hhrg36425.pdf>

¹⁶³ Dan Kovalik. Message of solidarity with Cuba from Dan Kovalik, Member the Network in Defense of Humanity-USA. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kY5ENm7FBD8>

1. Resolution 77a-19-6: "International Workers Solidarity"
2. Resolution 77A-19-07: "Censuring President Trump for Racist Attacks on Congresswomen of Color"
3. Resolution proposed by UPTE-CWA 9119 on Venezuela¹⁶⁴.

Resolution 77A-19-6: International Worker Solidarity



Gloria La Riva with Fidel Castro, Hugo Chávez, and giving an interview on TeleSUR

The minutes of the CWA meeting document prior to the vote on Resolution 77A-19-6 shows that Gloria La Riva is given the floor to speak to the union membership elected to attend the conference. Gloria La Riva, a CWA member, has also been the Presidential candidate for the Workers World Party and the Party for Socialism and Liberation. The above pictures show her meeting with Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez, and telling a TeleSUR reporter that the US needs a man like Hugo Chávez.

La Riva begins her case for the passage of the 77A-19-6 resolution by sharing the following:

"I also want to speak about a larger question of the need for international solidarity, and it's the other side of the coin in relation to trade and economic issues... I spent a month in Venezuela... and I believe that in the workers' movement, we need our own foreign policy rather than being dragged into war after war, sanctions after sanctions."

The four-part resolution includes directives to "repudiate efforts to demonize and scapegoat workers outside the United States who are not our enemies"; to "support global organizing efforts"; "to develop strategic partnerships that will strengthen our bonds of solidarity and enable us to work together across borders to fight the power of our common enemy" - all of which appear to have direct linkages to supporting the mission of PSUV-affiliate networks within the United States.

Resolution 77A-19-07: Censuring President Trump for Racist Attacks

In the discussion proceeding the vote on Resolution 77A-19-07, the Censure of President Trump, there is no mention by any of the union delegates that Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Rashida Tlaib, Ayanna Pressley, and Ilhan Omar have all received campaign support from Democratic Socialists of America nor that, following the remarks used by CWA members, "Trump and his aides say he is targeting the congresswomen purely because of their criticism of contemporary America."¹⁶⁵

By framing comments lacking racial language and which critique the political values of the Democratic Socialists of America associated members as "racist attacks on Congress members" - President Donald J. Trump's words are radically and racially misconstrued, ironically, by members of a Communication

¹⁶⁴ Communication Workers of America. Proceedings of the 77th Convention. <https://cwa-union.org/sites/default/files/2019cwaconventionproceedings.pdf>

¹⁶⁵ Jon Swaine. Trump renews racist attack on Squad: 'They're not capable of loving the US'. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jul/21/trump-racist-squad-democrats-omar-ocasio-cortez-tlaib-pressley>

Workers union. Such an assessment, notably, aligns with that of Nicolas Maduro, who claimed that the KKK “rules the White House”¹⁶⁶.

UPTE-CWA 9119’s Resolution and Call for Concurrence

At the same CWA Convention, UPTE-CWA 9119 called for a resolution “for an immediate end to military intervention by the U.S. against Venezuela.... all economic sanctions against Venezuela, and [a] call for concurrence with the resolution by all affiliated bodies including by California AFL-CIO, CWA and National AFL-CIO.”

The sum effect of these three resolutions function:

1. Promote journalistic policy discouraging coverage of issues linked to criticism of the DSA.
2. Promote journalistic policy that promotes sentiments against President Donald J. Trump – who has described himself as the “anti-Socialist” candidate.
3. Links the CWA’s international solidarity activities to the development of a foreign policy distinct from that of the Federal Government.
4. Links the CWA’s international solidarity activities to an explicit policy of defending the PSUV.
5. Advocate on the PSUV’s behalf across the organizational bodies linked to the CWA.

Conferences by Venezuelan-government affiliated activists

On May 14, 2019 CWA [Communication Workers of America] Local 4502 held a ‘Teach-in on Venezuela’ facilitated by Dan Kovalik¹⁶⁷.

Economy

“The objective of a hybrid threat action on the economy domain is to comprehensively weaken the target state, undermining public confidence in democracy and the government. For instance, economic measures or policies can be used to add political pressure, or economic coercion can seek to modify a state’s foreign policy stance, or to weaken the resilience of its economy, society and security. The priming phase can last for decades. The tools associated with Hybrid Threats seeking to affect the economy domain are none other than the instruments of international economic policy. The ubiquity of these issues in international relations is what makes the economy one of the first possible targets of a hybrid threat campaign.”

*

Venezuela’s capacity to impact the U.S. economy overtly, i.e. via OPEC, and through clandestine means, i.e. via profits created via their role in trafficking cocaine, is significant and has been written about at length.

As others have already covered these topics - below will address how unions that have participated in the Social Forums have worked to achieve policy goals expressed by the PSUV and thus qualify as proxies of the Venezuelan government.

¹⁶⁶ Aris Folley. Maduro calls Trump white supremacist, says KKK ‘rules the White House’. <https://thehill.com/policy/international/429586-venezuelas-maduro-trump-is-a-white-supremacist-and-kkk-rules-the-white/>

¹⁶⁷ Colombia Free Press. Teach-in on Venezuela. <https://columbusfreepress.com/events/teach-venezuela-at-cwa-communication-workers-america-local-4502>

SEIU

Delegation to Venezuela

In January of 2004, Patricia Ford, then Vice President of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) was part of a delegation of activists which travelled to Venezuela and met with members of the PSUV-led government¹⁶⁸.

Boston Social Forum

Hosted July 23-25, 2004, at UMass Boston.

- Members of the SEIU attended the Boston Social Forum¹⁶⁹.
- FARA documentation submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice shows the Venezuela Information Office engaged in outreach on behalf of the event¹⁷⁰.

United States Social Forum

- SEIU leadership participated in the National Planning Committee for the first United States Social Forum held in Atlanta Georgia in 2007¹⁷¹.

Attended Encuentro Sindical – Nuestro América Conference

- SEIU members were signatories to the 3rd meeting of Encuentro Sindical – Nuestro America (ESNA) network in Caracas, Venezuela. ESNA's origins, according to their own documentation¹⁷²:

“was born inspired by an idea of President Hugo Chávez Frías, on the occasion of the II Bolivarian Congress of the Peoples held in Caracas, Venezuela, in December 2004, when he launched the idea of forming an expression of integration of the Latin American trade union movement, and the creation of a new Trade Union Center in the Americas as a necessity to face the prospects offered by the situation in the region and to have new instruments for the struggle.”

- Other organizational attendees of the Encuentro Sindical – Nuestro América (ESNA) conference included representatives from the American Federation of Teachers locals 3267 and 1936, Union California Faculty Association, United Auto Workers local 174, UNITE Here, Unión del Barrio and Vamos Juntos.

¹⁶⁸ VenezuelAnalysis. Danny Glover, African-American Personalities Visit Venezuela to get Better Vision of the Country. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/news/304/>

¹⁶⁹ Boston Social Forum. Program for the 2004 Boston Social Forum. http://bostonsocialforum.org/archive/bsf_2004_program_book.pdf

¹⁷⁰ Eric Wingerter. FARA Reporting Log - Venezuela Information Office. <http://www.proveo.org/VIO-2005-08-31b.pdf>

¹⁷¹ Karides, Marina. Katz-Fishman, Walda. Brewer, Rose M. Lovelace, Alice. Scott, Jerome. The United States Social Forum: Perspectives of a Movement. https://wiki.ussocialforum.net/wiki/ussocialforum.net/images/e/ee/USSF_Perspectives_of_a_Movement_Book/index.pdf

¹⁷² ESNA. ¿Qué es el ESNA? https://web.archive.org/web/20180412082219/http://encuentrosindical.org/?page_id=7451

Organizational Support from TeleSUR Board Members

- Danny Glover, an advisory board member of TeleSUR, has also been active in promoting SEIU organizing efforts¹⁷³.

Support for Cuban Spies

- Estela Vazquez, Executive VP of 1199 SEIU United Healthcare Workers East, provided facilities for events seeking to promote the release of the Cuban Five - René González Sehwerert, Fernando González, Ramon Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, and Gerardo Hernández - five Cuban nationals arrested for spying in the United States - and to organize the provision of services to the imprisoned spies and their families¹⁷⁴.

Support for Alex Saab

- On December 4, 2021 a conference of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) was held in Chicago. Over 140 delegates from 30 organizations attended, including Regina Russell, an executive board member of SEIU Local 73, and Greg Kelly, the president of SEIU Healthcare Illinois Indiana Missouri & Kansas (HCIIMK)^{175,176}.

Support of Strikes for Social Forum Promoted Policies

- On July 20th, 2020 SEIU announced a call that their union was promoting strike and protests actions across the United States whose goal was to change U.S. government and corporate policies¹⁷⁷. The “Strike for Black Lives” was oriented to “demanding corporations and government take action to confront systemic racism...” - a concept promoted by academics affiliated with Socialist movements and parties.

Boston School Bus Drivers Union

Former President and Vice President visit Venezuela

Steve Gillis and Frantz Mendes, president and Vice-President, respectively, of the School Bus Drivers Union visited Venezuela from April 13-17, 2005 to attend the Third Gathering in Solidarity of the Venezuelan Revolution¹⁷⁸.

Support for Alex Saab

The union called for the immediate release of Venezuelan Diplomat Alex Saab¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷³ Morning Call. Actor joins in union rally. October 5, 2021. <https://www.mcall.com/news/mc-xpm-2011-05-14-mc-pocono-seiu-glover-20110514-story.html>

¹⁷⁴ National Committee to Free the Cuban Five. Past Events. <https://www.freethethefive.org/pastevents.htm>

¹⁷⁵ Kobi Guillory. Organizers against police crimes meet: JULIAN ASSANGE MUST BE FREE! “We have nothing to lose but our chains.”

<https://fightbacknews.org/articles/organizers-against-police-crimes-meet-we-have-nothing-lose-our-chains>

¹⁷⁶ SEIU. President Greg Kelley. <https://seiuhealthcare.org/president-greg-kelley/>

¹⁷⁷ Sara Lonardo. Tens of Thousands in 25+ Cities to Strike for Black Lives. <https://www.seiu.org/2020/07/tens-of-thousands-in-25-cities-to-strike-for-black-lives>

¹⁷⁸ Berta Joubert-Ceci. Venezuelans declare Bolivarian revolution is moving forward: International delegates meet with workers at historic gathering. <https://www.workers.org/pdf/2005/ww042805.pdf>

¹⁷⁹ USW Local 8751 - District 4. Boston School Bus Drivers' Union. <https://bostonschoolbusunion.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Alex-Saab-Resloution-pdf-2.pdf>

President Declares Support for Venezuela and President Maduro



Andre Francois, president of Boston School Bus Drivers Union speaks on why he supports Venezuela and Pres Maduro. “They have always stood with the Haitian people. Pres Maduro is the first bus driver head of state.”

Picketing for COVID Act

The Boston School Bus Drivers’ Union held a “picket and car caravan” on Tuesday over allegations that there is a lack of adequate COVID-19 safety procedures for drivers¹⁸⁰.

National Nurses Union

Director of Public Policy Attended Social Forum

Michael Lighty is currently the Director of Public Policy for the National Nurses Union¹⁸¹. He is also described by the Democratic Socialists of America as the national spokesperson for their Medicare for All Campaign¹⁸². In 2010, he participated in the Detroit Social Forum¹⁸³.

Director of Public Policy Attended Meeting of the Socialist Internationale

Michael Lighty attended the Congress of the Socialist International, held in Berlin on 15–17 September, 1992¹⁸⁴.

Endorsed Application of the Cuban Health Care Model to the United States

An October 15, 2021 Press Release titled “Union nurses across U.S. convene, call for ending Covid, advancing society based on care” endorses positions that are aligned with the political platform forwarded by participants of the United States Social Forum, such as:

¹⁸⁰ Christopher Gavin. ‘Enough is Enough!’: Boston school bus drivers to picket over a lack of in-yard COVID-19 testing and vaccinations, union says. <https://www.boston.com/news/schools/2021/03/09/boston-school-bus-drivers-to-picket-over-lack-of-covid-testing-vaccinations/>

¹⁸¹ LinkedIn. Michael Lighty. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/michael-lighty-ab916340/>

¹⁸² Democratic Socialists of America. Build Socialism With Us. <https://dsasf.org/build-socialism-with-us/>

¹⁸³ Healthcare Now. Report From the US Social Forum. <https://www.healthcare-now.org/blog/report-from-the-us-social-forum/>

¹⁸⁴ Socialist International News. List of Participants. https://www.socialistinternational.org/fileadmin/uploads/si/Documents/Congresses/XIX_Berlin/SI_XIX_Congress_Berlin_List_of_Participants.pdf

“end to racist immigration policies; opposition to all voter suppression laws and support for expanding voting rights; an end to use of weapons of war and militarized force against people protesting racial injustice; support for systemic changes in harmful and fatal policing practices; decriminalization of minor drug offenses and an end to cash bail, minimum sentencing laws, and for-profit private prisons; structural reforms to increase economic opportunity for communities of color including affirmative action, guaranteed incomes, decent housing, and public school funding; and support for reparations for Black Americans and greater investment in Black communities to address effects of structural racism tied to centuries of slavery and segregation.”

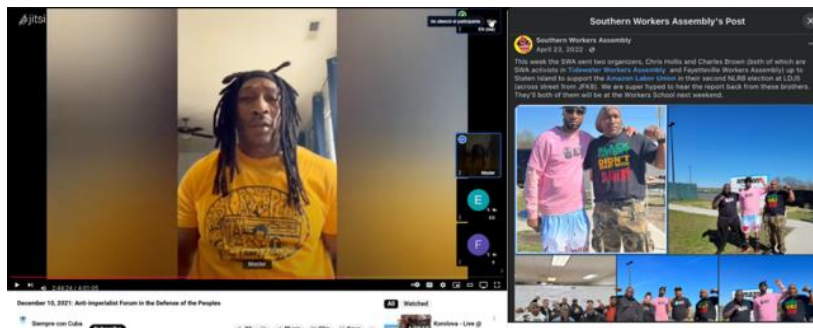
As well as specific commitments towards the Cuban government:

“support for expanding working people’s democracy and defeating right-wing authoritarian repression; applauding Cuba’s Henry Reeve Brigade medical solidarity and Cuba’s commitment to sharing Covid-19 vaccines with other nations”

Summary

In the section above we presented a small sample of activities which, analyzed collectively, demonstrate that the SEIU, Boston School Bus Drivers Union, and the National Nurses Union undertake actions which function to undermine public confidence in the American constitution, its legal system, and its capacity to respond to health issues.

These three unions, however, represent only a small sample of all the unions operating within the U.S. that are directly or ideologically affiliated with the United Socialist Party of Venezuela and the Communist Party of Cuba. These unions conceive of their collaboration with these groups as part of a multi-generational campaign for “Social Justice”.



UE Visitor to Cuba Finds Culture of Solidarity



Left to right: UE Project Staff Charles Brown, interpreter Rosbel Lazaro, and UE Project Staff Chris Hollis.

The North Carolina Public Service Workers Union (UE 150), for example, describes their participation in the 2006 Social Forum in Caracas and the 2007 Social Forum in Atlanta as part of a struggle that goes back 25 years¹⁸⁵. Members of the UE 150, such as Chris Hollis, shown above, that were involved in the Amazon union drive also met with Cuban government officials both in Cuba and in online video meetings¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁵ UE 150. UE150 History Timeline (1982-2022). https://www.ueunion.org/sites/default/files/UE150_25_Year_History_Timeline.pdf

¹⁸⁶ Siempre Con Cuba. December 10, 2021: Anti-imperialist Forum in the Defense of the Peoples. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LJyQVJbHYHo>

Military/Defence

“Compromising a country’s military and defense capabilities can be a very effective means of increasing influence, exerting pressure, and, in certain cases, preparing the ground for future military operations.”

*

Julian Assange

While Assange is a widely covered public figure, key elements of his biography, as well as the actions and statements of PSUV and PCC proxies show that Wikipedia was one of the heads of SATAN with support from the PSUV/PCC and their various state and non-state partners.

Collaboration with the World Social Forum Network

Julian Assange is perhaps the most widely recognized name connected to the World Social Forum. And yet this crucial link demonstrating his ideological affiliation with it is often not covered. In the book *Wikileaks: Inside Julian Assange’s War on Secrecy*, authors David Leigh and Luke Harding describe Julian’s time at the World Social Forum as follows:

“The geeky hacker underground was only one part of the soil out of which WikiLeaks grew. Another was the anti-capitalist radicals – the community of environmental activists, human rights campaigners and political revolutionaries who make up what used to be known in the 1960s as the “counter-culture”. As Assange went public for the first time about WikiLeaks, he traveled to Nairobi in Kenya to set out their stall at the World Social Forum in January 2007... At the event, tens of thousands in Nairobi’s Freedom Park chanted, “Another world is possible!”... Assange himself spent four days in a WSF tent with his three friends, giving talks, handing out flyers and making connections. He was so exhilarated by what he called “the world’s biggest NGO beach party” that he stayed on for much of the next two years in a Nairobi compound with activists from Médecins Sans Frontières and other foreign groups.”

In his *Unauthorized Autobiography*, Julian Assange shares an anecdote that indicates one of the reasons for his desire to stay in Nairobi after the World Social Forum was to work with Kenyan Communist Party militants. Assange stated.

“On one of the days there was a commotion in the corridor and suddenly, out of nowhere, a crowd of Kenyan Communist Party members came bustling down the hall, pressing the guards and everyone else to the walls as they entered our makeshift office. They were accompanied by a large press pack carrying notebooks and video cameras. A large black woman threw herself on the desk, stood up, and began ranting first in Swahili and then in English, demanding that the World Social Forum’s entrance fees must be reduced to allow greater access for people from the Kabira slums. She gave this loud press conference from the top of the desk and then vanished, taking the crowd with her. ‘Yes,’ I thought, ‘now here is a country I can work with.’ (assange 218)

As signaled by a 2009 conversation with Domscheit-Berg Daniel, after Assange had left Nairobi, he claimed his experience had changed him. He envisioned a new mission for Wikileaks.

Domscheit-Berg Daniel provides an account of this in his book *Inside WikiLeaks: My Time with Julian Assange at the World’s Most Dangerous Website*. Daniel describes the two arguing over how to use the money then flowing into the organizations. Their exchange went as follows:

Our stated goal at this point was to become "the most aggressive press organization in the world." Then suddenly, as money began pouring in, Julian changed his mind. **He thought we should become an "insurgent operation."** Insurgents? Insurgents don't have offices. They work underground. To my mind, he was casting doubt upon the basic idea of everything we'd worked toward for years. Increasingly, he would talk about how we were being shadowed and how we needed to make ourselves "untouchable." He was convinced we were no longer safe on the streets, that our mail and belongings were being searched, and that we had to disappear and live underground. He fantasized about bulletproof vests and international secret services always on our heels.

Julian Assange validates the view that his work was a component of a loosely knit "insurgency" rather than a media organization in *When Google Met WikiLeaks*, a book he wrote and published. There, Assange describes a meeting he had in June of 2011 with the then-chairman of Google, Eric Schmidt, in Norfolk, England when he was living under house arrest. Assange describes the meeting as follows: "For several hours the besieged leader of **the world's most famous insurgent publishing organization** and the billionaire head of the world's largest information empire locked horns".

Protection Given by State Governments Affiliated with the Bolivarian Movement

Rafael Correa, the former president of Ecuador, has expressed his allegiance to the Cuban-Venezuelan government sponsored Bolivarian project. Correa provided Assange with both citizenship as well as protection at their embassy in the London.

On August 23, 2018 Lenin Moreno, the president of Ecuador elected following Correa, ended institutional connections with the Venezuelan-government led Bolivarian Alliance for the People of Our America¹⁸⁷. Shortly thereafter, Assange's diplomatic protection was withdrawn¹⁸⁸.

Advocacy by ALBA Movimientos

35 delegates from 20 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as a dozen 'comrades' from Venezuela met in Caracas, Venezuela from March 2-4, 2023 for the 7th Continental Coordination Meeting of ALBA Movimientos. One goal set by ALBA Movimientos included¹⁸⁹:

"Put more focus on campaigns for liberation of political prisoners in our region and in the world, in particular the Comrades Julian Assange and Alex Saab, prisoners of US imperialism."

Following Julian Assange's recent release, ALBA-TCP published a message celebrating his freedom¹⁹⁰.

Legal Defense/Media Promotion by Venezuelan Linked Organizations

The National Lawyers Guild submitted a report to the United Nations on behalf of Julian Assange¹⁹¹.

Hands off WikiLeaks - Free Julian Assange - Hands off Bradley Manning

¹⁸⁷ Associated Press. Ecuador leaves Venezuelan-run regional alliance. <https://apnews.com/general-news-6a7d8ed8738a475d8b6c276ffa0b761e>

¹⁸⁸ Carlos de la Torre. For Ecuador's Lenin Moreno, Evicting Julian Assange Is Only the Beginning. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/22/for-ecuadors-lenin-moreno-evicting-julian-assange-is-only-the-beginning/>

¹⁸⁹ ALBA Movimientos. 10 years from his passing, Chávez lives on in ALBA – Declaration of the VII Continental Coordination Meeting of ALBA Movimientos. <https://albamovimientos.net/eng-10-years-from-his-passing-Chávez-lives-on-in-alba-declaration-of-the-vii-continental-coordination-meeting-of-alba-movimientos/>

¹⁹⁰ ALBA-TCP. ALBA-TCP celebra la liberación de Julian Assange. <https://x.com/ALBATCP/status/1805742057610158397>

¹⁹¹ National Lawyers Guild. NLG Reiterates Support of Julian Assange, Chelsea Manning, and Free Press. <https://www.nlg.org/nlg-reiterates-support-of-julian-assange-chelsea-manning-and-free-press/>

Supporters of these efforts included the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI)¹⁹², Socialist Equality Party¹⁹³, The International League of Peoples' Struggle¹⁹⁴, Freedom Socialist Party¹⁹⁵, the International Peoples' Assembly¹⁹⁶, Veterans for Peace, Code Pink, A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism), Party for Socialism and Liberation¹⁹⁷, Tricontinental Institute¹⁹⁸, Global Exchange¹⁹⁹, Workers World Party²⁰⁰, and others.

Context: The Cuban Origins of "Hands Off" Movements

Abel Enrique González is a colonel in Cuba's Ministry of the Interior and has been described as being close to Raul Castro and linked to Gaesa (Grupo de Administración Empresarial S.A. - a Cuban military-controlled umbrella enterprise with interests in the tourism, financial investment, import/export, and remittance sectors of Cuba's economy). He is also the author of the book *The Council of Our America: Building Unity from the São Paulo Forum*²⁰¹.

Within the book, Col. Abel Enrique González described how the slogan "Hands Off" followed by a person or place name was first used by Julio Antonio Mella, one of the founding members of the Cuban Communist Party and the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas^{202,203}. The latter organization, which had support from the Soviet Union, promoted the mobilization of activists across the world in an effort to overthrow the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. After this campaign, "hands off" followed by a person's name or name place became shorthand for those individuals or regions considered to be of benefit to the international communist movement.

Other socialist-affiliated transnational advocacy network-led campaigns using the terms "Hands Off" within the United States include the following:

Hands Off Venezuela

Supporters have included: Party for Socialism and Liberation²⁰⁴, the Socialist Workers Party²⁰⁵, Democratic Socialists of America²⁰⁶, A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition²⁰⁷, Liberation Road²⁰⁸, Communist Party USA²⁰⁹, Workers World Party²¹⁰, All-African People's Revolutionary Party²¹¹, and others.

¹⁹² Bill Van Auken. Free Julian Assange! Hands off WikiLeaks!. <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2010/12/pers-d08.html>

¹⁹³ Unnamed Reporters. On the spot report: Protest outside Westminster Magistrates Court demands freedom for gravely ill Julian Assange <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2019/05/31/maxi-m31.html>

¹⁹⁴ Jose Sison. Peoples' Struggles against Oppression and Exploitation: Selected Writings, 2009-2015

<https://www.bannedthought.net/Philippines/CPP/Sison/SelectedWritingsOfJoseMariaSison-2009-2015-V2-DevelopThePeople'sPower.pdf>

¹⁹⁵ Elias Holtz. Hands off WikiLeaks, free Bradley Manning! Revelations about US war crimes continue. <https://socialism.com/fs-article/hands-off-Wikileaks-free-bradley-manning-revelations-about-us-war-crimes-continue/>

¹⁹⁶ International Peoples' Assembly. JULIAN ASSANGE MUST BE FREE!. <https://ipa-aip.org/notes/julian-assange-must-be-free/>

¹⁹⁷ Liberation Staff. Supporters take to the streets to defend Bradley Manning. <https://www.liberationnews.org/supporters-take-to-the-street/>

¹⁹⁸ Tricontinental Institute. Free Julian Assange. <https://thetricontinental.org/red-alert-13-free-julian-assange/>

¹⁹⁹ Global Exchange. Julian Assange's Acceptance Speech at Global Exchange's Human Rights Awards. <https://globalexchange.org/julian-assanges-acceptance-speech-at-global-exchanges-human-rights-awards/>

²⁰⁰ Editor. Free Assange and Manning!. <https://www.workers.org/2019/05/42418/>

²⁰¹ ADN Cuba. Coronel del Minint se disfraza de académico para mentir sobre el 11J en LASA 2022. <https://adncuba.com/noticias-de-cuba/politica/coronel-de-minint-halara-sobre-el-11j-en-lasa>

²⁰² Nora Gámez Torres. Cuban intelligence colonel says he is an academic now, blames the U.S. for July 11 protests. <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/cuba/article261202817.html>

²⁰³ Santamaría, Abel Enrique González. El Consejo de Nuestra América: Construyendo la Unidad desde el Foro de São Paulo.

²⁰⁴ Party for Socialism and Liberation. Atlanta activists say HANDS OFF VENEZUELA! <https://www.instagram.com/pslatlanta/reel/C-0Hd4nuqtB/>

²⁰⁵ Seth Galinsky. Social crisis continues in Venezuela — US hands off!. <https://themilitant.com/2019/03/02/social-crisis-continues-in-venezuela-us-hands-off/>

²⁰⁶ Democratic Socialists of America - San Francisco. Hands Off Venezuela! Rally and March. <https://dsasf.org/hands-off-venezuela-rally-and-march/>

²⁰⁷ ANSWER Coalition. National March on Washington: Hands off Venezuela! No coup, no sanctions, no new U.S. war!.

https://www.answercoalition.org/national_march_on_washington_hands_off_venezuela

²⁰⁸ Liberation Road. Hands off of #Venezuela!. <https://roadtoliberation.org/hands-off-of-venezuela/>

²⁰⁹ Communist Party USA. Hands off Venezuela!. <https://www.cpusa.org/article/hands-off-venezuela/>

²¹⁰ Workers World Party. Workers World Party statement: U.S. hands off Venezuela!. <https://www.workers.org/2019/01/40715/>

²¹¹ All-African People's Revolutionary Party. HANDS OFF VENEZUELA!. https://www.instagram.com/aapprinternational/p/C-VMHLguA74/?locale=sl&img_index=1

Hands Off Cuba

Supporters have included: A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition, Party for Socialism and Liberation, Workers World Party, Socialist Workers Party,²¹² and others.

Hands Off Assata

Supporters have included: All-African People's Revolutionary Party²¹³, Party for Socialism and Liberation, People's Survival Program, People's Power Movement²¹⁴, Workers World Party²¹⁵, Black Radical Congress, Global Exchange, Jericho, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, National Conference of Black Lawyers, IfCO/Pastors for Peace, Venceremos Brigade, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Prisoners Of Conscience Committee, New Black Panther Party, The Talking Drum Collective, FTP Movement, The Uhuru Movement, Black August Organizing Committee, SF Bay View Newspaper, Native Youth Movement²¹⁶, and others.

Culture

"The scope of cultural statecraft may be internal, external or both. Internally, cultural statecraft involves 'the use of cultural and civilizational themes in an effort to define fundamental elements of a national identity', whereas as a foreign policy strategy, it endeavors 'to promote culture as a means to project an attractive image abroad'. Although similar to the concept of soft power, cultural statecraft differs fundamentally in origin. Whereas soft power is born out of an autonomous civil society, cultural statecraft is essentially a state endeavor. It targets specifically issues belonging to national identity, history and religion.

*

Network of Artists and Intellectuals in Defense of Humanity

In 2003 Hugo Chávez and Fidel Castro launched the Network of Intellectuals and Artists in Defense of Humanity (REDH) as a multi-national network whose various nodes report to the Venezuelan and Cuban governments.

Chesa Boudin, the former District Attorney for San Francisco, attended the founding of this event along with Ecuadorian president Evo Morales, American politician Cynthia McKinney, American actor Danny Glover, American educator Bill Ayers and law professor Bernardine Dohrn. Boudin describes his attendance at the founding event held in Caracas, Venezuela in *Gringo: A Coming of Age in Latin America* as follows: "Being at such events always had a profound effect on me. Words on a page cannot capture the contagious energy they inspire."²¹⁷

Though a partially clandestine organization, how this group has sought to reshape American culture and educational policies becomes evident by reading the magazine published by REDH, collecting information about its Advisory Board, extracting intelligence from their online publishing activities, as well as examining the individuals and groups meaningfully linked to them, one can come to see.

²¹² ANSWER Coalition. Actions nationwide to demand: U.S. hands off Cuba!

https://www.answercoalition.org/actions_nationwide_to_demand_u_s_hands_off_cuba

²¹³ All-African People's Revolutionary Party. Hands Off Assata! <https://aaprp-intl.org/hands-off-assata/>

²¹⁴ <https://www.liberationnews.org/nyc-activists-launch-campaign.html/>

²¹⁵ Monica Moorehead. Assata Shakur is a modern-day Harriet Tubman. <https://www.workers.org/2022/03/62931/>

²¹⁶ Talking Drum Collective. What Is The Hands Off Assata Shakur Campaign?. <http://www.assatashakur.org/hoa.htm>

²¹⁷ Chesa Boudin. *Gringo: A Coming of Age in Latin America*.

In their first online journal, for example, one can learn from Hugo Chávez's speech at the Network's launch in Caracas how he believed this network would be one of many which would help lead to the development of a multi-polar world. *Humanity in Network*, the English translation of the title of REDH's journal, also contains descriptions of REDH's organizational objectives and priority areas of action.

Below are translated sections titles and bullet points from this publication which exhibit the operations, structure, and strategies of this network.

Sample of REDH Goals, Tactics and Strategies

- "Establishment of an international coordinating committee that would be integrated with the organizing committee of this meeting, plus those national and international guests who voluntarily would like to join this effort.
- Forming a committee that covers a broad spectrum of issues and countries, and that can react immediately to an emergency situation that warrants the positioning of our network and the necessary mobilizations."

Sample of Specific Objectives set by REDH

- Delegitimize the dominant system using analytical methods unique to critical thinking.
- Identify the common denominator of resistance struggles to link the local character with the global struggle.
- Promote resistance to dominant power through the exercise of alternative power, the creation of intercultural networks and the diffusion of the multiple and diverse voices of humanity.
- Examine and, where appropriate, promote the reformulation of research, teaching, communication and dissemination programs, to publicize the causes and effects of imperialist action on our peoples and to know the true and historically valid meanings of democracy, liberation, and socialism, assuming from these bases a diversity of thought.

Sample of REDH's Priority Areas/Actions

- Support ongoing initiatives such as the Permanent People's Court, providing legal and historical arguments for the prosecution in cases of genocide, ethnocide and crimes against humanity. We also support the World Social Forum, and the regional social forums, the World Alternative Forum, as well as the Anti-War Networks, such as the Jakarta Consensus and other Neoliberal Globalization Networks.
- Support the act of global resistance and mass demonstrations against the war in Iraq on February 15, 2003.

Context: February 15, 2003 Protests, REDH, and Venceremos Brigade Alumni

The protests that occurred across the United States and in numerous other nations on February 15, 2003 were some of the largest ever recorded²¹⁸. These protests - as is evident from the above - were promoted both by REDH. REDH, however, was not the only group called on to mobilize actions in the U.S. Other social movements and unions affiliated with the Social Forum, the 'network of networks' which Hugo Chávez sought to develop to create a new historical block, also participated in mobilizing mass demonstrations. Networks developed by Cuba which predated the Social Forum and the Bolivarian Revolution, such as the Venceremos Brigade, which was founded in 1969 - also supported these efforts.

Leslie Cagan was one the main organizers for United for Peace and Justice

a co-chair of Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism that also helped found Cuba Information Project, the U.S.+Cuba Medical Project, and the National Network on Cuba^{219,220}.

For those groups participating in the U.S., the event functioned as a recruitment, mobilizing, and discourse-generating tool. Such an event, notably, was an mirror formulation of the Cuban government's call, via the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC), for the formation of an international Anti-Fascist Front a few months prior - due to the concern that Cuba might be the next target in the War on Terror due to their support of the FARC-EP and ELN²²¹.

Such a trajectory of this is evident one year after the protest.

On March 27-28 2004, Bard College, in conjunction with Columbia University's English and Comparative literature program, hosted One Year Later: Critically Thinking Global Resistance in order "to conduct a critical analysis of the global antiwar movements that reached their culmination on February 15, 2003"²²². One of the keynote speakers was Leslie Cagan.

A few months prior to the Bard conference, Cagan attended an event hosted by the Alberto Lovera Bolivarian Circle - one of many regional networks developed with the assistance of Venezuelan and attended by Leonor C. Osorio Granado, the Consul General of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in New York²²³.

By February of 2006, when the 3rd Meeting of Bolivarian Circles and the Organizations in Solidarity in Helping the Venezuelan Revolution was held in New York, nearly every socialist-affiliated transnational advocacy group in the U.S. with meaningful links to foreign-socialist parties or states was in attendance²²⁴.

These and other such events, as well as events hosted by REDH members in the United States, sought to expand the size of and deepen the commitment to collaboration between a wide variety of segmented, political, ideological networks.

²¹⁸ Paul Blumenthal. The Largest Protest Ever Was 15 Years Ago. The Iraq War Isn't Over. What Happened?. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/what-happened-to-the-antiwar-movement_n_5a860940e4b00bc49f424ecb

²¹⁹ Convergence Magazine. Leslie Cagan. <https://convergencemag.com/authors/leslie-cagan/>

²²⁰ NYU Library. Guide to the Leslie Cagan Papers. https://findingaids.library.nyu.edu/tamwag/tam_138/

²²¹ UNEAC. Granma. Declaración del Consejo Nacional de la UNEAC. <http://www.granma.cu/granmad/2003/04/13/nacional/articulo14.html>

²²² Bard College. Bard Press Release. <https://www.bard.edu/news/releases/pr/fstory.php?id=9417>

²²³ Minnie Bruce Pratt. Women & the Bolivarian Revolution. <https://www.workers.org/2006/world/women-0209/>

²²⁴ Círculo Bolivariano Alberto Lovera. III Encuentro de Círculos Bolivarianos de Norteamérica en Nueva York del 17 al 19 de febrero 2006. <https://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/n73243.html>

For these years of service to the Cuban cause, Cagan would later receive multiple Medals of Friendship from the Cuban Government - one in 2012 in Havana, Cuba and one in 2018 in New York City^{225,226}.

Members of REDH's U.S. Chapter

The U.S. Chapter of the Network in Defense of Humanity Advisory Board currently lists 24 members, the majority of which are American citizens that have meaningful links to unions, academia and renowned cultural institutions. The U.S. membership includes:

1. Danny Glover, Actor
2. Estela Bravo, Documentary filmmaker
3. Piero Gleijeses, Professor, Author
4. James Early, Consultant
5. Jane Franklin, Historian
6. Jose Pertierra, Attorney
7. Thomas Gumbleton, Former Bishop of Detroit
8. Chelis Lopez, Cultural Worker
9. Paul Teitelbaum, Information Technology Professional
10. Nelson Valdes, Professor Emeritus, Retired, Sociology
11. Gayle McLaughlin, Former Mayor of Richmond, CA
12. Peter Schey, Executive Director, Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law
13. Cristina Vazquez, International Vice President of Workers United-SEIU
14. Felix Salvador Kury, Program Director & Faculty Advisor, Clinica Martin-Baro, SFSU-UCSF
15. Clarence Thomas, Past Secretary-Treasurer ILWU Local10 and a former Black Panther²²⁷
16. Daniel Kovalik, human rights lawyer, teacher at the University of Pittsburgh School Of Law
17. Rick Sterling, Investigative Journalist
18. Roger D. Harris, Writer, Task Force on the Americas Board Member
19. Ramon Gorsfoguel, Professor, University of California Berkeley
20. Christopher Helali, Graduate student and Independent Journalist
21. Netfa Freeman, Coordinating Committee member in the Black Alliance for Peace
22. Paul Larudee, Treasurer, Syria Solidarity Movement
23. Vijay Prashad, Executive Director, Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research
24. Catherine Murphy, Filmmaker

This list of 24 parties in the Advisory Board is not the entirety of the REDH's membership.

Howard Zinn and Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz are two of the signatories listed in REDH's founding documents. Both professors, according to their own public statements and evidence collected in FBI FOIA files, have a long history of activism on behalf of Communist Parties²²⁸.

Chesa Boudin, described the REDH's first meeting in Caracas, Venezuela in his book *Gringo: A Coming of Age in Latin America*. Boudin describes Danny Glover and Cynthia McKinney, who are not listed as guests in the REDH publication which commemorates the event, as also being in attendance. Notably, Boudin describes Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, an Argentinian activist and writing, as stating his introduction for

²²⁵ Juana Carrasco Martín. Mirando a los resultados de las elecciones en Cuba.

<http://mesaredonda.cubadebate.cu/mesa-redonda/2012/10/24/mirando-a-los-resultados-de-las-elecciones-en-cuba/>

²²⁶ Joyce Chediak. Cuba's President in NYC: 'Cuba's foreign policy is solidarity'.

<https://www.answercoalition.org/cuban-president-in-nyc-cuba-s-foreign-policy-is-solidarity>

²²⁷ Lallan Schoenstien. Labor leader calls for action to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. <https://www.struggle-la-lucha.org/2021/12/12/labor-leader-calls-for-action-to-free-mumia-abu-jamal/>

²²⁸ Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz. Becoming a Revolutionary. <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/atc/1401.html>

Hugo Chávez's speech that: "In this hour of particular danger, we renew our conviction that *another world is not only possible but also necessary* [italics added]".

Based on extensive processing of REDH documents, Citizens Intelligence Agency analysis estimates the global size of the group as consisting of over 10,000 members, nearly all of which are affiliated with other organizations and are thus able to help direct their activities towards supporting PSUV and PCC's strategic goals.

REDH-Associated Activities

The list of activities taken by these individuals and the groups that REDH members are affiliated with are extensive.

The actions of just one of the above groups, the ILWU Local 10, however reflects recurring themes of the "new historic bloque" that the Venezuelan and Cuban governments have sought to develop in the U.S. - i.e. provision of support to 'revolutionary' individuals jailed for criminal acts; discouraging the enforcement of laws prohibiting illegal immigration to the U.S.; acting in a way to harm Israeli companies/delegitimize the state of Israel; acting in a way to delegitimize the U.S. presidential election of 2020; and acting according to the direction of Venezuelan-government aligned Socialist parties.

Toward these ends the ILWU Local 10 has engaged in the following actions:

- Shut down ports to demand the freedom of Mumia Abu Jama²²⁹.
- Prevented Israeli-owned ships from being unloaded in the Port of Oakland²³⁰.
- Shut down the Port of Oakland in solidarity with protests in Iraq against U.S. occupation²³¹.
- Participated in marches against ICE in collaboration with Social Forum affiliated groups²³².
- Refused to work on the day Donald Trump was inaugurated as president²³³.
- Followed the Party for Socialism and Liberation's front group A.N.S.W.E.R. request to participate in protests²³⁴.

Political

"In the context of Hybrid Threats, the political domain encompasses the actors, organizations and institutions that exercise authority or rule within a territory through the application of various forms of political power and influence"

*

Contained in the book *African Americans in Global Affairs: Contemporary Perspectives* is an article titled *African Americans, Transnational Contention, and Cross-National Politics in the United States and Venezuela*. Written by Sekou M. Franklin, an associate professor of political science at Middle Tennessee State University and currently the President of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Dr. Franklin presents a historical account of the Venezuelan government's efforts to develop relationships with Black Liberation groups in the U.S. and members of the Democratic party.

²²⁹ Jeff Powers. Bay Area Longshore union shuts ports, marches for Mumia Abu Jamal. <https://themilitant.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/MIL8709.pdf>

²³⁰ Judy Greenspan. Pro-Palestine solidarity blocks Israeli ship. https://www.workers.org/wp-content/uploads/ww2021june10_web.pdf

²³¹ Judy Greenspan. Coalition fights to defend public education. <https://www.workers.org/pdf/2005/ww033105.pdf>

²³² May Day in the U.S.: Marching in Solidarity. <https://www.workers.org/wp-content/uploads/19ww11may2017.pdf>

²³³ Minnie Bruce Pratt. ILWU Local 10 halts work to fight racism. <https://www.workers.org/2017/06/31536/>

²³⁴ ANSWER Coalition. March 19: Momentum Builds Across the Country. https://www.answercoalition.org/05_03_12_march_19_momentum_builds

The persons cited by Dr. Franklin, which comprise a cohort far smaller than the total identified by Citizens' Intelligence Agency over the course of producing this report, are as follows:

- Congressman José E. Serrano, New York, 16th District
- State Senator Rodney Ellis, Texas
- State Senator Vincent Hughes, Pennsylvania
- City Councilman Mike McGee, Milwaukee
- City Councilman Joe Davis, Sr., Milwaukee
- Congressman Charles Rangel, New York 15th District
- Congressman Luis Gutiérrez
- Congressman Carolyn Kilpatrick
- Magistrate Judge Henry Hamilton
- NAACP Attorney Peter Graham Cohn
- State Congressman LaMar Lemmons Jr.
- Congressman Gregory Meeks
- Congressman Donald Payne
- Congressman Barbara Lee

It is worth noting that four of the Democratic government officials listed by Dr. Franklin as targets of the PSUV's efforts to cultivate networks and influence in the United States would later be convicted for corruption. There four are:

- Congressman William Jefferson was convicted of bribery, racketeering, money laundering, and other related charges²³⁵.
- Mayor Kwayme Kilpatrick was convicted of extortion, bribery, fraud, and racketeering conspiracy charges²³⁶.
- Congressman Chakah Fatah was convicted of racketeering, fraud, and corruption²³⁷.
- Mayor Chokwe Antar Lumumba, the son of Chokwe Lumumba Sr, was indicted in a federal corruption probe²³⁸.

Dr. Sekou describes PSUV-representatives offering the aforementioned U.S. politicians business opportunities and free or reduced price goods and services for them and/or their constituents under the rationale of exercising 'pan-African' and 'revolutionary' solidarity.

It's important to clarify that this concept of 'solidarity', as understood both by the PSUV and PCC partners, is tied to their geopolitical military goal of communist expansionism achieved through the twin strategies of hybrid warfare and kinetic warfare. Cuban president Miguel Díaz-Canel clarified this interpretation in a speech given to U.S. activists that have supported the PCC at New York City's Riverside Church on Sept. 26, 2018: "The greatest endeavor of international solidarity of the Cuban revolution was its support of the African liberation movements."²³⁹

²³⁵ FBI. William Jefferson. <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/william-jefferson>

²³⁶ FBI. Public Corruption: Inside the Kwame Kilpatrick Case <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/public-corruption-inside-the-kwame-kilpatrick-case1>

²³⁷ DOJ. Former Congressman Chaka Fattah Sentenced to 10 Years in Prison for Participating in Racketeering Conspiracy. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/former-congressman-chaka-fattah-sentenced-10-years-prison-participating-racketeering>

²³⁸ C.J. LeMaster. Jackson Mayor Chokwe Antar Lumumba indicted in federal corruption probe. <https://www.wlbt.com/2024/11/06/jackson-mayor-chokwe-antar-lumumba-indicted-federal-corruption-probe/>

²³⁹ Joyce Chediak. Cuba's President in NYC: 'Cuba's foreign policy is solidarity'. <https://www.answercoalition.org/cuban-president-in-nyc-cuba-s-foreign-policy-is-solidarity>

Solidarity is, notably, also a presumption of mutual aid amongst actors, of contingency, an expectation of quid pro quo. In this case, it is an expectation that politicians that benefit from the PSUV's solidarity, or that of their proxies within the Social Forum, would provide some form of political cover or support for actions taken under the banner of the "Bolivarian Revolution".

Examining the activities of the Democratic Socialists of America demonstrates the way elected government officials, supported by networks linked to the Social Forum, engaged in public administration in a manner consistent with Venezuelan and Cuban government interests.

Democratic Socialists of America



Advertisement by NYC Democratic Socialists of America for a December 2, 2024 call featuring Alexandria Ocasio Cortez²⁴⁰.

At a 2021 DSA convention, party members decided to formally affiliate themselves with the São Paulo Forum²⁴¹. Notably, an investigation by Mexico's Foreign Affairs Office found that the FARC-EP and ELN are also regular members of the São Paulo Forum²⁴².

To discern the degree of political interest between policy proposals made or endorsed by the DSA and the policy preferences of the PSUV and the PCC (leading organizations within the São Paulo Forum) the below table was created. The below table is structured as follows:

- Proposed Legislation: Name of a bill proposed by and/or endorsed by a member of the DSA.
- Summary of Legislation: Bill description copied from its Congressional description, sometimes abridged.
- Position of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela: A description of the PSUV's interests on the substance of the Bill
- Degree of Alignment between DSA Policy Proposal and PSUV/PCC Interests: We rate alignment as either High, Moderate, Low or None. In cases where the alignment of interest requires some explanation - it is provided.

This exercise enables verification of the hypothesis that there is a high-degree of interest alignment between congressional legislation proposed or endorsed by members of the Democratic Socialists of America and the geopolitical goals expressed by the United Socialist Party of Venezuela and the Cuban Communist Party.

Proposed Foreign Affairs Legislation

²⁴⁰ NYC DSA. Another World is Possible! A Mass Call with Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. <https://actionnetwork.org/events/mass-call-with-alexandria-ocasio-cortez?nowrapper=true&referrer=&source=>

²⁴¹ Roger Kerson. Democratic Socialists of America Make a Strategy for the Biden Era. <https://inthesetimes.com/article/democratic-socialism-politics-election-dsa-convention-aoc>

²⁴² Gabriel Mario Santos Villarreal. XV ENCUESTRO DE FORO DE SAO PAULO. <https://www.diputados.gob.mx/sedia/sia/spe/SPE-CI-A-15-09.pdf>

Proposed Legislation	Summary of Legislation	Position of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela	Degree of Alignment between DSA Policy Proposal and PSUV/PCC Interests
Prohibit Unauthorized Military Action in Venezuela Act ²⁴³	Prohibits funds made available to federal departments or agencies from being used to introduce the Armed Forces of the United States into hostilities with Venezuela, except pursuant to (1) a declaration of war, (2) a specific statutory authorization that meets the requirements of the War Powers Resolution and is enacted after the enactment of this bill, or (3) a national emergency created by attack upon the United States or the Armed Forces.	Maduro wishes to prohibit any form of armed intervention designed to halt the United Socialist Party of Venezuela's authoritarianism, corruption, criminality and subversive affairs.	High
Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2020 ²⁴⁴	Establishes a process for the people of Puerto Rico to vote on the political status (e.g., statehood) of the territory. Congress may ratify the decision through a joint resolution. Declares that the legislature of Puerto Rico has the authority to call a status convention regarding the political status of the territory. Provides for public financing of delegate elections to the status convention and establishes a Congressional Bilateral Negotiating Commission to provide advice and consultation to delegates of the status convention.	Nicolás Maduro has posted on X that one of his goals is to help Puerto Rico achieve Independence ²⁴⁵ . Cuban and Venezuelan state policy towards Puerto Rico is for it to be an independent state ²⁴⁶ . Nicolás Maduro has met with leaders of leftist paramilitary organizations dedicated to Puerto Rico's independence ²⁴⁷ . Groups in Puerto Rico advocating for independence are affiliated with the Cuban-Venezuelan government managed trans-national organization ALBA Movimientos ²⁴⁸ .	High Cuba and Venezuela both seek to empower socialist parties in Puerto Rico so that it can join ALBA-TCP.
Berta Cáceres Human Rights in Honduras Act ²⁴⁹	Prohibits U.S. assistance to the police or military of Honduras. The Department of the Treasury shall instruct U.S. representatives of multilateral development banks to vote against providing loans to the Honduran police or military. The prohibition shall be lifted if the Department of State certifies to Congress that various conditions have been met, including that the Honduran government has (1) pursued all legal avenues to reach verdicts in specified crimes, such as the killings of indigenous land-rights activist Berta Cáceres and of 100 small-farmer activists in the Aguan Valley; (2) investigated and prosecuted members of the military and police who have	Nicolas Maduro posted about Berta Cáceres ²⁵⁰ . ALBA Movimientos has long demanded justice for the death of Berta Cáceres ^{251, 252} . Preventing the U.S. from assisting Honduras military and police, reduces risk for narcotics trafficking operations which originate in Venezuela ²⁵³ .	High Prohibiting the Honduran government from receiving assistance from the United States benefits transnational criminal organizations that does business with elements of the Venezuelan state - the Cartel of the Sun - and Socialist parties in Honduras aligned with Venezuela have been engaged in 4 th generation warfare against the government since José

²⁴³ U.S. Congress. All Information (Except Text) for H.R.1004 - Prohibiting Unauthorized Military Action in Venezuela Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bills/116th-congress/house-bill/1004/all-info>

²⁴⁴ U.S. Congress. H.R.2070 - Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2021. <https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/2070>

²⁴⁵ Nicolás Maduro. X post. <https://x.com/nicolasmaduro/status/421713835482165248?lang=en>

²⁴⁶ United Press International. Havana summit calls for independent Puerto Rico. https://www.upi.com/Top_News/Special/2014/01/29/Havana-summit-calls-for-independent-Puerto-Rico/71821391028713/

²⁴⁷ El Vocero. Secretario de Estado reacciona a conversación entre Nicolás Maduro y Oscar López. https://www.elvocero.com/gobierno/secreario-de-estado-reacciona-a-conversacion-entre-nicol-s-maduro-y-oscar-l-pez/article_32546799-bae1-5a7b-80c8-2701df615dc9.html

²⁴⁸ Prensa Latina. Puerto Rico joins Venezuela solidarity campaign. <https://www.liberationnews.org/puerto-rico-joins-venezuela-solidarity-campaign/>

²⁴⁹ U.S. Congress. H.R.1574 - Berta Cáceres Human Rights in Honduras Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/1574?s=1&r=6>

²⁵⁰ Redacción El Heraldo. Venezuela: Nicolás Maduro reacciona por muerte de hondureña Berta Cáceres. <https://www.elheraldo.hn/honduras/venezuela-nicolas-maduro-reacciona-por-muerte-de-hondurena-berta-caceres-FHEH936030>

²⁵¹ Alba Movimientos. Declaración final de Alba Movimientos sobre el Encuentro Continental de Formación Política "Berta Cáceres". <https://www.integracion-lac.info/en/node/36768>

²⁵² ALBA Secretaría. X Post. <https://x.com/AlbaSecretaria/status/1366736654053109763>

²⁵³ Venezuela Investigative Unit of InSight Crime. Honduras and Venezuela: Coup and Cocaine Air Bridge. <https://insightcrime.org/investigations/honduras-venezuela-coup-cocaine-air-bridge/>

	violated human rights; and (3) taken effective steps to establish the rule of law.		Manuel Zelaya was ejected from the country.
Philippines Human Rights Act ²⁵⁴	<p>Imposes limitations on providing assistance to the police or military of the Philippines.</p> <p>No federal funds may be used to provide such assistance until the Philippines government has taken certain actions, including (1) investigating and successfully prosecuting members of its military and police forces who have violated human rights, (2) withdrawing the military from domestic policing activities, and (3) establishing that it effectively protects the rights of journalists and civil society activists.</p>	<p>The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) has expressed its allegiance to Venezuela's socialist government^{255,256}.</p> <p>The NDFP is a member organization of the International Anti-Fascist Front founded by Nicolás Maduro²⁵⁷.</p> <p>Jesús Rodríguez-Espinoza, Venezuela's former ambassador to Chicago, participated in the founding assembly of the International League of People's Struggle – an organization founded by National Democratic Front of the Philippines founder Jose Maria Sison²⁵⁸.</p>	<p>High</p> <p>Armed Communist groups such as the New People's Army (NPA) and their political front group the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are currently at war with the Philippines government.</p>
Disapproval of sale to Israel of certain weapons and munitions ²⁵⁹	Prohibits transfer of defense articles, defense services, and technical data to support weapons integration, flight test, and hardware delivery of Joint Direct Attack Munition variants and Small Diameter Bomb Increment I variants for end-use by the Ministry of Defense for Israel.	<p>Linda Ali, a Palestinian ambassador, presented Nicolás Maduro with a keffiyeh for his support of the Palestinian cause²⁶⁰.</p> <p>Nicolás Maduro has repeatedly declared that Palestine will always have Venezuela's support²⁶¹.</p> <p>Nicolás Maduro hosted the International Conference of Solidarity with Palestine in Caracas on November 29, 2024 and affirmed "The Palestinian martyrs are our martyrs, and their struggle is our struggle."²⁶².</p>	<p>High</p> <p>Venezuela and Cuba have long supported the pan-Arabist goal of eliminating the state of Israel.</p>
No War Against Iran Act ²⁶³	<p>Prohibits the obligation or expenditure of federal funds for any use of military force in or against Iran unless Congress has either declared war or enacted specific statutory authorization for such use.</p> <p>An exception is made for a presidential exercise of power to introduce Armed Forces into hostilities (or situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated) when there is a national emergency created by an attack upon the United States. The bill further states that no prior authorizations of military force may be construed to authorize the use of military force</p>	<p>President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has said that former Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez "will be resurrected alongside Jesus Christ and the hidden imam who Shi'ite Muslims believe will rise up to bring world peace"²⁶⁴.</p> <p>Iran and Venezuela have economic and military partnerships which are oriented towards undermining the United States²⁶⁵.</p>	<p>High</p>

²⁵⁴ U.S. Congress. H.R.3884 - Philippine Human Rights Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/3884>

²⁵⁵ Luis Jalandoni. NDFP Firmly Supports President Nicolas Maduro And The Venezuelan People.

²⁵⁶ <https://ndfp.info/ndfp-firmly-supports-president-nicolas-maduro-and-the-venezuelan-people/>

²⁵⁷ Luis Jalandoni. Philippines: NDFP Salutes the Republic of Cuba for its Firm Defense of Latin America and the Caribbean Against US Imperialism.

²⁵⁸ <https://orinotribune.com/philippines-ndfp-salutes-the-republic-of-cuba-for-its-firm-defense-of-latin-america-and-the-caribbean-against-us-imperialism/>

²⁵⁹ Ang Bayan. International Congress against Fascism and Neo-Fascism held in Venezuela. <https://philippinerevolution.nu/2024/10/07/international-congress-against-fascism-and-neo-fascism-held-in-venezuela>

²⁶⁰ Lfssfsu. Jesús Rodríguez-Espinoza addresses founding assembly of ILPS-US. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UHC2qW06h-M&t=36s>

²⁶¹ U.S. Congress. H.J.Res.49 - Providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed direct commercial sale to Israel of certain weaponry and munitions. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-joint-resolution/49/text>

²⁶² Venezuela Filistin elçisinin gozyaşları. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oqk1kNhSlwU>

²⁶³ TeleSUR. Nicolas Maduro: They always will have our support, we love Palestine. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KaovARo5HCQ>

²⁶⁴ Susana Velásquez. International Conference of Solidarity with Palestine held in Venezuela. <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2024/12/02/international-conference-of-solidarity-with-palestine-held-in-venezuela/>

²⁶⁵ U.S. Congress. H.R.550 - No War Against Iran Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/550>

²⁶⁶ Reuters. Iran's Ahmadinejad criticised over Chávez remarks. <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/irans-ahmadinejad-criticised-over-chavez-remarks-idUSDEE9270D9/>

²⁶⁷ Benjamin R. Young. It's Time to Designate Venezuela as a State Sponsor of Terrorism. <https://www.rand.org/pubs/commentary/2024/08/its-time-to-designate-venezuela-as-a-state-sponsor.html>

	against Iran, and it repeals the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002.		
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Proposed Domestic Affairs Legislation

Proposed Legislation	Summary of Legislation	Position of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela	Degree of Alignment between DSA Policy Proposal and PSUV/PCC Interests
Border Property Protection Act ²⁶⁶	This bill prohibits the transfer, obligation, or expenditure of Federal funds to take property for the construction of a wall along the southern border, and for other purposes.	<p>Maduro has stated his opposition to a wall on the U.S. - Mexico border²⁶⁷.</p> <p>Maduro has refused to allow return of Venezuelans that illegally entered the U.S.²⁶⁸.</p> <p>Border enforcement efforts inhibit the activities of transnational criminal organizations, which have been shown to be affiliated with the Venezuelan state since Hugo Chávez's presidency²⁶⁹.</p>	<p>High</p> <p>The interests of foreign nationals and transnational criminal organizations are prioritized over the interests of American citizens.</p>
Climate Action Now Act ²⁷⁰	<p>Requires the President to develop and update a plan for the United States to meet its nationally determined contribution under the Paris Agreement on climate change.</p> <p>Prohibits federal funds from being used to withdraw from the agreement.</p> <p>Outlines the plan, including descriptions of steps to (1) cut greenhouse gas emissions by 26%-28% below 2005 levels by 2025, and (2) confirm that other parties to the agreement with major economies are fulfilling their announced contributions.</p> <p>The President must seek and publish comments from the public when submitting and updating the plan.</p> <p>Mandates the President to report on the effect of the Paris Agreement on clean energy job development in rural communities.</p> <p>Requires the President to contract with the National Academy of Sciences to report on the potential impacts of a withdrawal by the United States from the agreement on the global economic competitiveness of the</p>	<p>Venezuela's chief climate negotiator Claudia Salerno claims that it was Hugo Chávez's opposition to the proposals made at the 2009 summit on global warming in Copenhagen that lead to the Paris Agreement²⁷¹.</p> <p>Prior to the constituent governments of the Paris Agreement meeting, "about 280 activists from 130 civil society organisations, from Venezuela and across the world... met for 4 days at Isla Margarita... an island off the mainland of Venezuela, to move to defeat climate change.²⁷²" These groups would help develop The Margarita Declaration on Climate Change, and advocate for the inclusion of these anti-capitalist policy goals within the Paris Agreement.</p> <p>ALBA-TCP has denounced the United States departure from the Paris Agreement, claiming it "evidenced the lack of responsibility by the US administration both with the Planet and future generations.²⁷³"</p>	<p>High</p> <p>Venezuela sees the U.S. adopting policies that lead to economic degrowth, the growth of the Chinese economy, and the delegation of U.S. decision making capabilities to international bodies as benefitting its goal of a multi-polar world.</p>

²⁶⁶ U.S. Congress. H.R. 2686 (IH) - Border Property Protection Act. <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/BILLS-116hr2686ih>

²⁶⁷ Washington Post. Venezuela's Maduro rails against Trump's border wall plan. https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/world/venezuelas-maduro-rails-against-trumps-border-wall-plan/2017/03/08/9b29f57e-0452-11e7-9d14-9724d48f5666_video.html

²⁶⁸ Michael Dorgan. Venezuela reportedly scraps US deal to deport illegal migrants as some commit crimes to be deported.

<https://www.foxnews.com/world/venezuela-scraps-us-deal-deport-illegal-migrants-report>

²⁶⁹ Max G.Manwaring. Venezuela as an Exporter of 4th Generation Warfare Instability. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/citations/ADA580361>

²⁷⁰ U.S. Congress. H.R.9 - Climate Action Now Act <https://www.congress.gov/bills/116th-congress/house-bill/9>

²⁷¹ Alistair Doyle and Valerie Volcovici. Venezuelan negotiator thanks Hugo Chávez for Paris climate deal. <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/venezuelan-negotiator-thanks-hugo-chavez-for-paris-climate-deal-idUSKBN0TW00J/>

²⁷² JA4Change. Margarita Declaration from Venezuela Calls for Eradication of Dirty Energy. <https://ja4change.org/2014/07/>

²⁷³ MINREX. Declaration of the 19th ALBA-TCP Political Council. New York, September, 23, 2019. <https://misiones.cubaminrex.cu/en/articulo/declaration-the19th-alba-tcp-political-council-new-york-september-23-2019>

	U.S. economy and on U.S. workers within six months. Requires the Government Accountability Office to study and report on the impact of the plan on U.S. territories within one year.		
Protecting Our Protesters Act of 2020 ²⁷⁴	Bill modifies the criminal civil rights statute that prohibits deprivation of rights under color of law. Bill specifies that use of force during a response to a protest constitutes a deprivation of rights, privileges, or immunities. Bill removes the death penalty as a penalty option if death results or if certain aggravating factors are present.	Political parties and NGOs that qualify as proxy organizations of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela, the Cuban Communist Party, and the FARC-EP were the primary drivers of the riots which followed the death of George Floyd. Communist parties - such as the Fronte Popolare of Italy, the Workers' Party of Belgium and the Communist Party of the Philippines - all cite the FRSO as being instrumental in these uprisings ²⁷⁵ .	High The facts of the case and the ideological narrative surrounding the George Floyd case generated numerous strategic communication opportunities for Venezuela, as well as their Russian, Iranian, Chinese allies. Diosdado Cabello, for instance, has used the Floyd case to dismiss U.S. envoy to Venezuela Brian Nichols, regarding the suspected assassination of Edwin Santos by members of the PSUV-led government ²⁷⁸ .
Prohibiting Law Enforcement Use of Chemical Weapons Act ²⁷⁹	This bill prohibits federal, state, and local law enforcement officers from using chemical weapons in the course of policing activities. It also requires law enforcement agencies to dispose of chemical weapons that were acquired for such use.	FRSO describes their activism linked to these protests as part of their goal of limiting the ability of police to engage in and according to their strategy of a United Front - a strategy that was successful because of "concentrations of FRSO comrades in SEIU and CTU." ²⁷⁶	
Badge Transparency Act ²⁸⁰	Establishes a framework to require law enforcement officers to visibly display their identification while on duty. Requires federal law enforcement agencies to enact policies requiring on-duty officers to visibly display identification. State and local law enforcement agencies must implement a similar policy as a condition of receiving funds.	The White House claimed that violence incited at the George Floyd protests were linked to Nicolás Maduro. When asked for evidence to this effect they stated that: "We are unable to further discuss any non-open source information." ²⁷⁷	
Congressional Oversight of Sanctions Act ²⁸¹	Limits the duration of a declaration of national emergency by the President, directs the President to allow certain exports to a country under sanctions, and requires the President to provide specified information when exercising emergency economic powers. Provides that any national emergency declared by the President shall terminate 60 days after the first day on which either house of Congress is in session following the declaration, unless Congress enacts a	Numerous sanctions exist on Venezuelan companies and individuals related to their participation in narcotics trafficking operations, money laundering, and the recent fraudulent election. Such sanctions have been described by Nicolas Maduro as "coercive" and targeted toward "patriots who have dedicated themselves to safeguard the peace, stability, economic recovery and (Venezuela's) national unity" ²⁸² . Cuba has long decried the sanctions against it - even recently helping to make a	High The Cuban Communist Party has long described their desire for the economic, commercial and financial blockade imposed by the United States of America against Cuba to be removed in international forums such as the United Nations ²⁸⁴ . The United Socialist Party of Venezuela has a significant

²⁷⁴ U.S. Congress. H.R.7315 - Protecting Our Protesters Act of 2020. <https://www.congress.gov/bills/116/congress/house-bill/7315?s=1&r=5>

²⁷⁵ FRSO. Workers and Communist Parties Greet the FRSO's 9th Congress. <https://frso.org/congress/workers-and-communist-parties-greet-the-frsos-9th-congress/>

²⁷⁶ Labor Commission of Freedom Road Socialist Organization. The Strategic Alliance between the Workers Movement and the Black Liberation Movement in the Struggle for Community Control of the Police <https://frso.org/posts/the-strategic-alliance-between-the-workers-movement-and-the-black-liberation-movement-in-the-struggle-for-community-control-of-the-police/>

²⁷⁷ Michael Wilner, David Smiley, Alex Daugherty and Nora Gámez Torres. White House claims violence incited at Floyd protests linked to Venezuela's Maduro. <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/politics-government/article243266536.html#storylink=cpy>

²⁷⁸ Ana Perdigón. Diosdado Cabello Addresses Misinformation on Edwin Santos Case. <https://orinocotribune.com/diosdado-cabello-addresses-misinformation-on-edwin-santos-case-interference/>

²⁷⁹ U.S. Congress. H.R.7221 - Prohibiting Law Enforcement Use of Chemical Weapons Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bills/116/congress/house-bill/7221?s=1&r=33>

²⁸⁰ U.S. Congress. H.R.7711 - Badge Transparency Act of 2020. <https://www.congress.gov/bills/116/congress/house-bill/7711?s=1&r=1>

²⁸¹ U.S. Congress. H.R.5879 - Congressional Oversight of Sanctions Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bills/116/congress/house-bill/5879>

²⁸² Samantha Waldenberg and Stefano Pozzebon. US to sanction Maduro-aligned officials, to put pressure on Venezuela's president to accept election results. <https://www.cnn.com/2024/11/27/politics/sanctions-maduro-officials-venezuela/index.html>

²⁸⁴ Cuba Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Cuba's report on Resolution 75/289 of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Necessity of ending the economic, commercial and financial blockade imposed by the United States of America against Cuba". <https://cubaminrex.cu/en/cubas-report-resolution-75289-united-nations-general-assembly-entitled-necessity-ending-economic>

	<p>joint resolution to extend the emergency. If Congress does not enact a joint resolution to extend the emergency, the President may not declare a new national emergency based on substantially similar facts during the 1-year period following such a 60-day period.</p> <p>The President must allow the export of certain equipment and material to a territory that is controlled by a person that is otherwise subject to sanctions if the material is intended for (1) civilian health care facilities, (2) water infrastructure, (3) civilian energy infrastructure, or (4) primary or secondary educational facilities.</p> <p>When exercising any international emergency economic powers, the President must issue a report that includes (1) the goals and outcomes expected to be achieved through such actions; (2) other tools considered to address the emergency and the reason for the chosen response; (3) a list of countries imposing similar sanctions; and (4) the strategy to provide compliance guidance to entities in the private sector, humanitarian organizations, and peace-building organizations.</p>	documentary produced by Danny Glover and Oliver Stone ²⁸³ .	<p>number of its members and state-affiliated companies under sanction²⁸⁵.</p> <p>The Democratic Socialists of America National Political Committee, a sixteen-person body which functions as the board of directors of DSA, have called for the removal of all sanctions against Venezuela since 2016²⁸⁶.</p>
Impeachment of Donald Trump ²⁸⁷	This resolution impeaches President Donald John Trump for high crimes and misdemeanors, stating that President Trump incited an insurrection against the government of the United States.	Nicolás Maduro stated at a news conference in Caracas: "Donald Trump should have a thousand impeachments against him for the thousand calls and thousand acts of extortion he has carried out against governments to harm Venezuela." ²⁸⁸	<p>High</p> <p>The impeachment of Donald J. Trump suits the interests of Nicolás Maduro by seeking to delegitimize his presidency.</p>
Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act ²⁸⁹	<p>Establishes the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans. The commission shall examine slavery and discrimination in the colonies and the United States from 1619 to the present and recommend appropriate remedies.</p> <p>The commission shall identify (1) the role of the federal and state governments in supporting the institution of slavery, (2) forms of discrimination in the public and private sectors against freed slaves and their descendants, and (3) lingering negative effects of slavery on living African Americans and society.</p>	The PSUV hosted an International Conference on Reparations in Caracas, Venezuela on May 8-10, 2018. Nicolás Maduro presided over the meeting and U.S. activists attended ²⁹⁰ .	<p>High</p> <p>The statement made by Brian Jones, co-founder of the Movement of Rank and File Educators caucus in the United Federation of Teachers, that: "Socialists should favor reparations for black people as part of a broader movement to redistribute wealth and power to all people who are oppressed and exploited under capitalism²⁹¹." is typical of PSUV and PCC aligned socialist and black nationalist groups in the U.S. Reparations is viewed as a preliminary step to</p>

²⁸³ Lena Valverde Jordi Documentary series by Oliver Stone & Danny Glover 'The War On Cuba' in Spain. <https://www.radiohc.cu/en/noticias/cultura/286829-documentary-series-by-oliver-stone-danny-glover-the-war-on-cuba-in-spain>

²⁸⁵ Office of Foreign Asset Control Venezuela-Related Sanctions. <https://ofac.treasury.gov/sanctions-programs-and-country-information/venezuela-related-sanctions>

²⁸⁶ Democratic Socialists of America National Political Committee. DSA NPC Calls for an Ending of Sanctions Against Venezuela.

https://www.dsasocialists.org/es/democratic-left/dsa_npc_calls_for_an_ending_of_sanctions_against_venezuela_dl/

²⁸⁷ U.S. Congress. H.Res.24 - Impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

<https://www.congress.gov/bills/117/congress/house/resolution/24/text>

²⁸⁸ Shaylim Valderrama and Andrew Cawthorne. Venezuela's Maduro says Trump merits 'a thousand impeachments'.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/world/venezuelas-maduro-says-trump-merits-a-thousand-impeachments-idUSKBN1WF26M/>

²⁸⁹ U.S. Congress. Summary: H.R.40 — 117th Congress (2021-2022) <https://www.congress.gov/bills/117/congress/house/bill/40>

²⁹⁰ Institute of the Black World. Declaration from the International Meeting on Reparations in Caracas, Venezuela. <https://ibw21.org/reparations/declaration-from-the-international-meeting-on-reparations-in-caracas-venezuela/>

²⁹¹ Brian Jones. The Socialist Case for Reparations. <https://jacobin.com/2016/03/reparations-ta-nehisi-coates-cedric-johnson-bernie-sanders/>

			wider-ranging redistributive policies.
House Resolution to support the goals and ideals of the "International Decade for People of African Descent" ²⁹²	<p>Support the establishment of a global affairs strategy and provide assistance for people of African descent;</p> <p>Support the expansion of current efforts by the United Nations, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Organization for American States, and other international organizations to address the human rights situation of people of African Descent;</p> <p>Calls upon the United States in cooperation with civil society (African descent communities, academics, activists, businesses, and philanthropic organizations) to develop and implement domestic and global strategies to execute the goals and ideals of the "International Decade for People of African Descent" and to combat racism, including by expanding the transformative work of the United States Department of State's Race, Ethnicity, and Social Inclusion Unit in this regard; and</p> <p>Reaffirms the commitment of Congress to combat racism, discrimination, and intolerance in the United States and around the globe.</p>	Jesus "Chucho" Garcia, Venezuela's former ambassador to New Orleans, claims the International Decade for People of African Descent program was passed due to the initiative of Venezuelan and Cuban Communists groups ²⁹³ .	<p>High</p> <p>If Jesus "Chucho" Garcia's claims are to be taken at face value, then supporting the goals of the International Decade for People of African Descent is supporting policies developed by Cuban and Venezuelan communists.</p>
Combating Deceptive Immigration Enforcement Practices Act ²⁹⁴	Bill bars immigration officers or agents of the Department of Homeland Security from wearing clothing, accessories, or other items bearing the word police while performing duties under the immigration laws.	<p>The U.S. based Right to the City movement, which is one of the main organizations responsible for promoting sanctuary city policies, was formalized in meetings held at the 2007 U.S. Social Forum in Atlanta, Georgia²⁹⁵.</p> <p>This network helped expand the impact of activists such as Juana, who describes herself as being affiliated with People Organized to Win Employment Rights (POWER), that were already seeking to undermine ICE's capacity to enforce the law²⁹⁶.</p>	<p>High</p> <p>The PSUV and PCC both view immigration as a means through which to undermine the United States. The DSA's efforts to inhibit ICE's ability to fulfill their law enforcement role supports their efforts - via the World Social Forum on Migration and via direct collaboration with political parties and NGOs - to overwhelm the U.S.</p>
Establishing a Humane Immigration Enforcement System Act ²⁹⁷	This bill abolishes the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) no later than one year after enactment.	There are several Venezuelan nationals affiliated with the PSUV-led government on ICE's most-wanted list. Abolishing ICE degrades the U.S. capacity to investigate and capture these individuals ²⁹⁸ .	<p>High</p> <p>Investigations by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Homeland Security Investigations have resulted in bounties posted for information which leads to the capture of</p>

²⁹² U.S. Congress. H.Res.133 - Supporting the goals and ideals of the designation of January 1, 2015, to December 31, 2024, as the "International Decade for People of African Descent". <https://www.congress.gov/bills/116th-congress/house-resolution/133/text>

²⁹³ Jesús "Chucho" García and Horacio Xaube. "La afroenseñanza y el afroaprendizaje: acuciando y revelando afroepistemes y afrohistoria". Entrevista a Jesús "Chucho" García por Horacio Xaube en el campus de North Carolina Central University; 27 de agosto de 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xsynxMqHl0E>

²⁹⁴ U.S. Congress. All Information (Except Text) for H.R.3498 - Combating Deceptive Immigration Enforcement Practices Act of 2019.

<https://www.congress.gov/bills/116th-congress/house-bill/3498/all-info>

²⁹⁵ A conversation with Tony Romano of the Right to the City Alliance. <https://geo.coop/content/conversation-tony-romano-right-city-alliance>

²⁹⁶ Papers and Reports from the 2007 Social Forum.

https://institute.coop/sites/default/files/resources/273%202007_Allard_Solidarity%20Economy%20Building%20Alternatives%20for%20People%20and%20Planet%20Papers%20and%20Reports%20from%20the%20US%20Social%20Forum%202007.pdf

²⁹⁷ U.S. Congress. Summary: H.R.6361 — 115th Congress (2017-2018). <https://www.congress.gov/bills/115th-congress/house-bill/6361?s=1&r=47>

²⁹⁸ U.S.I.C.E. Most Wanted. <https://www.ice.gov/most-wanted>

As the above analysis of domestic and foreign-policy legislation proposed and/or endorsed by the DSA demonstrates, their policies strongly align with those of the PSUV and PCC.

While this report does not engage in discourse analysis amongst these three groups, it is also worth mentioning in passing that much of the language and concepts used by the DSA groups to describe their enemies is nearly identical to those used by the PSUV and PCC.

Claims made by Congresswomen Rashida Tlaib, Ayanna Pressley that President Donald J. Trump is a racist and claims made by Congresswomen Ilhan Omar and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez that he is a fascist are identical to Nicolas Maduro's description of the democratic opposition within Venezuela as well as his and Miguel Díaz-Canel's description of President Trump^{300,301}.

Socialist democracy promoted by the Bolivarian Government demands both the fair social redistribution of wealth and the recognition and empowerment of those sectors of the historically excluded population.

For this purpose, affirmative actions have been promoted in favor of women, indigenous peoples, Afro - Venezuelan communities, people in refuge, people with disabilities, among others, who have been reflected in the creation of institutionality, and in the expedition and implementation of norms that have allowed greater exercise and enjoying human rights for the entire population.

Legal

"...the legal domain refers to the aggregate of legal rules, actions, processes and institutions, including both their normative and physical manifestation, that are or may be utilized to achieve legal or non-legal effects in the context of a hybrid threat campaign... First, actors that want to undermine democratic or democratizing states employ law with the aim of targeting specific vulnerabilities in democratic societies. For example, relying on the right to freedom of speech creates space for disinformation campaigns. Second, law is utilized to achieve disruptive, subversive or other malign effects in or against the targeted nation that undermine its interests and further the interests of the actor. Third, in many cases law is employed in a manner that is abusive or otherwise corrosive to the rule of law. Fourth, law is often used to achieve effects in other domains, in particular (but not only) in the information space, while activities in other domains may be designed or exploited to achieve effects in the legal domain."

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²⁹⁹ Immigration and Customs Enforcement. 15 current, former Venezuelan officials charged with narco-terrorism, corruption, drug trafficking and other criminal charges. <https://www.ice.gov/news/releases/15-current-former-venezuelan-officials-charged-narco-terrorism-corruption-drug>

³⁰⁰ Javier Tovar. Fascismo, redes sociales, ONGs y odio: Maduro quiere blindar su fraude electoral y perseguir más a la oposición con leyes en la Asamblea Nacional. <https://www.infobae.com/venezuela/2024/08/13/fascismo-redes-sociales-ongs-y-odio-maduro-quiere-blindar-su-fraude-electoral-y-perseguir-mas-a-la-oposicion-con-leves-en-la-asamblea-nacional/>

³⁰¹ Agencia Prensa Latina. Denuncia Díaz-Canel actitud de Trump y Bolsonaro frente a cambio climático. <https://www.escambray.cu/2019/denuncia-diaz-canel-actitud-de-trump-y-bolsonaro-frente-a-cambio-climatico/>

Unión Del Barrio (UdB)

Participation in Encuentro Sindical Nuestra America Conference (ESNA)

As cited previously, UdB participated in ESNA.

Participation in March Against Venezuelan Sanctions

At a demonstration held in Los Angeles on March 16, 2019, Benjamin Prado of Unión del Barrio, spoke about the work of his organization as representing the Chicano-Mexican community in California: "Our struggle is to organize our people, recover our land and build a socialist society in sustainability with Mother Earth."³⁰²

Jesús Rodríguez, previously Venezuela's diplomat in Chicago, spoke briefly at the event via internet from Caracas.

Participation in the Hands Off Alex Saab Movement



Prado has described his organization as being part of a Venezuelan-led "movement for a multi-polar world"³⁰³.

Advocacy for California's Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum

Unión Del Barrio's sister organization, the Association of Raza Educators, advocated on behalf of the Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum - a body of knowledge structured to indoctrinate youth into a militant socialist worldview³⁰⁴.

³⁰² Greg Butterfield. Socialists unite for Venezuela, launch new party. <https://www.struggle-la-lucha.org/2019/03/23/socialists-unite-for-venezuela-launch-new-party/>

³⁰³ April 14, 2022 - US/Canada Hands Off Venezuela! Free Alex Saab! Picket Action <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H5UR13BtFUw>

³⁰⁴ Institute for Liberal Values. CALIFORNIA ETHNIC STUDIES – From Radical Roots to a Government Mandate. <https://empowered-ed.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/California-Ethnic-Studies-Report.pdf>

Preventing Activities of Immigration and Customs Enforcement

Unión del Barrio engages in activities directed at preventing Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers from engaging in their duties³⁰⁵.

National Lawyers Guild (NLG)

The National Lawyers Guild was previously designated by the U.S. Congress as a front group for the Communist Party when it was under the direction of the Soviet Union³⁰⁶. According to the classification methodology, the National Lawyers Guild functions as a subversive front group for Venezuela and Cuba due to the following reasons:

NLG meets with Venezuelan Embassy Staff

Six members of the National Lawyers Guild were invited to participate in a meeting with Venezuelan Embassy Staff on May 15, 2006³⁰⁷.

NLG Participates in the Social Forum

NLG sent representatives to participate in the various United States Social Forums as well as the World Social Forum.

NLG co-organizes Trips to meet with Marcha Patriótica, Fensuagro

Cited above in the section on Nidia Quintero.

NLG President Expresses Solidarity for Venezuela

From July 4-16, 2015 Natasha Lycia Ora Bannan, president-elect of the National Lawyers Guild; David Gespass, former president of the National Lawyers Guild; Judy Somberg, former vice president of the National Lawyers Guild; Susan Scott, former National Lawyers Guild International Committee co-chair and current co-chair of the NLG Task Force on the Americas; and David Mandel, of the National Lawyers Guild's Free Palestine Subcommittee, visited Venezuela for the purposes of expressing Solidarity³⁰⁸.

Diplomacy

“Hybrid threat activities, especially those in the diplomacy domain, are designed to create divisions either at a state or international level, support any information campaigns and meddle in decision making processes.”

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³⁰⁵ Gustavo Solis. This volunteer patrol warns immigrants if ICE is in their neighborhoods. July 6, 2019. <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/2019/07/06/this-volunteer-patrol-warns-immigrants-if-ice-is-in-their-neighborhoods/>

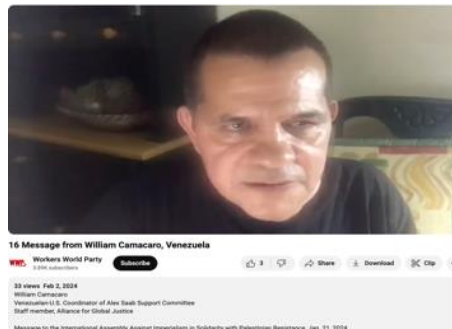
³⁰⁶ United States Congress - House Committee on Un-American Activities. Report on the National Lawyers Guild, legal bulwark of the Communist Party. <https://archive.org/details/reportonnational1950unit/page/n5/mode/2up>

³⁰⁷ Venezuela Information Office. U.S. Department of Justice: FARA Filing. <https://efile.fara.gov/docs/5609-Supplemental-Statement-20060929-3.pdf>

³⁰⁸ National Lawyers Guild. Solidarity Delegation of 20 US Activists to Visit Venezuela from July 4-16, 2015. <https://www.nlg.org/solidarity-delegation-of-20-us-activists-to-visit-venezuela-from-july-4-16-2015/>

Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA)

William Camacaro



Screenshot of video message from William Camacaro, then in Bolivia, sent to the International Assembly Against Imperialism in Solidarity with Palestinian Resistance, stating that Alex Saab's release was a benefit to "all people" and describing the continued need to fight for the freedom of Julian Assange³⁰⁹.

William Camacaro is listed as a Senior Analyst on COHA's leadership page and described as a Venezuelan national and "co-founder and coordinator of the Alberto Lovera Bolivarian Circle of New York."³¹⁰

Institute for Policy Studies

Staff

- Board members include Harry Belafonte and Danny Glover³¹¹.
- James Early is the Director of Cultural Heritage Policy³¹².
- Bill Fletcher Jr. is an associate fellow³¹³.
- Hosted events featuring Venezuelan government officials, such as the Second Secretary Political Affairs in the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Marcos García³¹⁴.
- Signed off as an organization advocating for the removal of sanctions on Cuba and Venezuela³¹⁵.

³⁰⁹ Workers World Party. 16 Message from William Camacaro, Venezuela. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JE7hh9z1WVg>

³¹⁰ Council on Hemispheric Affairs. Leadership. <https://coha.org/our-team/leadership/>

³¹¹ Institute of Policy Studies. IPS Staff: Welcoming our Newest Board Member, Actor and Activist Danny Glover <https://ips-dc.org/welcoming-newest-board-member-actor-activist-danny-glover/>. Accessed September 26, 2024.

³¹² Institute of Policy Studies. James Early. https://ips-dc.org/ips_author/james-early/

³¹³ Institute of Policy Studies. Bill Fletcher, Jr. https://ips-dc.org/ips_author/bill-fletcher-jr/

³¹⁴ Institute of Policy Studies. Film: Venezuela Rising. <https://ips-dc.org/event/film-venezuela-rising/>

³¹⁵ Ted Lewis for Global Exchange. Over 100 organizations call on Biden and Trump to adopt a New Good Neighbor Policy Towards Latin America. <https://globalexchange.org/over-100-organizations-call-on-biden-to-adopt-a-new-good-neighbor-policy-towards-latin-america/>

Nefta Freeman



Screenshot from Nefta Freeman's account on X.

- Advisory Board member of REDH.
- Worked as an organizer for the International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5.
- Member of the Coordinating Committee of the Black Alliance for Peace.
 - Black Alliance for Peace is an Afro-Communist organization which has long defined itself as an ally of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela³¹⁶.
- Lead organizer in the DC-Havana Sister City Project and the No War On Cuba Movement.
- Signatory on pronouncements collected and posted by the Network of Artists and Intellectuals in Defense of Humanity³¹⁷.
- Met with the Executive Secretary of ALBA at the residence of a Venezuelan Ambassador to the United States³¹⁸.
- Participated in conferences hosted by ALBA Movimientos with Venezuelan government officials³¹⁹.
- Expressed his appreciation for Fidel Castro at Cuban Embassy in Washington D.C. at an event also attended by the Cuban ambassador to the United States, José Ramón Cabañas, Benjamin Chavis, the president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, and Cheryl LaBash, a Workers World Party national organizer³²⁰.

Policy Activities

- Co-signed a statement to Condemn the Vote to Remove Rep. Ilhan Omar from House Foreign Affairs Committee – along with other organizations which have participated in the United States Social Forum³²¹.
- Endorsed Ilhan Omar's resolution to prohibit the sale of weapons to Israel – along with other organizations which have participated in the United States Social Forum³²².

³¹⁶ Black Alliance for Peace. The Black Alliance for Peace Stands in Solidarity with Venezuela Against the Assault on its Democracy.

<https://blackagendareport.com/black-alliance-peace-stands-solidarity-venezuela-against-assault-its-democracy>

³¹⁷ REDH-Cuba. URGENTE: DETENGAMOS LA INTERVENCIÓN POLÍTICA, DIPLOMÁTICA Y MILITAR DE LOS EE.UU. EN LOS ASUNTOS SOBERANOS DEL PUEBLO VENEZOLANO Y EL GOBIERNO DE NICOLÁS MADURO. <https://redh-cuba.org/2018/03/urgente-detengamos-la-intervencion-de-los-ee-uu-en-los-asuntos-soberanos-de-venezuela/>

³¹⁸ Nefta Freeman. The Fundamentals of ALBA: Interview with Executive Secretary Amenotep Zambrano. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/6025/>

³¹⁹ ALBA Movimientos. Black Revolutions and their Different Expressions Around the World II.

<https://x.com/movimientosalba/status/1801283712153276544/photo/3>

³²⁰ Prensa Latina. Fidel Castro y su legado, evocaciones desde Estados Unidos. <http://www.comandanteenjefe.com/es/noticia/fidel-castro-y-su-legado-evocaciones-desde-estados-unidos?width=600&height=600>

³²¹ Middle East Democracy Center. Joint Statement – 89 Organizations Condemn Vote to Remove Rep. Ilhan Omar from HFAC.

<https://mideastdc.org/publication/joint-statement-89-orgs-condemn-vote-to-remove-rep-ilhan-omar-from-hfac/>

³²² Ilhan Omar. Rep. Omar Introduces Resolution to Block Weapons Sale Used to Fund War Crimes in Gaza. <https://omar.house.gov/media/press-releases/rep-omar-introduces-resolution-block-weapons-sale-used-fund-war-crimes-gaza>

- Endorsed the Build Back Better agenda and requested none of this money go to the Department of Defense – along with other organizations which have participated in the United States Social Forum³²³.
- Endorsed the Public Power Resolution – along with other organizations which have participated in the United States Social Forum³²⁴.
- Organized a Town Hall Meeting in Boston featuring Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley to promote the Green New Deal³²⁵.
- Participated in A People's Orientation to a Regenerative Economy conference- along with other organizations which have participated in the United States Social Forum³²⁶.
- Helped organize and fund a fact-finding mission for U.S. Representatives Ilhan Omar, Cori Bush, Jamaal Bowman, and Jesús “Chuy” Garcia along with other organizations which have participated in the United States Social Forum³²⁷.
 - The Congressional Delegation met with Organización Fraternal Negra Hondureña (OFRANEH).
 - OFRANEH is affiliated with Cuban-Venezuelan government supported ALBA Movimientos³²⁸ and Network of Artists and Intellectuals in Defense of Humanity³²⁹.
 - OFRANEH is provided legal services in the United States by the Promise Institute. Joseph Berra is the director of the Human Rights in the Americas Project for the Promise Institute³³⁰. In a 2008 interview Berra describes a history of working with the FMLN and describes “consciously shedding his identity as a U.S. citizen and becoming part of a transnational network... not tied to a national boundaries or policy, but to a revolutionary cause in Central America³³¹.”
 - The Congressional Delegation met with Xiomara Castro, who has been implicated in a bribery scandal by narcotics trafficking groups, and has expressed support to and received support from the Maduro regime^{332,333}.
 - The Congressional Delegation met with COFADEH (Committee of Relatives of the Disappeared in Honduras). COFADEH works with foreign-nationals that are members of the Fourth International³³⁴ and partners with groups (Alliance for Global Justice, Frente Nacional de la Resistencia Popular) that are categorized as Cuban and Venezuelan government front groups^{335,336}.

³²³ No DoD Funding in the Infrastructure Bill. <https://www.citizen.org/wp-content/uploads/No-DoD-Funding-in-the-Infrastructure-Bill-Orig-Letter-1.pdf>

³²⁴ Endorsers of the “Public Power Resolution”.

[https://bowman.house.gov/imo/media/doc/Endorsers%20of%20the%20Public%20Power%20Resolution%20\(Bush,%20Bowman\).pdf](https://bowman.house.gov/imo/media/doc/Endorsers%20of%20the%20Public%20Power%20Resolution%20(Bush,%20Bowman).pdf)

³²⁵ Anny Martinez. A Green New Deal Town Hall: Paving the Way for a Just Transition. <https://inequality.org/great-divide/a-green-new-deal-town-hall-paving-the-way-for-a-just-transition/>

³²⁶ United Frontline Table. A People's Orientation to a Regenerative Economy: Protect, Repair, Invest, and Transform. <https://climatejusticealliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/ProtectRepairInvestTransformdoc24s.pdf>

³²⁷ SOA Watch. Members of Congress join Solidarity Organizations on a Fact-Finding Mission to Central America. <https://soaw.org/members-of-congress-join-solidarity-organizations-on-a-fact-finding-mission-to-central-america>

³²⁸ ALBA Movimientos. Jornada Internacional de Lucha Antiimperialista. <https://albamovimientos.net/jornada-internacional-de-lucha-antiimperialista/>

³²⁹ Radio Mundial Real. People's Power of Transformation: Interview with Miriam Miranda About Chávez's Legacy and Honduras After the Coup.

<http://radiomundoreal.fm/6660-people-s-power-of-transformation?lang=es>

³³⁰ Promise Institute. Joseph Berra. <https://promiseinstitute.law.ucla.edu/profile/joseph-berra/>

³³¹ Kristin Cheasty Miller. Frente Sandalista: the Relationship between U.S. Activists and the Revolutionary Vanguard in El Salvador, 1979-1989.

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/llilas/lassa/2008/miller-kristin.pdf>

³³² Jeff Ernst and David C. Adams. Insight Crime. Narco Video Shows Traffickers Discussing Bribes With Honduras President's Brother-in-Law.

<https://insightcrime.org/news/narco-video-shows-traffickers-discussing-bribes-with-honduras-presidents-brother-in-law/>

³³³ Últimas Noticias. Maduro da su “absoluto respaldo” a presidenta de Honduras tras eliminar tratado con EEUU.

<https://ultimasnoticias.com.ve/noticias/politica/maduro-da-su-absoluto-respaldo-a-presidenta-de-honduras-tras-eliminar-tratado-con-eeuu/>

³³⁴ Ellen Verryt and Peter Veltmans. Berta Cáceres and her fight against all impunity. <https://internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article7305#nh3>

³³⁵ Alliance for Global Justice. Human Rights Accompaniment Program. <http://afgj.org/human-rights-accompaniment-program>

³³⁶ ALBAL Movimientos. Llama resistencia hondureña a la solidaridad internacional. https://www.movimientos.org/es/albasi/show_text.php3%3Fkey%3D19319

Center for Economic and Policy Research

Marc Weisbrot

- Co-Director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research
- Coauthor of “Economic Sanctions as Collective Punishment: The Case of Venezuela”³³⁷.

CEPR Political Strategizing Activities with Cuba

- Guillaume Long, a Senior Policy Analyst at the Center for Economic and Policy Research, was sent to represent CEPR at the Progressive International-affiliated Havana Congress on the New International Economic Order³³⁸. This event developed “a roadmap for “global South insurgency to remake the world system”³³⁹.”
- Dr. Héctor Hernández Pardo, Executive Coordinator of the Conference and Deputy Director of the José Martí International Solidarity Project described the event, which was attended by President Miguel Díaz-Canel, as follows: “It is critical for progressive forces from around the world to challenge the old order. We believe that the Progressive International’s Congress is well-positioned to help thinkers and leaders from across the Global South shape a common vision and build a strategy to win the policies and proposals necessary for a new, just world order.”³⁴⁰

Public Administration

“Public administration is purposefully construed in its widest possible sense as ‘the process of translating public policies into results’... First, in interpreting the law to bring it to life, administrators may inadvertently make value judgements that may be political in nature. Second, public administration naturally contributes to policy making by evaluating existing policies and organizing the formulation of new ones.”

*

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

Receipt and Distribution of Goods from the PSUV

Members of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement distributed light bulbs provided by the Venezuelan government which was then distributed to lower-income communities³⁴¹.

Cosponsor of Hands Off Venezuela Events

“A solidarity program called “Stand with the Bolivarian Revolution! U.S. Hands Off Venezuela!” was held at the Arts Exchange, a progressive institution in Atlanta. Featured speakers were Akinyele Umoja, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement leader, university professor and author; and Damani Aaquil, representing the Regional Council of Africans in the Americas.”³⁴²

³³⁷ Mark Weisbrot and Jeffrey Sachs. Economic Sanctions as Collective Punishment: The Case of Venezuela. <https://cepr.net/images/stories/reports/venezuela-sanctions-2019-04.pdf>

³³⁸ Progressive International. Havana Congress on the New International Economic Order. <https://act.progressive.international/nio-havana/>

³³⁹ Roger McKenzie. New International Economic Order ends its 50th Congress in Havana. <https://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/new-international-economic-order-ends-its-50th-congress-havana>

³⁴⁰ Beatriz Montes de Oca. Cuba promotes José Martí International Solidarity Project in Guadalajara. <https://www.radiohc.cu/en/noticias/nacionales/332255-cuba-promotes-jose-marti-international-solidarity-project-in-guadalajara>

³⁴¹ Adam Lynch. Chávez Brings the Light. October 6, 2009. Jackson Free Press. <https://www.jacksonfreepress.com/news/2009/oct/26/Chavez-brings-the-light/>

³⁴² Betsey Piette and Kathy Durkin. Protesters across North America say: ‘No U.S. war on Venezuela!’. <https://www.workers.org/2019/02/41295/>

Cooperation Jackson



A network of worker cooperatives that seeks to build a “solidarity economy” and a new, independent state in the region shown above.

Kali Akuno, who co-founded and co-directs the group, has written extensively on the extensive interconnection the group has with other organizations within the Black Liberation Movement - such as MXGM, NAPO, and the former members of the Black Liberation Army³⁴³.

Director admits cooperation with PSUV

Kali Akuno, in an interview, *Learning from 'La Revolución Bolivariana'*, states: “in 2006, we went with a delegation to the World Social Forum in Caracas. It was my first time in Venezuela and I met President Chávez there. The man struck me deeply... In that meeting, we resolved to cooperate³⁴⁴.”

“Every 28 Hours”: Cuban Propaganda Shared by U.S. Congress Members

Barbara Lee

On Tuesday, April 21, 2015, in a speech given at the House of Representatives, U.S. representative Barbara Lee uses the claim that “Every 28 hours an African American male is killed by a security officer.” to justify a series of legislative proposals that undermines the capacity of police to respond to threats³⁴⁵.

John Lewis

In an article for *The Atlantic* titled *Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and the 'Other America'* John Lewis cites the “every 28 hours” figure to imply that there is an ongoing genocide against African Americans and that American citizens are racist, asking “Do Americans accept the deaths of hundreds and thousands of young men and boys simply because they are black?”³⁴⁶.

³⁴³ Kali Akuno. Jackson Rising. <https://pressbooks.pub/jacksonrising/chapter/the-jackson-kush-plan-the-struggle-for-black-self-determination-and-economic-democracy/>

³⁴⁴ Cira Pascual Marquina and Kali Akuno. *Learning from 'La Revolución Bolivariana': A Conversation with Kali Akuno*. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/interviews/learning-from-la-revolucion-bolivariana-a-conversation-with-kali-akuno/>

³⁴⁵ Congressional Record. April 21, 2015 Extensions of Remarks. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CREC-2015-04-21/pdf/CREC-2015-04-21-extensions.pdf>

³⁴⁶ John Lewis. *Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and the 'Other America'*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/12/michael-brown-eric-garner-other-america-john-lewis/383750/>

Sheila Jackson Lee

In a blog post written for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation by Kenya Metters, then serving in the office of Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee, the “every 28 hours” figure is cited as one of the reasons why Loretta Lynch must be confirmed to Attorney General³⁴⁷.

Coordinated Protests, Cultural Events Across the U.S. due to Cuban Propaganda

Protests in Ferguson, Missouri were organized such that the length of time of actions was meant to draw attention to the “every 28 hours” statistic³⁴⁸.

Protestors citing the “every 28 hours” statistic disrupted restaurants customers in Charleston, Tacoma, Berkley, New York City, and Rockridge in an event they called Black Brunch^{349,350, 351,352,353}.

On December 15th, 2015 a coalition of Asian Americans shut down the Oakland Police for four hours and twenty-eight minutes³⁵⁴. The protest was led by Nadia Khastagir, explained the action as follows on her social media account:

“4 hours for the amount of time that Mike Brown was left dead on the road and 28 minutes to symbolize the killing of a black person by police, security or vigilantes every 28 hours. Nearly 40 of us were arrested, cited, and released.”³⁵⁵

Nadia Khastagir, notably, has been active in the Social Forum, participating in the 2004 Social Forum in Mumbai, 2007 Social Forum in Atlanta^{356, 357}.

Following an armed confrontation between the Revolutionary Black Panther Party (RBPP) with Wilmington police, Dr. Alli Muhammad, the leader of the RBPP why this happened as follows:

“The reason why we fight and stand so hard for people of African descent is because we suffer the hardest. We have ongoing genocide for every 28 hours people of African-American descent are victim by agents of the state known as law enforcement.”³⁵⁸

SUNY New Paltz’s Diversity & Inclusion Council hosted a series of plays linked to the “every 28 hours” claim³⁵⁹.

³⁴⁷ Kenya Metters. “CBCF Perspectives” OPINION: Law Enforcement and Communities of Color: Why Loretta Lynch Needs to be Confirmed. <https://www.cbcbf.org/blog/cbcbf-perspectives-opinion-law-enforcement-and-communities-of-color-why-loretta-lynch-needs-to-be-confirmed/>

³⁴⁸ Hannah Hess. Ferguson Protesters March on Capitol, SCOTUS, DOJ. <https://rollcall.com/2014/11/25/ferguson-protesters-march-on-capitol-scotus-doj/>

³⁴⁹ Clarissa Hayward. Disruption. <https://www.bu.edu/polisci/files/2010/10/Hayward-Disruption-FOR-BU-January-24-2018.pdf>

³⁵⁰ Alexis Krell. Tacoma group disrupts brunches to make point. <https://www.thenewtribune.com/news/local/article26274856.html>

³⁵¹ Frances Dinkelspiel. Protesters stage ‘Black Brunch’ on Berkeley’s Fourth Street. <https://www.berkeleyside.org/2015/01/05/black-students-march-through-fourth-street-shopping-district>

³⁵² Justin Wm. Moyer and N. Kirkpatrick. #BlackBrunchNYC protests disrupt ‘white’ N.Y. breakfast spots. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/01/05/blackbrunchnyc-brings-police-brutality-protests-to-white-breakfast-spots/>

³⁵³ Scott Schafer. ‘Black Brunch’ Organizers Put Protest on the Menu. <https://www.kqed.org/news/10373242/black-brunch-organizers-put-protest-on-the-menu>

³⁵⁴ CBS San Francisco. #BlackLivesMatter Protesters Block Entrance To Oakland Police Headquarters; 25 Arrested.

<https://www.cbsnews.com/sanfrancisco/news/protesters-blocking-entrance-to-oakland-police-headquarters/>

³⁵⁵ Kim Thien Tran. Refugees in a World on Fire: Dispossession, Diaspora and the Possibilities of Queer Resistance.

<https://escholarship.org/content/qt5q26m1x0/qt5q26m1x0.pdf?t=phm40r>

³⁵⁶ Nadia Khastagir. The Other NRIs Come to India. <https://www.indiaresource.org/news/2004/1005.html>

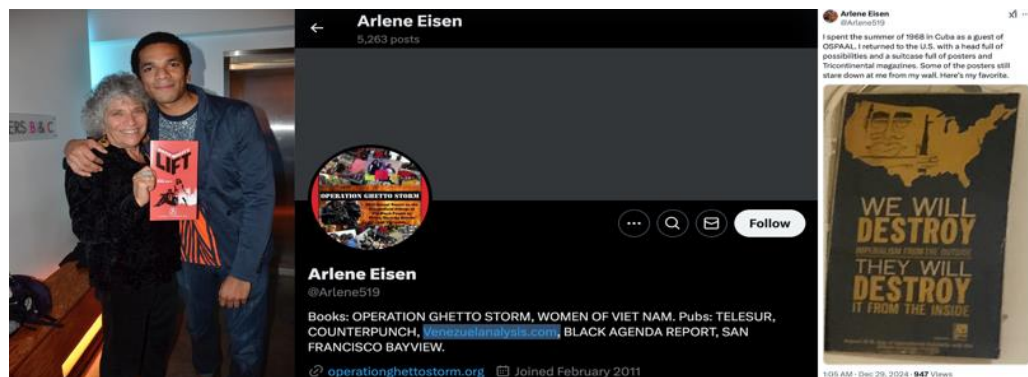
³⁵⁷ Nadia Khastagir. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/62163622@N00/albums/72157600669567736/>

³⁵⁸ Liz Ortiz. Wilmington Police Clash with Black Panthers. <https://spectrumlocalnews.com/nc/triangle-sandhills/news/2017/01/29/black-panthers-protest-in-wilmington>

³⁵⁹ Members of the Diversity and Inclusion Council. Hasbrouck Building Complex: Renaming Dialogue Report and Recommendation. <https://www.newpaltz.edu/media/diversity/Hasbrouck%20Renaming%20Report-Web.pdf>

The “every 28 hours” figure used as pretext for the passage of legislation, the confirmation of Loretta Lynch, and the rationale for protests was categorically false³⁶⁰. More than just being false, it was materials produced by a person that functioned as a proxy for the PCC and promoted by a group, MXGM, that functions as a proxy for the PSUV.

Author of “28-hour” Claim a Communist Affiliated with the Venezuelan and Cuban Governments



Arlene Eisen with son, poet laureate of San Francisco Biko Eisen-Martin.

The originator of the “every 28 hours” figure cited by members of Congress, used at protests, and used in tax-payer funded programming promoted by Diversity & Inclusion Councils was Arlene Eisen, the main researcher of ‘Operation Ghetto Storm’³⁶¹. The was published by the Malcolm X Grassroots Committee with a preface by Kali Akuno³⁶².

In the November 1968 edition of *The Movement*, published by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Arlene Eisen describes an extended visit to Cuba. While there she interviews Haydee Santamaria, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and then director of Casa de las Americas, a publishing house and cultural center, and meets with other party members³⁶³.

Arlene would go on to be one of the founding organizers for the Venecermos Brigade, an operation formed by Cuban Intelligence service Dirección General de Inteligencia (DGI)³⁶⁴.

Assessing comments made from a December 29th, 2024 post on Arlene’s X account, pictured above, her commitments to the Cuban revolution continue into the present. The post contains the image of a poster produced by the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL - Organización de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de África, Asia y América Latina)³⁶⁵. OSPAAAL was an international movement founded by the Cuban government to organize hybrid threat networks and support armed insurgencies, such as the FARC-EP, that operate in foreign countries. The text on the poster - “We will destroy imperialism from the outside, they will destroy it from the inside” - clearly indicates that those involved with the organization are to engage in hybrid threat activity against their host

³⁶⁰ Katie Sanders. “Every 28 hours” an unarmed black person is shot by a cop. <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2014/aug/26/marc-lamont-hill/unarmed-black-person-shot-every-28-hours-says-ma/>

³⁶¹ Rosa Clemente. Activist: Organizing Local Communities is the Only Way to End Police Killings. <https://therealnews.com/rclemente0707shootings>

³⁶² Operation Ghetto Storm. <http://www.operationghettostorm.org/>

³⁶³ Arlene Eisen. More Revolution; and “A Woman Who Took A Rifle to Moncada Had To Be a Liberated Woman”.

https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/sncc/10_November%201968.pdf

³⁶⁴ Edgerton I. Levy. Brigada Venceremos: La historia oculta de una ambiciosa operación de inteligencia contra Estados Unidos.

<https://www.cibercuba.com/noticias/2019-08-07-u199766-e42839-s27061-brigada-venceremos-historia-oculta-ambiciosa-operacion>

³⁶⁵ Arlene Eisen. X. <https://x.com/Arlene519>

country on behalf of Cuba. Tricontinental Institute for Social Research - currently headed by Vijay Prashad.

Such an assessment can be secondarily verified by numerous statements made by Arlene in a videoconference produced by Deep Dish TT in response to the election of Donald J. Trump. Within a discussion amongst activists Jared Ball, Ajamu Baraka, Dhoruba Bin-Wahad, Jed Brandt, George Ciccariello-Maher, Rosa Clemente, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, Netfa Freeman, Nerdeen Kiswani, Firoze Manji, Heather Milton Lightening, Doug Norberg, Taliba O Njeri and Yolande Tomlinson. Several of these individuals were previously identified as members of REDH.

In the video Arlene describes her love of Che Guevara's slogan and strategy of "Two, Three, Many Vietnams", her role in supporting independence movements of racial groups within the U.S., and a continued commitment to political education oriented to revolutionizing rather than reforming "the state"³⁶⁶.

Contemporary connections to Venezuela and Cuba

- Arlene met with Jesus "Chucho" Garcia when he came to New Orleans to participate in the International Tribunal on Katrina³⁶⁷.
- Arlene has been a contributing author for TeleSUR³⁶⁸.
- In Arlene's writing for VenezuelaAnalysis, she describes herself as attending meetings of local councils in Caracas and interacting with government figures³⁶⁹.
- In a letter to support the application of Dr. Jared Ball for full professor, Arlene discloses that she worked as a lecturer at the Central University of Venezuela³⁷⁰.
- She promotes the Venceremos Brigade³⁷¹.
- Expressed support for the occupation of the Venezuelan embassy³⁷².
- She engages in activities sponsored by U.S. based Bolivarian Circles and other front groups for Venezuelan and Cuban interests³⁷³.

Information

The purpose of these actions is to exploit identity politics and allegiances, thus dividing influential interest groups and political alliances. Confusion and disorder ensue as people feel more insecure. By virtue of its low intensity and potential for deniability, Hybrid Threat activities designed to exploit this domain are generally low-risk, allow for a trial-and-error approach, much like the agile processes used in technology firms, and have a relatively low cost, with some even being open to outsourcing... It is typically used to vilify, embarrass or misrepresent someone/the target... The tools of this domain seek to shift the political discourse, to create or promote narratives, and to manipulate public opinion and sentiment. In addition, they may impair freedom of opinion and expression.

*

³⁶⁶ Jackson Rising. Beyond November 8th: Where Do We Go From Here?. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=izMRx6zIxs8>

³⁶⁷ Arlene Eisen. Commissioners from African diaspora come in solidarity to New Orleans. <https://katrinareader.cwsworkshop.org/commissioners-african-diaspora-come-solidarity-new-orleans.html>

³⁶⁸ Arlene Eisen. The Police War on Black People Continues—Here's Why <http://www.operationghettostorm.org/news>

³⁶⁹ VenezuelaAnalysis. Arlene Eisen. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/guest-author/arlene-eisen/>

³⁷⁰ Jared Ball. Supplemental Accolades and Statements of Support. <https://imixwhatilike.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/supplemental-accolades-and-statements-of-support.pdf>

³⁷¹ Arlene Eisen. California Voice - San Francisco Bay ViewAn invitation from the Venceremos Brigade: Work and learn in Cuba this summer. <https://www.postnewsgroup.com/an-invitation-from-the-venceremos-brigade-work-and-learn-in-cuba-this-summer/>

³⁷² Embassy Protection Collective. Declaration of the Embassy Protection Collective. <https://popularresistance.org/declaration-of-the-embassy-protection-collective/>

³⁷³ Venezuela Solidarity Network. Webinar: Why We Must Stand with Venezuela. <https://www.venezuelasolidaritynetwork.org/112624>

Teachers Unions

Chicago Teachers Union

CTU Advocacy on behalf of PSUV

On March 11, 2019 the Chicago Teachers Union passed a resolution which committed the CTU to

“advocate for the suspension of the current sanctions against Venezuela, and for the U.S. to cease all threats, military mobilization, and interference in the economic and internal politics and affairs of the Venezuelan people...”³⁷⁴.

Jesse Sharkey

- Current president of the Chicago Teachers Union.
- Previously affiliated with the International Socialist Organization (ISO)³⁷⁵.
 - The International Socialist Organization was one of the groups present at the Boston Social Forum³⁷⁶.
- Still identifies as a socialist³⁷⁷.

Stacy Davis Gates

- Participation in the 50th Annual National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression (NAARPR) conference³⁷⁸.
 - Attendees included:
 - Numerous members of Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO) members.
 - FRSO Central Committee members and NAARPR Executive Director Frank Chapman has committed himself to “solidarity with Venezuela”³⁷⁹.
 - Persons arrested “for providing material support to the PFLP and FARC”.
 - Rasema Odeh, an convicted terrorist that was deported from the United States following a federal immigration fraud conviction.

Sarah Chambers

- A member of the Chicago Teachers Union executive board³⁸⁰
- She traveled to Venezuela³⁸¹.

³⁷⁴ Chicago Teachers Union. CTU Resolution to Oppose the Invasion of Venezuela. <https://www.ctulocal1.org/posts/resolution-oppose-invasion-venezuela/>

³⁷⁵ Wayne Ross. Rethinking Social Studies: Critical Pedagogy in Pursuit of Dangerous Citizenship.

https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=kqkoDwAAQBAJ&dq=Jesse+Sharkey+%22international+socialist+organization%22&pg=PA143&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Jesse%20Sharkey%20%22international%20socialist%20organization%22&f=false

³⁷⁶ Jennifer C. Berkshire. Dispatches from the Boston Social Forum. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/dispatches-boston-social-forum/>

³⁷⁷ Chicago Democratic Socialists of America. A Conversation on Our Political Moment with Carlos Rosa Jesse Sharkey and Keeanga-Yamahatta Taylor. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mrlMyDz6h4>

³⁷⁸ National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression. About. <https://conference.naarpr.org/#about>

³⁷⁹ Fight Back News. Freedom Road Socialist Organization meets with Venezuelan Consulate, conveys solidarity. <https://fightbacknews.org/articles/freedom-road-socialist-organization-meets-venezuelan-consulate-conveys-solidarity>

³⁸⁰ Kristen McQueary. Column: Surprised by CTU's Venezuela visit? Then you haven't been paying attention. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/2019/08/19/column-surprised-by-ctus-venezuela-visit-then-you-havent-been-paying-attention/>

³⁸¹ Kristen McQueary. Column: Surprised by CTU's Venezuela visit? Then you haven't been paying attention. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/2019/08/19/column-surprised-by-ctus-venezuela-visit-then-you-havent-been-paying-attention/>

United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA)

Cecily Myart-Cruz

- President of United Teachers Los Angeles.
- Has appeared as a guest on the Convergence podcast³⁸².
 - The advisory board for Convergence includes former Venezuelan government contractors, such as Bill Fletcher Jr., as well as numerous activists that have participated in the Social Forum, such as Cindy Weisner³⁸³.
- Has appeared as a guest multiple times on the Haymarket Books podcast^{384, 385}.
 - Haymarket Books is an organization previously affiliated with the International Socialist Organization, which has participated in the Social Forum.

Attended the 2020 World Education Congress

On September 26 and 27, 2020

“The First World Education Congress 2020, which will be held online, raises the challenge of facing neoliberalism in all its forms; therefore, we will work towards the establishment of an International Coordinating Committee of Education Workers (CITE). This committee will form a permanent space for dialogue, gatherings, and organization for those fighting in defense of public education and against educational neoliberalism. We invite all organizations, unions, social movements, and individuals who share these ideas to join in these debates and deliberations...”

The September 26 and 27, 2020 event, as described on the PSUV-affiliated website Aporeea resulted in multiple resolutions which function to support the PSUV, including³⁸⁶:

- Condemnation of the US blockade of Cuba
- Joining the campaign for Anti-Bolsonaro campaign,
- Supporting the anti-racist struggle in the United States and the world,
- Condemning the unilateral coercive measures imposed by the North American administration on Venezuela
- Condemning the military coup in Bolivia

Other 2020 World Congress of Education Program Attendees

Luis Bonilla-Molina, a Venezuelan national who:

- Identifies as a Chavista³⁸⁷.
- Previously held national level positions for the Venezuelan government - the position of Deputy Minister of Strategic Planning of University Education (2011-2013) and coordinator of advisors in the Presidential Office (2004-2006) during Hugo Chávez’s administration³⁸⁸.

³⁸² Black Work Talk. Preparing for a General Strike, with Cecily Myart-Cruz. <https://convergencemag.com/podcast/9374/>

³⁸³ Convergence. About Convergence. <https://convergencemag.com/about/>

³⁸⁴ Haymarket Books. Black Lives Matter at School: California Edition. <https://www.haymarketbooks.org/blogs/272-black-lives-matter-at-school-california-edition>

³⁸⁵ Haymarket Books. When We Fight: Voices from the Los Angeles Teachers Strike. <https://www.haymarketbooks.org/blogs/207-when-we-fight-voices-from-the-los-angeles-teachers-strike>

³⁸⁶ Otras Voces en Educación. Concluyó I Congreso Mundial de Educación con Declaración final y Resoluciones.

<https://www.aporeea.org/educacion/n359181.html>

³⁸⁷ Luis Bonilla-Molina. Como Votamos los Chavistas. <https://www.aporeea.org/ideologia/a218293.html>

³⁸⁸ Luis Bonilla-Molina. Acerca del Autor. <https://luisbonillamolina.com/acerca-del-autor/>

- Is a contributor to the Fourth International, a political organization founded by Leon Trotsky which describes itself as being “present in the five continents, with organizations in more than 40 countries. Its activists participate in the class struggle, building social movements and parties in order to advance a revolutionary and emancipatory project for the 21st Century.”³⁸⁹.

Luz Palomino, a Venezuelan national who:

- Is the wife of Luis Bonilla-Molina³⁹⁰.
- Has participated in conferences with popular educators that are members of the FARC and the Fourth International³⁹¹.

U.S.-based individuals who attended the World Education Congress included the following³⁹²:

Rebecca Garelli

- “Co-Founder, Lead Organizer, & Executive Director (#RedforEd Arizona Movement)”³⁹³
- “Phoenix DSA member, founding member and organizer with Arizona Educators United and National Educators United, and a member of the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission Steering Committee”³⁹⁴.

Sara Chambers

- Part of a teachers’ delegation that travelled to Venezuela to meet with Vladimir Castillo, the Venezuelan Director of International Affairs, as well as leaders from the Venezuelan Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Communes, and Ministry of Education³⁹⁵.

Monique Dols

- A member of the International Socialist Organization in NYC³⁹⁶.
- A member of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).
 - Supporter of the Movement of Rank and File Educators (MORE), a caucus within the AFT.

ADMISSION OF PARTICIPATION IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY

In an interview with the National Socialist League, Dols describes the MORE caucus engaging in illegal activities³⁹⁷:

“MORE organized a sick out. A sick out is a tactic developed by workers for whom it is illegal to advocate for a strike or a work stoppage. In New York State it is illegal for public workers to strike. So we encouraged our members to call in sick. We had a conference call to organize the sick out

³⁸⁹ Fourth International. The Fourth International. <https://fourth.international/index.php/en/166>

³⁹⁰ CLACSO. Hoja de Vida de Luis Bonilla-Molina Datos personales.

https://www.clacso.org.ar/conferencia2018/documentos_candidatos/c4/descargar.php?nombre=hoja_de_vida_Luis_Bonilla-Molina.pdf

³⁹¹ Centro Internacional Otras Voces En Educación. Voces Insurgentes: Otras Voces Feministas. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hvol3dGrmYI>

³⁹² Organización de las intervenciones del Programa del I-Congreso Mundial de Educación 2020: en defensa de la educación pública y contra el neoliberalismo educativo.

https://www.sindicat.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/_-24-09-2020-organizacion-de-las-actividades-del-congreso-mundial-de-educacion-2020-ultimo-1.pdf

³⁹³ Rebecca Garelli. LinkedIn. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/rebecca-garelli/details/experience/>

³⁹⁴ Democratic Socialists of America. Socialists at Work: Life as a Rank-and-File Labor Organizer. <https://www.dsusa.org/calendar/socialists-at-work-life-as-a-rank-and-file-labor-organizer/>

³⁹⁵ Fabiana Casas. Chicago Teachers show solidarity in Venezuela. <https://fightbacknews.org/articles/chicago-teachers-show-solidarity-venezuela>

³⁹⁶ International Socialist Review. Monique Dols. <https://isreview.org/person/monique-dols/index.html>

³⁹⁷ Luis Meiners for the International Socialist League. United States: education in times of pandemic. Interview with Monique Dols. <https://lis-isl.org/en/2020/04/11/estados-unidos-educacion-en-tiempos-de-pandemia-entrevista-con-monique-dols/>

that had over 500 educators from every borough on the call. This was a big deal for us because we are a small social justice caucus in a very top-down and monolithic union. It was wildly successful. So many educators notified that they would be out sick and so many parents were keeping their kids home that the Mayor finally suspended classes.”

Peter McLaren

According to McLaren’s Curriculum Vitae³⁹⁸:

- He is an associate Member of Cátedra ‘Comandante Supremo Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías’ at the Universidad de Pedagogical Science “Enrique José Varona” in Havana, Cuba.
- He serves in the capacity of Cooperantes Internacionales for Centro Internacional Miranda, a progressive think tank in Caracas, Venezuela funded by the Venezuelan government...
- He attended the World Social Forum in Caracas, Venezuela and on January 27, 2006 gave a lecture titled “The Marxism of Che Guevara and Socialism for the Twenty-first Century”.
- Peter McLaren has spoken directly with with Hugo Chávez about educational theory at the Miraflores palace in Caracas, Venezuela³⁹⁹.
- In Peter McLaren’s 2007 book, *Pedagogy and Praxis in the Age of empire: Towards a New Humanism*, co-authored with Nathalia Jaramillo, McLaren states:

“We side with the Chavista position on direct and participatory democracy and continue to support the efforts of the Chavistas to build socialism for the twenty-first century. We support the struggle to advance socialism worldwide. (p. 46)”
- A review of *Ché Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution* by Luis Huerta Charles, describes McLaren’s book as his “most radically Marxist, theoretically developed, and poetically articulate vision of education for social justice and change...”⁴⁰⁰.

Bill Ayers

A professor of education at the University of Illinois-Chicago, a member of the Weather Underground, and Chesa Boudin’s adoptive father.

Anaida Colón-Muñiz

In the book *A Revolutionary Subject: Pedagogy of Women of Color and Indigeneity*, Anaida Colón-Muñiz is interviewed and expresses the following belief about education, which equated it with activism:

“Teaching is activism in the schools, changing lives. Activism can’t be just action, you also have to reflect and see how things are connected. There has to be greater understanding that you’re

³⁹⁸ Peter Lawrence McLaren. Curriculum Vitae. https://www.uaeh.edu.mx/profesorado_honorario_visitante/peter_mclaren/docs/1.1.%20Curriculum%20Vitae%20-%20Curriculum%20Vitae.pdf

³⁹⁹ Sheila Macrine. Foreword in *This Fist Called My Heart*. https://www.academia.edu/19491920/FOREWORD_in_Marc_Pruyn_and_Luis_Huerta_Charles_ed_2015_This_Fist_Called_My_Heart_New_York_NY_Peter_Laing_Publishers

⁴⁰⁰ Marc Pruyn, Luis Huerta-Charles. Reviewed Work: *Ché Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution* by Peter McLaren. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/658121>

doing this for a particular purpose. It has to be for the betterment of the people, related to shifting power or creating social change. For me it's a way of life.⁴⁰¹"

Luis Huerta-Charles

Luis Huerta-Charles is an Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction in the College of Education, at New Mexico State University⁴⁰².

- One of the editors of *From Critical Pedagogy to Revolutionary Pedagogy*, a book funded by the Venezuelan government's Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Educación Universitaria and Centro Internacional Miranda,⁴⁰³.

Juan Ramirez

UTLA/AFT Vice President, serves as one of the UTLA Political Officers.

He also represents UTLA as Vice President for the Los Angeles Federation of Labor and the State Federation of Labor⁴⁰⁴.

- The moderator for the panel he participated in was Luis Bonilla-Molina.

The indicators described above strongly suggest that these public-sector unions have been strongly influenced and/or captured by individuals and organizations that function as proxies of foreign governments.

Teaching-Related Organizations

Zinn Education Project

Board Members include:

- Bill Fletcher Jr., contracted by Venezuela's state media outlet TeleSUR as a news commentator.
- Danny Glover, a TeleSUR Executive Board member.
- James Early, a former Advisory Board Member for TeleSUR and Advisory Board Member of REDH, and member of ARAAC

All three have also provided financial and/or operational support to 501(c3) organizations associated with the Zinn Education Project: Rethinking Schools, Poverty & Race Research Action Council, and Teaching for Change.

Professional Associations

American Sociological Association

⁴⁰¹ Lilia D. Monzó. A Revolutionary Subject: Pedagogy of Women of Color and Indigeneity (Education and Struggle). <https://amzn.to/4fIDj3y>

⁴⁰² New Mexico State University. Luis Huerta-Charles. <https://tpal.nmsu.edu/faculty-directory/dr.-luis-huerta-charles.html>

⁴⁰³ Luis Huerta-Charles & Marc Pruyn. De la pedagogía crítica a la pedagogía de la revolución.

https://issuu.com/wilmertorres5/docs/de_la_pedagogia_a_cr_tica_a_la_peda

⁴⁰⁴ AFT. Juan Ramirez. <https://www.aft.org/about/leadership/juan-ramirez>

Erik Olin-Wright

- Participated in the 3rd World Social Forum in Porto Allegre, Brazil in 2003⁴⁰⁵.

Promotes the World Social Forum as a Model for Revolutionary Transformation

In his 2011 Presidential Address to the American Sociological Association (ASA) titled Transforming Capitalism through Real Utopias, self-avowed Marxist, Erik Olin-Wright, opens his statement with: **“Another world is possible** – the motto of the World Social Forum, 2000s”. Following this, Olin-Wright then proceeds to convey to the ASA membership through words and charts exactly how it is that previous Socialist movements either (1) failed to progress to seize power, or (2) degenerated into authoritarian States with little to no regard of human rights.

Olin-Wright closes the article by describing a “new” variation of socialism, one based on Venezuela’s 21st Century Socialism that could be successfully developed within the United States and he implores his fellow ASA Members to unite to accomplish this project.

Ruth Milkman

Self-identification as a socialist

In a memorial article for Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall published in Jacobin, Ruth Milkman states “as a student in the 1970s I too joined the socialist-feminist movement”⁴⁰⁶.

Contributor to the Socialist Review

Multiple articles published in Socialist Review⁴⁰⁷. Socialist Review, originally published as Socialist Revolution, was a left wing periodical established in San Francisco in 1970 as a voice for socialist discourse.⁴⁰⁸

Democratic Socialists of America describes her as a member

In the January/February 1987 edition of Democratic Left, a publication by the Democratic Socialists of America, she is listed as a member of the organization⁴⁰⁹.

Cultural Studies Association

Imre Szeman

- Founding executive member of the Cultural Studies Association⁴¹⁰.
- Participated in the 3rd World Social Forum in Porto Allegre, Brazil in 2003.
- Co-organized and participated in the “Breaking Down the Ivory Tower” sessions at the 5th World Social Forum in Porto Allegre, Brazil in 2005.

⁴⁰⁵ Erik Olin-Wright. Curriculum Vitae. <https://www.sccc.wisc.edu/soc/faculty/pages/wright/Erik%20Olin%20Wright%20Curriculum%20Vitae%20-%202013.pdf>

⁴⁰⁶ Ruth Milkman. Remembering Rosalyn Baxandall. <https://jacobin.com/2015/10/rosalyn-fraad-baxendall-womens-history-labor-socialist-feminism/>

⁴⁰⁷ Ruth Milkman. Curriculum Vitae. <https://soc.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Milkman-cv.pdf>

⁴⁰⁸ NYU Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. Guide to Social Revolution and Socialist Review Periodicals.

https://findingaids.library.nyu.edu/tamwag/tam_659/

⁴⁰⁹ Democratic Socialists of America. Recent Books by DSA Members. https://democraticleft.dsusa.org/files/sites/6/1987/01/DL_1987_V015_01_final.pdf

⁴¹⁰ Imre Szeman. Curriculum Vitae. <https://www.ualberta.ca/en/arts/media-library/people/imre/szeman-cv-march-2016.pdf>

- According to participants of the 2005 WSF, these sessions were concerned with creating an “internationale of intellectuals” and “imagining links between scholars and global justice movements”⁴¹¹.

Jaafar Aksikas

- President of the Cultural Studies Association when it had its 13th Annual Meeting, titled *Another University is Possible: Praxis, Activism and the Promise of Critical Pedagogy*. The title is clearly shown to be a reference to the slogan of the World Social Forum, Another World is Possible, in Jaafar’s comments dedicating the event to Randy Martin.⁴¹²
- Promotes events, such as the March on the DNC, organized and attended by groups that have participated in the U.S. Social Forum, i.e. Code Pink, Freedom Road Socialist Organization, Jobs With Justice⁴¹³.
- Describes one of his published works as “a small contribution to the renewal of and return to Marxism in the Arab world: an attempt to account for and to help transform what is currently unfolding in the region.”⁴¹⁴

National Women’s Studies Association

Premilla Nadasen

- President of the National Women’s Studies Association from 2018-2020^{415, 416}.
- Has worked with the National Domestic Workers Alliance, a group founded during the first U.S. Social Forum^{417,418}.
- Has written books published by Haymarket Books⁴¹⁹.
- In a speech given at the 2017 National Women’s Studies Conference, Nadasen explained how the theme of the conference was “inspired by the radical organizing of 40 years ago” – an allusion to Angela Davis of the Communist Party – and in her closing statement, she states: “Close to 20 years ago, when the World Social Forums first convened, they adopted the motto, ‘**Another world is possible.**’ So, in the spirit of the social forum and renewed organizing in the 21st century, we invite you to think with us about what that other world will look like”⁴²⁰.

Barbara Ransby

- President of the National Women’s Studies Association from 2016-2018
- Describes in the 2017 program book for their NWSA annual conference, which has been dedicated to a socialist collective, how “NWSA is an organization of feminist scholars and scholar-activists that emerged out of the social movements of the 1960s and 70s” and states that she is “thrilled about our exciting keynote conversation between Angela Davis and Alicia Garza” –
 - Davis and Garza were both Social Forum attendees. Garza describes attending the first United States Social Forum in her book *The Power of Purpose* and interacting with

⁴¹¹ Michael Denning. Lineaments and Contradictions of the Neoliberal University System.

https://wgqc.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/denning_lineaments_W%26C.pdf

⁴¹² Cultural Studies Association. THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CULTURAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION.

https://www.culturalstudiesassociation.org/uploads/1/2/5/9/125989896/2015_conference_program.pdf

⁴¹³ Jaafar Aksikas. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/C--orRAuS8b/>

⁴¹⁴ Edited by Andrew Pendakis, Imre Szeman, Jeff Diamanti. The Bloomsbury Companion to Marx. <https://www.bloomsbury.com/us/bloomsbury-companion-to-marx-9781350189843/>

⁴¹⁵ Barnard College. Premilla Nadasen. <https://barnard.edu/profiles/premilla-nadasen>

⁴¹⁶ Brooklyn College. 2006–07—PREMILLA NADASEN. <https://www.brooklyn.edu/wgst/endowed-chair/2006-07/>

⁴¹⁷ Editors. [AUDIO] What Would/Does a Feminist Labor Movement Look Like? <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/audio-what-woulddoes-a-feminist-labor-movement-look-like/>

⁴¹⁸ Premilla Nadasen and Tiffany Williams. Valuing Domestic Work. <https://bcrw.barnard.edu/wp-content/nfs/reports/NFS5-Valuing-Domestic-Work.pdf>

⁴¹⁹ Haymarket Books. Premilla Nadasen. <https://www.haymarketbooks.org/authors/1348-premilla-nadasen>

⁴²⁰ Premilla Nadasen. Black Feminism Will Save Us All. <https://inthesetimes.com/article/black-feminism-intersectional-donald-trump-class-race>

numerous Black Liberation Movements activists that would later support Black Lives Matter⁴²¹.

American Studies Association

Scott Kurashige

- President of the American Studies Association from 2019-2020.

Cites World Social Forum motto in ASA Statement

On June 7, 2020 Scott Kurashige published a press release on behalf of the American Studies Association titled *Statement on Black Lives Matter and the Rebellion of 2020*⁴²². Published following sustained protests following George Floyd's drug-related death, Kurashige ends his statement advocating a series of institutional policies and committing the ASA to supporting the protests by quoting the slogan of the World Social Forum: "Another world is necessary. **Another world is possible**. Another world is already being born."

Participated in the U.S. Social Forum

At the 2010 Social Forum in Detroit, Michigan, Kurashige moderated a panel between Grace Lee Boggs and Immanuel Wallerstein - two socialist activists regarded as seminal figures⁴²³.

Friend, "Comrade," and Grantmaker for U.S. Social Forum Organizer

Adrienne Maree Brown, a member of the U.S. Social Forum National Planning Committee, describes Kurashige as a "friend and comrade" and discloses that he has provided her with grant funding to be an "artist in-residence"⁴²⁴.

Lisa Duggan

- President of the American Studies Association from 2014 to 2015.

Describes Venezuela, World Social Forum as Source of Strategic Guidance for the Left

Duggan states in her op-ed for The Nation titled Imagine Otherwise that "if the left is to lead the way out of this morass [referring to capitalism], we must pay attention to a number of crucial issues and developments: the social movements and new, radical social democratic governments in Latin America; the collective thinking and organizing at the World Social Forum..."⁴²⁵.

Ruth Wilson Gilmore

- President of the American Studies Association from 2010-2011.
 - Cofounder of Critical Resistance⁴²⁶.
 - Critical Resistance is an abolitionist group that participated in the United States Social Forum⁴²⁷.

⁴²¹ Alicia Garza. The Purpose of Power: How We Come Together When We Fall Apart. <https://amzn.to/4q6yLYs>

⁴²² Scott Kurashige. ASA President's Statement on Black Lives Matter and the Rebellion of 2020. <https://www.theasa.net/about/news-events/announcements/asa-presidents-statement-black-lives-matter-rebellion-2020>

⁴²³ Scott Kurashige, Grace Lee Boggs, and Immanuel Wallerstein. Radical Visions, Possible Worlds. https://www.reimaginerpe.org/files/Kurashige.Boggs_.Wallerstein.17-2.pdf

⁴²⁴ adrienne maree brown. build as we fight: remarks from the 2019 American Studies Association Annual Meeting. <https://adriennemareebrown.net/2019/11/10/build-as-we-fight-remarks-from-the-2019-american-studies-association-annual-meeting/>

⁴²⁵ Lisa Duggan. Imagine Otherwise. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/imagine-otherwise/>

⁴²⁶ Graduate Center CUNY. Ruth Wilson Gilmore. <https://www.gc.cuny.edu/people/ruth-wilson-gilmore>

⁴²⁷ Reggie Gossett and Mayaba Liebenthal. Moving in from the Margins: Critical Resistance reports back from United States Social Forum. <https://criticalresistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/abolitionist-issue-7-fall-2007-english.pdf>

- Hosted conversations at academic conferences with World Social Forum co-founders⁴²⁸.
- Worked as a consultant for the National Nurses Union, which - as described below - have collaborated with organizations involved in the United States Social Forum⁴²⁹.

Walter Rodney Foundation

Former Venezuelan Government ambassador Jesus 'Chucho' Garcia, is on the Advisory board of the organization⁴³⁰.

Other members of the organization with influential positions in academia includes Dr. Young: Chair of the Department of Political Science at Clark Atlanta University.

University Professors

Many current employees across U.S. college and universities are not members of the aforementioned professional organizations, but are still linked to SATAN.

Below are examples of other university professors which are affiliated with the PSUV/PCC.

Agustin Lao-Montes

Associate Professor of Sociology & Afro-American Studies at UMASS Amherst⁴³¹.

Leading Member of ARAAC

Agustin Lao Montes is a member of the Executive Committee of Afro-descendant Regional Articulation in Latin America and the Caribbean (ARAAC, Articulación Regional Afrodescendiente de las Américas y el Caribe)⁴³².

ARAAC's members operate across Latin America and the Caribbean as a Black Left Internationale. According to their own members ARAAC is a:

“network of Afro-descendant social movements that emerges from the collective management of the leadership of the progressive and left-wing sectors of the black movements of Latin America and the Caribbean. It was formally formed at the IV Meeting of Afro-descendants and Revolutionary Transformations in Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Caracas, Venezuela from June 22 to 25, 2011, in connection with the celebration of the International Year of Afro-descendants.

The main reason for being of ARAAC is to serve as an organizing link and political space to bring together the critical Afro-descendant sector in the region, to formulate and mobilize proposals for historical transformation, against the network of oppressions (ethnic-racial, social, gender and sexuality, cultural, epistemic, ecological, economic, political) associated with neoliberal globalization, and in order to build a world more just, democratic and equitable. This gives it a

⁴²⁸ Center for Place, Culture, and Politics. The Agrarian Question Today – a conversation with Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Maria Luisa Mendonça. <https://pcp.gc.cuny.edu/2021/04/the-agrarian-question-today-a-conversation-with-ruth-wilson-gilmore-and-maria-luisa-mendonca/>

⁴²⁹ National Nurses Union. The Global Scope of Solidarity: Covid-19 and Beyond. <https://www.facebook.com/nationalnurses/videos/5270639622962809>

⁴³⁰ Walter Rodney Foundation. About Us. <https://www.walterrodneyfoundation.org/who-we-are>

⁴³¹ UMASS Amherst. Agustin Lao-Montes. <https://www.umass.edu/afro-am/about/directory/agustin-lao-montes>

⁴³² Agustin Lao-Montes. ¿Por qué Fanon? Un testimonio pluriversal puertorriqueño. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/793597-por-que-fanon-un-testimonio-pluriversal-puertorriqueno>

particular identity, differentiating it from neoliberal and neoconservative sectors in the Afro-descendant political spectrum"⁴³³.

Jesús 'Chucho' García, Venezuela's former ambassador to New Orleans, is one of the organization's co-founders⁴³⁴. Lao-Montes is a member of ARAAC, as well as its U.S. Chapter, described below.



When Nicolás met with U.S. activists at the People of African Descent Leadership summit, media coverage focused heavily on Opal Tometi's participation in the event.

Not one journalist covered the participation of Yvette Lepolata Apoukissi Modestin - pictured above immediately next to Maduro, a founding member of the Regional Council of Africans in the Americas (RCAA), and has boasted of working with DSA-affiliated congresswoman Ayanna Pressley⁴³⁵.

Yvette Lepolata, who was born in Panama, is an Institute of the Black World 21st Century (IBW21) Board Member of the National African American Reparations Commission, and has "worked closely" with Ayanna Pressley and is the co-author of the Boston City Council ordinance to create a Reparations Commission⁴³⁶.

The RCAA is a network confounded with Damani Zakee Aquil, Bernardo Guerrero, Quisia Gonzalez, Marco Polo Hernández Cuevas, Agustin Lao-Montes, and former Venezuelan ambassador to the United States, Jesus 'Chucho' Garcia⁴³⁷.

According to descriptions of the group's formation, RCAA's goals include the following:

- Reclaim and control our narrative and by extension contribute to the ongoing process of economic, spiritual and psychological liberation.
- Develop partnerships with other liberation groups, social justice activists, primary, secondary and university Kilombos, and leaders of African descent across the African Diaspora (Abibiman Maa) with an emphasis on establishing partnerships with our Sisters and Brothers in North America.
- Promote through networks and social media, the history, cultures, religions and contemporary struggles of people of African descent in the Americas and the Caribbean.

⁴³³ Claudia Miranda. Afrodescendencias : voces en resistencia. <https://biblioteca-repositorio.clacso.edu.ar/bitstream/CLACSO/16714/1/Afrodescendencias.pdf>

⁴³⁴ Federico Pita. Jesús "Chucho" García: "La afroizquierda se convierte en el modelo de la vida y la afroderecha en el modelo de la muerte".

<https://www.pagina12.com.ar/740090-jesus-chucho-garcia-la-afroizquierda-se-convierte-en-el-mode>

⁴³⁵ araacfeed. <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bp4wzTnFXs0/>

⁴³⁶ IBW21. Yvette Modestin. <https://ibw21.org/author/yvette-modestin/>

⁴³⁷ Alberto Abreu. Presentación de ARAAC Estados Unidos. <https://afromodernidades.wordpress.com/2017/05/03/afromodernidades-162/>

Collaboration with Venezuelan-led Political Organs II

Dr. Agustin Lao-Montes, one of the coordinators of the Afro-Diaspora certificate at UMASS Amherst, has described his goal in this role as “making the department much more activist” and “linking different kinds of African diaspora intellectuals” - meaning connecting U.S. based academics with members of Venezuela and Cuban’s Socialist and Communist parties⁴³⁸.

Ann Robertson

Dr. Ann Robertson is a professor emeritus at San Francisco State University⁴³⁹.

Member of U.S. Socialist Parties affiliated with the PSUV

She was previously affiliated with Workers Action, which describes itself as a “Revolutionary Socialist Organization”⁴⁴⁰. She is also a “long-term member of the Executive Board of the California Faculty Association” as well as a member of the Democratic Socialist of America – San Francisco Education Organizing Circle⁴⁴¹.

Advocates U.S. Socialists Groups Follow Venezuela

On December 15, 2009 Dr. Robertson published an opinion article on Venezuela Analysis, a Venezuelan government sponsored website, titled Hugo Chávez’s Call for a Fifth Socialist International⁴⁴². In the article Dr. Robertson shares:

- (1) Venezuela’s efforts to help organize socialist political parties of foreign nations
“Recently a conference was held in Caracas, Venezuela that included representatives from socialist and left parties from around the world and that culminated in an official statement, referred to as The Commitment of Caracas. As reported by Venezuela Analysis, one of the points included in this statement was reference to a call by Hugo Chávez, President of Venezuela, for the formation of a Fifth International in order to promote the defeat of capitalism and the creation of “Socialism of the 21st Century.”
- (2) An assessment of what Venezuela’s organizational efforts could mean for the United States
“joining such an international, socialist parties [in the United States] will be able to translate their aspirations for a better world into a framework that can realistically hope to achieve revolutionary change. It has the potential to forge the indispensable link between theory and practice.”
- (3) An endorsement for U.S. leftist parties to follow Venezuela’s leadership of the international left
“...the call for the Fifth International deserves enthusiastic support...”
- (4) Her perspective on the strategy best suited for achieving victory for socialism in the U.S.
“The united front brings together working people, although they might adhere to different political points of view or persuasions, in order to unite workers as workers rather than as members of a single political party. In other words, it unites working people as a class and in this respect promotes the development of class consciousness.”

⁴³⁸ Amherst Media. Difficult Dialogues: Dr. Agustin Lao-Montes. <https://archive.org/details/DifficultDialoguesDr.AgustinLao-Montes>.

⁴³⁹ San Francisco State University. Ann Robertson. <https://philosophy.sfsu.edu/ann-robertson>

⁴⁴⁰ Ann Robertson. Obama, Oil, Lies And Money. <https://countercurrents.org/robertson030610.htm>

⁴⁴¹ Democratic Socialists of America: San Francisco. Facebook Post.

https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=4628958780460438&substory_index=0&id=1195731217116562&

⁴⁴² Ann Robertson, Bill Leumer. Hugo Chávez’s Call for a Fifth Socialist International. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/5007/>

The theory and practice which she refers to is described in an article she co-wrote titled *The True Nature of a Revolutionary Marxist Party and Its Common Distortions*⁴⁴³. In these and other writings she advocates for an “undistorted” Revolutionary Marxist Party, whose practice includes mandating school curriculum that seeks to indoctrinate youth with anti-capitalist and anti-Constitutional values.

Akinyele Umoja



Flyer for a conference hosted by the Venezuelan government-funded Instituto Simón Bolívar featuring Charo Mina-Rojas, the National Coordinator of Advocacy and Outreach for the Black Communities' Process (Proceso de Comunidades Negras - PCN) - a group that works with ALBA Movimientos⁴⁴⁴; August Nimtz - a professor at University of Minnesota and a communist⁴⁴⁵, Akinyele Umoja - a professor at University of Georgia and black nationalist, and Venezuelan Ambassador Jesus “Chucho” García.

Meeting with Nicolás Maduro I

Dr. Umoja traveled to Venezuela to “witness President Maduro’s signing of the UN decree for the Decade of People of African descent”⁴⁴⁶.

Meeting with Nicolás Maduro II

In May of 2018, Dr. Umoja traveled to Venezuela to attend the International Meeting on Reparations for African Peoples held in Caracas, Venezuela⁴⁴⁷.

Travel to Venezuela

On July 3, 2019, Dr. Umoja gave a presentation on Black Power, Civil Rights, and Self-Determination at the Rómulo Gallegos Center for Latin American Studies (CELARG) in Caracas⁴⁴⁸.

Academic Presentation with Venezuelan Ambassador

Invited Venezuelan ambassador Jesus “Chucho” García to speak on a 2020 MXGM-organized panel discussion on International Solidarity: Connecting Struggles for Self-Determination⁴⁴⁹.

⁴⁴³ Ann Roberston and Bill Leumer. The True Nature of a Revolutionary Marxist Party and Its Common Distortions.

<https://www.socialisthistory.ca/PDF/WA/themarxistparty.pdf>

⁴⁴⁴ Silvia Fernanda Álvarez Cárdenas. Lucha globalizada : Articulación Global del Proceso de Comunidades Negras en Organizaciones como La Vía Campesina desde 2017. <https://repository.javeriana.edu.co/bitstream/handle/10554/57321/TEsis-%20Silvia%20Alvarez%20RRII.pdf?sequence=1>

⁴⁴⁵ Augustin Nimtz. August Nimtz: History and Contingency in the Making of a Black Communist.

<https://turtleroad.org/2019/10/11/august-nimtz-geography-of-a-black-communist/>

⁴⁴⁶ Yvette Modestin. A Report on the Afro descendants Gathering in Venezuela. <https://ibw21.org/commentary/report-on-the-afro-descendants-gathering-in-venezuela/>

⁴⁴⁷ Groundings, VenezuelAnalysis. The Politics of Food and Blackness in Venezuela. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/podcasts/14361/>

⁴⁴⁸ Prensa Celarg. El experto estadounidense Akinyele Umoja ofrecerá en una charla en la Fundación Celarg. <https://albaciudad.org/2019/07/el-experto-estadounidense-akinyele-umoja-ofrecera-en-una-charla-en-la-fundacion-celarg/>

⁴⁴⁹ Nyeusi Jami, Mosi K. Platt, Aziza Belcher, Dr. Akinyele Umoja, Sofia Garzon, Anthony Desde, Jesus Chucho Garcia, Yvette Modestin; Pierre Labossiere. Malcolm X Grassroots Movement - International Solidarity: Connecting Struggles for Self-Determination. <https://archive.org/details/2020-09-14-1900-wrfq-rap>

Conference with Venezuelan Ambassador

Hosted an academic conference at Georgia State University featuring Jesus “Chucho” Garcia^{450, 451}.

Memorial Service with Venezuelan Ambassador

At the 2015 memorial service for the former legal representative of the Black Liberation Army, Chokwe Lumumba, Dr. Umoja was in attendance along with Jesus “Chucho” Garcia⁴⁵². Garcia’s relationship with Chokwe Lumumba dates at least to 2011, when he hosted Lumumba on a trip to Venezuela⁴⁵³.

New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) Activist

- These two groups both define themselves as consisting of members which constitute a nation that is engaged in struggle against the “occupation” of the U.S. government⁴⁵⁴.
- NAPO and MXGM seeks to gain control over a region of the United States that includes parts of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee via secession⁴⁵⁵.

They have participated extensively in the Black Lives Matter protests and related organizing activities.

Context: Longstanding Historical Links between U.S. Afrikan Organizations and Cuban Government

Nehanda Abiodu was one of the founders of the New Afrikan People’s Organization and an organizer with the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. She eventually fled to Cuba to avoid being charged with conspiracy and racketeering for her role in helping Assata Shakur escape from prison in 1979, as well as her role in a 1981 Brink’s armored truck robbery which involved the murder of three people⁴⁵⁶. Another of the group’s co-founders is Dr. Akinyele Umoja, a professor of Africana studies at Georgia State University.

Layla Brown

Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology & Africana Studies and affiliate faculty in Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Northeastern University⁴⁵⁷.

Travel to Cuba

According to the Boston-Cuba Solidarity Coalition, Dr. Brown traveled to Cuba with the assistance of the African Awareness Association⁴⁵⁸. She travelled there with her uncle, Bob Brown, a co-founder and ex-

⁴⁵⁰ Akinyele Umoja. Words of Appreciation from Dr. Akinyele Umoja, departing chair of African-American Studies. <https://africana.gsu.edu/2019/07/16/words-of-appreciation-from-dr-akinyele-umoja-departing-chair-of-african-american-studies/>

⁴⁵¹ Consulado de Venezuela en New Orleans. En foro sobre Malcolm X, rechazaron agresión internacional contra Venezuela. <https://www.aporrea.org/venezuelaexterior/n291039.html>

⁴⁵² Chokwe Lumumba Commemoration Program Booklet. <https://www.scribd.com/document/257085577/Chokwe-Lumumba-Commemoration-Program-Booklet>

⁴⁵³ The Black Scholar. Now Available: 48.2, The Political Legacy of Chokwe Lumumba. <https://www.theblackscholar.org/now-available-48-2-the-political-legacy-of-chokwe-lumumba/>

⁴⁵⁴ Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. WHY WE SAY “NEW AFRIKAN”. <https://freethelandmxgm.org/why-we-say-new-afrikan/>

⁴⁵⁵ Kali Akuno for the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement & the New Afrikan People’s Organization. The Jackson–Kush Plan: The Struggle for Black Self-Determination and Economic Democracy <https://mronline.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Jackson-KushPlan.pdf>

⁴⁵⁶ DemocracyNow. Nehanda Abiodun, Black Revolutionary and “Godmother of Cuban Hip-Hop,” Dies at 86. https://www.democracynow.org/2019/2/13/headlines/nehanda_abiodun_black_revolutionary_and_godmother_of_cuban_hip_hop_dies_at_86

⁴⁵⁷ Northeastern University College of Social Sciences and Humanities. Layla Brown. <https://cssh.northeastern.edu/faculty/layla-brown/>

⁴⁵⁸ July 26 Movement. Declaration of Observance of the 60th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. <https://july26.org/african-awareness-association-on-cubas-60th/>

member of the Chicago Chapter of the Black Panther Party (March 1968 to March 1969) and current member of the All African People's Revolutionary Party⁴⁵⁹.

- The All African People's Revolutionary Party are “a revolutionary Pan-Africanist socialist party”⁴⁶⁰.

Participation in Venezuelan-government sponsored political meetings

In *We Are the Ones We Have Been Waiting for: Pan-African Consciousness Raising and Organizing in the United States and Venezuela*, Dr. Brown identifies herself as a trans-generational revolutionary. She describes attendance at the Network of Afro-Venezuelans organized Fourth Encounter of Afrodescendants in the Americas and the Caribbean for Revolutionary Transformations in the Framework of the International Year of Afrodescendants in Solidarity with Haiti in Caracas, Venezuela⁴⁶¹. She also describes multiple interactions with Jesus “Chucho” Garcia, then Venezuela’s ambassador to the United States.

Describes Venezuelan ‘Comrades’ as Source of Guidance for Activism

In *Seeing It for Wearing It: Autoethnography as Black Feminist Methodology*, Dr. Brown further describes her engagement with activists connected to the Bolivarian Revolution: “Not long after I completed coursework and began to conduct fieldwork, my interlocutors in Venezuela would often ask me about what kind of political work I was engaged in at home.” She describes the Venezuelan activists as having a directive force on her political engagement, stating that her “attention was drawn back to my place of birth, the United States of America, largely as a result of the chiding of my Venezuelan comrades”⁴⁶².

Steven Klees

Dr. Steven Klees is a professor at University of Maryland’s College of Education⁴⁶³.

Participation in the World Social Forum

In the article *Neoclassical Economics is Dead. What Comes Next?: The Answer Lies in Alternative Economic Practices*, Klees claims that there are many economic modes of production that are preferable to capitalism and then describes his participation in the World Social Forum.

I was fortunate enough to attend the World Social Forum (WSF) twice and march with 100,000 activists from all over the world and meet some of them who were struggling to engage in alternative practices to change the world in areas like education, health, food, water, environment, or development generally. These activists go home from the Forum and interact and network with millions, building a global network. The energy and optimism there was contagious. I am also optimistic because I have been fortunate to work in dozens of countries, and everywhere I found people who believed what is the slogan of the WSF — Another World is Possible — and who were struggling for it. Economics does not have to be the dismal science. A focus on alternative economic practices opens up a world of possibilities. Let me close with a quote from Arundhati Roy: “Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing”⁴⁶⁴.

⁴⁵⁹ International Institute of Social Studies. Bob Brown - Black Power and the Politics of Liberation. <https://www.iss.nl/en/news/bob-brown-black-power-and-politics-liberation>

⁴⁶⁰ All-African People's Revolutionary Party. Vision and Mission. <http://www.a-aprp-qc.org/about/our-vision-and-mission/>

⁴⁶¹ Layla Brown Vincent. We Are the Ones We Have Been Waiting for: Pan-African Consciousness Raising and Organizing in the United States and Venezuela. <https://arielsheen.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Duke-Pan-African-Consciousness-Raising-and-Organizing-in-the-United-States-and-Venezuela.pdf>

⁴⁶² Layla D. Brown-Vincent. Seeing It for Wearing It: Autoethnography as Black Feminist Methodology. <https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1212&context=taboo>

⁴⁶³ University of Maryland. Steven Klees. <https://education.umd.edu/directory/steven-klees>

⁴⁶⁴ <https://evonomics.com/klees-neoclassical-economics-failed-what-comes-next/>

In *A Happy New Year?*, Dr. Klees shares:

“I believe more people than ever before in history want a more equal, fairer, sustainable world. I have worked in over 30 countries, and everywhere I have encountered many people who believe in the slogan of the World Social Forum that “Another World is Possible” and are struggling to make it so⁴⁶⁵.”

Commitment to Anti-Capitalist Activism

In *Beyond Neoliberalism: Reflections on Capitalism and Education*, Klees further describes his commitment to the social movements affiliated with the World Social Forum and the need to link educational practice and policies to these movements:

“I, along with many, others see the need to tackle the intersection of capitalism with other oppressive structures like patriarchy, racism, heterosexism, and ableism. This is key to understanding the nature of marginalization in today’s world system. It is also key to praxis. We must work together across social movements. This is a struggle for the long haul, and it has to be fought on multiple fronts. This doesn’t mean we have to lose a focus on education, but we have to join in these broader struggles⁴⁶⁶.”

Dr. Curry Malott

Dr. Malott is an associate professor in the Department of Educational Foundations & Policy Studies at West Chester University⁴⁶⁷.

Contributor to PSUV-Affiliated News Media Publications

Dr. Malott’s article *How Amílcar Cabral Shaped Paulo Freire’s Pedagogy* was published in *Orinoco Tribute*, a publication founded by Venezuela’s former ambassador to Chicago, Jesus Rodriguez-Espinoza⁴⁶⁸.

Conference with Cuban-Government Official

On June 10, 2016 Curry Malott delivered a speech at the Paul Robeson house in West Philadelphia. The event, sponsored by the Party for Socialism and Liberation, featured Cuban revolutionary Luisa Campos. At the end of his speech, Dr. Malott avows allegiance to Cuba:

“Cuba is not the capitalist class, but the workers, and we stand with them shoulder to shoulder...All the gains of the Cuban revolution-its independence from U.S. imperialism as well as the social gains like literacy, full employment and health care-are guaranteed by the strength of the Cuban working class. We are confident that they can succeed in the face of any threat, and we are fully committed to supporting this fight from the belly of the beast.”

⁴⁶⁵ Steven Klees. *A Happy New Year?*. <https://blog.umd.edu/stevenklees/2022/01/02/a-happy-new-year/>

⁴⁶⁶ Steven Klees. *Beyond neoliberalism: Reflections on capitalism and education*. https://www.academia.edu/37334783/Beyond_neoliberalism_Reflections_on_capitalism_and_education

⁴⁶⁷ West Chester University. Curry Malott. <https://www.wcupa.edu/education-socialWork/edFoundations/cMalott.aspx>

⁴⁶⁸ Curry Malott. *How Amílcar Cabral Shaped Paulo Freire’s Pedagogy*. <https://orinocotribune.com/how-amilcar-cabral-shaped-paulo-freires-pedagogy/>

Member of Venezuelan-Government Proxy Group

In his article *In Defense of Communism: Against Critical Pedagogy, Capitalism, and Trump*, Dr. Malott describes himself as “a communist pedagogue” and in his author’s description states that he is “a member of the Party for Socialism and Liberation”.

Dr. Rebecca Tarlau

According to her bio on the Penn State College of Education website, Dr. Tarlau, a “was inspired to pursue a career in education by her experiences with community organizing in Latin America and the United States”⁴⁶⁹.

In her doctoral thesis *Transforming Education in the Brazilian Countryside* she states:

“In this dissertation, I deal with this question directly, analyzing how a contentious social movement implements its goals within the bureaucratic state apparatus. The answer should be relevant to anyone who wants to know, concretely, if and when **another world is possible.**”

Within her thesis Tarlau puts forward the argument that educators have a moral obligation to link their classroom teaching time to promoting socialist movements.

Dr. Tarlau describes her marriage to Manuel Rosaldo, an activist with Brazil’s Landless Workers’ Movement (MST) In *Occupying School, Occupying Land* .

MST is affiliated with PSUV/PCC and has collaborated many times with the Venezuelan government⁴⁷⁰. The Cuban Revolution is cited as an inspirational model for MST and MST has received land and financial support from the PSUV government⁴⁷¹.

Academics and Activists Collaborate Directly with Nicolas Maduro



⁴⁶⁹ Penn State College of Education. Dr. Rebecca Tarlau. <https://ed.psu.edu/directory/dr-rebecca-tarlau>

⁴⁷⁰ Fania Rodrigues. MST Brigade in Venezuela: 12 years of agro-ecological production. <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2017/11/07/mst-brigade-in-venezuela-12-years-of-agro-ecological-production>

⁴⁷¹ ALBA-TCP. President Maduro: The Landless Movement of Brazil is the Landed Movement in Venezuela. <https://www.albatcp.org/en/2024/09/10/president-maduro-the-landless-movement-of-brazil-is-the-landed-movement-in-venezuela/>

Red Books Day 2001 was an event intended to promote the continued relevance of Karl Marx's publications as a guide for political action. This PSUV-supported event had numerous participants from the United States, which included the following persons:

- Gerald Horne - Chair of History and African American Studies at the University of Houston
- Vijay Prashad - Chair in South Asian History at Trinity College
- Jodi Dean - Political Science professor at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in New York
- Charisse Burden-Stelly - Professor of Africana Studies & Political Science at Carleton
- Phil Agnew – Founder of the Dream Defenders, former Senior Advisor for the Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign

Context: Parallels with CCP Infiltration of International Educational Organizations

In *El Estado Cubano y la Academia Latinoamericanista: Una Mirada al Poder Incisivo* (*The Cuban State and the Latin American Academy: A Look at Sharp Power*), Armando Chaguaceda - a historian, political scientist, and Principal Researcher in NGO Government and Political Analysis for the Wilson Center - describes how Cuba's Communist regime "has dedicated mass resources and worked with determination, sophistication and coherence for distorting perceptions and limiting the public criticism of its authoritarian system" at both the domestic and international levels.

In this and other works, Chaguaceda describes how, domestically, the Cuban Communist Party exercises vigilance over academic appointments and editorial control over publications. Internationally, the Party-backed academics employed at Cuban state universities engage in the institutional capture of transnational academic organizations such as The Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA) and the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO). This is accomplished via the large number of Cuban academics in leadership positions within these organizations. Once in positions of organizational power, these Communist Party-affiliated academics exert influence on the "topics, compositions, (and) panels" held at events, to supervise research activities on Cuba, and to influence what is published in academic journals - thereby impacting hiring practices, which are often based on history of successful publications and participation in conferences. It is this power that Chaguaceda means by *poder incisivo*, sharp power. An example of this would include a Colonel and member of Cuba's Ministry of the Interior presenting at a LASA Conference⁴⁷².

As described in a research article on the Chinese Communist Party by Sarah Cook - the former Research Director on China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan for Freedom House - sharp power is a method to coerce the public sphere in a manner that "impairs free expression, neutralizes independent institutions, and distorts the political environment"⁴⁷³. Exercise of sharp power is thus not exclusive to the Cuban context, but the Chinese as well.

Finding open source examples of this in the U.S. context, which involves private, unpublished correspondence, are difficult to locate. Sharp power related to suspension, hiring and firing practices at the workplace, however, can be somewhat easier to identify as they rely on demonstrating that a worker has a movement that will act on their behalf.

⁴⁷² Nora Gámez Torres. Cuban intelligence colonel says he is an academic now, blames the U.S. for July 11 protests. <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/cuba/article261202817.html>

⁴⁷³ Sarah Cook. China's Global Media Footprint: Democratic Responses to Expanding Authoritarian Influence <https://www.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Chinas-Global-Media-Footprint-Democratic-Responses-to-Expanding-Authoritarian-Influence-Cook-Feb-2021.pdf>

Three examples of this follow below.

Hiring Practices at UMASS

Two of the persons cited above as being affiliated with Venezuelan-government sponsored networks, Joya Misra and Agustin Lao-Montes, are listed as the search committee co-chairs for a tenure-track assistant or associate professor position at The Department of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts Amherst⁴⁷⁴.

Suspension of Jodi Dean



Following Jodi Dean's suspension, the Progressive International released a statement - signed by numerous individuals that are affiliated with the PSUV and PCC, demanding that she be reinstated⁴⁷⁶.

Hiring of Jared Ball

Dr Jared Ball is an Associate Professor of Communication Studies at Morgan State University⁴⁷⁷.

Some of the persons providing statements of support for his hiring include⁴⁷⁸:

- Arlene Eisen - An activist affiliated with the Cuban-government supported OPSAAL and former staff writer for VenezuelaAnalysis
- Abby Martin - Former TeleSUR contractor
- Bob Brown - who described himself in the letter as:
 - "a member of Chicago CORE (1963- 1968), director of the Midwest Office of SNCC in Chicago (1967 – 1968), founder and member of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP and Midwest organizer(1968 – 1969) and an organizer for the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (1967 – 2016). I had the honor to serve as one of Kwame Ture's (Stokely Carmichael's) political secretaries (1967 – 1998)

⁴⁷⁴ Native American and Indigenous Studies Association. Sociology – Assistant Professor of Gender/Feminisms, Ethnography, and the Global South <https://naisa.org/job/sociology-assistant-professor-of-gender-feminisms-ethnography-and-the-global-south/>

⁴⁷⁵ Party for Socialism and Liberation - Portland. https://www.instagram.com/pslportland/p/C-ZHyZKvVWQ/?img_index=2

⁴⁷⁶ Progressive International. No to the new McCarthyism! Solidarity with Jodi Dean!. <https://progressiveinternational.wire/2024-06-01-no-to-the-new-mccarthyism-solidarity-with-jodi-dean/en>

⁴⁷⁷ Center for Critical Race + Digital Studies. Jared Ball. <https://www.criticalracedigitalstudies.com/people/jared>

⁴⁷⁸ Jared Ball. Supplemental Accolades and Statements of Support. <https://imixwhatilike.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/supplemental-accolades-and-statements-of-support.pdf>

- Margaret Kimberley - Editor and Senior Columnist of Black Agenda Reports that has received multiple invitations from the PSUV to help legitimize elections⁴⁷⁹.
- Deysun Troo - Activist affiliated with the African People's Socialist Party⁴⁸⁰.

Firing of Anthony Monteiro



Anthony Monteiro, pictured above wearing a keffiyeh, at a Tribute to Fidel Castro held in Philadelphia on January 28, 2017. Other attendees and presenters included current and former members of:

All African People's Revolutionary Party; Coalición Fortaleza Latina Pennsylvania; International Action Center Philadelphia; MOVE Organization; Workers World Party; Party for Socialism & Liberation; Philadelphia Coalition for REAL Justice; Palestinian writer and human rights activist Susan Abulhawa; and IFCO/Pastors for Peace⁴⁸¹.

According to those present: "The program concluded with former Temple University professor Dr. Anthony Monteiro calling on the audience to continue Cuba's example of steadfast resistance when fighting the Trump administration."

Protests to Rehire Anthony Monteiro

On May 8, a rally was held at Temple University in Philadelphia which called for the rehiring of Dr. Anthony Monteiro and the firing of Dean Teresa Soufas.

Rally speakers and organizers included :

- Dr. Cornel West
- Marc Lamont Hill
- Pam Africa
- State Rep. Curtis Thomas
- Henry Nicholas, president of Service Employees Union 1199C
- Sabrina Sample with People United for Real Power
- Dr. Rhone Fraser
- Rev. Renee McKenzie-Hayward of the Church of the Advocate
- Joe Piette with the Phair Hiring Coalition
- Rose Daraz from Temple Students for Justice in Palestine
- Patrice Armstead of Building Peoples Power

⁴⁷⁹ Black Agenda Radio. International Solidarity with Venezuela's Fight Against Coercive Measures. <https://www.blackagendareport.com/international-solidarity-venezuelas-fight-against-coercive-measures>

⁴⁸⁰ Spear Staff. Black August event wins support for Black Power 96.3 FM Radio. <https://theburningspear.com/black-august-event-wins-support-for-black-power-963-fm-radio/>

⁴⁸¹ Betsy Piette. Unity and diversity at Tribute to Fidel. <https://www.workers.org/2017/02/29510/>

- Paul Winston Cange at the time a Temple University student, currently now a Trial Attorney at the U.S. Department of Labor Office of the Regional Solicitor⁴⁸².
- Others

“This rally follows weeks of student protests, sit-ins, community marches, and the collection of over 1,000 signatures on petitions to Temple University President Neil Theobald. As the rally ended, dozens of students moved onto Broad Street, blocking traffic to drive home their -demands.”

Statement from Democratic Socialists of America National Political Committee

On April 21, 2014, the National Political Committee of DSA Published a statement to support “the reinstatement with tenure of Dr. Anthony Monteiro as a full-time faculty member in the Department of African-American Studies at Temple University...”⁴⁸³

Context: U.S. Parallels with the Communist Party of Peru - Shining Path Founding

In *How Difficult It Is to Be God: Shining Path's Politics of War in Peru, 1980–1999*, Carlos Iván Degregori describes the growth of the terrorist group Shining Path. Starting from a small group of Marxist academics located in the Ayacucho Region of Peru led by Abimael Guzman, the group grows to an organization that would be responsible for many acts of terrorism and the murder and disappearance of thousands. One of the ways in which they were able to accomplish was through the dissemination of militant communist ideology within colleges and lower schools.

“These texts helped to create and/or strengthen a common-sense understanding of social science as a closed system of universal truths, a common sense that appealed to the “principle of authority” to legitimate itself, and that considered politics fundamentally in terms of confrontation, head-on clashes, and elimination of the adversary. The existence of this common sense contributed to establishing the bases for the expansion of the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path, among certain clusters of university youth, and to ideologically disarming many others in the face of the Senderista advance.”

There is extensive overlap between the Abolitionist Teaching movement and Gonzalo Thought, the term used to describe the ideological doctrine developed by Abimael Guzmán.

Abolitionist Teaching and the Future of Our Schools is a video produced by Haymarket Books, a publisher formerly affiliated with the International Socialist Organization. The video features Bettina Love, the William F. Russell Professorship at Teachers College, Columbia University⁴⁸⁴. In the video she states “Abolitionism is anti-capitalism. Destroying capitalism is part of our freedom dream, it’s part of our long term goals.” The video also features Dena Simmons, the former Assistant Director at the Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence⁴⁸⁵. Shortly after Bettina’s comments she stated: “We have to eradicate whiteness, we have to abolish whiteness as well.”

⁴⁸² Paul-Winston Cange. LinkedIn Profile <https://www.linkedin.com/in/paul-winston-cange-0b9a46bb/>

⁴⁸³ Democratic Socialists of America. Statement on the Firing of Dr. Anthony Monteiro from Temple University’s African American Studies Department. https://www.dsasa.org/statements/statement_monteiro/

⁴⁸⁴ Columbia University. Bettina L. Love. <https://www.tc.columbia.edu/faculty/bl2938/>

⁴⁸⁵ Beatriz Horta & Zaporah Price. ‘Threatened, devalued and tokenized’: Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence Assistant Director resigns over workplace racism. <https://yaledailynews.com/blog/2021/01/26/threatened-devalued-and-tokenized-yale-center-for-emotional-intelligence-assistant-director-resigns-over-workplace-racism/>

This use of high-level abstractions to dehumanize others and turn them into a feindbild, an image of one's enemy, was the same sort of rhetorical language used by Shining Path. While we cite here only examples of such language, it is replicated widely across the "abolitionist", "liberatory" and "critical" schools of teacher's education.

Context: U.S. Educator Unions Mirror Venezuelan Political Interests



(Left) American Federation of Teachers (AFT) President Randi Weingarten and California Federation of Teacher's (CFT) former president Josh Pechthalt in Chile at a protest with the logo of the Trotskyist Fourth internationale. (Right) Covers of California Teacher Magazine.

Two months before President Donald J. Trump won the 2016 election, Joshua Pechthalt shares in the pages of California Teacher that he has been "hearing from CFT members who supported Donald Trump and are not happy that the CFT is sticking its nose into politics".

Paralleling the rhetorical tropes used by the Communist groups Pechthalt and Weingarten had met three years before in Chile, as well as those which that direct the Venezuelan state, Pechthalt states that despite CFT members being unhappy with the CFT's turn to politics, he feels that "The similarities with the rise of fascism in Europe in the 1930s, and the growing neo-fascist movement now gaining traction" compels him to direct the union towards Resistance. Beyond mere rhetoric, Pechthalt announces CFT will partner with several local social movements that are affiliated with the United States Social Forum.

The CFT's 75th Convention in 2017 provides further examples of their organization politicization. Several resolutions far outside the scope of traditional union activity were passed, including resolutions to⁴⁸⁶:

- Make International Workers Day (May 1st) a State Holiday
- Oppose the Dakota Access Pipeline
- End the Trump Regime
- Support Statewide Efforts to Oppose Trumps' Attack on Education
- Defend Sanctuary Cities

Notably, all of the aforementioned projects have been advanced and supported by SATAN that have participated in the United States Social Forum. The CFT resolution – to End the Trump Regime – is a empty signal which is a mirror image of the No Más Trump campaign undertaken by the PSUV.

Critical Infrastructure

The activities could aim to:

- (a) degrade the quality of the offered goods and services (e.g. reduce availability, reliability)
- (b) destroy key parts of an infrastructure

⁴⁸⁶ Convention 2017. Resolutions Committee Report. https://www.cft.org/sites/main/files/file-attachments/2017_cft-convention-resolutions-committee-report.pdf?1547665912

- (c) increase their cost of operation
- (d) affect the demand, putting the infrastructure under pressure
- (e) reduce/remove redundancies and cause one-sided dependencies on the hostile actor
- (f) acquire or limit access to key resources needed for their functionality (raw materials, technology, expertise, etc.), and more.

*

Organized Resistance to Dakota Access Pipeline

From April 2016 to February 2017, a series of encampments on private land, demonstrations outside banks and on university campuses, and media campaigns sought to prevent Energy Transfer Partners from being able to complete the installation of the Dakota Access Pipeline and threaten the financiers of the project. The PSUV, whose operational funds comes primarily from oil revenues, certainly had interest in such actions. As the below shows, the PSUV had cultivated relationships with many of the persons involved.

The below section is organized according to a categorization schema described by Venezuelan Ambassador to New Orleans, Jesus “Chucho” Garia in an interview with Dr. Horacio Xaubet at North Carolina Central University⁴⁸⁷. The schema described by Chucho is that of the “matrix of Afro-Indigenous-Socialism”. Chucho describes this as a means by which he and his comrades within the Venezuelan Communist Party are able to achieve policy goals in the São Paulo Forum and how São Paulo Forum member groups are able to exert political pressure within their host nations.

The “matrix” he refers to describes the formation of coalitions - of parties, unions, and social movement networks concerned with “Afro” issues, Indigenous issues, and Socialist revolution - combining to act in a concerted manner to affect policy changes. As the below shows, such as “matrix” is discernible within the myriad groups that participated in the resistance organized to halt the Dakota Access Pipeline.

Black Nationalist Organizations

All-African People’s Revolutionary Party

- Demonstrations outside banks in Palo Alto, support of Standing Rock protests⁴⁸⁸.

Black Panther Party

- Engaged in media relations at Standing Rock⁴⁸⁹.
- Trained 30-40 people in “conditioning and hand-to-hand combat”⁴⁹⁰.

⁴⁸⁷ Horacio Xaubet and Jesus “Chucho” Garcia. AfroTeaching and AfroLearning: Nurturing and Revealing AfroEpistemes and AfroHistory with Jesus “Chucho” Garcia at NCCU. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xsvynxMgHI0E&list=PLa85gFiVbBde0S-0Zrikbw45evqfrLoL5&index=150&t=2s>

⁴⁸⁸ Alliance in Solidarity with Standing Rock (Midpen & South Bay). <https://actionnetwork.org/groups/alliance-in-solidarity-of-standing-rock>

⁴⁸⁹ Unicorn Riot. Fred Hampton Jr. Speaks on Solidarity w/ Standing Rock & #NoDAPL Frontline Struggle [11.2016].

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x2OjnsJucSI>

⁴⁹⁰ Tiger Swan. November 9, 2016 Report. <https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/3762268/SITREP-058-11-9-16-Redacted.pdf>

Indigenous Tribes

Many tribes participated in the organized resistance to the Standing Rock Pipeline had previously received money from Venezuela.

Tribes that Blocked Oil Pipeline Installation by Energy Transfer Partners	Did Tribe received reduced cost oil from Venezuela via Citizens Energy
Penobscot	Yes ⁴⁹¹
Mi'kmaq/Micmac	Yes ⁴⁹²
Cheyenne River Sioux	Yes ⁴⁹³
Port Gamble S'Klallam	Yes ⁴⁹⁴
Oglala Lakota	Yes ⁴⁹⁵
Secwepemc	Yes ⁴⁹⁶
Northern Cheyenne	Yes ⁴⁹⁷
Crow Creek Sioux	Yes ⁴⁹⁸
Lower Brule Sioux	Yes ⁴⁹⁹
Confederated Salish	Yes ⁵⁰⁰
Kootenai	Yes ⁵⁰¹
Mohawk Nation	Yes ⁵⁰²
Hunkpapa Lakota	Yes ⁵⁰³
S'Klallam Tribe	Yes ⁵⁰⁴
Blackfeet Tribe	Yes ⁵⁰⁵
Salish/Suquamish	Yes ⁵⁰⁶

⁴⁹¹ <https://www.penobscotnation.org/departments/social-services/citgo>

⁴⁹² <https://tonyseeds.wordpress.com/2013/03/07/hugo-chavez-oil-and-maine/>

⁴⁹³ <http://citizensenergy.com/assistance-programs/tribal-heating-assistance-program>

⁴⁹⁴ <http://citizensenergy.com/assistance-programs/tribal-heating-assistance-program>

⁴⁹⁵ <https://www.lakotacountrytimes.com/articles/official-from-venezuela-and-citgo-to-visit-pine-ridge/>

⁴⁹⁶ <http://www.firethistime.net/newspapers/FTTV1219.pdf>

⁴⁹⁷ <http://citizensenergy.com/news/press-releases/citizens-energy-delivers-heating-grants-native-american-tribes-0>

⁴⁹⁸ <http://citizensenergy.com/news/press-releases/citizens-energy-delivers-heating-grants-native-american-tribes-0>

⁴⁹⁹ <http://citizensenergy.com/news/press-releases/citizens-energy-delivers-heating-grants-native-american-tribes-1>

⁵⁰⁰ <http://citizensenergy.com/news/press-releases/citizens-energy-delivers-heating-grants-native-american-tribes-2>

⁵⁰¹ <http://citizensenergy.com/news/press-releases/citizens-energy-delivers-heating-grants-native-american-tribes-3>

⁵⁰² <https://www.northcountrypublicradio.org/news/story/8362/20061130/for-mohawks-citgo-spells-relief>

⁵⁰³ <https://bloximages.newyork1.vip.townnews.com/tribaltribune.com/content/tncms/assets/v3/editorial/7/4e/74e0d42e-a724-11e4-8ae6-a390705c6574/54c9396726c2f.pdf.pdf>

⁵⁰⁴ https://jamestowntribe.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/2014_Annual_Report.pdf

⁵⁰⁵ <https://citizensenergy.com/pressrelease/citizens-energy-delivers-heating-grants-to-native-american-tribes/>

⁵⁰⁶ https://www.charkoosta.com/news/from-venezuelans-hearts-to-ours/article_3aaf96e4-0ce7-5761-88eb-243a25ca30b5.html

Indigenous Organizations

Red Nation

Founder travels to Venezuela



Nick Estes, profesor estadounidense de la Universidad de Nuevo México y ciudadano de la tribu Sioux, agradece a los pueblos originarios por el recibimiento "Venezuela está conectada con los pueblos indígenas de norteamérica".

#IndígenasEnCombate

[Translate post](#)



From pscp.tv

5:52 PM · Oct 31, 2019

- Nick Estes, one of the lead organizers for Red Nation, traveled to Venezuela and gave a public statement to Nicolás Maduro that “our enemy is the same”⁵⁰⁷.
- Estes stated in an interview: “We have comrades and relatives around the world, so we try to be in alliance with those movements as well. We have groups studying what’s happening in Venezuela right now with the U.S.-backed coup, and we have people working on Guatemala.”⁵⁰⁸

American Indian Movement

International Meeting of Resistance and Solidarity of Indigenous Peoples and Peasants

Held in Caracas, Venezuela on October 12, 2003, three members of the American Indian Movement Grand Governing Council - Robert Cruz of the Tohono Q'odham Nation, Daniel Yang of the Anishinabe Ojibwe Nation, and Vernon Bellecourt of the Anishinabe Ojibwe Nation - attended this event⁵⁰⁹.

First International Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Indigenous Peoples of America

Held in Caracas, Venezuela on August 7-9, 2007 - Robert Cruz, Tohono O'odham from Arizona and member of the International Indian Treaty Council and Vernon Belcourt of the American Indian Movement and Robert “Free” Galvan attended the event. Robert Galvan describes the event as follows: “Indians met

⁵⁰⁷ Cancillería Venezuela. <https://x.com/cancilleriave/status/1190023800164884483>

⁵⁰⁸ Allen Brown. A Lakota Historian on What Climate Organizers Can Learn From Two Centuries of Indigenous Resistance. <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/07/nick-estes-our-history-is-the-future-indigenous-resistance/>

⁵⁰⁹ American Indian Movement Grand Governing Council. PRESS STATEMENT: October 12, 2003 <http://www.aimovement.org/oiipr/Caracas2003.html>

with the Venezuelan people, government and communities to build awareness, solidarity and strong bonds to help each other with their struggles.⁵¹⁰

Statement Solidarity of Cuba and Venezuela by AIM-WEST

AIM-West is an affiliate of AIM.

A December 1, 2019, press release by AIM-West included the following statement: "We declare our full solidarity and support to the governments and people of Cuba and Venezuela; We say U.S. Hands Off Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba and all of the Americas!"⁵¹¹.

AIM-WEST meets with Venezuelan Government Official

On October 10th or 11th, 2010 in San Francisco Martin Sanchez, then acting as an consular officer for the Venezuelan government, met with Antonio Gonzales, the director of AIM-WEST, at the International Film Festival⁵¹².

Indigenous Environmental Network

Tom Goldtooth, the Executive Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network and Grassroots Global Justice.

- Participated in the Social PreCOP held on Margarita Island, Venezuela⁵¹³.
- Participated in the Continental Convergence for Democracy and Against Neoliberalism in Havana, Cuba⁵¹⁴.
- Participated in the 2007 Social Forum in Atlanta, while there he shared the following statement⁵¹⁵:
 - "This was really an awesome opportunity for the indigenous people of the U.S. to develop family with indigenous people from the South, delegations from Guatemala, from Chile and Argentina who were here... It really provided us an opportunity to develop a family."
- Indigenous persons from Ecuador joined the Standing Rock encampment⁵¹⁶.
- Indigenous persons from Canada joined the Standing Rock encampment⁵¹⁷.
- Indigenous persons from Chile joined the Standing Rock encampment⁵¹⁸.
- Indigenous persons from Panama joined the Standing Rock encampment⁵¹⁹.
- Indigenous persons from Mexico, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina participated⁵²⁰.

⁵¹⁰ Brenda Norrell. American Indians in Venezuela Create Bonds of Solidarity. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/news/2647/>

⁵¹¹ American Indian Movement - West. American Indian Movement West: No to Bolivia coup! Hands off Venezuela, Cuba!

<https://www.liberationnews.org/american-indian-movement-west-no-to-bolivia-coup-hands-off-venezuela-cuba/>

⁵¹² AIM-West. AIM Film Fest Best Do 'Hawaii, a Voice for Sovereignty'. <https://bsnorrell.blogspot.com/2010/10/aim-film-fest-best-doc-hawaii-voice-for.html>

⁵¹³ Climate Connections. Earth Watch: Tom Goldtooth from the Venezuelan Social PreCOP. <https://climate-connections.org/tag/venezuela-social-pre-cop/>

⁵¹⁴ Climate Justice Alliance. Tom Goldtooth of the Indigenous Environmental Network at the Continental Convergence in Havana, Cuba.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yQl6qk8g3b4>

⁵¹⁵ Common Dreams. US Social Forum Forges Common Ground. <https://www.commondreams.org/news/2007/07/03/us-social-forum-forges-common-ground>

⁵¹⁶ Rick Kearns. Solidarity From the South: Indigenous Leaders From Ecuador Come to Standing Rock. <https://ictnews.org/archive/solidarity-from-the-south-indigenous-leaders-from-ecuador-come-to-standing-rock>

⁵¹⁷ Leonard Monkman. Indigenous people from Winnipeg join Standing Rock protest camp in North Dakota. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/indigenous-from-winnipeg-join-standing-rock-1.3732196>

⁵¹⁸ Justin Worland and Josh Raab. Standing Rock Video Portraits Show How Protesters Are Preparing for a Long Winter. <https://time.com/4587733/standing-rock-dapl-protest-video/>

⁵¹⁹ Nicolás Alonso. Indígenas latinoamericanos se solidarizan con la protesta sioux contra un oleoducto en Estados Unidos.

https://elpais.com/internacional/2016/11/02/estados_unidos/1478048711_259194.html

⁵²⁰ Changemakers. #7 Fighting Dirty – Standing Rock. <https://changemakerspodcast.org/s1-episode-7-fighting-dirty-standing-rock/>

Socialists

Doctors trained at Latin American School of Medicine (ELAM) in Cuba

- In an interview, ELAM graduate Dr. Revery P. Barnes explained that going to Standing Rock is their duty, describing her participation as follows: “with the acceptance of a full scholarship to medical school at ELAM, we made the moral commitment to respond to the needs of our most vulnerable communities here at home in the US.”⁵²¹

Institute for Policy Studies

- The Institute for Policy Studies divested from SunTrust banks, one of the banks financing the Standing Rock pipeline, and encouraged others to do the same⁵²².

Boston School Bus Drivers Union

- On Sept. 22, the Boston School Bus Drivers Union passed “a motion to contribute funds to the Red Warrior Camp and the bail fund for youth arrested in Charlotte passed unanimously, with the latter drawing a friendly amendment to increase the amount originally proposed”⁵²³.
- Andre François, the Boston School Bus Drivers Union President, participated in a Standing Rock solidarity event held on the Boston Commons on November 9, 2016⁵²⁴.

Party for Socialism and Liberation

- Maile Hampton, a member of Party for Socialism and Liberation, participated in the Standing Rock for several weeks⁵²⁵.
- Gloria la Riva, the Presidential Candidate of the Party for Socialism and Liberation, supported the Standing Rock Protests⁵²⁶.

National Nurses Union

- Through its Registered Nurse Response Network (RNRN), a national network of volunteer RNs, National Nurses Union facilitate the deployment nurse volunteers to assist with first aid needs of protestors at Standing Rock⁵²⁷.
- The Presidents of the National Nurses Union, Jean Ross and Deborah Burger, wrote Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch requesting that she support Standing Rock protestors⁵²⁸.
- National Nurses Union donated \$50,000 to U.S. service veterans at Standing Rock⁵²⁹.
- National Nurses Union’s support of the Standing Rock protests is featured in Continuing Education coursework for nurses whose goals include “Identify recent resistance movements targeting discrimination and racism in the United States”. The materials reviewed in the Continuing Education Coursework includes:
 - Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy.
 - Advocacy on behalf of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) - a treaty the United States is not a party to.

⁵²¹ TeleSUR. Cuba-Trained Doctors Head To Standing Rock. <https://popularresistance.org/cuba-trained-doctors-head-to-standing-rock/>

⁵²² John Cavanagh and Domenica Ghanem. Force the Banks Out of Standing Rock. Dec. 19, 2016. <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/civil-wars/articles/2016-12-19/stand-with-standing-rock-move-your-money-out-of-banks-funding-dapl>

⁵²³ Martha Grevatt. Boston union aids Standing Rock, Charlotte resistance. <https://www.workers.org/2016/09/27084/>

⁵²⁴ Kathy Durkin. Solidarity with Indigenous sovereignty. <https://www.workers.org/2016/11/27829/>

⁵²⁵ Maile Hampton. Eyewitness Standing Rock: Brutality and resistance. <https://www.liberationnews.org/eyewitness-standing-rock-brutality-resistance/>

⁵²⁶ Party for Socialism and Liberation. <https://x.com/pslnational/status/791861482128547840>

⁵²⁷ National Nurses Union. NO DAPL Solidarity. <https://www.nationalnursesunion.org/nodapl>

⁵²⁸ Deborah Burger, Jean Ross. National Nurses Union Letter to Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch.

<https://www.nationalnursesunion.org/sites/default/files/nnu/files/pdf/NNU-Letter-to-Attorney-General-NoDAPL.pdf>

⁵²⁹ Nurses Donate \$50,000 to Aid Veterans Stand with Standing Rock

- Promotion of the ideas of 'white fragility' and 'structural racism'.

Intelligence

"Intelligence is the process by which specific types of information important to national security are requested, collected, analyzed and provided to policymakers; the products of that process; the safeguarding of these processes and this information by counterintelligence activities; and the carrying out of operations as requested by lawful authorities. Intelligence provides decision-makers with situational awareness, a must for strategic and security-related decisions. Therefore, intelligence activities need to be designed and implemented to meet the need identified by decision-makers or implied by their policy guidance."

*

The activities described in the previous eleven strategic domains demonstrate that many individuals, both U.S. citizens and illegal residents, as well as the organizations with which they operate, view themselves as allied to the geopolitical goals of the PSUV and PCC. Through these affiliates, Venezuela and Cuba's state intelligence services are able to influence U.S. politics and policymakers at the local, state, and federal level across a variety of thematic interests - immigration, environmental, civil society, macro-economic policy, labor rights, racial issues, judicial and constitutional matters, etc.

While SATAN has grown in political influence across the U.S. seemingly unnoticed - many of the best financially recompensed political commentators struggle to give an accurate description of how the "woke left" came into being - by analysing recent U.S. history via the PITA methodology it becomes clear that the persons and groups now seen as exercising influence and power have their origins in a long series of efforts aimed at developing a "new historical block" within the U.S. A highly abridged sample of such networking events includes:

- First South-South Exchange, 1999
- Second South-North Exchange, 2000
- 3rd Gathering of People's Movements of the Americas, 2001
- Durban Conference, 2001
- Convergence of Movements of the Peoples of the Americas, 2002
- Bi-national border Exchanges (2001 - 2006)
- Environmental Justice Summit I-II (2002)
- Founding and subsequent activities of the Colombia Action Network
- World Youth Festival in Venezuela, 2005
- Boston Social Forum, 2005
- Venezuela Solidarity Conference, 2006
- SouthEast Social Forum, 2006
- Foro Social Fronterizo, 2006
- Foro Social Puerto Rico, 2006
- III Foro Social de las Américas, 2008
- Latin American Solidarity Conference, 2009
- Capitalism is Criminal, Socialism Conference, 2009
- US Social Forum II, Detroit 2010
- Southern Human Rights Organizers Conference, 2010 - present
- Midwest Socialism Conference, 2011

- Southern People's Movement Assembly for a Just Transition, 2015
- Left Forums
- Walter Rodney Foundation Symposium, 2016
- Founding of the EcoSocialist International, 2017
- Sao Paulo Forums in the U.S. 2017 - present

Through these and literally hundreds of other convergences as well as tens of thousands of other collaborative actions, a complex “network of networks” was developed and relationships deepened enabling the PSUV and PCC to provide financial and operational support to U.S. activists through a wide variety of methods.

Context: PSUV's Clandestine/Terrorist/Foreign Party Allies

Before evaluating journalistic and academic writings on SATAN, summarizing the report, and providing a final assessment - examples of groups affiliated with the PSUV and operating in the USA are described at length to highlight how the intelligence which can be developed from open source is limited.

This is because PSUV-affiliates in the U.S. includes:

1. A clandestine, revolutionary political network that acts to hide its size and activities.
2. Members of the political parties formed by a Designated Terrorist Organizations.

Provisional Communist Party

In *On the Edge: Political Cults Right and Left*, Dennis Tourish and Tim Wohlforth state that the Provisional Community Party has “between one hundred and three hundred core members” and “operates over forty entities scattered around the country, which involve a few thousand volunteers and entity members, while still recruiting fresh forces from the campuses”⁵³⁰. In addition to the Midwest Workers Association, these front organizations include the Eastern Farm Workers Association, the Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals (New York and San Francisco), the Coalition of Concerned Legal Professionals (Bay Area and Philadelphia), the Eastern Service Workers Association (Upstate New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia), the Western Massachusetts Labor Action (Pittsfield), and the California Homemakers Association (San Francisco and Sacramento). The typical entity has the appearance of a social work organization. Its announced purpose is to act as a “mutual benefit organization” to aid the poor. The entity is neither registered as a trade union nor as a nonprofit organization. Therefore, there is no obligation to make any accounting for its funds”.

Because the PCP operates these fronts as a mutual benefit organization, practices operational security according to a clandestine cell system, and the cadres they recruit “are required to live in communal dwellings where they can be watched over closely by the leadership,” little is known about the PCP’s operational core besides the published testimony of former members – such as Sonja Larsen’s *Red Star Tattoo: My Life as a Girl Revolutionary*, the arrest records linked to the FBI and New York City police department’s raid of their compound, and PCP documents published on Marxists.org.

The activities of PCP’s NATLFED front organizations are more visible. These front groups, among other activities, engage in support operations for the implementation of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals in the United States. Because of this lack of easily-available open-source information about the PCP core, its relation to the NATLFED fronts, and clear allegiance to Venezuela, PCP should be seen unquestionably as a political partner with the Maduro government and a likely recipient of illicit financial support.

FARC-EP Affiliates

Emiliano Lemos - Case Study



⁵³⁰ Dennis Tourish and Tim Wohlforth. *On the Edge: Political Cults Right and Left*. <https://amzn.to/3VieQEY>

In a September 25, 2016 article published in the Los Angeles Times, Emiliano Lemos discloses that the reason for his fleeing Colombia was result of activities on behalf of the Patriotic Union (UP, Unión Patriótica)⁵³¹. UP was founded to act as the political front of the FARC-EP.

Open-source documents show that after emigrating to the United States, Emiliano Lemos remained politically linked to the FARC-EP.

Collaboration with the United Nations

Documents produced by the Constituency of Political Exiles Persecuted by the Colombian State, such as the Final Declaration of a Constituent Assembly held November 13-15, 2014 in Bilbao, Spain, show this organization to be recognized by the United Nations⁵³².

Attended the 10th Conference of the FARC-EP



The 10th Conference of the FARC-EP was held on September 16 in Sabanas del Yuri, Meta to celebrate the signing of the peace agreement in Havana and the transformation of the FARC from a military group into a political party. Emiliano Lemos was present.

Demands Release of FARC-EP Prisoners

On July 4th, 2017 Resumen Latinoamericano published a statement of solidarity with the FARC-EP and a list of signatures titled *From Bolivarian, Internationalist Venezuela and the Peoples of the World, Our Voice of Solidarity with the Prisoners of the FARC-EP*⁵³³.

The statement describes “the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, not only as a country... but also as a revolutionary and internationalist popular movement”. Emiliano Lemos is one of the signatories on a list of demands which includes the release of jailed members of the FARC-EP and advocates for demonstrations outside of Colombian courthouses.

Other signatories include numerous Venezuelan-government affiliated and financially sponsored organizations such as Bolivarian Continental Movement (MCB), ALBA TV, and Simón Bolívar Coordinator

⁵³¹ Kate Linthicum. After five decades in the jungle, Colombian guerrillas get a PR makeover as they prepare for peace. <https://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-colombia-farc-peace-snap-story.html>

⁵³² Exiliados perseguidos por el Estado y el Paramilitarismo colombiano. DECLARACIÓN FINAL - Encuentro de Constituyentes de Exiliados/as perseguidos/as por el Estado Colombiano.

<https://www.prensarural.org/spip/IMG/pdf/constituvente-exiliados.pdf>

⁵³³ Resumen Latinoamericano. Desde la Venezuela bolivariana, internacionalista y los pueblos del mundo, nuestra voz de solidaridad con las y los prisioneros de las FARC-EP. <https://www.resumenlatinoamericano.org/2017/07/05/desde-la-venezuela-bolivariana-internacionalista-y-los-pueblos-del-mundo-nuestra-voz-de-solidaridad-con-las-y-los-prisioneros-de-las-farc-ep/>

- all organizations which help to coordinate CastroChavist activism across Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. This document also identifies that Lemos is a member of the Constituency of Political Exiles Persecuted by the Colombian State (Constituyente de Exiliados/as Políticos Perseguidos por el Estado Colombiano).

'Solidarity' with the FARC-EP

In a May 4, 2018 article also published on Resumen Latino, titled International solidarity campaign "Freedom for Jesús Santrich" #SantrichLibre (UPDATED LIST OF signatures), Emiliano Lemos again expresses solidarity with the FARC-EP.

Support of Gustavo Petro/Jesús Santrich

In a document titled Victims want an era of peace, Lemos gives his endorsement of Gustavo Petro as presidential candidate during his 2018 campaign.

As can be seen in the above photos captured from Emiliano Lemos' personal Twitter account, in 2019 he still considered himself to be affiliated with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) and Jesús Santrich⁵³⁴.

Affiliation with the Democratic Party, NAACP

- According to testimony given on March 16, 2011 at the Passaic, New Jersey Commission Meeting of Appointment, Mr. Lemos described himself as a "member of the Latino Action Network, a proud member of the Morris County Chapter of the NAACP" and then states he is running a campaign to be elected to the Dover Board of Education⁵³⁵.
- On the YouTube Page for Dover Democrats for Change, Emiliano Lemos personal request for support from voters^{536,537}.

Support for Democratic Party Candidates



Based on a review of his social media account - Emiliano Lemos supports several Democratic Party candidates for various offices.

Estimated size of the FARC-affiliated immigrant community in the United States

"Approximately 280,000 persons from Colombia were granted LPR status in the United States during FY 2002-12...⁵³⁸" Of these people, 44,800 were categorized as seeking asylum for political persecution.

⁵³⁴ Emiliano Lemos. X. <https://x.com/elemos1?lang=es>

⁵³⁵ Office of Legislative Services, Public Information Office - Passaic, New Jersey. Commission Meeting of Apportionment Commission. <https://www.apportionmentcommission.org/Documents/03-16-11%20APPC%20Passaic%20Complete.pdf>

⁵³⁶ Dover Democrats for Change. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/@doverdemocrats>

⁵³⁷ Dover Democrats for Change. YouTube. Emiliano LEMOS - Candidato para el CAMBIO en la Junta de Educacion de Dover. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FyB1gkUOGuM>

⁵³⁸ Migration Policy Institute. The Colombian Diaspora in the United States. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/RAD-Colombiaall.pdf>

Percent of Colombian Political Asylum Population 2002-2012	Potential Number of Undeclared FTO Affiliates in the United States
1%	448
5%	2240
10%	4480
15%	6720
20%	8960

Assuming that Emiliano Lemos is not an exception to this class of Colombians seeking asylum for political persecution - there is a potentially large number of persons in the U.S. that are acting in collaboration with the FARC-EP.

Context: Colombian Political Refugees in Spain

Published investigations on political asylees from Colombia that are affiliated with the Union Patriótica and the FARC-EP living in other countries are few, but insightful. Two works that does cover this subject are Tininiska Zanger Montoya's *Approach to the development of political exile as a discursive field following the Colombian Peace Process* and Jeisson Oswaldo Martínez-Leguizamo's *Colombian Exiles in Spain: Transnational Political Participation in the Timely Framework of the Peace Dialogues*. These researchers describe those fleeing due to their affiliation with the FARC-EP, Patriotic Union, the Clandestine Colombian Communist Party (PCCC) and others^{539,540}.

These articles verify that Colombian leftists linked to the FARC-EP continue their political activity to further the interests of criminal networks in their new country of residence. They do so by engaging in "homeland politics," in this instance defined by action taken to support the development of "new historical blocs" in their new country of residence.

In his description of Colombian activists in Spain, Martínez-Leguizamo states that: "the collectives of Colombians joined the mobilizations that arose after 2008, a moment that marks the beginning of the capitalist crisis in Spain. They have contributed to the foundation of and participated in the 15M Movement, the Platform of People Affected by Mortgages, the Networks of Popular Solidarity, the Marches for Dignity and the Marelas for Health, for Public Education and for the right to work." Activities they engaged in include carrying out "different actions to support social movements that are active in Colombia" and extended to solidarity work to help with "the achievement of Palestinian state".

⁵³⁹ Tininiska Zanger Montoya. Aproximación al desarrollo del exilio político como un campo discursivo a raíz del proceso de paz Colombiano. https://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.10881/ev.10881.pdf

⁵⁴⁰ Jeisson Oswaldo Martínez-Leguizamo. Exiliados colombianos en España: Participación política transnacional en el marco de oportunidad de los Diálogos de Paz. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6199057>

FMLN Affiliates

Francisco Pacheco - Case Study



- Co-founder of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network.
- Before emigrating to the U.S., Pacheco was a FMLN member known as ‘Capitán Genaro’⁵⁴¹.
- His work included introduction of “new belief systems like Marxism and Liberation Theology” to illiterate peasants⁵⁴².
- Pacheco was president of the DC chapter of National Network of Salvadorans in the Exterior (RENASE - Red Nacional de Salvadoreños en el Exterior), an organization which in 2013 consisted of a least seventy-seven (77) activists⁵⁴³.
- A session report from the first United States Social Forum in Atlanta dated describes Fernando Pacheco self-identifying himself as being “involved in the revolution”⁵⁴⁴. The two persons heading the panel in which Pacheco spoke were:
 - Sarita Gupta, Director of Jobs with Justice
 - Stewart Acuff: a member of Jobs with Justice, and the AFL-CIO
- In an interview by TeleSUR, Pacheco describes his organizations opposition to ICE⁵⁴⁵.

NDLON Activity

- Promoted strike activity on behalf of Black Lives Matters⁵⁴⁶.
- Participated in protests with ALBA Movimientos⁵⁴⁷.
- Participated in demonstrations against Immigration and Customs Enforcement⁵⁴⁸.

Admission to Collaboration with Brazil’s MST

Jorge Torres is an Ecuadorian national and a staff member of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network⁵⁴⁹.

He spoke on a panel at the People’s Forum in New York City on November 8, 2024 with Party for Socialism and Liberation members, Claudia De la Cruz, Brian Becker, and Eugene Puryear, in which he describes NDLON working with foreign communist networks:

⁵⁴¹ ContraPunto. Francisco Pacheco: esta es la última oportunidad para el FMLN. <https://www.contrapunto.com.sv/francisco-pacheco-esta-es-la-ultima-oportunidad-para-el-fmln/>

⁵⁴² Nik Theodore. Generative Work: Popular Education and Day Laborer Organizing in the U.S.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266405951_Generative_Work_Popular_Education_and_Day_Laborer_Organizing_in_the_US

⁵⁴³ COHA. The 2014 Presidential Elections in El Salvador and the Transnational Electorate. <https://coha.org/the-2014-presidential-elections-in-el-salvador-and-the-transnational-electorate/>

⁵⁴⁴ Chris Chase-Dunn. Session reports: U.S. Social Forum, Atlanta, June 26-July 1, 2007.

<https://irows.ucr.edu/research/tsmstudy/ussfreports/cdusfsessionreports.htm>

⁵⁴⁵ TeleSUR. Entrevista con Jorge Gestoso - Francisco Pacheco. <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x5muvvf>

⁵⁴⁶ National Day Laborer Organizing Network. Join the #StrikeForBlackLives today, July 20th! <https://www.instagram.com/daylaborernetwork/p/CC3m5jZAmHH/>

⁵⁴⁷ Languana.TV. Contra las sanciones y exclusiones: Activistas protestaron frente a la Cumbre de las Américas. <https://www.languana.tv/articulos/1054981-activistas-protestaron-frente-cumbre-america/>

⁵⁴⁸ National Day Laborer Organizing Network. #ICEoufofLA. https://www.instagram.com/p/DCH276bT0K3/?img_index=1

⁵⁴⁹ National Day Laborer Organizing Network. Meet Our Team. <https://ndlon.org/about-us/staff/>

“We made a decision that it was about time to organize local communities in popular committees across the country,” Torres said. “We decided to organize popular assemblies across the country. In around one month we organize almost 25 assemblies across the country. And now we have almost 45+ committees led by workers, led by undocumented people, led by people that really are directly impacted.” Torres also mentioned that NDLO is working closely with the Landless Rural Workers’ Movement (MST) in Brazil, speaking to deep ties of international solidarity.”

New People’s Army Affiliates

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CCP) and its armed wing, the New People’s Army (NPA) have helped organize groups based in the United States to support their mission. According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “The United States designated founder and leader Jose Maria Sison as a terrorist on 12 August 2002.⁵⁵⁰” Before his death, Jose Maria Sison, one of the CCP’s founders, also helped found and coordinate the activities of the International League of People’s Struggle.

Venezuelan Ambassador Participated in Founding of Group Created by a Terrorist



At the founding of International League of People’s Struggle U.S. chapter – an organization founded and directed by Jose Maria Sison - Jesús Rodríguez-Espinoza, at the time Venezuela’s ambassador to Chicago, was in attendance to express support to those present⁵⁵¹.

“I believe somehow the struggles in Asia, or the struggles here in the US, or in Latin America, are connected and that is something that we should be more aware of... The world right now is run by a sort of dictatorship of countries that are basically materialized in the Security Council of the United Nations and the G8. We consider that they are the dictators of the world.”

Sitting behind Jesús Rodríguez-Espinoza is Kuusela Hilo, who is:

⁵⁵⁰ Office of the Director of National Intelligence. COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES/NEW PEOPLE’S ARMY (CCP/NPA) https://www.odni.gov/nctc/terrorist_groups/cpp.html

⁵⁵¹ Ifssfsu. Jesús Rodríguez-Espinoza addresses founding assembly of ILPS-US. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UHC2qW06h-M&t=36s>

- Current Director of Organizing for the United Nurses Associations of California/Union of Health Care Professionals⁵⁵²
- A Vice-Chair of AnakBayan⁵⁵³
- Participant in the Sixth Cuba/Venezuela/Mexico/North America Labor Conference⁵⁵⁴
- Executive Board member of the Asian-Pacific American Labor Alliance⁵⁵⁵
- Participants in the Foro Mundial Alternativo de los Pueblos en Movimiento⁵⁵⁶
 - This forum was financially supported by Fundacion BBVA Bancomer, an organization funded by BBVA - which has been fined multiple times in multiple countries for providing services to members of criminal syndicates engaged in drug production and trafficking.

Academic Assessment of Social Forum-Affiliated Networks

In 2010 the University of Southern California's Public Interest Project funded Manuel Pastor, Jennifer Ito, and Rhonda Ortiz to interview social movement leaders and alliance builders. Their goal was to examine the dynamics and capacities of their political activities and to determine the level of effective collaboration of disparate groups. These political scientists collected their research in *Connecting at the Crossroads: Movement Building and Social Change in Tough Times* and at several points they cite the United States Social Forum. They establish that this was the event which led to a reformulation of leftist politics in the United States. In this report the authors describe how:

"Coming out of the United States Social Forum (USSF) in 2007, the leadership of six national grassroots alliances of social justice organizing groups – the Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (GGJ), Jobs with Justice (JwJ), the National Day Laborers Organizing Network (NDLON), the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA), Pushback Network, and the Right to the City Alliance (RTTC) – started a conversation about forming a unified national front".

They also highlight how the organizations that participated in them are increasingly including voter mobilization efforts in their repertoire of action:

"Statewide voter mobilization efforts – by grassroots groups not party structures – are gaining traction and the U.S. Social Forum has proved to be a vehicle for extending connections, including the formation of a new Inter-Alliance Dialogue that brings together the Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, the National Domestic Workers Alliance, the Right to the City Alliance, the Pushback Network, Jobs with Justice, and the National Day Labor Organizing Network".

Inexplicably absent from their descriptions of the organizations is the relationship between these groups and networks in Latin America linked to the PSUV and CCP whose goal is the spread of 21st Century Socialism.

⁵⁵² UNAC/UHCP. UNAC/UHCP grows by 1,350 members – an organizing success in the age of COVID-19. <https://www.afscme.org/blog/unacuhcp-grows-by-1350-members-an-organizing-success-in-the-age-of-covid-19>

⁵⁵³ Bill Cecil. Progressive Filipinos in U.S. organize. https://www.workers.org/2009/us/filipinos_0409/

⁵⁵⁴ Bob McCubbin. Labor activists of many countries meet to discuss economic crisis.

<https://www.workers.org/pdf/2009/51ww24dec2009.pdf>

⁵⁵⁵ A Letter to Members of the United States Congress <https://laborrights.org/sites/default/files/publications-and-resources/Final%20Philippines%20Letter.pdf>

⁵⁵⁶ Foro Mundial Alternativo de los Pueblos en Movimiento.

https://www.amerindiaenlared.org/uploads/adjuntos/1483_REPORT+FORO+MUNDIAL+ALTERNATIVO+ultima+version.pdf

Jobs with Justice (JwJ)

Sarita Gupta:

- Former director of Jobs with Justice and on the National Planning Committee of the U.S. Social Forum⁵⁵⁷.
- Participated in a national meeting hosted by Communist Party USA (CPUSA)⁵⁵⁸.
- Participated in the Young Communist League (YCL) 7th National Convention and was president of the United States Students Association⁵⁵⁹.
- Shortly after Gupta left her role as president of the United States Students Association (USSA), USSA sent a delegation to Cuba to network with “the Young Socialists and youth and students commission of the Communist Party in Canada; and the Young Communist League, Young Socialists” to and meet activists “from the Communist Youth of Colombia; October 8 Revolutionary Youth, Union of Young Communists, and Union of Young Socialists of Brazil; Youth of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador; National Party Youth of Jamaica; Youth of the Popular Socialist Party of Mexico; Communist Youth of Uruguay; and Patriotic Front, Communist Youth, and Federation of University Students of Venezuela.”⁵⁶⁰.
- Participated in the 2011 Democratic Socialists of America biennial convention⁵⁶¹.
- Contributed an essay to the book “We Own the Future: Democratic Socialism—American Style”⁵⁶².

Erica Smiley:

- Current Executive Director of Jobs with Justice⁵⁶³.
- Former National Coordinator of the Young Communist League USA.
- Travelled to Cuba as a member of the “Venceremos Brigade”⁵⁶⁴.
 - In a recap video she stated: “Castro did an incredible job uniting Cuba around a vision for socialism... I’m excited about the sustained growth of socialism under new the new leadership of Castro’s replacement and the continued leadership of the Cuban Legislature.”
- Travelled to Venezuela to participate in the World Federation of Democratic Youth,
 - Jessica Marshall, the previous Young Communist League national coordinator, also attended the WFDY event in Caracas and was “pulled from the march and led up to the reviewing stand to embrace President Chávez”⁵⁶⁵.

Robert Naiman

- An organizer for Jobs with Justice⁵⁶⁶.

⁵⁵⁷ Ignatian Solidarity Network. SARITA GUPTA | IGNATIAN FAMILY TEACH-IN FOR JUSTICE 2013. <https://ignatiansolidarity.net/blog/2013/11/25/sarita-gupta/>

⁵⁵⁸ Dan Margolis. CPUSA hosts health care meet. <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/cpusa-hosts-health-care-meet/>

⁵⁵⁹ Susan Webb. Young Communist League meet: Lively, diverse, activist. <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/young-communist-league-meet-lively-diverse-activist/>

⁵⁶⁰ Aris Haras and Jake Perasso. Meeting in Havana calls World Youth Festival in Algeria. <https://www.themilitant.com/2000/6428/642862.html>

⁵⁶¹ Michael Hirsh. DSA’s 2011 convention: Building socialism, forming comradeship, resisting corporate domination. <https://www.dsasusa.org/files/2019/07/DL-2011-Convention-Coverage.pdf>

⁵⁶² Edited by Kate Aronoff, Peter Dreier, Michael Kazin. We Own the Future: Democratic Socialism—American Style. <https://amzn.to/4gC50FR>

⁵⁶³ Jobs with Justice. Erica Smiley <https://www.jwj.org/staff-members/erica-smiley>

⁵⁶⁴ CPUSA. Opinions on Fidel Castro’s resignation. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080510151754/http://cpusa.org/article/articleview/881/1/148/>

⁵⁶⁵ People’s World. World youth converge on Caracas. <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/world-youth-converge-on-caracas/>

⁵⁶⁶ Illinois Public Media. Robert Naiman on the The Employee Free Choice Act. <https://will.illinois.edu/publicsquare/program/december-19-2008>

Venezuelan Government Employee

- Worked for the FARA-Registered, Venezuelan government funded Venezuela Information Office⁵⁶⁷.

Rev. Cecil Charles Prescod

- Chair of the Faith Labor Committee of Portland Jobs with Justice⁵⁶⁸.

Participation in Hands Off Venezuela event

- Present at Hands Off Venezuela PDX - A demonstration in Portland's Terry Schrunk Plaza between City Hall and the Green-Wyatt Federal Building. Activists came from several groups, including Veterans for Peace, the Portland Central America Solidarity Committee, Portland Jobs with Justice, Democratic Socialists of America, the International League of People's Struggles and the Portland branch of Workers World Party⁵⁶⁹.

Additional Jobs with Justice Links to Venezuelan Government Affiliated Networks

- JwJ sent delegates to the 2006 World Social Forum in Caracas⁵⁷⁰.
- JwJ collaborates with Freedom Road Socialist Organization, a group classifiable as a subversive front group⁵⁷¹.
- Lara Granich, a former Director of St. Louis Jobs with Justice, promoted the Social Forum at the 2008 Midwest Sociological Society Conference⁵⁷².
- Jobs with Justice has hosted online panels with the Hands Off Venezuela movement advocating for the removal of sanctions against Venezuela and Cuba⁵⁷³.

Grassroots Global Justice

Participation in America's Social Forum in Guatemala

At this conference, according to participants, the "Third Social Forum of the Americas created a space to celebrate resistance, identify common struggles, and strategize on a continental level towards building stronger and more unified movements against imperialism, neoliberalism, and capitalism"⁵⁷⁴

- Cuban Government agents were in attendance⁵⁷⁵.
- Grassroots Global Justice organized the transport of delegates to the Americas Social Forum 3 October 7-12, 2008 in Guatemala City⁵⁷⁶. Resolutions passed at the event included:
 - Fighting the construction of the border wall between the U.S. and Mexico.

⁵⁶⁷ Venezuela Information Office, U.S. Department of Justice Supplemental Statement <http://proveo.org/viofara0804.pdf>

⁵⁶⁸ Jwipdxd. WE SHALL OVERCOME: A MESSAGE FROM LEADERS OF PORTLAND JOBS WITH JUSTICE. <https://jwipdx.org/2020/07/28/we-shall-overcome-a-message-from-leaders-of-portland-jobs-with-justice/>

⁵⁶⁹ Joshua Hanks. "Hands Off Venezuela PDX" <https://www.workers.org/2019/02/41009/>

⁵⁷⁰ Matthew Rothschild. Elizabeth DiNovella: Blogging the 2006 World Social Forum from Caracas, Venezuela. <https://progressive.org/latest/elizabeth-dinovella-blogging-2006-world-social-forum-caracas-venezuela/>

⁵⁷¹ FRSO. FRSO Strategy. <https://frso.org/congress/frso-strategy/>

⁵⁷² Midwest Sociological Society. Making Sociology More Public: Annual Meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society <https://www.themss.org/assets/docs/officialdocuments/programbooks/2008%20program%20book%20finalized%203-4-2008.pdf>

⁵⁷³ Portland Jobs with Justice. How have western sanctions affected Venezuela, Cuba, and the Arab World's response to Coronavirus ... <https://x.com/JwJpdx/status/1299103657212784640>

⁵⁷⁴ Maggie Von Vogt . Connecting Struggles: Documentation from the Social Forum of the Americas.

⁵⁷⁵ <https://upside-downworld.org/archives/international/connecting-struggles-documentation-from-the-social-forum-of-the-americas/>

⁵⁷⁶ Maggie Von Vogt . Connecting Struggles: Documentation from the Social Forum of the Americas.

⁵⁷⁷ <https://upside-downworld.org/archives/international/connecting-struggles-documentation-from-the-social-forum-of-the-americas/>

⁵⁷⁸ Cindy Wiesner, Michael Leon Guerrero. REFLECTIONS ON THE III AMERICAS SOCIAL FORUM. <http://dev.cetri.be/Reflections-on-the-III-Americas?lang=fr>

- Rose Brewer, a professor at the University of Minnesota and former chairperson of the Department of African American & African Studies, “pointed to Venezuela’s Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) as an encouraging development.”⁵⁷⁷.

Participation in America’s Social Forum in Paraguay

- Grassroots Global Justice sent activists to the America’s Social Forum⁵⁷⁸.
- The Venezuelan government chartered planes to help bring activists to the Forum⁵⁷⁹.
- Edgardo Lander, a contributor to Real News Network, a professor of social sciences at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas, and a member of CLACSO - attended the event⁵⁸⁰.

Project South

United States Social Forum National Planning Committee Member

Project South was one of the primary organizers for the United States Social Forum and a member of the National Planning Committee⁵⁸¹.

Sent Delegates to Cuba

Project South sent delegates to attend events such as the first Convergence of Movements of the Peoples of the Americas (COMPRA) in Havana, Cuba on November 20-23, 2002, a “decision rooted in the reality of the need to build a global bottom-up movement in response to capitalist-corporate globalization; and the opportunity this hemispheric network offers to begin that process with our closest neighbors”,

Attended the third COMPRA conference in Venezuela

The event was held at the same time as the World Festival of Students and Youth in Caracas, Venezuela – an event which also attracted some 500 young Socialist activists from the United States⁵⁸².

Right to the City Alliance

A national alliance fighting for reparations, defunding the police, housing justice, climate justice, rural justice, and international solidarity⁵⁸³.

Founded at the 2007 United States Social Forum in Atlanta⁵⁸⁴.

⁵⁷⁷ Mark Becker. Guatemala: Americas Social Forum Rejects Neoliberalism, Celebrates Resistance. <https://upside-downworld.org/archives/guatemala/guatemala-americas-social-forum-rejects-neoliberalism-celebrates-resistance/>

⁵⁷⁸ Real News Network. Edgardo Lander. <https://therealnews.com/author/edgardo-lander>

⁵⁷⁹ Real News Network. Edgardo Lander. <https://therealnews.com/author/edgardo-lander>

⁵⁸⁰ Real News Network. Edgardo Lander. <https://therealnews.com/author/edgardo-lander>

⁵⁸¹ Project South. Movements need convergence to increase scale and impact. The U.S. Social Forum process and convergence has contributed to the growth of social movement power in the U.S. <https://projectsouth.org/global-movement-building/us-social-forum/>

⁵⁸² Jozan Powell & Emery Wright. Together We Will Win: Reflections on COMPA Gathering. <https://projectsouth.org/together-we-will-win-reflections-on-compa-gathering/>

⁵⁸³ Right to the City. Our Story. <https://www.righttothecity.org/our-story>

⁵⁸⁴ Walda Katz-Fishman. United States Social Forum. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290533733_United_States_Social_Forum

National Domestic Workers Alliance

Founded at the 2007 United States Social Forum in Atlanta⁵⁸⁵.

National Day Laborer Organizing Network

Despite these omissions, the assessment is clear: the Broad United Front - which is composed of the organizations which have participated in the United States Social Forums - have had significant impacts on U.S. politics and policy.

Journalism-Based Assessment of Social Forum Affiliated Movements

Journalistic-based models of assessments have come to similar conclusions. In *Joe Biden Owes His Victory to the Left, No Matter What the Democratic Party Says*, written by Rebecca Chowdhury and published in *In These Times*, the leaders of organizations and leaders that she cites as effectively providing Joe Biden the election win are all linked to the Social Forum.

Mijente

Mijente describes itself as pro-Latinx, pro-Black, pro-indigenous, pro-worker, pro-mujer, pro-immigrant, and pro-pachamama, builder of social movements⁵⁸⁶.

B. Loewe

- B. Loewe is a cofounder of Mijente and their former Communications Director⁵⁸⁷.
- B. Loewe was a field organizer for the 2010 United States Social Forum⁵⁸⁸.

Marisa Franco

- Marisa Franco is one of the cofounders of Mijente and their current Executive Director⁵⁸⁹.
- Marisa Frans was on the National Planning Committee for the 2010 United States Social Forum⁵⁹⁰.

Cindy Weisner

- Cindy Wiesner is a contributor to Mijente's programming⁵⁹¹.
- Cindy Wiesner was previously on the National Planning Committee for the United States Social Forum and is presently on the International Council of the World Social Forum⁵⁹².

⁵⁸⁵ National Domestic Workers Association. Founded. <https://www.domesticworkers.org/timeline/founded-ndwa/>

⁵⁸⁶ Mijente. <https://mijente.net/>

⁵⁸⁷ B. Loewe. LinkedIn. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/bloewe/>

⁵⁸⁸ John Rummel. Movements and struggles to converge at next month's U.S. Social Forum. <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/movements-and-struggles-to-converge-at-next-month-s-u-s-social-forum/>

⁵⁸⁹ Kyoko Uchida. Marisa Franco, Co-Founder/Executive Director, Mijente. <https://philanthropynewsdigest.org/features/newsmakers/marisa-franco-co-founder-executive-director-mijente>

⁵⁹⁰ 2010 NPC and Contacts. https://wiki.ussocialforum.net/wiki/2010_NPC_and_Contacts/index.html

⁵⁹¹ Mijente.MIAMI ESCUELITA: APRENDIZAJE ACROSS GENERATIONS. <https://www.mijentesupportcommittee.com/post/miami-escuelita-aprendizaje-across-generations>

⁵⁹² Climate Justice Alliance. Cindy Wiesner. <https://climatejusticealliance.org/speaker/cindy-wiesner/>

Nelini Stamp

- Nelini Stamp is a Leadership Member of Mijente and Director of Strategy & Partnerships at the Working Families Party.
- Ciudad CCS, a newspaper owned and operated by Venezuela's Ministry of Popular Power for Communication and Information, interviewed Stamp at the 2012 World Social Forum in Brasil⁵⁹³.

Southerners on New Ground

- Southerners on New Ground were members of the SouthEast Regional Committee for the first U.S. Social Forum and gave presentations at the event⁵⁹⁴.
- According to SONG's website - they have 11,000 members⁵⁹⁵.

Native Organizers Alliance

- Judith Le Blanc has been the Executive Director of Native Organizers Alliance (NOA) for eight years⁵⁹⁶.
 - Former Vice-Chairwoman of the Communist Party USA⁵⁹⁷.
 - Described as giving "what amounted to the political keynote speech" at the 2007 Social Forum in Atlanta⁵⁹⁸.
 - Participated in cultural events promoted by the Cuban government⁵⁹⁹.

Another metric for assessing these networks' impact on democracy in the United States has to do with the organizations that emerged from these political events that have received extensive press coverage. Hundreds of articles have been written about Antifa and Black Lives Matter, but the majority of these have failed to adequately cover their participants activist history – which links them to the World Social Forum, the United States Social Forum and other Venezuelan and Cuban-sponsored efforts at subverting American democratic institutions and developing dual-power such that the political, social and economic dynamics which lead to Hugo Chávez's election - and the rewriting of Venezuela's Constitution to align with the values of 21st Century Socialism - are replicated in the United States.

Academic Assessment of U.S. - Venezuelan Relations

Numerous reports and several books have been written which document and analyze the ambitions of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela to transform North and South America into its image and their efforts to achieve this. Books in this vein include, but are not limited to, *The Threat Closer to Home: Hugo Chávez and the War Against America* by Douglas E. Schoen and Michael Rowan, *The War of All the People: The Nexus of Latin American Radicalism and Middle Eastern Terrorism* by Jon B. Perdue and *CastroChavismo: Organized Crime in the Americas* by José Carlos Sánchez Berzaín, Bolivia's former Minister of Defense.

⁵⁹³ Ciudad CCS. Ocupas e Indignados exigen ¡Democracia YA! <https://www.yumpu.com/es/document/view/14617973/descarga-aqui-el-pdf-28-01-12-ciudad-ccs>

⁵⁹⁴ Stephanie Guilloud. The First US Social Forum: Report from the Anchor Organization. https://projectsouth.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/USSF_report.pdf

⁵⁹⁵ SONG Power. Mission & Vision. <https://unleashpower.org/mission-vision/>

⁵⁹⁶ Native Organizers Alliance. Our Team. <https://nativeorganizing.org/who-we-are/our-team/>

⁵⁹⁷ Evelina Alarcon. PWW writer goes to the Mideast. <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/pww-writer-goes-to-mideast/>

⁵⁹⁸ Kate Randall. US Social Forum in Atlanta: Identity politics and appeals to the Democrats. <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2007/07/socf-i10.html>

⁵⁹⁹ CubaDebate. Músicos del mundo se unen de forma virtual en un Concierto por Cuba. <http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2020/07/12/musicos-del-mundo-se-unen-de-forma-virtual-en-un-concierto-por-cuba/>

These works provide meaningful insights into the Venezuelan government's use of corruption and promotion of revolutionary activities to benefit their geo-political goals. These works, however, focus primarily on Venezuela's collaborative efforts with the Russian, Iranian, Cuban, and Nicaraguan governments in Latin America and in international deliberative bodies instead of the United States.

Dr. Sekou Franklin's article *African Americans, Transnational Contention, and Cross-national Politics in the United States and Venezuela*, by contrast, presents a granular account of Venezuelan government activity within the United States⁶⁰⁰. In this article Dr. Franklin, provides a historical account of the Venezuelan government's efforts at appealing to the Congressional Black Congress, U.S. socialist groups, and Afrikan networks in the United States (groups active in revolutionary secessionist movements and struggles for reparations)⁶⁰¹. Reviewing this article and extracting and processing the information from it makes clear who the PSUV has been targeting in the U.S.

Venezuela's Targets: Democrats, Socialists, Indigenous, Black Nationalists

Dr. Sekou's article contains numerous descriptions of Venezuela's outreach with groups associated with the Black Liberation Movement and elected government officials affiliated with the Democratic Party as well as multiple repudiations by persons affiliated with the Republican Party. Some of the officials described as welcoming Venezuelan outreach efforts by Sekou include the following:

- Congressman José E. Serrano
- State Senator Rodney Ellis
- State Senator Vincent Hughes
- City Councilman Joe Davis, Sr.
- Congressman Charles Rangel
- Congressman William Delahunt
- Congressman Luis Gutiérrez
- Congressman Carolyn Kilpatrick
- Magistrate Judge Henry Hamilton
- State Congress LaMar Lemmons Jr.
- City Supervisor Tom Ammiano
- Congressman Gregory Meeks
- Congressman Donald Payne
- Congressman Barbara Lee

Notably, almost 25% of the elected Democratic officials contacted by Venezuelan government officials would later be convicted for crimes related to their abuse of power. Persons cited by Dr. Franklin, but that are excluded from the above list include:

1. William Jefferson: Convicted of bribery, racketeering, and money laundering⁶⁰².
2. Kwayme Kilpatrick: Convicted of racketeering, extortion, bribery, fraud and tax charges⁶⁰³.
3. Chakah Fatah: Convicted of racketeering, fraud, and corruption⁶⁰⁴.
4. Mike McGee Jr.: Convicted of extortion, taking bribes, and buying votes⁶⁰⁵.
5. Chokwe Antar Lumumba, son of Chokewe Lumumba: Charged with bribery and corruption⁶⁰⁶.

Michael McGee Jr's letter to Hugo Chávez - which addressed President Chávez as "Fellow Revolutionary" and contained a promise to develop a sister cities program - is generally representative of the sentiments expressed by black, indigenous and socialist groups contacted by PSUV-affiliated

⁶⁰⁰ Michael L. Clemons. African Americans in Global Affairs: Contemporary Perspectives. <https://amzn.to/4eR0a6i>

⁶⁰¹ Sekou Franklin. About Me. <https://sekoufranklin.com/about-me>

⁶⁰² FBI. William Jefferson. <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/william-jefferson>

⁶⁰³ United States Attorneys Office - Eastern District of Michigan. Press Release. <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmi/pr/former-detroit-mayor-kwame-kilpatrick-contractor-bobby-ferguson-and-bernard-kilpatrick>

⁶⁰⁴ DOJ. Former Congressman Chaka Fattah Sentenced to 10 Years in Prison for Participating in Racketeering Conspiracy. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/former-congressman-chaka-fattah-sentenced-10-years-prison-participating-racketeering>

⁶⁰⁵ Associated Press. Wisconsin: Additional State Sentence for Ex-Alderman. https://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/14/us/14brfs-ADDITIONALST_BRF.html

⁶⁰⁶ U.S. DOJ. Mississippi District Attorney, Mayor of Jackson, and Jackson City Council Member Charged with Bribery and Other Offenses. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/mississippi-district-attorney-mayor-jackson-and-jackson-city-council-member-charged-bribery>

government officials⁶⁰⁷. This was especially the case of Afrikan groups in the U.S. (people who self-identify as being members of a colonized people that seek national independence from the U.S. rule).

Dr. Sekou's essay is not an attempt at a comprehensive report, but a demonstration of how PSUV agents sought to create common cause with U.S. political activists through emotional and strategic appeals. As such literally hundreds of interactions between members of the Movement for Black Lives, the Black Panther Party, the Organization for Black Struggle, Black Lives Matter, and other Black Liberation groups with agents of the PSUV, Venezuelan Communist Party, the Red de Organizaciones Afrovenezolanas, and other such groups are not reported.

Summary

This report was developed from research which collected and processed a large body of open-source data on the activities of Venezuelan and Cuban government officials as well as individuals and organizations living within the United States with whom they were in contact.

It first describes definitional schemas developed by the U.S. Congress and the Organization of American States developed to identify individuals and groups that could be categorized as “subversive front groups” or “proxies” for the Cuban Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It then describes a definitional schema synthesized from these two models that can be applied given the present context of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela activities. Following this, the Hybrid Threats Model - a method for structured information on the activities of the individuals and groups linked to a foreign government - is detailed.

Using a knowledge base which consists of over 2,000,000 sources that have been processed according to structured query language principles - we present the case that the United Socialist Party of Venezuela is supporting Hybrid Threat activities within the United States using proxies.

The United States Social Forum was one of the crucibles through which this Broad United Front was created. This Broad United Front has gone by several names and its capacity to influence local, state, national, and foreign policy in the United States is real. Given similar efforts undertaken by states allied to the PSUV-led government - such as Cuba, China, Russia, and Iran - as well as non-state criminal networks and terrorist organizations - the networks identified here are part of a much larger conspiracy.

Based on the intelligence which was developed for this report we would put forward the claim that the political ideology frequently described as “woke” by political commentators emerged from the efforts of Venezuela and Cuba to exploit, liberation theology-based religious congregations, black identity extremist groups, “social justice” NGOs, legal and illegal immigrants to the United States affiliated with foreign communist parties, and domestic revolutionary movements to help them achieve long-term economic, social, and political goals which degrade U.S. national security, rule of law, legitimacy, cultural cohesion and economic prosperity.

⁶⁰⁷ Mike McGee, Jr. February 1st, 2006 Letter to Hugo Chávez. <https://city.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/User/cklose/McGeeChavezLetter.pdf>

Final Assessment

In 2015 President Obama issued a new Executive Order declaring Venezuela an “unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States” and expressed the need to protect the U.S. financial system from illicit financial flows obtained via public corruption in Venezuela⁶⁰⁸. The Venezuelan government has sought to expand its influence in the United States not only via illicit financial flows, but also those deemed licit.

By applying a modernized version of the subversion classification system developed by Congress to catalogue Soviet influence operations in the United States to open-source information, it becomes evident that since the election of Hugo Chávez, the United Socialist Party has helped to develop and fund a large ‘network of networks’ in the United States to promote their interests.

Modeling the activities of the persons and groups affiliated with these states according to the twelve strategic domains of the Hybrid Threat Model - politics, culture, society, legal issues, military, space, administration, infrastructure, economy, intelligence, information, cyber, and diplomacy - it becomes evident this ‘network of networks’ in the United States seeks fundamental economic and political transformation of the United States.

This ‘new historic block’ which the PSUV has helped cultivate in the U.S. through the provision of organizational technology transfer and material support has impacted:

- K-12 Educational programs
- Academic Programs at Colleges and Universities
- Academic Hiring Practices at College and Universities
- Local, State, and Federal Government Responses to COVID
- Local and State Government Responses to Illegal Immigration
- Local, State and Federal Government regulations and support for energy
- US Energy Policy
- US Immigration and Customs Enforcement
- Law enforcement operations in hundreds of jurisdictions

The actions by Venezuelan-affiliated political parties, unions, religious organizations, and professional organizations have cost state, local and federal governments millions in damages and in lost opportunities; have transformed merit based criteria to those designed to promote socialist values; and have helped to further the goals of Venezuela, Cuba, states allied to them (China, Russia, Iran, etc.), non-state actors in socialist-affiliated transnational advocacy networks, designated terrorist organizations, narcotics trafficking operations, illegal gold mining enterprises, and more.

Given the complexity, size, and impact of the Hybrid Threat - the Citizens Intelligence Agency proposes that a special Federal grand jury should be formed to further investigate the aforementioned individuals and groups, as well as others that can be similarly categorized, in order to determine whether or not it is appropriate to charge those involved with seditious conspiracy, violations of federal RICO laws, FARA violations, and any other appropriate that may become apparent in the course of such an investigation.

⁶⁰⁸ The White House - Office of the Press Secretary. Executive Order – Blocking Property and Suspending Entry of Certain Persons Contributing to the Situation in Venezuela. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/03/09/executive-order-blocking-property-and-suspending-entry-certain-persons-c>